

“Shop and Do Good?”

by

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Abstract

Our point of departure is a comparison of the strategies employed by (Product) Red and the South African HIV-activist group, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). Contrasting the commercial campaign with an activist campaign will show the kinds of discourses about AIDS that are produced and reproduced in both campaigns. Our analysis will ask, for example, what happens to the figure of the HIV positive African woman in the two campaigns? How are statistics used in each of them? How are the concepts of “us” and “them” used? How is “Africa” represented? Our paper will further ask whether it is possible to mobilize “northern” consumers with an approach that does not create a dichotomous world of “us” and “them” and further construct Africa as the dying continent. Can one speak to a “northern” audience without citing and reproducing the hegemonic discourses on AIDS that imply that Africa is different, dark, and about to die? This construction seriously hampers rather than promotes HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment efforts on the continent.

Product Red claims that their products will connect people: “(RED) inspires, connects, and empowers people and business to do what they already do, shop, and do good at the same time.”ⁱ Product Red suggests that western consumers will be inspired, be connected, and, perhaps most importantly, will do good by shopping. Product Red offers a “shop, and do good” model of change that both uses and promotes western supremacist capitalism. It is based on working the system instead of changing it.

“Naturally the campaign has its share of skeptics. I spoke to one woman from Montréal who works at Mother Theresa’s orphanage in Kigali and is trying to set up child-headed families orphaned by AIDS. “Isn’t it pathetic” she reflected, “that to get money from the rich you have to get them to buy something?” But then there is the view expressed by a Rwandan friend of mine who just moved back to Kigali: “Whatever works.”ⁱⁱ

Product Red, a new brand initiative by U2’s front man Bono is being discussed in the above quote. The brand is designed to “eliminate AIDS in Africa” and its founding premise is that “Good business is more sustainable than philanthropy.”ⁱⁱⁱ Product Red is based on the idea that you can “shop and do good at the same time.”^{iv} The campaign has raised \$100 million for the Global Fund, which is the world’s leading funder of programs to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria.^v This suggests that Product Red is saving lives. Should “whatever works” be the principal criterion for the global fight against HIV and AIDS, even when it requires one to draw on problematic discourses to attract consumers? The campaign employs heroic language which implies that those who support it are the “saviors” of its beneficiaries. The affective impact of this language, however, comes at the cost of recycling stereotypical images of Africa and the “Third World” and constructing northern consumers as “samaritans.” Our point of departure is to consider the tactics applied by Product Red in campaigning about HIV/AIDS treatment, in comparison to the approach of the South African AIDS activist organization, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC). TAC has successfully been campaigning for access to antiretroviral medications for people living with HIV, on a local, national, and global level.^{vi} TAC employs an activist vocabulary, using words such as “community,” “knowledge,” and “mobilization” in their campaign “for equitable access to affordable treatment for all people living with HIV/AIDS.”^{vii} We wish to discuss how Product Red employs and appropriates this kind of vocabulary.

Product Red works with some of the world’s most iconic brands, such as: American ExpressTM, AppleTM, ArmaniTM, ConverseTM, DellTM, GapTM, HallmarkTM, MicrosoftTM, and MotorolaTM. These companies produce Product Red branded^{viii} products and they donate a percentage of each product to The Global Fund. In 2007, Bono was asked to edit an edition on Africa for the magazine *Vanity Fair*.^{ix} This paper will analyze both the Product Red website and the “Africa” edition of *Vanity Fair*. We will examine how “Africa” is packaged for consumption by western^x consumers. Further we will discuss some of the Red slogans and advertising strategies, considering the kinds of representations produced and reproduced in these texts and images. What representations of HIV positive African women and children are produced and reproduced?

We also ask how (western) consumers and pop stars are depicted. In comparing the approaches of TAC and Red, we suggest that TAC^{xi} speaks to a global audience without citing and reproducing hegemonic discourses that imply that Africa is different, dark, and about to die. We argue that the “dark continent” discourse that Red uses to mobilize consumer power hampers rather than promotes HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment efforts on the continent. We will argue that, in contrast to the Product Red campaign, African AIDS activists, who are openly HIV positive, and fighting for the right to treatment, blur the dichotomy between African victims and “western” agents, the savior and the saved, none-infected consumers and AIDS patients. One can also suggest that Red does not acknowledge the connections between capitalism and disease,^{xii} whereas TAC makes this link explicit.

The TAC and Product Red

Our bodies are the evidence of global inequality and injustice. They are not mere metaphors for the relationship between inequality and disease. But our bodies are also the sites of resistance. We do not die quietly. We challenge global inequality. Our resistance gives us dignity. In the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), the voices of our comrades, friends and children echo around the world to resist injustice. Our voices demand life even as our bodies resist death.^{xiii}

The Treatment Action Campaign is shaping HIV/AIDS discourses and policies both globally and in South Africa. The personal, individual experience of the illness is maintained as a starting point not to be bypassed, but, nevertheless, the TAC agenda firmly moves the focus from the personal to the political dimension of the local, state, and global contexts.^{xiv} The TAC was founded in 1998 when a small group protested in Cape Town for access to antiretroviral drugs for pregnant women to reduce the risk of transmitting HIV to newborn babies. The number of TAC activists has grown radically during the last few years and now there are about twenty thousand registered members, to a large extent unemployed, black working-class women even though the membership is heterogeneous.^{xv}

The movement draws on forms of activism from the anti-apartheid struggle in their mass mobilization, such as street marches and civil disobedience campaigns, and protesters often sing rewritten struggle songs at marches, rallies, and funerals.^{xvi} They also use formal channels such as the courts, the media, and national and international networks. The main objective of the movement is to guarantee access to treatment^{xvii} for all citizens through public healthcare, but this call for medical healthcare also raises a wide variety of other questions, including prevention of new infections.^{xviii} The TAC also works on a global level to ensure access to treatment for all poor people. TAC Women's Health Coordinator Nonkosi Khumalo talks about the work TAC will do and has done:

“The TAC will continue ensuring that the barriers to the lack of access to medicines in Africa come down. In the last four years, it has been our honor to have been part of a global campaign of people who hold human rights above profit. This global campaign has forced drug companies to drop some of their essential medicine prices. It has also resulted in the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria. Critically, in South Africa, it has seen the emergence of people who do not hide their HIV status, who wear t-shirts saying HIV-positive. They do this because only by destigmatizing HIV, can the human dignity that this epidemic robs people of, be restored.”^{xxix}

TAC has become internationally well known. They were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004 and they received the MTV “Free Your Mind” award in 2001. The Deputy-General Secretary Zackie Achmat has received several awards and an honorary doctorate from the University of Natal, University of the Western Cape, and Rhodes University. Both the national, but also the international media has shown a great interest in TAC, so have researchers and rock- and film stars. For instance, Annie Lennox, together with twenty-three major female artists, has joined up for a charity single to raise awareness around HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The proceeds from the single will be donated to TAC. Bono has also embraced TAC’s work. Addressing an audience of mostly TAC activists in Cape Town, Bono states:

I have nothing much to say. I am completely overwhelmed by the work that TAC does. And I want you to know that we live in an age of celebrity, where if you are an actor or a rock star or any pop star you are supposed to be, you know, some kind of hero. But really that is bollocks. The real heroes are mothers, firemen, nurses, and people with HIV who are struggling against all odds. And I will say that to myself, it is an honor to be in a room with you real heroes.”^{xx}

In contrast to the TAC, Product Red was conceived as “a different kind of fashion statement.” As the Product Red website states, “You buy the jeans, phones, iPods, shoes, sunglasses, and someone – somebody’s mother, father, daughter or son – will live instead of dying in the poorest part of the world. It’s a different kind of fashion statement.”^{xxxi}

In 2004, Bono was worried about how to get the American public involved in development issues. He was told by Robert Rubin, Secretary of Treasury under President Bill Clinton, that “You will never get this issue out there unless you market it like Nike.”^{xxii} One year after the launch of Product Red in 2006, brand awareness was 20% in major markets.^{xxiii} In 2007, Bobby Shriver, the chairman of Red, was named advertising person of the year by the Advertising Club in the United States. In his message on the RED website he explains the success of the clothing company The Gap:

The iconic Gap advertising came from Annie Leibovitz, Trey Laird and the amazing Gap team. It covered 10 miles of shop windows, as well as billboards, newspapers and magazines. In addition, Gap's fantastic designs for the Lesotho-made T-shirt captivated Oprah Winfrey and her international audience. This shirt is the biggest-selling shirt in recent Gap history.^{xxiv}

The Red manifesto reads:

[...]

As first world consumers, we have tremendous power. What we collectively choose to buy, or not to buy, can change the course of life and history on this planet.

(Red) is that simple an idea. And that powerful. Now, you have a choice. There are (Red) credit cards, (Red) phones, (Red) shoes, (Red) fashion brands. And no, this does not mean that they are red in color, although some are.

[...]

(Red) is not a charity. It is simply a business model. You buy (Red) stuff, we get the money, buy the pills and distribute them. They take the pills, stay alive, and continue to take care of their families and contribute socially and economically in their communities.

If they don't get the pills, they die. We don't want them to die. We want to give them the pills. And we can. And you can. And it's easy.

All you have to do is upgrade your choice^{xxv}

As we argue earlier, Red's proposition relies on constructing a clear distinction between "us" and "them," the saviors and the saved. First world consumers are told that what we choose to buy can change "life and history on this planet." On the other hand, comments such as "*They take the pills. Stay alive. And continue to take care of their families and contribute socially and economically in their communities*"^{xxvi} suggests that infected people live in a world apart. The first world consuming subjects are given power and agency over history, the planet, and of the lives of "third world" people whom they can keep alive through shopping. Meanwhile the only power the third world subjects may have is over their own families and communities. African agency is local; western, global. The result is that African activists working on a global scale are made invisible.

A quick glance at the *Vanity Fair* special edition on Africa gives the impression that it is a collection of interesting and important articles. The special issue has articles on music and literature in Africa, as well as a number of articles on poverty, war, and foreign investment. There are articles about people who in different ways have been involved in or are concerned with African issues. We are particularly interested in a piece titled "The Lazarus effect" that shows the positive impact that antiretroviral treatment can have on people living with AIDS.

The “Lazarus Effect” is also featured on the Red website as a video. In one set of images, the viewer follows an HIV positive woman, photographed in black and white and taken from an angle above her. In a subsequent sequence which shows her after taking antiretroviral drugs, her photograph is shot in color and taken from the front, showing her laughing. The first set of images reminds us of the hunger-ravaged mothers in Ethiopia repeatedly shown in the Band Aid campaign of 1984.^{xxvii} The Lazarus Effect video and images are at the fore of Red’s marketing.^{xxviii} If we consider the manner by which these African bodies are represented in contrast to the Zackie Achmat’s reflections, “our bodies,” that is, the bodies of HIV positive men and women, there is an unambiguous difference.

Unlike Benetton, for example, or the Body Shop, Product Red is purely a brand that can be connected to any product. It also differs in that money is made via the Product Red Campaign to “save lives.” Benetton never claimed to make any profits for the poor or the “third world.” The Body Shop did, to some extent, claim that some of the profit was going to go directly to the women who produced their products.^{xxix} However, on the Red website you can read how much money the campaign has made for the Global Fund.^{xxx} Some of the Red brands will inform you of what percentage of the price of the product sold goes to the Global Fund. In fact, for several Red products it is possible to calculate the value of your own contribution. In this way, the website shows how the buyer’s donation to the Global Fund becomes part of the fashion statement of buying a Red product. Nonetheless, for some Red products, it is not possible for the consumer to find out exactly how much of the profits go to the Global Fund (i.e. Apple does not reveal how much it donates from sales of iPods).^{xxxi}

Branding AIDS/ Branding Africa

While the TAC attempts to disturb the boundaries between “us” and “them,” Product Red depends heavily on the marketing of difference. We can see this in the different strategies that the campaigns employ in their use of the T-shirt, for instance. For example, the American clothing company, The Gap, gives you an opportunity to “buy more life” for an infected person. The website offers a T-shirt that, if purchased, will provide someone with a two-week supply of antiretroviral medication. The T-shirt states “2 weeks.” This is very different from the approach of TAC whose trademark T-shirt states “HIV-Positive.” This T-shirt is worn both by HIV positive and negative activists, mostly from townships of the bigger cities in South Africa, but also by activists in South Africa and in the Global south who do not live in the townships, and by activists in and from the west supporting TAC. The logo on the T-shirt therefore blurs the line between “them,” the infected, and “us,” the assumed uninfected. By contrast, the Red T-shirt, by indicating that the consumer has bought two weeks of life, constructs a very clear line between the victim and the savior. Western consumers are given an almost god-like power over the lives of HIV-infected Africans.^{xxxii}

One could argue, following bell hooks,^{xxxiii} that Product Red’s American-based marketing campaign represents ethnicity as the “spice” that enlivens the dull dish that is mainstream white culture. According to hooks, the hope for white supremacist capitalist patriarchy is that desire for the “primitive,” or fantasies about the “Other,” can be continually exploited and that such exploitation will occur in a manner that reinscribes and maintains the status quo.

The world of fashion has also come to understand that sales are boosted by commodifying otherness. The success of Benetton advertisements set the trend for various advertising strategies according to hooks. The promise is that you become connected to the Other via consuming. For example, Sara Ahmed^{xxxiv} shows how The Body Shop advertises its products by telling the story of the production lines, a story that allows the consumer to “encounter” the distant others – here, the women workers in Ghana. Ahmed reads the Body Shop ad as saying that “by becoming a little more like them, by using this product, we are not appropriating their skins, but saving their skins.”^{xxxv} She argues that this narrative (in which appropriation is read as a form of redemption) allows the consumer to align herself with the product and the company as “helping Ghanaian women.” The narrative repeats the universalist feminist one, in which the Western feminist sees herself as saving the skins of her sisters in the third world.^{xxxvi} Product Red also offers you the ability to be not necessarily good (or Christian), but “a good-looking Samaritan?!”^{xxxvii} In that sense, Product RED indicates that everything can be bought or consumed, even ethics or values. You can be “good looking” in the eyes of others; fashion and humanitarian altruism are here equated in one phrase.

It is crucial to further explore this universal feminist narrative. For example, while production lines are curiously quite invisible in Red advertising, there are a few exceptions like the Mali mud bag and the Lesotho produced T-shirt. The language of saving and helping is used directly in Product Red. For example, supermodel Christy Turlington Burns (one of the faces of Red) states on the Radio show “Oprah and friends” that Red is “To help people who cannot help themselves.”^{xxxviii} The Red webpage reads, “The money helps women and children affected by HIV/AIDS in Africa.”^{xxxix} Here Product Red employs the universalist feminist narrative in which western women save the “third world” woman.^{xl} The urge to “save Africa” is clearly gendered, since product Red generally invokes “women and children” rather than men as the ones to be saved, even though Global Fund money goes to men, women, and children. Lee Edelman^{xli} has pointed out that the appeal for the child “remains the perpetual horizon of every acknowledged politics, the fantasmatic beneficiary of every political intervention.”^{xlii}

Conclusions

The commodification of difference displaces the Other and denies the significance of the Other’s history through a process of decontextualization according to hooks.^{xliii} When Africa is consumed in the Product Red discourse it becomes homogenous, without history. The Red marketing campaigns reproduce the idea of Africans as victims – there is no space for representations of African AIDS activism or African agency. The ultimate subject positions are left for the western consumers. The distinct forms of AIDS activism on the continent are eclipsed by this homogenous construction of African AIDS in the consumer discourse. African AIDS discourse involves repetitive images of victims, crises, and emergencies;^{xliv} it does not show Africans as agents for change. That Africans can and are agents of change in their own societies, we argue, can be shown with reference to the highly effective activism of the TAC.

Notes

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- ⁱ <http://www.joinred.com>. Accessed 01 March 08
- ⁱⁱ Condé Nast Publications. 2007. *Vanity Fair*. p. 223.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Condé Nast Publications. 2007. *Vanity Fair*. p. 222
- ^{iv} <http://www.joinred.com>. Accessed 01 March 2008
- ^v <http://www.joinred.com/news/>. Accessed 05 June 2008. See Richey, Lisa Ann and Stefano Ponte. 2008. "Better (Red)TM than Dead? Celebrities, consumption and international aid." *Third World Quarterly*, 29.4. According to Richey and Ponte (2008), Red has created the impression that The Global Fund is funded mostly by private consumers. Between February 2006 and December 2007 Red raised \$50 million. This is less than 0.6% of the \$8.9 billion given to the Global Fund by governments.
- ^{vi} See Robins, Steven. 2004. "'Long Live Zackie, Long Live: AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid.'" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, pp. 651-672; Robins, Steven. 2006. "From 'rights' to 'ritual: AIDS activism in South Africa." *American Anthropologist*, 108(2), pp. 312-323; Jungar, Katarina and Elina Oinas. 2007. "HIV- aktivism som postkolonialt motstånd." *Kvinnor, kropp och hälsa*. Ed. Elina Oinas and JuttaAhlbeck-Rehn. Lund: Studentlitteratur. pp. 11-43; Jungar, Katarina and Elina Oinas. 2008. "'Mobilize and Mourn!' South African HIV activism as feminist politics." *Feminist dialogues - motstånd, möten och möjligheter*. Eds. Lassenius, Marina et al. Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press; and Mbali, Mandisa. 2005. "The Treatment Action Campaign and the History of Rights-based, Patient-driven HIV/AIDS Activism in South Africa." *From local processes to global forces. Research reports 2005 vol. 1*. Durban: Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal. pp. 63-85.
- ^{vii} <http://www.tac.org.za/community/about>. Accessed 05 June 2008.
- ^{viii} www.joinred.com/red/. Accessed 01 March 2008
- ^{ix} Condé Nast Publications. 2007. *Vanity Fair*. p. 28
- ^x For the purpose of this paper we wish to use "northern" and "western" as interchangeable terms.
- ^{xi} Most of the research about TAC was done in Cape Town, South Africa, and included participant observation in rallies, at national and international conferences, official meetings, workshops, public funerals, church services, and marches. These events, about forty in all from 2000-2006, were taped and transcribed. The events were either organized or co-organized by TAC. Interviews were conducted with six key informants, all women activists and volunteers (one currently an employee within the organization). Public TAC documents, their newsletter, their web page, and media coverage of their activities also constitute part of the empirical material.
- ^{xii} See Ponte, Stefano, Lisa Ann Richey, and Mike Baab. 2008. "Bono's Product (RED) initiative: Wedding hard commerce and corporate social responsibility." Working Paper No 2008/13. Danish Institute for International Studies.
- ^{xiii} Achmat, Zackie. 2004. John Foster Lecture. 11 October.

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- ^{xiv} See Robins, Steven. 2004. "'Long Live Zackie, Long Live:' AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, pp. 651-672 and Fassin, Didier. 2007. *When Bodies Remember: Experiences and Politics of AIDS in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ^{xv} Robins, Steven. 2004. "'Long Live Zackie, Long Live:' AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, pp. 651-672.
- ^{xvi} The legacy of the anti-apartheid struggle is very important for the success of the fight (See, for instance, Robins, Steven. 2004. "'Long Live Zackie, Long Live:' AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, pp. 651-672). However, this discussion is beyond the scope of this paper.
- ^{xvii} Since 2003 there has been a national Treatment Plan concerning HIV/AIDS in the public healthcare sector in South Africa. Today TAC is working for the actual implementation of this plan since most people still do not have access to the medicines.
- ^{xviii} See Robins, Steven. 2004. "'Long Live Zackie, Long Live:' AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, pp. 651-672.
- ^{xix} Khumalo, Nonkosi. 2003. "Jonathan Mann Award Acceptance Speech May 29 2003." *TAC Newsletter*. 06/06. Washington, D.C.
- ^{xx} Bono. 2003. Joint rally of Congress of South African Trade Unions Western Cape and TAC at Cape Town City Hall, 01 December 2003.
- ^{xxi} <http://www.joinred.com/red/bono.asp>. Accessed 17 February 2008
- ^{xxii} Condé Nast Publications. 2007. *Vanity Fair*. p. 222
- ^{xxiii} <http://www.joinred.com/red/bobby.asp>. Accessed 05 June 2008
- ^{xxiv} <http://www.joinred.com/red/bobby.asp>. Accessed 05 June 2008
- ^{xxv} <http://www.joinred.com/manifesto/>. Accessed 17 March 08. Emphasis original.
- ^{xxvi} Our emphasis.
- ^{xxvii} See Philo, Greg. 1993. "From Buerk to Band Aid: The Media and the 1984 Ethiopian Famine." *Getting the Message: News, Truth and Power*. Ed. John Eldridge. London: Routledge.
- ^{xxviii} Apart from this video, however, Product Red's or Brand Aid's visual images of dying African's are not as common as one might expect in the campaign. See Richey, Lisa Ann and Stefano Ponte. 2008. "Better (Red)TM than Dead? Celebrities, consumption and international aid." *Third World Quarterly*, 29.4. However, as Richey and Ponte (2008) claim, we are so saturated with emotional televised images that we do not need to refer to them; they are out there in the collective subconscious.
- ^{xxix} Ahmed, Sara. 2000. *Strange Encounters. Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge.
- ^{xxx} There has been some criticism that the advertising campaign has already cost a lot and that there is no real transparency into the actual gains. Bobby Shiver, Bono's partner in Red, answers that nothing has been spent on Product Red that would not otherwise have been spent by big enterprises in their advertising budgets (www.joinred.com/red/. Accessed 29 March 2008).
- ^{xxxi} See Ponte, Stefano, Lisa Ann Richey, and Mike Baab. 2008. "Bono's Product (RED) initiative: Wedding hard commerce and corporate social responsibility." Working Paper No 2008/13. Danish Institute for International Studies.

^{xxxii} This representation runs contrary to Bono's statement that Red is not a charity, and we would argue that the campaign does rely on charity discourse, even though it is not based on the idea of donation. It is clear that constructing Red in opposition to charity is part of Red's branding strategy. Charity is not "sexy", or "cool"—Product Red, together with its associated brands, are.

^{xxxiii} hooks, bell. 1999. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Cambridge: South End Press.

^{xxxiv} Ahmed, Sara. 2000. *Strange Encounters. Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge.

^{xxxv} Ahmed, Sara. 2000. *Strange Encounters. Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge, p. 169

^{xxxvi} Ahmed, Sara. 2000. *Strange Encounters. Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge, p.169

^{xxxvii} www.joinred.com/red/. Accessed 29 April 2008

^{xxxviii} <http://www.oprah.com/xm/gking/200805/gking>. Accessed 02 May 2008

^{xxxix} <http://www.joinred.com/red/>. Accessed 15 May 2008

^{xl} See Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 1991. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. Also see Ahmed, Sara. 2000. *Strange Encounters. Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge.

^{xli} Edelman, Lee. 2004. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

^{xlii} Edelman, Lee. 2004. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, p. 3. According to Edelman even proponents of abortion rights in the USA frame their political struggle, mirroring the anti-abortion, as "fight for our children – for our daughters and our sons." TAC also started with a campaign for access to antiretroviral drugs for pregnant women to reduce the risk of transmitting HIV to newborn babies. One of the founding members explains why: "It's a soft target, because [it's] mothers. If you [are] campaigning around mothers and saving babies [,] obviously you are going to get the attention of each and every citizen" (Interview with Midi Achmat, 18 June 2003).

^{xliii} hooks, bell. 1999. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Cambridge: South End Press.

^{xliv} See Patton, Cindy. 1997. "Inventing 'African AIDS.'" *The Gender/Sexuality Reader: Culture, History, Political Economy*. Eds. Lancaster, R. N., di Leonardo, M. New York: Routledge. pp. 387- 404.