

GENDER & DIVERSITY

Overcoming the Divide

Queering the Funds

Table of Contents

- 2 Greeting
by *Kai Gebring*
- 4 Editorial
by *Gitte Zschoch*
- 6 Photo Series
by *Eythar Gubara*

Importance of LGBTQIA+ Funding

- 12 »Our Lives and Bodies Must be at the Centre«
Interview with *Matthew Hart*
- 18 »Understanding the Funding for the
Anti-gender Movement«
Interview with *Damjan Denkovski*
- 22 17/9/2022 Belgrade
by *Dawood*

Global Relationships and Colonial Heritage

- 28 »One Tiny Mistake Would Mean Being Targeted«
Interview with *Hazem*
- 34 »I Didn't Understand why the System was
Constructed that Way«
Interview with *Nelly Paytyan*

Funding Structures and Security

- 40 I Wanted to Help those Communities with
the Power of My Pen
Interview with *Said Nazir*
- 46 Putting Queer Funding into Practice:
a Collection of Recommendations
by *Valeria Neufeld*
- 49 Three Questions for Donor Organisations
- 58 ifa and its CrossCulture Programme
- 60 Imprint

GREETING

by Kai Gehring

In 2020, I sponsored the Algerian author and human rights defender, Anouar Rahmani, as part of the German Bundestag's human rights programme »Parlamentarier schützen Parlamentarier«. Anouar and I are united in our fight for freedom of expression, religious freedom and equal rights for LGBTQIA+. But unlike me, Anouar is not able to live his life in Algeria the way he wants. As a result of his work defending freedom of expression and LGBTQIA+ rights, he faced judicial harassment, intimidation and defamation campaigns. I am glad that Anouar is currently safely studying abroad, but many other queer people in Algeria and other places are less fortunate.

For the first time ever, the German government created the office of the Commissioner for the Acceptance of Sexual and Gender Diversity in 2022, a crucial step making LGBTQIA+ rights a priority in domestic policy. In many countries around the world, people face persecution and discrimination because of their sexual identity and orientation. Homosexuality is pu-

nishable in 70 countries. This means that almost half of the world's population lives in countries where sexual minorities are criminalized.

The recent shift in German foreign policy towards a stronger focus on LGBTQIA+ rights is therefore to be welcomed. Notably, the German government's initiatives on feminist foreign policy and feminist development policy understand LGBTQIA+ issues as an inherent component of German foreign policy. Another milestone is the LGBTQIA+ inclusion concept: Germany, as one of the largest donor countries, has taken responsibility for a better life and the protection of LGBTQIA+ in partner countries. It formulates a strong human rights position: leave no one behind. This principle from the Sustainable Development Goals now always includes LGBTQIA+.

However, to live up to its reputation as an open-minded, liberal democracy with a foreign policy based on rights, Germany needs to turn these concepts and strategies into concrete political action at all levels. In

recent years, Germany has stepped up its commitment to LGBTQIA+ rights in bilateral partnerships and multilateral forums of the UN, i.e. as a member of the »LGBTI core group« in New York and the »Group of Friends of the SOGI¹ mandate« in Geneva. This commitment is reflected not only in statements and resolutions to the Human Rights Council, but also in the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, where Germany is a strong advocate for gender-sensitive language and SOGI-wording.

In September 2022, together with Mexico, Germany took over as Co-Chair of the Equal Rights Coalition (ERC) for a two-year period. ERC is an alliance of 42 countries and over 140 NGOs working to combat violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. To strengthen the Alliance structurally, Germany will establish a new General Secretariat and host the biennial ERC Conference in 2024.

Central to any foreign and development policy are strong partners in the respective countries, especially civil society organisations. International collaboration for LGBTQIA+ rights can only be successful if partners meet on an equal footing. Furthermore, the commitment to work with civil society organisations needs to be backed and supported by adequate financial funding. Germany's current financial commitment to LGBTQIA+ civil society organisations does not yet match the ambitious goals of the initiatives for feminist foreign policy and feminist development policy as well as the LGBTQIA+ inclusion concept. In this regard, much can be learned from smaller donor countries such as the Netherlands or Sweden, which dedicate a larger share of funding to LGBTQIA+ projects.

As Chair of the Committee on Research and Education in the German Bundestag, I would be remiss not to highlight the immense data and research gap on LGBTQIA+, effectively hindering progress and inclusion. With reliable data on LGBTQIA+ people, international foundations, aid agencies and human rights organisations can work more effectively to improve the well-being of LGBTQIA+. Currently, only a tiny fraction of the already limited funding for LGBTQIA+ goes towards research.

This publication includes accounts from »CrossCulture Programme« countries such as Armenia, Egypt, Haiti, Jordan, and Pakistan. This multitude of perspectives demonstrates how decisions about projects and funding priorities in international collaboration cannot only be taken in Bonn or Berlin. National, regional and local conditions and challenges must be considered at every level. LGBTQIA+ groups work in a hostile environment in most states. They are denied state funding, are not registered anywhere or are constantly threatened with the withdrawal of their registration by the state;

they face discrimination, repression, assault, and verbal accusations. In short: donor guidelines need to consider the context.

No one should experience violence or be discriminated against because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. This is a fundamental human right which Germany is committed to protecting, both in bilateral and multilateral forums as well as through the means of silent diplomacy and in close coordination with international partners and civil society at home and abroad. By supporting civil society actors in more than 40 countries in partnership with the Federal Foreign Office, the CrossCulture Programme contributes to filling this ambitious feminist foreign policy with life.



Kai Gehring
Member of the German Bundestag
Alliance 90/The Greens

Chairman of the Committee on Education, Research
and Technology Assessment

1 Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

EDITORIAL

by Gitte Zschoch

The word »freedom« is often used lightly in Germany. But for people living in illiberal countries, freedom is a privilege they have to fight for. LGBTQIA+ people are particularly threatened by discrimination and the lack of freedom. All over the world, dictatorial regimes impose severe punishments on people in same-sex relationships, forbid what they deem queer literature and attack Pride events. NGOs and other organisations advocating for the rights of the LGBTQIA+ community are harassed or suppressed. In many countries, discrimination and persecution are not only inflicted by the state but also by religious or radical groups that regard diversity and tolerance as a threat. Spreading hatred and mistruths, they actively support the discrimination and exclusion of LGBTQIA+ people. Those experiencing multiple kinds of discrimination, such as racism, sexism, homophobia, and class discrimination, are particularly at risk. It takes courage to defend the rights of LGBTQIA+ people in such dangerous situations. This courage and the struggle for human rights need our assistance and financial support. ifa's work is doing just that. ifa works in the field of international cultural relations and promotes global coexistence. By encouraging art, culture, and joint projects, we bring people from different countries together, creating trust and understanding in the process.

In doing so, it is especially important to us to provide a safe space for marginalised groups and people experiencing discrimination or persecution and to make their voices heard. For this, our work and programmes rely on dialogue with civil society members. It is vital that the voices of local people are taken seriously in order to develop joint measures for secure and sustainable funding and cooperation. For years, ifa's CrossCulture Programme has focused on supporting the LGBTQIA+ community, and each year, we have been receiving more and more applications from these activists. During various networking events, we have brought together LGBTQIA+ scholarship holders from around the world, including Columbia, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, and Morocco, and provided them a platform to discuss their

countries' situation, the engagement between funders and the people they foster, and to develop ideas for fair and sensitive funding mechanisms.

In this publication, we share the most important findings from these discussions and CCP scholarship alumni describe their own experiences. Like Hazem, who reports on his collaboration with foreign funding organisations and the continued threats facing LGBTQIA+ people in his country of Jordan. Nelly Paytyan from Armenia talks about the growing acceptance for LGBTQIA+ people in her home country but also about the persistent homophobia and transphobia. Matthew Hart from the Global Philanthropy Project addresses the challenges that come with providing financial support to LGBTQIA+ organisations, calling for better coordination and perseverance on the part of funding providers. These discussions also generated specific recommendations for further action—ideas well worth sharing here.

I hope reading this publication fosters more insightful perspectives for us all!



Gitte Zschoch
Secretary General
ifa – Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen

DEFINING LGBTQIA+ *LGBT, LGBTQ or LGBTQIA+ – There are just as many different names for the queer community worldwide as there are identities within it. LGBT stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. But as the community and the understanding of its diversity has developed, it has also become more difficult to give it a single name. In their articles, the CCP editorial team uses »LGBTQIA+«, which stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or questioning, intersex, and asexual as this term is widely used nowadays and includes people who do not identify with one of the other categories. In this publication, we would like to give our authors the freedom to choose which term they wish to use. Therefore, you will find different versions of the acronym.*

Eythar Gubara



EYTHAR GUBARA has been working as a visual artist in Sudan since 2013. She joined a Sudanese photographers' group in 2014 to learn more about photography. Since 2017, she has also been working in the field of cinematography. Gubara graduated from Computer Man College in Sudan in communications engineering and is now fulfilling her dream of studying art by completing a degree at the University of the Arts (HFBK) in Hamburg, Germany. Gubara has participated in several exhibitions worldwide and won the Madame Figaro Arles Photography Award 2021 at the Les Rencontres d'Arles Photography Festival.

Gubara uses art photography as a tool for awareness and change. As a human rights activist in general and an activist for the women's and queer community in particular, she works with art photography and film to send a message and defend human rights, especially in Sudan. Gubara also works as an activist for LGBTQIA+ rights with different organisations in the Middle East. She believes in art as a powerful weapon and that one picture can make a big difference in society.







IMPORTANCE OF LGBTQIA+ FUNDING

» OUR LIVES AND BODIES MUST BE AT THE CENTRE« *Matthew Hart*

The Global Philanthropy Project aims to expand global philanthropic support to advance the human rights of LGBTQIA+ in the Global South and East. In this interview, its Director, Matthew Hart, speaks about the power of funding mechanisms, the challenge of finances and how to connect funders better with grant receivers.

In your presentation to the 2022 Gender & Diversity Alums Network meeting, you mentioned the small proportion of funding for LGBTQIA+ issues relative to total global giving. Why do you think this number is so small?

There are a few reasons. One is movement maturity. The LGBTQI political movement has had a longer runway as a political project which deferred or rejected institutionalisation. It said, »We want to build a people's movement, a political project which is intersectional, multi-generational, radical, and which rejects capitalism.« That's our origin as a movement. We had a longer runway before we hit the stage where we were, like, »Oh my God, I'm doing this all the time. I can't clean the house, take care of the children and run a set of political projects with my friends. I need to get paid for this.« And that was informed by a broader collaboration with labour, unions and worker's rights. That's one piece.

The second thing is that institutional philanthropy was—historically and in the most profoundly well-documented manner—structurally homophobic. They did not want to fund LGBTQI people, [or even] women's rights organisations, which were also in their infancy 25 to 35 years ago—let alone [were they willing to] understand the complexities of gender variance, trans people and the whole spectrum of what exists within those communities. They couldn't possibly have had the competency to address our communities.

The third piece, namely queer people with the inherited wealth and political competency to ascend in traditional philanthropy, came late. That was in the 1980s, and it was accelerated by the HIV crisis. That accelerated an agenda which set out our social, political, sexual, and physical rights.

We're still in the phase of organising our money. We are a small percentage of all development and philanthropic resources. But I think we're at the moment when the acceleration occurs. All the work which the Global Philanthropy Project (GPP) does, everything which we do in our external programming, is meant to fuel that acceleration to capture those resources institutionally, so that the field has access to them.

You also mentioned that the GPP wants to make sure groups within the queer community have their own organisations: that trans people don't need to always go through cis organisations to receive funding, for example. Historically, much of the money in the LGBTQIA+ community has been concentrated with cis gay men. What is the cis gay community doing well to make sure that more marginalised queer people get a seat at the table, and what could it do better?

I have one caveat, which is that who holds power and money in each region and country is much more complicated than cis gay men. With our Global Resources Report, we hope to equip our movements with the ability to have more nuanced discussions about where power and money sits. It's easy to have a set of accusations and assumptions about actors like cis gay men. And that's historically true. But those realities are changing with the success of political movements, and it's important for us to keep our targets real, and also not artificially create horizontal hostilities, but actually understand the political ecosystem where our common advancement can be had.

If you understand who has the money and where it's going, it's easier to have a political discussion with those power holders. If you go to a group of cis gay men because they're assumed to have the money and the power, but they have no money, you're missing the boat. The power is somewhere else. We want to reduce those distances.

I would venture that funding inequities are mostly unintentional; they are mostly episodic. It's about the activists who have asked for the money; it's about the context; it's about the funders' priorities; it's a million things. Our job at GPP is to make visible those inequities within the funding ecosystem.

»Attacks on
LGBTQI people are
anti-democratic«

Another idea which came up in your presentation is that LGBTQIA+ communities are barometers for the openness and democratic health of societies. Would you say that's a relatively new phenomenon?

It's relatively new for non-queer groups. Queer people have always known it. Our offices got firebombed, our murders did not get investigated, our disappearances were invisible, our termination of employment was not disputed, being kicked out of our housing was not able to be reported. We have experienced that for our entire history.

I do think the GPP community, and many activists, have helped centre the idea that state-sponsored homophobia is a core component of closing space. It's an early indicator of authoritarianism. We see that in very real examples: in Bulgaria and Belarus, in Poland, in Hungary, in the United States, in Kenya, in the Philippines.

Now we have a documentary infrastructure which is able to tell those stories across geographies. We're prioritising a consolidation of those stories, to be able to make the case more broadly: attacks on LGBTQI people are anti-democratic. But that's an ongoing case-making project. We haven't won that case. The »traditional family rights« agenda is equipped and financed in ways we can't match. There's an enormous amount of money moving around right now, supporting anti-democratic work, weaponising gender against democracy, and using queer bodies and our sex and our lives as fodder for a new kind of 21st century culture war. We're in the fight. This is going to be the rest of our political lives, and there's no guarantee who will win.

How do you think queer communities can make up for the much greater financing the »traditional family rights« agenda has?

Better coordination. Talk to each other; fund more intelligently; collaborate and coordinate across sectors. The only way our response will happen is if we're in communication. [At GPP,] we've done a lot of work to build the funding infrastructure to enable that to happen. Imperfect as it is, it is occurring.

Then we make the case to secure new financial commitments from a whole set of foundations outside of LGBTQI work. Our purpose is to centre LGBTQI people's lives and bodies in those agendas. It can be a broader agenda which secures democracy for all, but the lives of LGBTQI people are centred in the work we do. We've all had this [situation] where, when the big political agendas get made, LGBTQI people end up in the back of the bus or under the bus. For us as GPP, we've committed to fight for bigger political agendas, but our lives and bodies have to be at the centre of it.

»Our reporting helps clear the water.«

A striking figure from your presentation was that the German Foreign Ministry gives around \$4 million annually for LGBTQI rights, which seems low. Do you see your work as purely connecting LGBTQI funders? Are you picking up the slack from governments? Are you also hoping to pressure governments to invest more in these causes?

I think all of those things are happening all the time. A core part of our work is—I wouldn't say to pressure governments, I would frame it in a different, more diplomatic manner—providing policy recommendations. We provide diagnostics for population and geography, priority countries, envelope windows, all the kind of work which allows them to fit LGBTQI funding within current and existing funding priorities, and adjacently potentially create specific envelopes for LGBTQI people. Our reporting helps clear the water. Then our job is to help funders move along the spectrum and get closer to a bigger commitment.

Having attended this conference, it seems like there is still a significant gap between what grant recipients want and need, and what funders can and want to give. How would you help those two groups get closer together?

Part of the LGBTQI movement's work is an endless debate on our priorities. That is a healthy part of who we are; it's an indicator of our culture of interrogation. I want to keep that. But with GPP, I want to contribute evidence and data, so that people have common sets of material to work with, so that there are norms around what [funds go] where, how much to whom. For years, we've worked against this idea that the people who have proximity to power, to decision makers, or who are the loudest, get to decide on policy for philanthropy and governments. That's one thing.

The second thing is to show up. We build programmes where all of our donor events are adjacent to civil society events, literally the day before. There are eight to ten meetings a year in ten regions around the world. This is unique. We do an enormous amount of case-making for people to attend. But what that means is that they're in the meetings, they're going to sessions, they're learning what activists are doing. A pillar of the work is to reduce the space between donors and activists.

The third part, which is less visible, is that we work really hard to get LGBTQI activists programme officer jobs. Our panel today did not look like what one would assume philanthropy looks like. You might assume there

are all white cis men living in New York in the foundations, but in reality, as we could see at the panel today, you find programme officers from diverse backgrounds and genders in the foundations. It's part of our job to ensure that the pipeline from activism to philanthropy is clear and that there's a pathway for our people to get decision-making authority. So that queer folks have a community, a political centre of gravity and a centre of power which they can leverage to get new commitments. That's part of the work. It's all part of this thing which we're talking about: long-term structural change. We're talking about a transformation of a 200-year-old system of philanthropy.

Interview by
Jeff Brown

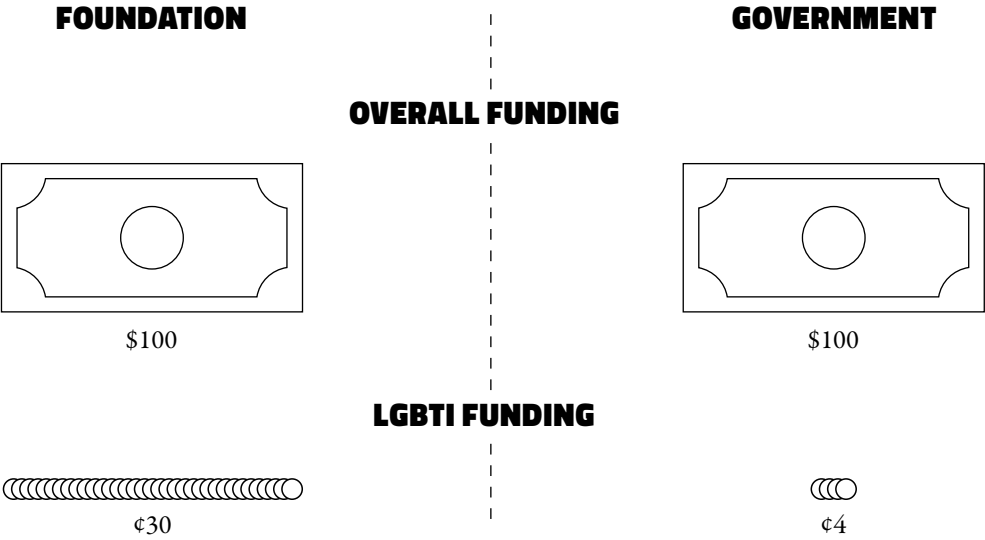


MATTHEW HART

Matthew »Matty« Hart joined as Director of the Global Philanthropy Project in 2015, leading the efforts of an organisation internationally recognized as the primary thought leader and go-to partner for donor coordination in connection with global LGBTI work.

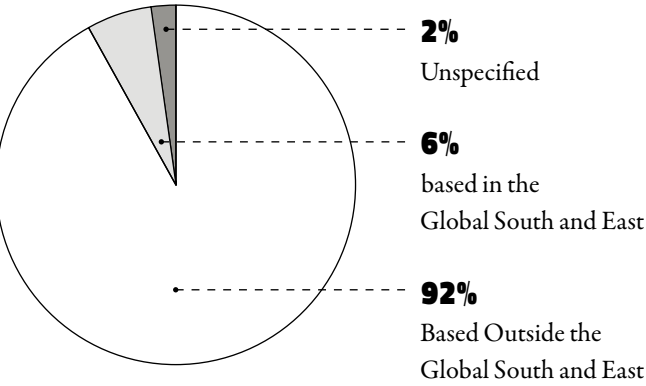
GLOBAL LGBTI FUNDING

Comparison to all Funding (2019–2020)



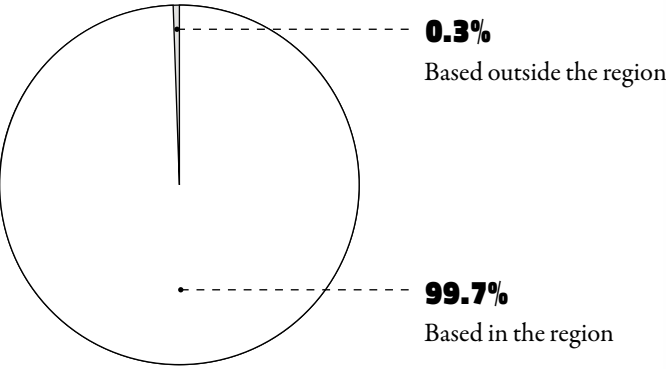
GLOBAL SOUTH AND EAST MULTIREGIONAL LGBTI FUNDING

Guarantee Location (2019–2020)



WESTERN EUROPE LGBTI FUNDING

Grantee Location (2019–2020)



Source: Global Philanthropy Project

»LGBTQIA+ issues are a very important signal of how open—or how vulnerable—a society is.«

URBAN BECKMANN, GERMANY, IFA

»Investing in queer people is an accelerator. It’s a transformational investment for democracy and freedom of movement.«

MATTHEW HART, FRANCE, GPP

»LGBTQI inclusion will be an important part of the Foreign Minister’s feminist foreign policy.«

LINDA HELFRICH, GERMANY, GIZ

»It’s easy to think money solves the problem. Often it does—money is very important. But there also needs to be more listening to and understanding of the priorities of the community. It’s a partnership.«

HAZEM, JORDAN

UNDER- STANDING FUNDING FOR THE ANTI-GENDER MOVEMENT

There is long-standing consensus among researchers and activists that ultra-conservative donors and religious fundamentalists, primarily from the United States but also from other regions such as Europe and Russia, have been actively funding efforts to undermine and restrict the rights of marginalised populations globally for the past several decades. Damjan Denkovski from the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy shows that a lot of money is involved and that there are more questions than answers.

Data on the distribution and accessibility of funding for progressive causes, particularly from institutional donors in the Global North, is available through self-reporting by donor governments or philanthropic organisations. It is easily accessible via tools like the Donor Tracker.¹

Funding flows for anti-gender actors are much more obscure and data on how the money is spent is even more difficult to obtain. Excellent work has been done to shed light on anti-gender funding pathways into Europe^{2,3} and specific countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁴ The key funding sources for anti-gender actors are ultra-conservative grant-makers and private donors, religious institutions, businesses, and cross-funding from other affiliated organisations.⁵ Most of the data can be found by looking at the donors themselves and in these cases the data is generally available only for US-based funders.

The first problem is access to data. Transparency laws vary across countries and religious organisations are rarely required to disclose their donors.⁶ Anti-gender actors, in contrast to progressive civil society, rely on private donors and prioritise anonymity.⁷ An illustrative example is the National Christian Foundation (NCF) in the United States, a donor-advised fund which ensures the anonymity of its philanthropists.⁸

The second problem is the comparability of data. Projects are often framed as human rights promotion, access to education or women's empowerment, but actually utilised as entry points to evangelise and transform societal norms by strengthening patriarchal values. For example, a large proportion of the spending abroad of one of the largest anti-gender actors, the Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF), is described as legal advocacy or law school scholarships, often to unnamed recipients.⁹

GLOBAL MONEY AGAINST LGBTIQ+

What we do know is that there is a secretive, yet extremely powerful annual fundraising conference called »the Gathering« which has been held in the USA since the 1980s, where over \$1 billion are pledged annually. As reported by the Center Against Religious Extremism, »the Gathering's foundations have had a remarkable, global influence on culture and public policy. They have bankrolled, from Uganda to Russia, the mounting international war on LGBT rights,«¹⁰ among other conservative standpoints. The NCF is one of the key contributors to the gathering. One of the key actors funded and supported in turn by the NCF is the ADF.¹¹ Between 2008 and 2017, US-based organisations as-

sociated with the anti-gender movement spent at least US \$1 billion around the world. In this period, US \$259 million were spent in Asia and the Pacific, US \$248 million in South America, US \$238 million in Africa, US \$94 million in Central America, and US \$70 million in Russia.

As a result of limited data access and comparability as mentioned above, these numbers are likely to be severely underestimated. This is due not least to the fact that several religious institutions, including the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches, which have been linked to anti-gender rights agendas, also own their own businesses which likely fund anti-rights work.¹²

WHAT FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY CAN DO

There are thus many more funding flows that have not been and cannot be captured by these reports. However, there are key trends that a feminist approach to foreign and development policy must recognise and actively counter.

1. ANTI-GENDER ACTORS ARE COORDINATED, OPERATE GLOBALLY AND HAVE A DECADES-LONG INTERVENTION TIMELINE¹³

Anti-gender funding is specifically geared towards systemic change (long-term campaigning, communication, legal action), whereas funding for progressive causes is often short-term and limited to treating symptoms, not long-term social change. A Feminist Foreign Policy must firstly recognise and actively counter this at the policy level, by being a credible ally and maintaining space for civil society to meaningfully participate in discussions at multilateral and national fora. At the same time, it must support more strategic and system-changing work, in particular by grassroots feminist and LGBTQI civil society.

2. ANTI-GENDER FUNDING WIDELY EXCEEDS THE FUNDING FOR INTER-SECTIONAL ADVOCACY¹⁴

Anti-gender funding is estimated to be at least triple the funding available to pro-gender human rights initiatives.¹⁵ Anti-gender actors are skilled at fundraising from public institutions as well¹⁶, including governments committed to feminist foreign policy or gender equality/LGBTQI rights.¹⁷ From the funding available, only 22% addresses more than one issue or is meant to benefit more than one population, while less than 5% references three or more identities or issue areas.¹⁸ Considering that intersectional advocacy and broad coalition building is critical in supporting civil society's ability to respond to the anti-gender movement¹⁹, such artificial siloing must be changed by governments aiming to pursue a feminist foreign policy. Steady funding can allow NGOs to adequately monitor their contexts and provide adequate responses. Secure, long-term funding also allows movements to plan confidently for the medium and long-term, enabling them to engage in more ambitious projects such as strategic litigation or large-scale campaigning. Training and capacity-building for staff screening grant applications is also necessary, as well as a systematic review to ensure that funding from self-proclaimed progressive governments does not go to anti-gender actors.

CFFP THE CENTRE FOR
FEMINIST
FOREIGN POLICY

DAMIAN DENKOVSKI is the Deputy Executive Director of CFFP, an international research, advocacy and community-building organisation working to bring an intersectional approach to foreign policy worldwide.

- 1 <https://donortracker.org>
- 2 <https://www.epfiweb.org/sites/default/files/202108/Tip%20of%20the%20Iceberg%20August%202021%20Final.pdf>
- 3 <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/eu-urged-to-halt-flow-of-dark-money-into-groups-opposing-equal-rights>
- 4 https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Progressive-cash-for-the-anti-LGBTQI-backlash_.pdf
- 5 https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/RightsAtRisk_TimeForAction_OURSTrendsReport2021.pdf
- 6 <https://www.epfiweb.org/sites/default/files/202108/Tip%20of%20the%20Iceberg%20August%202021%20Final.pdf>
- 7 https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Progressive-cash-for-the-anti-LGBTQI-backlash_.pdf
- 8 <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Meet-the-Moment-2020-English.pdf>
- 9 https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/RightsAtRisk_TimeForAction_OURSTrendsReport2021.pdf
- 10 <https://twocare.org/the-gathering-the-religious-rights-cash-cow>
- 11 ADF has spent over US \$350,000 in Central America and the Caribbean, almost US \$620,000 in South America, over US \$45,000 in SWANA, more than US \$1 million in South Asia, as well as almost US \$160,000 in East Asia and the Pacific.
- 12 https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/RightsAtRisk_TimeForAction_OURSTrendsReport2021.pdf
- 13 <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/2022/11/15/power-over-rights-understanding-and-counteracting-the-anti-gender-campaigns>
- 14 <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/2022/11/15/funding-inequality-a-comparative-look-at-the-funding-landscape-for-pro-and-anti-gender-initiatives-and-campaigns-in-the-european-union-eu>
- 15 <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Meet-the-Moment-2020-English.pdf>
- 16 <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/2022/11/15/power-over-rights-understanding-and-counteracting-the-anti-gender-campaigns>
- 17 https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Progressive-cash-for-the-anti-LGBTQI-backlash_.pdf
- 18 <https://www.brfn.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/AHR-Intersectionality-Report-July-2022.pdf>
- 19 <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/2022/11/15/power-over-rights-understanding-and-counteracting-the-anti-gender-campaigns>

17/9/2022 BELGRADE *Dawood*



It was a historical moment: in the summer of 2022, EuroPride took place in Belgrade, Serbia, making it the first time EuroPride was held in Southeast Europe. The march took place only hours after a ban on the event had been lifted and was heavily guarded by the police. EuroPride is a pan-European international LGBTQIA+ event, including a Pride parade which is hosted by a different European city every year. It started in London in 1992.

In his photos, the artist Dawood captured the vibrant atmosphere of this historic EuroPride in Belgrade. The resulting photography exhibit titled »Sheltered Pride« is a collaboration between

@IMG_Dawood and Dr. Koen Sloodmaeckers, a scholar specialised in LGBTQIA+ politics in Serbia who focuses on the complexities of Pride politics. The exhibit was made possible through funding by City University of London.

@IMG_Dawood is an artist with several years of photography and film experience. In his volunteer work with the NGO The Unstraight Museum, he uses visual media to explore themes relating to family and community.

For more information, visit [instagram.com/unstraight_stories](https://www.instagram.com/unstraight_stories).





GLOBAL RELATIONSHIPS AND COLONIAL HERITAGE

» ONE TINY MISTAKE WOULD MEAN BEING TARGETED «

Hazem

Jordan does not have anti-gay laws, but a lot of laws are used against LGBTQIA+. CCP alumnus Hazem from the organisation Rainbow Street speaks about how they assist the queer community in Jordan and beyond in precarious situations, give financial advice and support them to fight for their basic rights.

You're the director of Rainbow Street, which works with LGBTQI people and is based in Amman. How would you describe the core work of the organisation?

Rainbow Street provides several types of services to the LGBTQI community in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region at large, with a focus in Jordan. Our services range from migration support to protection, financial assistance and emergency response to things like crackdowns. A typical situation is when someone has just been outed, maybe their family is following them and they're running away. If they reach out to us, we help them with housing and other basic needs. If the risk is really big, if they are being targeted, we will try to get them out of the country, move them somewhere safe, either [temporarily] or permanently.

We also produce policy papers, do advocacy and encourage other organisations to have LGBTQI-inclusive policies and do more LGBTQI services. For example, I've read the German Foreign Ministry's LGBTI Inclusion Concept in Foreign Affairs and Development Cooperation. I'll go to the German embassy and say, »What are you doing about this? How compliant are you with your own regulations?«

We try to push the LGBTQI agenda and improve services and quality of life, rather than something crazy, like gay marriage. We don't want gay marriage. If they legalise it, I won't get married. Basic rights and protection for queer people are higher up on the agenda.

»There's a law incriminating
>motivating indecency<.«

Are you uninterested in gay marriage because it seems unrealistic or because you think it's not what the LGBTQI community in Jordan needs right now?

We're not there. We're not at that point. We're at the point of protection and legal reforms. In Jordan, there are a lot of laws which are used against the queer community, but they are not actually anti-gay laws. We are charged with things like public indecency and promoting sex work on social media (for using apps like Grindr). There's a law that incriminates »motivating indecency«. There's entrapment, police officers going on dating apps. If you're an activist, [you can be accused of] promoting indecency; of working without registration; of having meetings without registration. If you're getting money into the country, that is considered money laundering. That's the context.

It's important to note that I can't speak for the [whole] LGBTQI community in Jordan or in the Middle East. A lot of people would disagree on the level of

risk. Someone who does arts activism would perceive the risk as less than I do. Art gives it a kind of cover: like, These are crazy artists, rather than, This is political work. Art is political, but it's not as easily portrayed as political when it comes to the overall scene of the city.

It sounds like with Rainbow Street, you have a lot of short-term crises to deal with: people who need to flee, official crackdowns. How do you go about having a long-term strategy to improve the lives of LGBTQI people at the same time?

That's a very tough one. We don't often get the time to do that. We're short of stock, short of funding, short of resources, short of staff, short of everything.

How do people hear about the work Rainbow Street does?

We have referrals: people refer others to us, either individual activists or community members. They share what someone's going through and that they need help. It goes through our own personal networks, but also a chunk of people reaches out to us online, through our website.

In the group discussions, you mentioned the challenges you face working with international NGOs and governments. Can you describe those challenges?

It's frustrating. I've been doing this work for a very long time. I've been an activist since 2014 and at Rainbow Street since 2016. I've been having [the same] conversations for a long time. I've met with ambassadors, embassy people, international organisations, local organisations, and it gets tiring, explaining the context over and over, having people come in from Western governments and organisations to tell me what I should be feeling or how I should be carrying out the work. It's disrespectful.

»What are the risks
I'm putting myself into?«

Have you ever thought about stopping?

Every now and then I consider stopping this work. But it's tough: the way Rainbow Street is transforming right now makes it hard for me to just step out, because there is a strong likelihood that it would collapse. And if it collapses, that means there are no sensitive services for LGBTQI people in Jordan.

Would it be possible for you to do your work from outside Jordan?

That's a really serious issue. From this distance [in Berlin]... I wouldn't be able to have this conversation with you in Amman, even if we were behind closed doors, because

my whole psyche would be different: the way I perceive surveillance, how much do I trust this person, what are the risks and dangers I'm putting myself into?

Being here makes me feel a little bit detached. I'm not directly in touch with what's going on there on the ground. [In Amman] I go to hospitals to see people who are living with HIV and need support. I'm literally on the ground interacting with people; I'm constantly reminded that there is a strong homophobic presence in this space. I feel very connected to it.

I'm doing the job, but under a lot of stress. There's the stress of listening to people's stories who have gone through horrible, unimaginable stuff. I've probably listened to between 700 and 800 stories on the record. We get trained on vicarious trauma and how to isolate yourself, but at some point you can't do that anymore. And their stories are so relatable to you. One tiny mistake would mean being targeted by state actors or non-state actors and having to flee the country for my safety.

I assume that if I was working remotely, it would take out a lot of the stress. But I'd also feel very detached; that's the reality. It would reduce how real the work is. The value of your activism is on the ground. No one can take away your activism experience—but there is something that does change when you leave.

In the discussion, you mentioned that only Jordanian citizens have access to HIV medication in the country. How does that affect your work?

Jordan stopped the registration of refugees in January 2019, and yet refugees continued to storm into Jordan: From Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and elsewhere. There is mandatory HIV testing to get a residence permit. Sometimes refugees come in on student visas or work visas; they try to get out of their countries [however they can], because the borders are very strictly controlled. So they go through the mandatory testing, and once they test positive for HIV, they are immediately issued a deportation order. That comes with an arrest warrant, so they have to be in hiding or they will get arrested.

In one case we worked on recently, a man who tested positive for HIV was having severe health issues and needed to be hospitalised. At the hospital, they realised he was HIV positive. The police were called, and he was handcuffed to the bed for weeks. His CD4 count was below 50. This was someone who couldn't move even if he wanted to. It was heartbreaking. Once they get discharged from the hospital, [HIV patients] are deported back to their country, where they're going to be murdered. The whole situation is a nightmare.

We've been basically smuggling medication into the country, buying it from other countries and getting it into Jordan, or getting donations from outside the country. We also advocate for resettlement pathways: we try to

push embassies to activate the humanitarian visa pathway. The Schengen Convention has a section which says that embassies do have the right to issue visas on humanitarian grounds. Schengen states are actually kind of legally obliged to do that. But a lot of them don't do it. Even when they admit that this pathway exists, they refuse to use it. They're only willing to take political activists or whole families—they have these insensitive regulations. Sometimes they have favourite nationalities, which can be kind of racist as well. We were advocating for someone, and they had dark skin, and [the European embassies] would say, »This is not in the national interest.«

»You feel very responsible for these people.«

What percentage of your time do you spend doing Rainbow Street's core work of providing services to LGBTQI people, and what percentage lobbying international institutions for more support?

It's probably around 30 per cent lobbying.

Do you feel like that's a drain on your time?

It's a huge drain. It's like I'm there to remind people what their jobs are. It's very frustrating. I was trying to get the Swedish Embassy to issue humanitarian visas. And they were saying they were unable to do it. I was like, »OK, let's go backwards—just until August 2021. Sweden took a number of Afghani refugees directly from Afghanistan. What was the legal basis for that?« [They said], »Well, those were humanitarian visas.« They activated it because it was very political, and it was high profile enough.

We have to keep pushing and pushing to make each case become high-profile enough. We don't want to do that. Luckily, we've been 100 per cent successful in helping people [with HIV get resettled]. But the amount of effort we have to go through until that point... And you feel very responsible for these people. This is the reality of doing this kind of work.

It sounds like you know a lot about international law. What was your professional background before you became an activist?

I actually have a medical background, not a legal background. But doing this work means you have to learn a lot. I've studied U.S. migration law; I've studied EU migration law. I've educated myself in order to do the work better. Yet, interestingly, I'm expected to offer my time and expertise for free because I'm not white enough.

Do you ever find surprising allies in places like hospitals and government agencies in Jordan?

Very, very interestingly, we do. The head of the police department at one point was—I wouldn't say an ally—but actually prioritised humanity. There are other places, too. And there are places where you expect to find allies, but you don't. You talk to the person responsible for the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), and they're super relaxed about [supporting LGBTQI rights]. They're spending tax money from German voters who voted Green. It's not OK to be so laid back.

Interview by
Jeff Brown

HAZEM

Hazem was a CCP Fellow in 2021; his fellowship was hosted by LSVD Cologne. He is the director of Rainbow Street, an organisation that provides emergency support to LGBTQI+ individuals at risk of persecution in the MENA region. Hazem has been a human rights defender for many years. He has been part of multiple fellowships and programmes tackling the issues of marginalised groups in the scheme of achieving justice. Right now, Hazem is working on advocating for the rights of forcibly displaced people across the world.

»We envision a future where people who have been historically excluded have the information, the right and the power to influence society.«

AMIRA EL-SAYED, GERMANY, LUMINATE GROUP

»I know what it's like to have a rich person deciding on the global south without having any idea about it. I know the internal hypocrisies. We have to unlearn toxic relationships in traditional philanthropy. Bringing people together and having conversations is how the revolution will happen. Money is just a tool.«

LARIZA FONSECA, MEXICO, ASTRAEA (LESBIAN) FOUNDATION (FOR JUSTICE)

»Cooperation between funders and local organisations tends to be vertical, paternalistic and does not contribute to the political autonomy of those organisations. Colombia has been an experimental laboratory for international cooperation. I can't imagine how much money has come to Colombia. But under this logic you can't really achieve social transformation; you can't change reality structurally.«

MAURI BALANTA JARAMILLO, COLOMBIA, CCP ALUMNA

»We often think that people with money are powerful people. The powerful people are the people on the ground. Don't underestimate yourself. You are their equal.«

SAID NAZIR, PAKISTAN, CCP ALUMNUS

» I DIDN'T UNDERSTAND WHY THE SYSTEM WAS CONSTRUCTED THAT WAY «

Nelly Paytyan

Although homosexuality was decriminalized in the 1990s in Armenia and society is more open, laws protecting the LGBTQIA+ community are missing. CCP alumna Nelly Paytyan, Vice-President of Armenian Progressive Youth NGO and founder of Queerlab, speaks about her motivation to work for gender equality and help young people develop critical thinking skills.

How did you begin your work with youth in Armenia?

I've been working with young people and on non-formal education in my country for ten years now. My home organisation, Armenia Progressive Youth (APY), is one of the biggest youth organisations in Armenia. We recently established the Alternative Youth Centre to give bookable space and facilities for youth in Armenia to organise and hold their own events. I work as a project manager, as a communications officer, as a fundraiser, as a trainer, as a facilitator on human rights education: basically, everything related to different aspects of non-government organisation work.

» I realized the limitations society gave me. «

I first landed at APY as a volunteer. Back then, European opportunities were not very open and accessible to young people: the opportunities, projects and seminars were either few or monopolised, with the same people attending them. When APY was founded, one of its main goals was to inform Armenian youth about international projects.

Our mission was also to bring the concept of non-formal education and a culture of youth volunteering into Armenia, into a society that didn't really recognize the value of non-formal education and voluntary work back then. The notion of non-formal education was new some ten years ago.

How do you understand the term 'non-formal education'?

It's the things that you aren't taught—you discuss and come to your own conclusions. You exchange experiences and have free debates, without oppression from the teaching side. That oppression was quite present in our universities. I studied international relations and diplomacy at Yerevan State University and in our classes we weren't free to discuss all the different political aspects. You can't really develop critical thinking or analysis if you don't begin digging yourself. APY helps people to develop critical thinking, to question things and to come up with their own ways of thinking.

Before APY, I was just an active 18-year-old person, trying to understand how I could participate in the social life of my country. Through my voluntary work at a non-profit organisation, I tried to communicate various messages I had in my head: social inclusion for vulnerable groups; respect for human rights; climate justice... Things which were not really on the agenda of the educational institutions in Armenia.

Then I started conducting projects focused on gender equality and gender issues in general because, being born and raised in a country which is very patriarchal, I'd cared about women's freedom and my own freedom since early childhood.

Was there a specific experience that made you want to focus on gender equality in your work? Or was it the general, patriarchal atmosphere in Armenia at that time?

For me, things that were considered natural in society were very strange: like, as a woman, you need to be obedient; as a young girl, you shouldn't even play certain sports or go to certain places; you should mind your outfits and your behaviour all the time. But society took that for granted. I remember, as a kid, I could filter that out, and I realized that the limitations society gave me... this was not the way it should be. Between eight and 11, I was questioning those things a lot. I didn't understand why the system was constructed in that way.

That's probably why, when I was between 18 and 20, I started going to international projects. I learned about systems of oppression and how they work in small countries, especially post-Soviet countries. At that point I started going deeper into civic activism. I started participating in climate actions, because we have many big issues related to environmental protection in Armenia. I went to marches and protests.

How did you go from this climate activism to working on gender and sexuality projects with Armenian youth?

As I said, gender issues were always interesting to me because of the life I was living. But then I also started to question things like sexuality. This made me go deeper into studying gender. When Armenia became independent in 1991, these were taboo topics: gender identity, sexuality, feminism. But I was someone who would go against society's unwritten laws. I developed an interest in gender studies and I liked going deeper into it.

Has the situation for queer people in Armenia changed since you were growing up in the 2000s?

It has changed. Well, Armenia is still considered a homophobic, transphobic state. There are no laws protecting the LGBTI community. We don't have legal marriage. We can't adopt children. We can't openly hold hands. Well, sometimes. (Laughs.) But homosexuality was decriminalized back in the '90s, so there's no problem with that.

What has changed is that gay people can be more open among their friends, colleagues, some relatives—people they trust. We had public discussions about how LGBTIQI people exist in Armenia. Before that,

Armenian society thought that gay and Armenia could not go together. They'd say, »If you are gay, leave the country, don't spoil society.« We don't really have that anymore; we even have visibility for queer people in Armenia through social media. We have TikToks and Instagram accounts with openly gay and trans people. Now Armenian society seems likely to embrace this diversity. They understand that these people exist and that whatever you do, you can't just make them leave the country. It's their country, too.

»Generation Z is very open and confident.«

People still suffer, mostly because parents can't accept their kids. But there is an awareness in society about LGBTQI people. Generation Z is very open and confident. They didn't go through all the challenges that Armenia underwent during its independence. Probably they will bring about change.

Do you work with LGBT youth as part of your APY projects?

One of our projects, Queer Lab, has been very successful. It's a platform to give queer youth a voice through art. We've done photo campaigns, illustrations and drawings. It's paused for the moment because there are very few financial opportunities. But I'm thinking of making it a social enterprise. Maybe we could sell the art, raise some money and give a percentage to LGBTQI projects, with say 30 per cent of the income, and the rest we can use as payment for the artists, because they're creating the art and I want to pay them, to show our appreciation for the effort that they're putting in.



NELLY PAYTYAN was a CCP fellow in 2019. She is the Vice-President of Armenian Progressive Youth NGO, one of the biggest youth organisations in Armenia, the Communications Officer of the Planet One green initiative and the founder of Queerlab Armenia, a queer interactive platform in Armenia promoting equality, solidarity and a sense of dignity through multimedia production and art.

APY is the only youth organisation in Armenia which works openly with LGBTQI people. Other youth organisations work with LGBTQI people, but in mixed groups: they might do a project on human rights and queer people might come, but it's up to the queer people – the organisations don't talk about these topics openly.

At one point in a group discussion, you mentioned having to fill out complex European Union financial reports for funding that you received. What percentage of your time is taken up with such similar, bureaucratic tasks?

Right now, I'm trying to shift away from project management. I like doing content; I like focusing on a topic and not thinking about the different phases of the project management cycle. I've minimized the time I spend on reporting, but because of that I'm also paid less than I used to be. I decided to go my own way and focus on the content, focus on the issues that I care about, and leave the reporting to someone else.

Before, I would even forget about the content because there were so many things to think about. Because of the low amount of the funds allocated, I would do logistics, project management and facilitation all at once. That was too much for me. The reporting can be very tricky – there are some grants I won't even consider applying for again, because it burns me out. It's exhausting.

Interview by
Jeff Brown

»The core funding is where organisations struggle. You're always thinking of the next project because you need to survive.«

ALI AL-HINDAWI, CCP ALUMNUS, IRAQ/SWITZERLAND

»Every organisation should have a chance to introduce its project to donors. We should all be at the same level; we need equity in front of funders.«

ROODIMIE NAZAIRE, CCP ALUMNA, HAITI

»We only do long-term general support grants.
We find groups that we believe can make a difference.
Then, we back them for about a decade.«

KAPIL GUPTA, SIGRID RAUSING TRUST, SWEDEN

»Donors move with the trends. Right now, it's climate change. There was a time when HIV was the hot cake. HIV still exists, but it's much harder to get money for it.«

MIKO, GHANA

FUNDING STRUCTURES AND SECURITY

» I WANTED TO HELP THOSE COMMUNITIES WITH THE POWER OF MY PEN «

Said Nazir

Empowering local communities in Pakistan is the aim of CCP alumnus and journalist Said Nazir and his Tribal News Network. In this interview, he speaks about how digital journalism brings more diversity as well as the challenges but also opportunities female journalists face in his country.

How did the Tribal News Network (TNN) get started? Did it develop out of your work covering the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) as a journalist on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border?

Yes, and the context is important. The tribal regions were cut off from the rest of Pakistan for over 100 years. The British left behind the very brutal Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) from 1901, which governed a region of more than three million people. It deprived the local people of basic rights like freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. And after independence, the Pakistani constitution still didn't extend to the region. That only happened in 2018.

After the U.S. toppled the Taliban government in Afghanistan, extremists and militants came to this buffer zone. I belong to the region; I grew up there and I studied there. It forced me to go into journalism, because I knew that the main problem of the region was illiteracy. I wanted to help those communities with the power of my pen.

I went to university. It was a struggle because my father didn't like education: he was under the impression that education creates rebels. But I got the opportunity to study at government schools and went to university. I ended up in journalism school; I had a purpose.

I got the opportunity to be trained in radio. Radio was popular in the tribal regions because there was no electricity for television and not much literacy to read newspapers, and people didn't like videos and TV for cultural reasons as well. So radio was the only popular medium. But local radio did not exist: there was Voice of America and Deutsche Welle, but they didn't cover local issues. And then the Taliban started using radio to radicalise the local population.

In 2006, I got the offer from the government: they wanted to establish the first ever public radio station in the region, to offer an alternative narrative for the local population. It was called Radio Khyber. I set the agenda for it to include new voices—the voices of the local population. It turned out to be a very successful project, because women and even the militants and young people who were nearly radicalised would turn to radio programming. They'd call in and request music: so many people from my childhood had joined these militant groups, but they still liked traditional things. They'd be afraid of their commander, but they'd listen to music in private.

At this time, my home was literally in the region controlled by the Taliban and the radio offices were in a city controlled by the government. Every morning, I went to work and came back at night, from the Taliban-controlled region to the government-controlled region and back. I was at great risk. Every day I'd cross

Taliban checkpoints, and they had imposed Sharia, so music was forbidden. But the interesting thing is that radio was so popular among the local women, including women who belonged to the Taliban. It was new for them to hear broadcasts of local news which was about their lives.

At this time, there were all these political forces colliding in the region: the Taliban, the Pakistani government, the American drone strikes. How did you go about doing local journalism under these pressures?

The news is all about the five Ws and one H (who, when, where, why, what, how). It's not about opinion. That makes you safe: you're just reporting.

»Every day I'd cross Taliban checkpoints.«

But probably even just reporting some facts would make you unsafe, right?

I think it was unsafe at times. But we had to balance it from different sources, which gave us some space to be secure. We weren't doing one-sided propaganda. Usually what would happen to journalists there is, they would take sides and then they would be targeted. We didn't give the impression that we had a side. We were independent.

The women were especially interested in listening to news about the situation. There was crisis and conflict. We had a local news bulletin and the Taliban women would call in—with appreciation. And some questions about the situation.

I was the editor and presenter of the news bulletin each evening, my voice was on the air and people would be waiting for it to find out what was new. One day, I was sick and didn't go to the radio station. I was lying in my bed at home. I received a call from one of the Taliban commanders. He asked, »Why aren't you on the radio today?« because there was another presenter. I said, »I'm not feeling well.« And he answered, »My mom is sitting with me and she's asking about you. She's used to your voice; she likes it very much.«

Around 2010 or 2011, the government [realised] we were doing this neutral, independent programming. They weren't happy with me; they shut down Radio Khyber. They wanted anti-Taliban propaganda. I said, »You can't win the hearts and minds of the people that way.« They sent me on leave for two months as a punishment and asked me not to do any work. Later on, I left the radio—I didn't want to work there anymore with so much government censorship.

What did you do next?

From this experience, I said, »Well, there's so much demand for local news.« The local radio stations were just doing music, not current affairs. So why not fill in the gap? We decided to establish our own organisation to provide support for local stations, giving them a current affairs news agenda. In 2013, we started TNN with seed funding from the Dutch organisation Free Press Unlimited.

»We are all human beings, and they have equal rights.«

And how did it come about that you hired Pakistan's first transgender radio host, Sobia Khan?

In 2017, she came on our radio programme, and we interviewed her about transgender issues.

I saw some sparks and heard that she could be, like, a good host. After the programme, I sat down with her and said, »Maybe join us for a weekly programme around your issues, because they are lacking in our coverage.« She said, »Yes, but how can I do it? I have no experience.« I said, »We have a team. We have journalists. With the passage of time, you'll learn. We'll have someone sit with you at the beginning to give you confidence.«

What were the sparks which you saw in her? What made you think she would be a good radio host?

She had very good communication skills and she was so concerned about the issues. But the challenges started from there. I asked my staff to sit with her on the show. A staff member said, »No, I can't do it.« I was, like, »Why can't you do it?« He said, »No, my friends will tease me and criticise me for working with a transgender person.« Some staff members refused to sit with her; they had biases. It was disturbing.

I asked another staff member: He was reluctant, but finally he said yes. Then there was so much criticism from the audience: they said that transgender people] »are sex workers, they are beggars, TNN is doing a dirty thing.« My family and my wife criticised me, »Why did you take a transgender person; do you have a special thing for them?« I said, »No, I don't, but we are all human beings, and they have equal rights.«

The transition to digital is hard for all kinds of journalists, even the largest legacy companies.

How's it going for TNN?

It's been very good for us; we are growing fast. We have around one million followers on Facebook. We are among the few digital organisations earning money from Facebook. We're engaging thousands of people on a daily basis with our content. Now that we are teaching digital journalism skills we have more diversity in the newsroom. We've trained so many women journalists. We provide other media in Pakistan with women journalists because there are very few women in the field.

What are the challenges which women face in journalism in Pakistan?

There's so much harassment. Professions with public profiles, like journalism, are not easy places for women to be. The struggle starts in the family. Some brave women take their family in confidence.

We're trying to increase women's participation in media, both as consumers and as producers. We've trained around 20 women journalists in the last three years, given them fellowships, hands-on training in mobile journalism and storytelling. We train them in research. This year, we also included women bloggers, because we realise that not every woman is interested in being on camera. They get the skills to express the ideas they want to express. We worked on including Afghan refugees in Pakistani media, because we didn't have a single Afghan journalist.

»Some brave women take their family in confidence.«

We're pushing boundaries. Sobia Khan was the first ever transgender woman with her own radio show in Pakistan; she's been working for us for the last four or five years. And now she's a celebrity. She has a decent position and people accept her. We used to get 90 per cent negative comments on social media, but now it's 90 per cent positive comments. She's a celebrity wherever she goes.

In American media, there's the term »parachute journalism«, where reporters »parachute« into a place which they don't know well, do one story and then leave. As a journalist covering the Pakistan-Afghanistan border regions, did you experience that often? And do you see TNN as an alternative to that kind of coverage from the outside?

Yes, you could say that. Because they don't know the context. There's much talk about politics and security, but no other issues. So TNN is an alternative, not just to

the Western media, but also to the rest of the Pakistani media. This region was ignored and neglected by the Pakistani media. They focused on the urban centres, and most of the media is owned by other ethnic groups, specifically Punjabis and Urdu speakers; Pashtun people are not in the business. The mainstream media would just be covering bombings and politics.

But you have so much life in the region. TNN came in to give a voice to the local people, to empower them with reliable information using all the available media, to this region which was marginalised for so many years.

Interview by
Jeff Brown



SAID NAZIR was a CCP fellow in 2019. He is the co-founder and co-managing Director at Tribal News Network, providing independent and reliable information which empowers local communities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. TNN's vision is to create awareness, build capacities and promote inclusivity. It produces and shares untold stories which matter to people.

»If your organisation is supporting LGBTQI people: don't publish it. Don't put it on your website. Do it for the good of humanity.«

NANDINI TANYA LALLMON, CCP ALUMNA, MAURETANIA & MAURITIUS

»Safety is more important than money. It comes first.«

ZAHRA TAHERIAN, CCP ALUMNA, IRAN

»We are activists because we live the situation. Our mental state is important. To know what you've been through is a privilege. At one point I was traumatized, and I was still looking for donations«

SAM OLAZÁBAL, CCP ALUMNA, CUBA

»It's very hard to grasp what it is for queer people to work in a country where you can be imprisoned for working with LGBTQI people. We all have a box of cash, a passport with a valid visa and a new phone next to our beds.«

HAZEM, CCP ALUMNUS, JORDAN

PUTTING QUEER FUNDING INTO PRACTICE: A COLLECTION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Valeria Neufeld

»We take the lead in combating violence and discrimination against LGBTQI+ people. (...)«¹ This statement is part of the guideline, »Shaping Feminist Foreign Policy« by the German Federal Foreign Office, published in February 2023. In 2021, the German federal government already approved an LGBTI Inclusion Strategy for Foreign Policy and Development Cooperation, and the current government has stated its commitment to a feminist foreign and development policy with explicit LGBTQIA+ inclusion.

But what can this commitment look like in practice? The 2022 Network Meeting on Gender and Diversity organised by ifa with globally active LGBTQIA+ activists and donor organisations from the CCP network illustrated the connectivity between the guidelines for a feminist foreign policy and the pressing issues of LGBTQIA+ projects, but also how these guidelines have to be developed further to be implemented in practice. Several suggestions and demands were expressed at the network meeting as well as in the interviews for this publication, forming the basis for this collection of recommendations.

1. A HOLISTIC SECURITY APPROACH

»Security and well-being of the people on the ground comes first,« was a statement which was expressed in multiple ways in the discussions at the network meeting. A minimum standard would be to incorporate the »*Do No Harm*« approach².

»If your organisation supports LGBTQI people:
Don't publish it.
Don't put it on your website.
Do it for the good of humanity.«

TANYA, MAURITIUS / MAURETANIA

A lot of LGBTQIA+ activists are at great risk in their countries. To apply *Do No Harm*, it is important to keep in mind that visibility can be harmful. The least we can do is to keep the funded projects and the people behind them in the loop and talk with them before publishing anything.

To ensure that international funding for LGBTQIA+ communities will have positive impacts, it is indispensable that the discriminatory settings for many project partners be taken into extensive consideration and that those involved act responsibly.

»You can't have LGBTQI rights if workers are being abused.«

NORA, EGYPT / GERMANY

It is crucial to ensure that people who work for LGBTQIA+ organisations receive fair salaries as well as health insurance. Even if it is too dangerous to report names, transparency rules can still be applied. Practical suggestions have been pointed out, such as online calls with employees to obtain more information about the working conditions and to provide the possibility of reporting violations or hiring a local consultant to review whether certain standards are met. Participants at our workshop also stressed funders' co-responsibility for local working and security conditions and the fact that it is necessary to ensure that the money is spent in the way it is supposed to be spent.

»We are activists because we live in the situation. Our mental state is important.«

SAM OLAZÁBAL, CUBA

To protect LGBTQIA+ activists also means to think of their psychological well-being, which is part of a more holistic concept of security. It is important to keep in mind that activists are under a lot of pressure in their respective countries. The possibility is high that activists working in the field may be affected by secondary trauma. It is worth considering whether to offer social-psychological support to the people on the ground, if possible, or supervision online. As a last resort, a further possibility is to offer protective stays in other countries so that the people concerned have a safe place where they can recharge.

2. ACCESSIBILITY TO FUNDING FOR DIVERSE PROJECTS

Additional funding is always great news, but it also raises the question of how this money is distributed and who will receive it: CCP alumnus Hazem illustrates in his interview that both cooperation with embassies as well as access to humanitarian visas have been challenging. Improving communication and simplifying visa processes for persecuted people would be a significant step, as would improving the accessibility and distribution of funding. This should not be disregarded, especially if Germany plans to spend more money on queer projects.

»There is a lot of trust between big funders and big organisations in some countries, and that is a wall to new initiatives. Funders depend on people, not on organisations. This opens doors to corruption. A lot of money is also sent to embassies, but those embassies have high walls.«

OMAR, EGYPT / GERMANY

As CCP alumnus Omar points out, limited access to funding for small organisations goes hand in hand with the possibility of more corruption. Accordingly, it would be favourable to adapt more accessible funding structures by establishing a culture of being more open towards grassroots organisations, for example by providing easier application processes. This could include more open forms, less complex processes as well as the reduction of language barriers. Furthermore, it would be important to find more adaptive and flexible reporting mechanisms which suit the realities on the ground which can be influenced by a lack of time or internet access as well as various other factors. Another important point which was touched on in the networking meeting were issues regarding money transfers. It is crucial to keep in mind that the transfer of funds to a country in which LGBTQIA+ organisations are illegal might require a different approach.

3. CONFRONTING THE PUSHBACK

»The movement against the rights of women and LGBTQIA+ people poses a strategic challenge. We are commissioning a project to help us improve our counterstrategies together with our partners.«³ The German government acknowledges the rise of the anti-gender movement in its guidelines for a feminist foreign policy. The anti-gender ideology movement is well-funded, as the CFFP article shows. Anti-gender players often present themselves as preserving traditional cultures and thus, in a lot of contexts in postcolonial nations, as being anti-colonial for that reason. Thus, one of the major issues involves thinking about how funding should be positioned to confront these pushbacks, how to dismantle and deconstruct the »colonial argument« and how governments can make sure that they do not support projects which participate in these pushbacks.



VALERIA NEUFELD is a CrossCulture Programme regional coordinator for the WANA region and responsible for the key topic of Gender & Diversity. She holds a master's degree in Middle Eastern Politics and Economics and is currently training as a consultant for nonviolent conflict transformation and social movements.

4. AWARENESS OF POSTCOLONIAL STRUCTURES

Postcolonial structures and racism within the funding system were an important and recurring theme in the debates. It is impossible not to address the underlining power structures in funding. As the GPP graphics show, funding for LGBTQIA+ projects is primarily dedicated to projects in the »West« while funding is increasingly more difficult to access in countries where the rights of LGBTQIA+ are violated, which is subsequently widening the gap. Furthermore, »Western« frameworks and narratives of LGBTQIA+ are widely promoted, without taking other perceptions and aspects into consideration.

»I know what it's like
to have a rich person deciding
on the Global South
without having any idea about it.
I know the internal hypocrisies.
We have to unlearn
toxic relationships in traditional
philanthropy.«

LARIZA FONSECA, MEXICO

The debate on colonial and racist structures within funding as experienced by many participants was emotional during the network meeting, but also controversial: one main takeaway was not to just transfer Western ideas of LGBTQIA+ to other contexts, but also not to hide behind the understanding that we need to respect the conventions of a country and therefore cannot support LGBTQIA+ rights. The doors must be kept open for a dialogue on this topic with the actors on the ground!

- 1 P. 16, Shaping Feminist Foreign Policy (auswaertiges-amt.de)
- 2 »Do no harm« is an approach which helps to identify unintended positive or negative impacts of humanitarian and development interventions in settings where there is conflict or risk of conflict. It can be applied during planning, monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the intervention does not worsen the conflict, but rather contributes to improving it (...). Do no harm | INEE
- 3 P. 43, Shaping Feminist Foreign Policy (auswaertiges-amt.de)

3 QUESTIONS FOR...

... the Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice

1. WHO OR WHAT DOES YOUR ORGANISATION FUND?

Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice is a US-based public foundation¹, rooted in LGBTQI communities and movements. Based on our Feminist Funding Principles² we raise and distribute funds to programmes and initiatives from organisations led by lesbians and queer women, trans and gender non-conforming people, intersex people, and people of colour all over the world through our three funds: US Fund, Intersex Human Rights Fund and International Fund. Through grant-making, we provide flexible, core support grants to grassroots LGBTQI+ artists and activists on the frontlines working to end systems of oppression by means of intersectional strategies.

2. WHAT DO YOU CURRENTLY SEE AS THE BIGGEST CHALLENGE?

The dangerous effects that the anti-rights / anti-gender campaigns are having on movements, communities and policy. Systematic misinformation is creating serious consequences within anti-gender agendas whose main goal is to attack the human rights of millions of LGBTQI people all over the world, henceforth creating forced migration and systematically unsafe conditions which prohibit them from being themselves.

3. WHAT ARE YOUR SOLUTION APPROACHES OR STRATEGIES?

Evidence-based research and trust-based philanthropy! At Astraea, we are committed to continuously developing research on anti-gender actors and supporting the resistance strategies of brave, smart and creative LGBTQI human rights defenders who are doing everything to defend their families and communities and make their countries safer for the coming generations. We ask funders everywhere to prioritize supporting LGBTQI human rights defenders, artists, journalists, writers, filmmakers, academics and beyond, to support a narrative change based on evidence.

¹ <https://www.astraeafoundation.org/>

² <https://www.astraeafoundation.org/microsites/feminist-funding-principles/>



LARIZA FONSECA is a queer feminist and neurodivergent activist. As a Master of Disaster Management and Social Psychologist, Lariza is dedicated to creating bridges between gender justice and healing justice, especially for LGBTQI+ people. She is the Programme Officer for Latin America within the Astraea Foundation.

1. WHO OR WHAT DOES YOUR ORGANISATION FUND?

Dreilinden gGmbH, a non-profit limited liability company, makes grants and invests financially to support gender diversity, specifically the self-empowerment and self-led growth of gender-diverse communities in Southern and Eastern Africa and Central and Eastern Europe.

We focus on the most marginalized within the spectrum of diverse SOGIESC, in particular LBQ women, womxn, trans, and inter people. We have recognised that these groups have the greatest potential for revolutionary change.

We are, unfortunately, not open to proposals directly from organisations. Instead, we re-grant through movement-led foundations, preferably based in those regions. We make direct grants only pro-actively, in cases when such structures do not yet exist or are not available to the human beings we specifically try to reach (i.e. inter-gender people; property purchases). We make long-term core grants unless there are good reasons for project or short-term funding. We are relationship focused, while conscious of the limitations of that approach (gatekeeping issues).

2. WHAT DO YOU CURRENTLY SEE AS THE BIGGEST CHALLENGE?

For >our< communities: crisis heaped upon crisis. Work shifting quickly from campaigns for better rights to survival issues. The general democratic decline affecting our spirits. How to keep our eyes on opportunities in the long term?

Also, we struggle with the fact that the opposition to human rights for all is so well funded and networked while, on our side, some major human rights funders who provided core funding for many organisations whose work is critical to the movements we serve have shifted their focus rather suddenly, effectively disrupting vital human rights work. They've left it to us, the much smaller players, to deal with the ensuing funding crisis.

3. WHAT ARE YOUR SOLUTION APPROACHES OR STRATEGIES?

We try to stay focused on solutions which help now as well as later. We also hear the call for reparations: the availability of capital in the North is linked to the lack of capital in the South. So, we focus on ownership and those elements out of the >capitalist toolbox< which work for communities that move in solidarity. We support the purchase and building of properties for community organisations.

We find and create proof that there is such a thing as »queer lens investing«: we set up structures which make loans to individuals and small businesses from the communities and offer strong accompaniment. We make incentivized loans to medium-sized businesses that want to develop their DEI (diversity, equity, inclusion) work.

We use opportunities to influence other donors and social investors to enter this field of work. We publish what we find: www.dreilinden.medium.com



ISE BOSCH is a donor activist from Germany. Using inherited money, she set out in the 1990s to co-create an infrastructure which resources LGBTQI+ NGOs in the Global South and East in a feminist and intersectional manner. She co-initiated the international work at Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice/USA, co-founded the German international feminist fund *filia.die frauenstiftung* and founded Dreilinden gGmbH in Hamburg. She writes on transformative giving, e.g. »Giving with Trust« (2018) with Claudia Bollwinkel and Justus Eisfeld.

... the Fund for Global Human Rights

1. WHO OR WHAT DOES YOUR ORGANISATION FUND?

The Fund for Global Human Rights is an international nonprofit which identifies and invests in the world's most innovative and effective human rights activists, organisations, and movements. We look for local leaders who protect and promote the rights of their community. Then we provide the money, tools and training they need to succeed.

Since our founding in 2002, the Fund has raised and invested over \$125 million in the work of 900+ activists and organisations in more than 50 countries. The activists we support work across different issues and geographies, but they all share one thing in common: the belief that a better future is possible.

2. WHAT DO YOU CURRENTLY SEE AS THE BIGGEST CHALLENGE?

Around the world, the biggest challenge we're facing is the closing of civic space. Human rights defenders—especially from marginalized communities, including LGBTQ+ groups, feminist groups, and ethnic or racial minorities—are operating in increasingly restrictive contexts. More and more governments are using a common set of repressive tools and tactics—what our friends at the Funders Initiative for Civil Society have termed the »security playbook«—to crack down on protest, intimidate activists and silence dissent. This affects every single fund grantee.

3. WHAT ARE YOUR SOLUTION APPROACHES OR STRATEGIES?

To push back on closing civic space, we support entire ecosystems of activists. So instead of supporting a single organisation working on one important issue, we fund dozens of groups using different approaches, working in different regions or tackling separate but complementary human rights issues. By connecting that ecosystem of activists, we're building stronger, more intersectional movements which can support each other and turn the tide against rising authoritarianism.

We also invest in safeguarding and emergency support for human rights defenders. As governments restrict civic space, we have a responsibility to ensure activists' safety. We provide space for important discussions around safeguarding, technical assistance to build their digital security, and emergency support when activists face harmful threats.



AL VALLEJO is enthusiastic about her work at the FGHR. She has a background in communication as a documentalist and an advocate for LGBTQIA+, feminist and youth issues. She is currently the Latin America Programme Officer Associate, supporting in particular the Fund's work on counter-narratives and anti-gender and anti-rights movements.

... the Hirschfeld Eddy Foundation

1. WHO OR WHAT DOES YOUR ORGANISATION FUND?

The Hirschfeld Eddy Foundation has been supporting LGBTIQ+ human rights defenders in Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe since 2007. We receive funding from the German Federal Government for our partner organisations such as Mawjoudin in Tunis, which is working successfully towards a higher acceptance of our communities in Tunisia. Casa Cultural El Chontaduro in Cali, Colombia, is another organisation using ›activism‹ for more inclusion of LGBTIQ+ in Afro-Colombian communities. And the LGBTI Equal Rights Association ERA in Belgrade has been successfully sensitizing national governments and parliaments for non-discrimination policies in the Western Balkans. Moreover, we raise private funds for activists from Iran and human rights defenders in Rwanda, Uganda, Ukraine and Poland.

2. WHAT DO YOU CURRENTLY SEE AS THE BIGGEST CHALLENGE?

We could do much more, but as a small organisation and due to lack of personnel our possibilities are limited. Funding is available, but the bureaucratic hurdles grow higher and higher when it comes to the application and implementation of and reporting on projects. Unfortunately, bureaucratic practices set limits to our work. In addition, there is no core funding for our human rights work. We have to discuss new projects with our partners every year. This consumes a lot of energy and is nerve-wracking.

3. WHAT ARE YOUR SOLUTION APPROACHES OR STRATEGIES?

In order to put our human rights work on a broader and more sustainable basis, we inform and educate people about these issues in Germany, so that other organisations will open themselves up for this topic. Since LGBTIQ+ issues are human rights issues, they are a concern not just for the LGBTIQ+ community. We network local organisations with colleagues in Africa or Latin America and show what needs exist, what is possible and what LGBTIQ+ project work can look like in a difficult environment. We raise awareness within Germany for the worldwide struggle for LGBTIQ+ rights. Our goal is to multiply and mainstream these efforts to ensure sustainability.

For a long time, human rights work on sexual orientation and gender identities was not an issue for German foreign policy and development cooperation. This is gradually changing and our information and awareness-raising work is showing positive results, such as with the LGBTI Inclusion Strategy for Foreign Policy and Development Cooperation.



KLAUS JETZ has been working with the Lesbian and Gay Federation in Germany LSVD for many years. He has been LSVD's Director since 2004 and, in addition, is working as Executive Director of LSVD's human rights foundation, the Hirschfeld Eddy Foundation, since 2007. He has diverse experience in the fields of journalism and human rights with a regional focus on Latin America. www.hirschfeld-eddy-stiftung.de

IFA AND ITS CROSS-CULTURE PROGRAMME

With its CrossCulture Programme (CCP), ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen) is working in partnership with the Federal Foreign Office to build strong civil society networks between Germany and the rest of the world. Since 2005, professionals and committed volunteers from the fields of culture, education, science, arts and media have benefited from the opportunities provided by work-related stays either in Germany or in CCP partner countries.

- *Strengthening civil society:* The CCP Fellowships from the CrossCulture Programme (CCP) provide funding for professionals and committed volunteers from about 40 countries each year (please refer to our website for a list of the relevant countries). During two to three months of professional exchange in host organisations in Germany or in CCP partner countries, participants deepen their expertise and acquire intercultural skills. In turn, the host organisations benefit from the expertise, regional knowledge and networks of the CCP Fellows. Upon returning to their home organisations, the participants bring their experiences gained abroad into their everyday working life. Fellowship placements are currently being offered in the following areas: policy & society, media & culture, human rights & peace, and sustainable development & climate justice. In 2024, the focus will also be on circular economy and gender & diversity.

- *Networking civil societies:* Civil society organisations from Germany and from a CCP partner country are supported by the CCP Synergy programme as they work together on a collaboration and create a lasting network. Funding for short stays is provided to employees of the two cooperating organisations. Aims of the cooperation can be the development and the expansion of joint projects, publications or events. The programme encourages the direct exchange between organisations and helps to bring together civil society actors across borders in order for them to learn from each other.
- *Intensifying collaboration:* With travel grants and regular seminars, workshops and symposia, the CCP Alums programme promotes the professional development of hundreds of CCP Alums worldwide. Since 2005, the programme has been helping participants build upon their established partnerships and networks. Travel grants are available to alums to attend conferences, work on small joint projects and undertake fact-finding missions. In addition, CCP appoints volunteer representatives in the respective countries to act as contact persons in cooperation with alums, the German Embassy, ifa and other interested parties. Together with the CCP, they organise regular alums network meetings on topics of regional and professional interest.

For more information about the programme, please visit:
www.ifa.de/en/funding/crossculture-programme

STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY	NETWORKING CIVIL SOCIETIES	INTENSIFYING COLLABORATION
CCP FELLOWSHIPS <i>2–3 months</i>	CCP SYNERGY <i>7–30 days</i>	CCP ALUMS <i>individual</i>
Fellowships for professionals and volunteers	Promoting collaboration between civil society organisations	Travel grants and networking meetings for CCP Fellowship alums
Cultural exchange, professional development, networking and knowledge transfer	Developing cross-border bilateral partnerships between organisations	Individual training and networking

Publisher
ifa – Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen e.V.
Charlottenplatz 17
D-70173 Stuttgart
www.ifa.de

Dated: December 2023
Printing: Poege Druck
Circulation: 500 copies

Editorial Staff
Urban Beckmann, Tim Hülquist,
Malina Becker, Valeria Neufeld
English Translation and Copyediting
Vera Draack, Regina Bauch

Layout
Alexandra Vögtle, Bureau Est (Leipzig/Paris)
Publication orders
ifa – Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen
Online at: www.ifa.de/en/publications
Email: crossculture@ifa.de

This publication is part of the public relations work of ifa's
(Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen) CrossCulture Programme.
It is distributed free of charge and is not intended for sale.
The articles attributed to an author do not always reflect the
opinions of the editors nor of the publisher.

Fotocredits
p. 3 © Inga Haar/Deutscher Bundestag
p. 5 © Victoria Tomaschko
p. 6–10 © Eythar Gubara
p. 15 © private
p. 23–26 © Dawood
p. 36 © private
p. 43 © private
p. 48 © private
p. 51 © private
p. 53 © Lucas Wahl
p. 55 © private
p. 57 © private

The publication is funded by the
German Federal Foreign Office.



»Gender and Diversity« is one of the thematic foci and a vital part of ifa's (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen) CrossCulture Programme. In 2022, current and former programme participants from different countries such as Cuba, Egypt and Pakistan gathered together for several days with international stakeholders in Berlin to intensively exchange their views on global cooperation and funding in the field of LGBTQIA+ activism. The workshop's main findings from these multifaceted and fruitful discussions are shared in this publication. It also includes in-depth perspectives from international donors and the realities of life for LGBTQIA+ people in Armenia and Jordan as well as insights on the funding of the anti-gender movement.

ifa supports civil society actors worldwide in their advocacy for democracy and peace, encourages dialogue within civil society and contributes to the protection of minorities and people at risk. With its CrossCulture Programme Fellowships, ifa supports the interconnection between German and foreign civil society actors from the cultural, educational, scientific, artistic, and media sectors in around 40 countries. The goals for participating fellows and organisations are to broaden their expertise, share and acquire intercultural skills, and learn from each other.