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Problem, Solution and Everything in Between

An Essay on the Paradox of International Development Aid for LGBT Rights

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

ASC	ASEAN SOGIE Caucus
ASEAN	Association of South East Asia Nations
EU	European Union
HIV AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SGRC	Support Group and Resource Center on Sexuality Studies
SOGIE	Sexual Orientation Gender Identity and Gender Expression
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WPR	What's the Problem Represented to be?

Acknowledgements

Abstract

The highly-celebrated human rights discourse has been instrumental in moving the discourse of LGBT issues to the centre. This inspire international development machines to expand interventions across the globe. However, these interventions have been characterizing LGBT people as monolithic which then translated into homogenous intervention model. This arguably influencing the way LGBT civil society movement is designed as site of development intervention.

This research aims to deliver alternative representation of LGBT problems and proposed solution that have been constructed by international development intervention. Guided by post-development and Queer theory, this research applies Critical Discourse Analysis to assess selected texts produced by the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program. Particularly, WPR approach developed by Carol Bacchi is employed to assess the representation, assumptions and silencing. The analysis showed that language of human rights violation has been used to grant warrant for the emerging of other discourses which reflect Western model of modernity. The life of LGBT people is used to problematize government's incapability in creating enabling environment to sustain economic development. Thus, it is an economic project that value LGBT people as an instrument for economic prosperity. Furthermore, it is a political project that rely on the liberal democracy system where LGBT people is symbolized as the bearer of individual freedom. Consequently, LGBT civil society has been narrowly characterized as a working unit that serve specific role in the political process to establish legal framework. In the future, we need to further understand in which way the notion of LGBT movement hinders or creates civic space to acquire justice and equality. It is also important to investigate the cultural, social and political consequence of public exposure that garnered from the growing development investment for sexual right movement.

Relevance to Development Studies

This research contributes to studies on international development aid for LGBT rights with discursive perspective from the Global South. Furthermore, it is a contribution to the limited literature on sexual rights movement in Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

Keywords

LGBT Rights Movement, International Development Aid, Being LGBTI in Asia, Critical Discourse Analysis, WPR

Chapter 1
Introduction

Nature of the Problem

There is not any doubt that in the past decade, human rights discourse has been instrumental for the endeavour to move the discourses about Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT[1]) in Indonesia from its marginal position to the centre. For instance, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) mentioned that the discourse of sexual reproductive health is slowly shifting away from pathologizing and medicalization of non-normative sexuality (UNDP 2014: 3). LGBT issue has also been a welcomed addition for more established civil society networks such as ones that work for democracy (ibid.). Those are arguably achieved through the flourishing establishment of LGBT groups and organizations across the country thanks to the availability of international funding (UNDP 2014: 53). Furthermore, social, cultural and political activism is fostered which resulted to an increased public image of LGBT people. These exposures contribute to create and expand spaces for LGBT issues, thus debates are possible and attended (ibid.).

However, despite the positive progress, it is critical to reflect that resistance towards LGBT people in the country persist (HRW 2016a: 5-15). The 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program which run by UNDP stated that since the establishment of first transgender organization in Jakarta back in 1960s, LGBT organizations record various form of ongoing resistances to the community (UNDP 2014: 16-20). Those varies from verbal abuse using pejorative languages, to criminalization through the enactment and enforcement of bylaws that inspired by interpretation of Islamic teaching[2] (ibid.)

Entering the year 2016, the Support Group and Resource Center on Sexuality Studies (SGRC) was put in the centre of public condemnation. This student group of Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta is among very few young people organizations focusing to realize sexual rights that established and based in higher education institution. As part of its mission to contribute to the individual well-being of young people, SGRC conducted an outreach program called the Peer Support Network (SGRC n.d.). The program aims to provide students who questioning sexuality and sexual orientation with reliable information and psychological counselling. However, interpreted as activities to convert young people to become gay, that program provoked the Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education to denounce the existence of LGBT within his authority due to its contradictory "value and morality" with the nation (HRW 2016a: 20-21). Within days, the media reported similar sentiments from ministers and high profile public officials as well as political figures. Their statements characterize being LGBT for instance as criminal acts pestering nation value that its "proxy-

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[1] In comparison with other acronyms, LGBT is relatively the first popular term and still vastly used to date. Unless a literature tells it differently, I deliberately use the term LGBT throughout this paper for a consistency and express what it is called by development industry. I also use different expressions and terms when needed for clarity and critical interpretation.

[2] As part a personal stance on the issue of politicization of religious faith in Indonesia, I restrict myself to use the term sharia or shariah which generic definition is Islamic law

war" operations are considered threat to national security (*ibid*). Public statements by government officials and political figures further propagated months long unrest of denying LGBT's existences across the country. HRW noted the case of SGRC as a significant mark of escalated 'attacks' that had happened since the second half of 2015 and peaked in the first quarter of 2016 (HRW 2016a: 14-46).

That period of 2015/2016 attack was particularly important because although agitation towards LGBT across the country persistently occur, its frequency and extend of spread had never happened in the past (HRW 2016a: 14-46). The ASC (ASEAN SOGIE Caucus: Association of South East Asia Nations Sexual Orientation Gender Identity and Gender Expression Caucus) recorded 142 cases occur during 2015/2016 agitation (ASC 2017). Majority of the cases fall under the category of forced disbandment of gatherings, discussions, and other types of public events (ibid.). Furthermore, HRW (2016a) concluded that 2015/2016 agitation was exceptional due to State apparatus' role to enable the spread and escalation of hatred and violence. Those resulted to more severe impact towards ones who are publicly out spoken about LGBT rights, be part of the movement, labelled as "activist", or simply "come out" as LGBT (ibid.).

Most international development actors reacted to the 2015/2016 agitation through restraining their exposure to the public and the media. In a limited scale, official statement of regret and call for further action from government, is released on behalf of organization or civil society network. UNDP Indonesia however take a perplexing position. Firstly, they backtracked from the joint statement in 2015 that regretting government's omission of "serious violation of international human rights law" and urging protection for LGBT people (HRW 2016a: 24-25). Secondly, they let the office of Ministry of National Development Planning to speak on their behalf to denounce connection with any LGBT rights program in the country (The Jakarta Post 2016). That include 'Being LGBT in Indonesia' which is part of 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program. The statement was then enforced by the Vice President of Indonesia which arguably heighten public attention (ibid.). Thirdly, UNDP freeze all LGBT rights program in Indonesia, including ones under the umbrella of 'Being LGBTI in Asia' immediately after that announcement (HRW 2016a: 25).

I find any position taken by international development actors that distance or detach themselves either temporarily or permanently from the issue, movement, partner organizations, communities and individuals, is problematic. Many questions are unanswered yet around circumstances of this problematic behaviour. For instance, we should problematize the notion of solidarity and partnership for not taking a stand together with local partners when they fight for safety and security. Furthermore, the specific case of UNDP can further be drawn to unpack ethics within the politics of the United Nations (UN) programs.

On the other hand, layers of question can also be posted around agitations towards LGBT rights movement. Empirically, there are more nuances in stories about attacks, agitations, backlash. However, we cannot neglect the fact that 2015/2016 agitation in Indonesia happened in the time of rampant resistances from forces that is named by Clifford Bob that quoted by Wilkinson and Langlois (2014: 250) as "global right wing". This opposition is profoundly significant in taking down LGBT rights movement and its activists across the board (ibid.). The Human Rights Watch's report that frequently quoted above in fact

carries the dominant characterization of 2015/2016 agitation solely as clash between human rights value and religious value. Islam is arguably fit with characterization of "conservative" activism that shape the "right wing" forces that resist LGBT rights movement (ibid.). Unpacking contestation of LGBT movement with right wing conservativism in Indonesia is indeed important considering the country's global brand as the largest Moslem democracy.

Dede Oetomo, a prominent LGBT rights activist and academia in Indonesia, once stated what might best express our common feeling as part of LGBT rights movement about what happened in 2015/2016 backlash; we are "a little bit disappointed" (Mann 2016). Oetomo expressed disappointment to the lack of support from development allies at the time of backlash (ibid.). Combined with the shocking experience of the unprecedented attacks however, more LGBT activists expressed grievance and uncertain feeling about inevitable challenge to continue the work (HRW 2016a: 24-27) because the attack has convoluted impact to current achievement and future work for LGBT people in Indonesia (HRW 2016a: 24-46). Nevertheless, they keep the commitment to activism alive (HRW 2016a: 2). From an ongoing engagement with few LGBT rights activist in Indonesia, despite nervousness, I learn that inclination to do thorough assessment into current work is on the raise. Those give signs that whether resistances are contained or resume to occur, LGBT people, activists and organization will continue the movement. This include resuming what has been left in their work with global development partners. This help me realize where I want to position myself in this disappointment. This realization guides me to find what critically needed to be understood from the web of development intervention.

The 2015/2016 backlash happened in the time when LGBT rights is globally celebrated as one important determinant of progress in upholding and realizing human rights. In a long run, I believe that human rights framework will remain important for LGBT rights work in development agenda whereas LGBT people is situated in the centre to lead social, cultural and political movement. Consequently, LGBT rights movement is a major area of investment of global development machines. I am referring development machine as described by Giaquinta (2016:1) as network of power, knowledge and resources from policy makers, international organizations, academia, as well as practitioners in this field, where the UN bodies are a part of. Without directly working together, development machines connect and influence each actor through common concerns and ideas that keep issues relevant to be addressed. I further reflect to Puar (2007) who emphasized that opposing the domination of human rights discourse from LGBT issues might be a bleak option. As mentioned before, human rights narrative is proven to be powerful to make the issue current and furthermore being part of major global movement. With the raise of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), I would further underscore that is not a strategic move to take. Moreover, either agreeing or opposing the narrative of human rights, we all have taken part in injecting it into local discourses.

In the lights of that complexity, Puar stated that historical events can be used as the moment of "convergence" to re-signify struggles in achieving social justice for LGBT people (Puar 2007). The messiness of 2015/2016 backlash is, I would argue, what Puar means by the historic event for Indonesia. Taking off from this historical event, it is then crucial to move away from the illuminating

lights of contesting LGBT backlash, and try to find out how dominant discourses of human rights and needs of LGBT people have been translated into a specific discourse of international development intervention.

Despite the rhetoric of 'good intention', international development has been critiqued as the instrument that sustain asymmetry between the West and the rest of the world. Escobar (1995: 1-8) stated that arguments about the need "to develop" have assigned countries in the Global South to become object of intervention. Whereas the West project themselves as the "advance society" that determine the global standard of "modernity" which become goal that need to be achieved by the "underdeveloped" (ibid.). At both ends, international development regime "conceptualize social reality" that are constructed from "certain representations [that] become dominant and shape indelibly in which reality is imagine and acted upon" (Escobar 1995: 5). This "colonization of reality" (ibid.) are produced to satisfy the need to intervene (Mohanty 1991), and further reproduced by development machines as the blue print of program implementation.

It requires us to take steps back to understand how international development have imagined the problem around the lives of LGBT people and the solution to address those. Furthermore, we need to post questions on how LGBT people are assumed to be disadvantaged and how LGBT movement is formulated. We need to investigate on how those constructions then be used to justify intervention through which 'strategies' are designed to generate 'progresses'. Ultimately, we need to reflect on how 'successes' are defined and who decided its meaning. Only by doing these patterning (Puar 2007), I would argue, we are able to lay out how LGBT rights movement have been arranged by development machines. As a result, we might contribute to LGBT activist to stronger write their own knowledge to rebound from this setback.

Problem Statement

Although pathologizing way of addressing the issue persist, the era of HIV AIDS[3] pandemic that use one dimensional way of picturing the life of LGBT people has been slowly revisited. The multi layers of LGBT people's lives that "represent some of the most marginalized population in Asia and the Pacific" (UNDP 2015a: 1) is increasingly become a concern of international development agenda. It is a critical area of intervention as problematic practices perpetuate discrimination and violence such as through:

> … extra judicial killing, torture and ill-treatment, sexual assault and rape, invasion of privacy, arbitrary detention, denial of employment and education opportunities, and serious discrimination in relation to the enjoyment of other human rights (The Yogyakarta Principles n.d.: 6)

Local situation such as "conflict, religious extremism, weak government, and economic underdevelopment" that propagated persistent alienation and exclusion (UNDP 2015b: 7) are further used to illustrated how their layers of 'vulnerability' is worsen. This chronicle rationalizes the deployment of sets of activities that designed to achieve advancement in LGBT rights practices. For this purpose, human rights framework has been dominantly used to construct interventions across the globe that aim to propel "social change" (UNDP 2015b: 5).

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[3] HIV AIDS: Human Immunodeficiency Virus Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

Situated in its centre is empowerment of LGBT people and communities to becoming the main actors in claiming rights (ibid.). The success of that strategy can be observed for instance from the spur of local movements and replication of activities deemed to be successful advocacy in developed countries such as the "Pride Parade" and the gay-straight alliance (UNDP 2015b: 4-6).

The human rights intervention as described above, assume about 'who the vulnerable LGBT people are' and 'who the LGBT people that must lead the social change are', thus intervention can be designed. Escobar (1992: 132-133) and Sachs (1992: 4-5) warned us that assumptions used in development interventions are resulted from processes that isolate certain facts from others for the purpose of producing the desired representation of faraway places. How LGBT people have been imagined in their different role of development intervention might not connect with each other and furthermore, do not speak about realities in their localities. Escobar further emphasized that those desired representation serve the purpose of emphasizing the 'differences' between 'us' and 'them' that reflect the division of North/South (Escobar 1992: 132-133). In those assumptions and representations, LGBT people who do not comply with the predefined criteria will get excluded from the system of interventions. Although there is always call for local contextualization nevertheless, homogenous representation of LGBT people produced stereotyped intervention goal and strategy. This monolithic intervention across the Global South, such as using international human rights framework, reflects what Sachs (1992: 4-5) said as the single trajectory to achieve an ideal construction of the future.

Based on the above statements, I am conducting this research to unpack diverse assumptions that have been used to problematize the life of LGBT which then justify programming to support the struggles to realize LGBT rights. I put specific attention on how those assumptions define what LGBT community and movement is. In this research, I am also attempting to clarify on what have been overlooked and silenced in the construction of this development intervention discourse.

The UN is among the first international bodies that deploys development regime across the globe (Escobar 1995: 4), which make the initial reason to select the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' to be studied. Furthermore, having connection with UN bodies has benefit in its substantial areas of reach as well as attraction to global partnership beyond the targeted region. This program is also not a single organization-managed but a consortium of development actors. They work in diverse issues and representing civil society, UN bodies, academia, faith based organizations, and global think tank for development. In country levels, local LGBT organizations are managing this program either through individual organization or in the form of civil society networks. Another important consideration to focus on this program is its combination of funding source from the United State of America (the US) and Europe. These post potential to see not only the richness of nuances that might be produced, but also how development intervention diluted into internal contestation and produce dubious position. Moreover, this program is arguably significant in time of 2015/2016 agitation in Indonesia. Lastly, UNDP as the primary partner of this program has major influence in producing and show casing best practice of mainstreaming LGBT rights in SDGs.

To emphasize what Escobar (1995: 19) said about post-development thinking, this research is not aiming to find "alternative model or strategies" but to

perform investigation to the "alternative representation". In doing so, although what constitute non-normative sexuality remains an important debate in regards with ever-expanded acronym of LGBT however, I would like to emphasize that it will only be discussed when relevant with the way we understand sexual rights movement. This research also does not attempt to pass value judgement about opposing concepts on sexuality such as in Islam, the liberal West, or nationhood. However, I am keeping awareness about these diverse conceptions and see this consortium of 'Being LGBTI in Asia' as having single opinion. This research is also not intended to evaluate development intervention in the areas of LGBT rights which then followed by recommendation for improvement. Moreover, this is not an attempt to generate evidence that international development machines, funding and programming, are the main cause of 2015/2016 agitations. Rather, this research is trying to understand how the lives of LGBT people have been presented to justify intervention, and how development intervention has consequences to the local discourse of LGBT rights movement.

This research is underpinned in question of *in what ways do the representation of LGBT and LGBT rights movement structure the development actors to understand, problematize, and try to address the struggle to achieve LGBT rights?* To further guide this research, I am proposing these secondary questions:

1. Who are the LGBT people that have been defined by this program?
2. What are the problem faced by LGBT people presented by the program? And how those have been problematized?
3. What are the assumptions that underpin the representation of LGBT people and LGBT rights movement?
4. What are the consequences that generated from those representation to local LGBT rights movement?

Positionality

Along the process of this research, a self-reminder that I am researching from an 'odd' position as development machines operator keeps on echoing. Having years of experience in managing international development funds on gender and sexuality issues in different countries in Southeast Asia give me familiarity with the system. Furthermore, my first-hand experience might be useful to better understand the mind, intention and power struggles of people and organizations alike. However, these post threat of not giving proper explanation for context that I assume common knowledge, tendency to generalizing, over analyse, or subjectively eliminate parts that might be critical for better understanding the contestation. After all, it will still be a challenge to apply Leela Gandhi's warning about keeping awareness that the "intention" of Western intervention are heterogenous thus this research should not repeat the homogenization of experiences (Gandhi 1988: 88).

The topic is also too close to my heart as I am directly connected to community affected by the 2015/2016 agitations. I also come from a society where Islam, vastly depicted as the opponent of LGBT rights, is the most practiced religion. My home country, Indonesia, has been moved to the status of middle-income economy which change our attitude towards international development aid. Moreover, except for Thailand, Southeast Asia is hardly discussed in global debate of LGBT rights. Indonesia might be mentioned only when attack happen. Thus, it is a delicate process to make sure that my research is not to agree

or not agree with portrayal of non-normative being, but focus on highlighting how certain characteristic of non-heterosexual beings have been appropriated for interventions (Puar 2013: 1-3). My decision to recuse myself from attributed to LGBTQI as a matter of principle, also post difficulty at a micro level such as in addressing LGBT people as 'they' or 'we'. This public image of my personal identity might cause this research to be treated as another project of appropriating other people's experiences for my academic benefit.

Organisation of the Paper

This paper is organized as follows: in Chapter 2 I further introduce context that are relevant to the problem statement and the case that I use in this research, the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program. Brief history of the program's establishment is presented as well as its essential position in the global development agenda where the program is intended to achieve the goals. Chapter 3 describe theoretical framework that are used to develop critical interpretation of the case within the scope of research problem and questions. In Chapter 4 I describe research strategy that I employ to answer my research questions. Limitation of this research and its consequences to the result are also integrated as important part of this chapter. Chapter 5 is dedicated to describing the analysis of 'Being LGBTI in Asia' which cover the problematization of how LGBT people and LGBT rights movement have been presented by the development machines. This paper is closed with Chapter 6 where I present my concluding remarks. My notes for further investigations and considerations are also included as part of my reflections while and after conducting this research.

Chapter 2
Situating LGBT Rights and Its Movement in International Development Agenda

It is impossible to explain the current context of LGBT rights movement in development agenda without facing a challenge to understand the complex history about the emergence of non-normative body in the development industry. Furthermore, it is a challenge to choose the part that should be carefully followed through in seeking clarity. With those complications kept in mind, I draw focus around the contention of how non-normative sexual bodies and its social movement for sexual freedom evolve into LGBT and LGBT rights movement when development projects adopted, signifying, and transmitting it to places across the globe.

The (In)Visibility of Sexual Rights in Development Agenda

Illustrating the position of LGBT rights issue in the development discourse is partly entangled with exposing the complex struggle of sexual rights to become subject of development work. After persistently ignored, only in the period of 1990s that sexuality gained its global momentum. In the time of devastating HIV AIDS pandemic, incorporating non-binary nature of sexuality was considered important in combating the disease. Despite this acknowledgement however, Cornwall and Jolie (2009: 5-12) stated that sexuality is regretfully "remain unseen and implicit", as development agendas cherry pick certain issues instead of addressing the entirety of sexuality as part of human reality. For instance, although feminist movement urged strongly to bring the discussion into the table, both the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo in 1994 and the United Nation (UN) Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 concluded with limitation in the scope of acceptance into sexual reproductive health (Bunch and Fried 1996: 202; Kabeer 2005: 6). Both global action plans further denied inclusion of sexual orientation as part of human rights that need to be realized (ibid.).

The effort to mainstreaming sexuality in global development agenda is also not entirely successful. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) clearly did not have any mention about sexuality issues. Moreover, although the recently-adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) put emphasize on sexual reproductive health and elimination of discrimination and violence, it fails to explicitly call for non-normative sexuality. Nevertheless, LGBT groups across the boards are expectant to its pledge to 'leave no one behind', as it is considered promising to push for "inclusion…equality…[and] justice" for LGBT people in all aspects of development (see for example Stonewall International n.d. and Human Rights Campaign 2015).

Despite persistent invisibility of sexuality in development agenda, non-normative sexuality issues gain a unique importance in the discourse. It comes to the point that violation of LGBT rights has been used as key determinant to continuing or stopping financial support from Western countries through the channel of international development aid (Sarpong 2012: 242-257). Total freezing of funding on the sole basis of LGBT concerns (ibid.) suggests that LGBT

constitute meanings beyond sexual rights when translated into international development works.

Rainbow Pride[4]: From Sexual Liberation to LGBT Rights Movement

Although for decades non-normative sexuality has always been problematized, organized movements to achieve full acknowledgement of sexual rights can be considered as relatively new progression. However, gay movement, I would argue, help raise the much-needed attention to issues around sexual rights. After the era of clandestine gathering and organizing, the 1969 Stonewall riot in New York marked the visibility of "sexual liberation" movement by non-heterosexual groups (Beemyn 2003: 205-206). Gradually, sexual liberation movement shift its focus towards achieving "full citizenship" that heavily characterized by struggles to bring about justice and equality before the law (Sears 2005: 92-94). This shift of focus, in parallel, become the means to enrich the group which initially consists of gays and transgender, and invite more diverse sexual identity into the alliance. This is a constantly growing development as to date, we heard and read the use of diverse terms to identify the movement such as LGBT, LGBTI[5], LGBTQ[6], and LGBTQI.

The Pride Parade to commemorate the Stonewall riot has arguably became the popular signifier of sexual rights movement (UNDP 2015a: 6). However, more have been done by the movement across the globe. For instance, LGBT groups have been instrumental in passing legal framework to promote the principle of equality that further eliminate discrimination and decriminalization of non-normative sexuality (Oswin 2007: 649-669). In operationalizing movement, both sexual liberation and LGBT movement employed various strategies including building alliance with the heterosexuals and be part of more well-established movements such as in anti-war and civil rights (Beemyn 2003: 205-223). In the past decades, the alliance with feminist movement has been instrumental in securing space within gender mainstreaming discourse (UNDP 2014: 19). Moreover, the raise of human rights discourse is not only moving LGBT issues into the centre but also engage the movement and its activist in the central debates.

It is important to note that LGBT rights movement has always been met with resistance. Two LGBT activists in Bangladesh were killed (BBC 2016) at relatively the same time of 2015/2016 agitation in Indonesia. Before that, activist in Uganda was halted to death (The Guardian 2011) along the ongoing structural homophobia that institutionalized by the State. In regard with Indonesia, HRW (2016a: 6-7) mentioned that resistance, especially ones that done by religious motivated groups, are not addressed towards 'the real and perceived sexual orientation or gender identity' of individuals. Instead, those are directed to their events or gatherings. Furthermore, attacks are described as aimed to the notion of human rights advocated by LGBT groups, as those considered as threat to either Islam, Indonesia nationhood, or both (Boellstorff 2007).

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[4] This term is borrowed from the popular jargon that signify LGBT awareness raising through public exposure
[5] The letter I that add to the abbreviation stands for Intersex, an addition used by United States Aid for International Development (USAID) to cover various sexualities
[6] The letter Q that add to the abbreviation stands for Queer or Questioning, depends on the political stand of the movement towards definition of sexual identity

The Raise of 'LGBT Rights Is Human Rights'

In one of his speech quoted by Wilkinson and Langlois (2014: 250), Ban Ki Moon, the UN Secretary General, emphasized that LGBT rights is "'one of the great, neglected human rights challenges of our time'". Generally, western countries and international organizations praised this call for urgency, while countries and actors in the Global South raised objections (Wilkinson and Langlois 2014: 249-250). Despite the controversy, it must be acknowledged that when associated with human rights, LGBT issues has gain its significance in the global development dialogue.

The narrative that all human being is equal and deserve not to be discriminated have been used to call for inclusion, fulfilment and protection of the rights of LGBT people (UNDP 2015a). The basic principles of LGBT rights as laid out in Yogyakarta Principles have foster further global advocacies that resulted in the adoption of United Nations Resolution on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity. This breakthrough is followed by an appointment of the UN independent expert which mandate is to assess and evaluate the implementation of human rights framework for LGBT people (OHCHR[7] n.d.). In additions, regional mechanism to advance LGBT rights have also been in place. European Union (EU) establish and implement its Convention for The Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom, that explicitly addresses the rights to subjective sexual identity (Bilic 2016: 1-3). This regional instrument is imposed to all EU members and become a mandatory requirement for future member to implement (Bilic 2016: 1-3). Meanwhile, ASEAN is progressing to amend its Human Rights Declaration to include the rights to sexual orientation and identity (Langlois 2014: 307-321).

In this new era, the relentless human rights violation has been vastly used to argue that interventions are urgent. Wilkinson and Langlois (2014: 249) noted that within the arguments of human rights violation, diverse topics have been advocated. In Western countries, marriage equality is currently dominating the discourse. Meanwhile internationally, "decriminalization" and acknowledgement of sexual identity before the law are the main attentions (ibid.). It is important to notice that human rights framework situate the dynamic between State as the duty bearer and People as the rights holder, in the centre of its construction. To make the system work, the State must establish accessible mechanism that allow people to claim rights either individually or collectively. In this regard, LGBT community and organization are imagined to be in the forefront on defending human rights as they are the one who understand the issue. Furthermore, despite diverse rights' violators, people's demand to 'solve' the problem should be addressed to none other than to the State.

International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA)'s "Sexual Orientation Map" is an example of how that power dynamic is used to frame LGBT rights' violation. The map shows State's performance to establish legal framework through three areas of success: recognition, protection, and decriminalization (ILGA 2017). The colour codes of the map implicitly suggest that the world has become a dangerous place due to States' failures to fully uphold the rights of LGBT thus they are not recognized and protected but instead criminalized. The map can be found in Annex 1.

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[7] OHCHR: Office of High Commissioners of Human Rights

These concerns have been instrumental in mobilizing investment to LGBT rights issues from international development agencies. For instance, Hillary Clinton's speech in the occasion of 2011 Human Rights Day[8] is arguably important in gearing up the new wave of investment that frame LGBT issues as human rights issues. Since then, 'LGBT rights is human rights' travel farther thanks to increased financial supports for development work in the Global South. For instance, in an addition to million dollars funds dedicated to HIV AIDS works which have significant component spent to advocate LGBT rights, USAID (United States Agency for International Development) dedicate LGBTI funds for research, economic empowerment, and advocacy. That funds contribute to the second phase commitment of USD 8 million joint funding received by UNDP's 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program that mentioned before (USAID 2015). Joining the bandwagon, in 2013, OHCHR launched the UN global campaign called 'Free and Equal' aiming to tackle persistent violence and discrimination towards LGBT and intersex people, and further realize their human rights (UN 2016). Furthermore, inspired by Secretary General Ban Ki Moon's pledge to LGBT issue, human rights advocacy have enabled an expanded inclusion of LGBT issues in global development agenda such as Sustainable Development Goals (OHCHR 2015).

Being LGBTI in Asia: Putting Human Rights Framework into Practice

The 'Free and Equal' global campaign has inspired diverse national level programs. Among others, the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' is designed to provide guidelines to mainstream LGBT rights into SDGs. The first term of the program with aim to map the situation was completed in 2014. As a result, collation of analysis about the live of LGBT people in 8 Asian countries are available for public. Those documents have become important reference for both activist, academe and government actors. The second term of the program started in 2014 and will expire by December 2017. This term aims to address aspects of human rights in economy, health, education and justice system as reflected in 7 goals and 17 indicators of SDGs (UNDP n.d.). Although not an uncommon intervention strategy that designed for minorities and vulnerable groups however, for the first time, the economic dimension of this program has brought the most direct link with SDGs' purpose to bring economic advancement. This potentially attractive for government sector as it highlights profit-loss logic into the narrative of violation of human rights such as through discrimination in labour market and economic growth.

The second term of the program remains focusing on intervention in 8 countries, with Indonesia being put inactive per second term of 2016. There are not any sufficient documentations that explain the justification to select geographical areas of intervention. On studying profiles of those countries, each country has unique characteristic. For instance, Indonesia and the Philippines might highlight the contestation between religion and democracy, while Thailand's culture of acceptance has been exceptional to bring safety. Nevertheless, the "Sexual Orientation Map" suggests that all countries share similar characteristic in legal framework area. All 8 countries do not criminalize non-normative

[8] The speech was given in her capacity as Secretary of State for the United State of America

sexuality however, none is legally recognized subjective sexual identity which further deny formal protection on the basis of sexual rights (ILGA 2017).

Two main intervention strategies are applied namely network building among relevant actors, and establishing knowledge centre to support the nurtured network and beyond in tackling pressing issues related with LGBTI rights (UNDP n.d.). By implementing those, the program expects to foster active participation of LGBT people and groups in claiming their rights, and elevate knowledge among key development stakeholders about issues that matters (ibid.).

The program is managed in a consortium style with 14 development actors to share responsibility in program implementation (UNDP n.d.). They represent the academia (1), civil society (5), UN bodies (6), business (1), and global think tank (1). Three civil society group of this regional team are networks of Non-Government Organizations (NGO) with extensive membership that work in national and sub-national level. Meanwhile the Steering Committee of the program is comprised by experts in areas of focus of this term of implementation (ibid.).

To date, the program has established and strengthened common platform for key stakeholders to work together for regional and national level advocacy (UNDP n.d.). Furthermore, it has produced step by step guidelines for key national actor to establish LGBT rights legal framework. Furthermore, a specific module is produced for media to apply human rights sensitive news coverage around LGBT issues. It is important to further notice that the program has been expanded to reach the Pacific, and influence other development actors to act on behalf of this program's vison. For instance, the World Bank has released position paper urging investment to research on issues around violation of LGBT rights (ibid.).

Critical Look into the LGBT Rights Movement in Development Regime

While acknowledging fundamental progresses that have been brought by development intervention however, considerable body of literature are critical to the application of human rights framework in LGBT rights struggles. Most of those are addressed to improve contextualization – social and cultural – to better achieve equality and justice. However, my research is particularly motivated by critical assessment that question the utilization of human rights framework in defining dominant narrative about the problem faced by LGBT people which then launch monolithic intervention strategies to solve the problem.

The work of Puar (2007) who problematize the use of a certain LGBT body to justify the United States' war on terrorism in the name of achieving "modernity", has been instrumental in my process to question whether human rights discourse in international development intervention to realize LGBT rights have enable the condition for homonationalism to be materialized. Puar's conceptualization leads me to the work of Sabsay (2013: 80-90) that critiqued the persistent characterization of LGBT people as 'victim' of 'problematic practices' that happen in Global South. Both Sabsay (2013) and Puar (2006, 2012) further point out that characterization of 'conflict' faced by LGBT people and the proposed solutions are simplifying and generalizing situation across society, which further-

more neglect subjective experiences of LGBT people. Furthermore, it systematically silences and exclude ones who do not comply with the imagined LGBT people (Puar 2006, 2012).

Duggan (2002: 175-194) work on homonormativity is particularly important to see the trending addition of economic empowerment into LGBT rights programs. Her analysis that intersect non-normative sexuality with capitalistic economic system convey similar question to the emergence of privileged non-normative body that systematically include and exclude others. Furthermore, how that desired non-normative body is emerged as symbol of economic development narrative in LGBT rights intervention, helps to unpack the complex entanglement of neoliberal ideology within the politic of "recognition" and "redistribution" in human rights intervention (ibid.).

The discussion around the notion of 'claiming rights' have also been scrutinized by diverse scholars. I am drawn into body of works that criticize the strategy on claiming rights that heavily focus on State responsibility. Particularly, the critique points out that it produces narrow presumption around the establishment of legal framework (Sabsay 2012: 605-623, Wilson 2009: 73-85) as the main driver of social change. Within that strategy however lies the contestation about the role of LGBT people in leading the political movement to hold the State accountable. The shifted foundation to building alliance in sexual rights movement into a mere sexual identity (Budhiraja et.al. 2010: 133-134) has raised question about "inclusivity/exclusivity and the political implication of the appellation" of the acronym of LGBT (Wilkinson and Langlois 2014: 251-251). Sabsay (2013: 80-90) posted a further critique that LGBT rights movement has narrowly interpret 'the politic of inclusion' as a struggle to 'expand the definition of sexuality' instead of acquiring acknowledgment to non-binary sexualities that have been silenced and ignored. Furthermore, the contestation of acronym has hardly been treated as an entrance to question the reason to have categorization of sexualities (ibid.).

On the insistence of LGBT community to be the main actor in claiming rights, Sabsay (2013) further raise question whether the political process to realize full citizenship is assumed to be Western model of democratic process. Within that model, Puar (2007, 2013) problematization to the notion of acceptance and tolerance as the signifier of success is notably important. She argued that such progress and model of modernity only benefit some and furthermore achieved on the expense of others (ibid.). I am following these critical points of views to post questions to the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program.

Chapter 3

LGBT Rights Movement Through Post-Colonial and Post-Structuralist Lenses

To deconstruct the embedded meaning of LGBT problems and LGBT movement in UNDP's 'Being LGBTI in Asia', I am applying the post-colonialist and post-structuralist lenses. In this chapter, I draw post-development theory and queer theory to conceptualize alternative notions of non-normative sexuality; vulnerability; agency and activism; structure and opposition, that are relevant to this research. These notions will be explored further in analysis vis-à-vis construction within 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program.

Post Development Theory

I draw post-development theory to begin the theoretical conceptualization because this research is motivated by concerns that development machines have been driven by prevailing Western perspective as "the only valid arbiter of knowledge" (Escobar 2007: 23). Escobar (1995: 4-6) argued that the way we understand what the problem of the world are and how we must address those, dictated by dominant Western construction of realities. The conceived Western model of success (ibid.) are assumed universal which then imposed as global standard and ignore subjective realities across cultures and societies (de Sousa Santos 2014). Wolfe (2006: 387-388) furthermore described that on the process of dictating the new model of success, other realities are replaced through elimination of the indigenous. Sachs (1992: 4-5) further warned us that in international development industry, that global standard has been translated into generic pattern of intervention that conceived to be the only trajectory to achieve an ideal construction of the future. Reiterating Foucault, Escobar further argued that the discourse and practices of international development has been instrumental in sustaining this hegemony through persistently silencing non-western societies from constructing their own realities (Escobar 1995: 5).

Escobar (1995: 5-10) emphasized that unpacking development as a discourse means a quest to map out Western "domination" that are reflected in "thoughts and actions" in its three entangled forms: knowledge production, "system of power that regulate the practice" and "subjectivity". The domination on knowledge production and subjectivity are argued by Escobar (1995: 5-7) to get sustained, among others, through the notion of "to develop". The continuous use of that notion is not only highlighting that 'others' are different, but also insisting on exceptionality of the knowledge produced and reiteration of the 'division' between the two (ibid.). The 'truth' that have been produced are then used to justify intervention in non-Western societies within the premise of achieving "material prosperity and economic progress" (Escobar 1995: 5) that signify "modernity" (Escobar 1995: 11-12).

Within the discourse of LGBT rights, those patterns can be seen in several areas of interventions. Most profoundly, it is projected through the notion of universality of human rights. The over-emphasized arguments that indigenous social orders recognize non-binary sexuality advocating the ideation that being

LGBT is a universal experience because it can be found across societies and time (Sabsay 2103: 82-84). Universality suggest the existence of certain model of arrangement that should be referred as the global standard. This model, among others, define the categorization of sexual identity and its position in social orders. The power that held by the West has been instrumental to insist that Western model to be used as the global standard. Sabsay further argued that the notion of universality has also been used to challenge the existence of diverse social orders across societies that resulted from unique way to make sense the existence of non-normative sexualities (Sabsay 2013: 82-84). Thus, the utilization of universality to characterize sexuality and sexual rights echoes what Mohanty (1991) critiqued towards dominant feminist movement that see sexuality and gender, in this regard non-normative sexuality, as not culturally and socially contextual. She further described this as the problem of "particular representation" that produce the 'other' as "monolithic subject" (Mohanty (1991: 1). This particularly shown by the growing letters included in an acronym to call all non-normative sexualities (Budhiraja et.al. 2010: 133-134) which might not correspond with local conceptualization, naming and social status of various forms of sexuality. While the acronym suggests the notion of entirety however, Puar (2013: 336-337) argued that it reproduces the persistent use of certain characterization to signify all. The demand to 'tick in the box' of name and category of people who are proposed to be addressed through program intervention additionally demand to provide rigid definition to non-normative sexuality. Assuming local realities fit with Western scripts of categories of sexuality, Dutta (2012) explain this practice also impose the idea of supposedly fixed sexual identity.

The notion of violation in human rights discourse is instrumental to further justifying development intervention towards non-Western societies. Sabsay (2013: 80-90) argued that LGBT people have been extensively presented as the vulnerable 'others' who are 'victim' of human rights violation. The argument about indigenous tolerance towards non-normative sexualities suggests that over the times, there has been distortion in societies that instigate current harm for LGBT people. Characterizing LGBT people as victim is instrumental to impose Western's reliance towards State's function – through court system – to address this 'crime'. This neglects society's role and capability to rediscover the social order which can be found across non-Western societies. This narrative also justifies urgent call to 'fix' the situation which, among others, consist of changing the society as sexuality is assumed permanent. It is noticeable that in rescue missions with goal to save the life of 'victim' from 'dangerous situation' (Bracke 2012: 237-252), fixing the 'unfriendly' societies (Puar 2013: 336) receive considerable attentions. Development interventions are particularly keen on eliminating 'problematic practices' which among others are rooted in "traditional social values and religious believe" (UNDP 2015a: 7). At the end, the establishment of 'new society' that are friendly to LGBT as modelled by "Western moral, cultural, civic, and political superiority" (Sabsay 2013: 82) is preferred.

The narrative of dangerous human rights violation has put LGBT issues as object of development investment which then launch program intervention across the boards. While post-development located its critique towards the motive of LGBT rights intervention that sustain "colonization of reality" (Escobar 1995: 5), Queer theory draw its particularity in challenging the persistent conceptualization of sexuality as "universal and natural" (Seidman 1995: 116). In its critiques towards human rights discourse in LGBT rights intervention, among

other, it problematizes the focus of identity politics that project narrow scope in comprehending human experience as revolving around sexuality and sexual identity.

Queer Theory

Other than being used to define form of sexual identity, queer has also been significant as rich body of theory which problematize power that govern what define as "normal and not normal" sexuality (Butler 1993: 17-32). Often seen as "identity-based theory and discourses", Queer theory offers framework to "rethinking homosexuality as a "culture and politics" (Seidman 1995: 118). In doing so, it positions the queer in the centre of "power/knowledge regime" to reframe the discourse away from the issue of "oppression and liberation" (Seidman 1995: 128). In this regard, Queer theory is suitable to be used in this research as LGBT rights movement is historically located and situated within the notion of sexual liberation. Furthermore, its critique towards the "biopolitics" of sexual rights (Puar 2007: 1-3, Puar 2013: 337) within the practice of development is important to interpret the emergence of a certain non-normative body that have been used to justify Western intervention in social, cultural, economy and political spheres of non-Western Countries. Furthermore, queer theory helps to analyse how people of non-normative sexualities that considered "outlaw" beings (Puar 2013: 336) are contested as significant bearer in the politics to acquire full citizenship. In this section, I want to draw two streams of critiques that relevant to my analysis of the 'Being LGBTI in Asia': the emergence of non-normative body to exercise State ideation, and its critique towards strategy and movement to acquire sexual citizenships. Before going into detail, I would like to note that Queer theory emphasize sexuality as "social and historical" therefore it is relative to "class, race, ethnicity" and so on and so forth (Seidman 1995: 116). By saying this in advance, I will not reiterate this intersection and focus on other juncture as called by different streams of thought.

Homonormativity and Homonationalism

Although anchoring it into different facet of State ideation however, both homonormativity and homonationalism concevy common critique to the emergence of certain non-normative body to represent all. Homonormativity is an important analytic to understand the categorical use of "economic prosperity" logic (Escobar 1995: 5) following adoption of LGBT rights into development agenda. It offers framework of thinking to uncover the utilization of non-normative sexuality in its entanglement with, among others, liberalism and capitalism (Oswin 2007: 656). That entanglement has been manifested for instance, through the emergence of a certain LGBT body as the exemplary member of society who boost the economy through consumption (Dugan 2002: 175-194). In this regard, the desired LGBT people body reflects the ideation of liberal-self that characterized such as by the notion of autonomy, rationality and knowledgeability. Furthermore, non-normative sexual being is also elevated to be the bearer of economic prosperity (ibid.). In sum, queer community has been "commodified" to satisfy a certain economic model (Duggan 2002: 175-194, Oswin 2007: 657).

The work of Jasbir K. Puar on homonationalism uses Queer perspective to "understand the complexities of how "acceptance" and "tolerance" for gay and lesbian subjects have become a barometer by which the right to and capacity for

national sovereignty is evaluated" (Puar 2013: 336). As an analytical tool, homonationalism critically assesses the historical moment where certain non-normative body has been used to "structure modernity" and "State formation" that uncover the intersection of sexuality, modernity and nationalism (Puar 2013: 337). In this regard, homonormativity operates through the growing importance of new categorization of "homophobic" and "gay-friendly" society or nation to condemn, praise, and furthermore exercise State control to its citizen (Puar 2013: 336). In greater depth, Puar (2007) applies this analytic to explain how "State sovereigns" are determined through the characterization of non-normative body within the US war on terrorism. I found tenets of this conceptualization and analytic uncover how the idea of nationalism is enforced internally to the 'other' member of society such as immigrants (see for example Bilic 2016: 1-22, Mepschen et al. 2010: 962-979). However, on reflecting to the expansion of terms homophobic and gay-friendly countries into development aid work (Sarpong 2012: 242-257), I would argue that Puar's conceptualizations is useful analytic tools to unpack whether international development aid helps create the conditions for homonationalism to happen in a certain country. As we can see, it has been exercised through temporary suspension of development aid from the United Kingdon (UK) to Malawi (Sarpong 2012: 242-257) and warning from the US to Uganda (The White House 2014). Both actions arguably influence the local dynamic in the recipient end.

As this research is taking the moment of backlash towards LGBT people as the historical events to revisit the rights movement, it is unavoidable to look into the tenet of Islamophobia in the structure of homonationalism. Rahman (2014: 278) pointed that homonationalism is operationalized through the expense of Islamophobia and its clash with international human rights principle. In this characterization Rahman continued, that human rights is positioned in the side of modernity and Islam in the opposite (ibid.).

Human rights violation as reason is imperative for development actors to enforce the portrayal of difference, segregation and opposition, to urge on establishing the desired nation and nationalism that are "gay-friendly" (Puar 2013: 337) as it is believed to bring economic prosperity to the nation. To realized it, several strategies are employed which the prominent one is the emphasize of State obligation to fulfil human rights in the form of acknowledging full citizenship. Queer critiques have been variably powerful in deconstructing the entanglement of sexual citizenship with the ideation of nation.

Deconstructing Sexual Citizenship Struggles

The power relation between duty bearer and rights holder in the construction of human rights led development interventions into fostering active participations of LGBT people into local politics aiming for full citizenship. Queer theory takes critical view by problematizing what constitute LGBT full citizenship and how to realize those (Sabsay 2012: 605-623). On imagining citizenships, development machines believe that it allows diverse sexual identities to participate in the struggle and access its outcome. However, they can be part of being a citizen under the condition of submission to the normalized definition of non-heterosexual (ibid.). One consequence among others is the force for societies to reinvent their categorization of sexual identity to comply with this insisted definition of citizenship. This practice arguably sustains the regime of labelling and furthermore enforce selection system which only benefit some but alienate others

who fail to submit to the criteria (Dutta 2012, Wilson 2009). In the light of this thought, to whom does the struggle serve the purpose is then questioned (Sabsay 2012: 607-608).

Queer theory further posted critical thoughts on inclusion as a notion and strategy that has been used vastly and repeatedly along the sexual citizenship movements. By using the universalized Western categorizations, the "politics of inclusion" applied across Global South implies the need to expand the categories of sexuality (Sabsay 2013: 85). Expansion of categories implies the persistent 'othering' to non-heterosexual others (Sabsay 2012: 605-623, Sabsay 2013: 80-90) instead of problematizing the rationale of applying categorizations (Sabsay 2013: 85).

Sexual citizenship further assumes "every sexual subjectivity can be thought of as political" where the struggle of LGBT people is not only validated but also put in the centre (Sabsay 2012: 610). The ever-growing acronym of sexual rights movement is particularly concerning as it assumes all types of non-normative sexuality experience similar discrimination and violence, and furthermore identically prioritize concerns in their struggles (Budhiraja et.al. 2010: 133-134, Wilkinson and Langlois 2014: 251-251). It further suggests the shifted foundation to building alliance in sexual rights movement into a mere sexual identity (Budhiraja et.al. 2010: 133-134). It also raised question about "inclusivity/exclusivity and the political implication of the appellation" of the acronym of LGBT (Sabsay 2013: 86-87, Wilkinson and Langlois 2014: 251-251).

Sabsay (2013: 80-84) further explained that the discourse of political movement to realize full citizenship in LGBT rights movement reflects the ideation of liberal self through bringing together the notion of becoming sexual being and political being. Queer theory is particularly interested in unpacking social movement as an exercise of this entanglement. Escobar (1995: 6) argued that the internalized notion of being "underdeveloped" has embark the new framework that put society and nations in the Global South to take charge in solving their own problem. Similar pattern is found in the narrative of putting the 'victim' as the 'game changer' through their participation in social movement. For instance, it can be seen from the tendency to put the victim "as vanguard by elevating them to heroism" (Puar 2007: 17). Queer theory highlights several important concerns around this strategy that anchored in the critique that development intervention' believe in universality fail to account cultural and political context of LGBT live. Furthermore, the complexity of liberal self that can only be exercised effectively when operated in the Western democratic tradition has forced local system to create environment that "liberalizing attitude and laws" (Weeks 2010: 129). This strategy further redefines sexual right movement into business-like activities (Oswin 2007: 649-669) to fit with the conceived political system and process. Oswin explained its impact to LGBT rights movement that "has largely abandoned its progressive-left affiliations [that] it now fights for assimilation and social acceptability" (Oswin 2007: 656).

In sum, Post Development and Queer theory dispute from the monolithic representation of non-normative sexualities through identity politics which have been expanded across the board through the operation of development machines. The essences of both theories are critical to unveil the operationalization of human rights discourse in LGBT rights programming. However, as Escobar (2007: 22) said, the aim of post-structuralist assessment is "not to provide a more

accurate representation of "the real"". Instead, it posts assessment of what constitute as the truth "and go on to argue that a choice of epistemology and of theoretical framework is always a political process that has consequences to the real world" (Escobar 2007: 22-23). This echoes by Queer theory that insist in moving the framing of homosexuality away from the hegemonic "knowledge/power regime (Seidman 1995: 128). This assessment, Escobar (1995: 5) stated, is done by performing "discourse analysis" as it gives possibility to "separating ourselves from [the development tale] by perceiving it in a totally new form". In the next chapter, I am explaining the discourse analysis research strategy to post critical questions that inspired by both post-development and Queer theory into the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program.

Chapter 4
Research Strategy

Critical Discourse Analysis

As this research is aimed to unpack how the life and the struggle of LGBT people have been represented by certain development intervention therefore, discourse analysis is considered suitable to be employed. Particularly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied to unpack the nuances about what has been said about LGBT and LGBT movement; how those are framed and narrated. Van Dijk (2011: 95-96) described that CDA is "..a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". Furthermore, CDA is important to be implemented in this research as it is "fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationship of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 10).

This research is an exploration to what Bacchi (2009: 32-36) stated as the "problematization". Therefore, it focuses on understanding how problems are presented and not whether the "problem" laid out by 'Being LGBTI in Asia' is true or not true (ibid.). In the process of problematizing, exist presumptions and assumptions that come from "concepts, ideas and ideologies" (Gasper 2003: 1). Bacchi (2009: 8) further stated that "concepts are abstracts labels that are relatively open-ended". In its various application therefore, there are potentials that "different meaning" are attributed to concepts (ibid.). Embarking from this, I am using "what is the problem represented to be" (WPR) approach developed by Bacchi (2009) and further endorsed by (Goodwin 2013), as it is potential to reveal the normative framework as well as assumption that have been used to define "truth" (Goodwin 2013: 171). Bacchi posted six questions to systematically explore "the discursive aspect of policy, including how problems are represented in policy and how policy subjects are constituted through problem representation" (Goodwin 2013: 167). While Bacchi's first and second question are focusing on problem representation, the following questions are suitable to investigate aspects of exclusion and silence in the discourse (Goodwin 2013: 171). Furthermore, it provides areas of exploration to the discourse maker (ibid.). Bacchi's six questions is composed in the table by Goodwin (2013: 171) is presented below.

Table 1. WPR Table

Question	Goal	Strategies
1. What's the problem represented to be?	To identify the implied problem representation.	Identification of the problem as it is expressed in the policy

2. What presuppositions or assumptions underline this representation of the problem?	To ascertain the conceptual premises or logics that underpin specific problem representations.	Foucauldian archaeology involving discourse analysis techniques, such as identifying binaries, key concepts and key categories.
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?	To highlight the conditions that allow a particular problem, representation to take shape and assume dominance.	Foucauldian genealogical analysis involving tracing the 'history' of a current problem representation to identify the power relations involved in the prevailing problem representations.
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	To raise for reflection and consideration issues and perspectives that are silenced in identified problem representations.	Genealogical analysis, and cross-cultural, historical and cross-national comparisons in order to provide examples of alternative representations.
5. What effects are conducted by this representation of the problem?	To ascertain discursive effects, subjectification effects, and lived effects.	Discourse analysis techniques including identification of subject position, dividing practices where subjects are produced in opposition to one another and the production of subjects regarded as 'responsible' for problems. Impact analysis: consideration of the material impact of problem representations on people's lives.
6. How/where is this representation of the problem produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disputed and disrupted?	To pay attention to both the means through which some problem representations become dominant, and to the possibility of challenging problem representations that are judged to be harmful.	Identification of institutions, individuals and agencies involved in sustaining the problem representation. Mobilizing competing discourses or reframing the 'problem'.

Source: Goodwin (2013: 173) on citing Bacchi (2009)

Considering my research focus and scope, I only use question number 1 to 5 to answer my research questions. The complete analysis of the texts can be found in annex 2 of this paper. I approach my first and second research question through answering Bacchi's question number 1 and 2 that address formal representation of the problem and its underlying assumptions. I investigate the texts with attention such as on frequency of usage of words and terms as qualifier of LGBT vulnerability. Undertone of phrasing used by the text are also an important aspect that I put attention into. For instance, whether a specific choice of words and terms are having positive or negative connotation about being LGBT. To better explain meanings of certain description or choice of words, I do cross examination with context of program implementation area which is Asia. I observe the overall topics that the program considers as important, and check the consistency, contradictions as well as how those are put into rank of priorities. I give similar attentions to the proposed strategies to address the vulnerability presented by the document. It is important to note that this program propose a rather complex strategy. When studying the overall proposed strategy, I keep specific attention to the involvement of LGBT people in addressing their 'vulnerabilities' through movement and "the desirable end" (Gasper 2000: 9).

The third research question that is approached mostly through exploration of Bacchi's question number 2, 3 and 4 on assumptions, silencing, and the position of the discourse maker which are individuals and organizations that participate in the development of certain document. Gasper (2000: 11) posted an important warning that attention must be given to both stated and unstated assumption. While containing a great amount of descriptions about challenging situation faced by LGBT people however, the documents that I analyse have less straightforward justifications put in written. Therefore, I explore the context of time, place and events that happen in the time of text production to be able to describe unstated assumptions. Furthermore, I explore the influence of process employed to develop the document to the emphasize or silence. Assumptions are also explored through understanding actors involve in the development of the report and their relationship with the program.

Bacchi's question number 4 and 5 that address assumptions and silencing are used back to back to approach research question number 4. I give attention to the explicit concepts used in the text, for instance human rights based approach, on how it is emphasized. At the same time, I am scrutinizing whether there are several of its tenets that are ignored or made invisible. Furthermore, I am exploring the implicit ideas that are suggested by the text. For instance, the concept of modernity, citizenship, liberal self and gender. After conducting text analysis, I examine the repeated representations and observe the overarching themes. Moving further, I examine those recurring ideas suggested by the texts and the potential extended effect of the applications.

Text as Secondary Data: Selection Process

To map the web of meaning within the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' program, I study texts from publicly available documents that publish in the program page of UNDP Asia-Pacific website. Original documents published in non-English language are excluded from selection process unless the English version are available. However, as language is important for system of meaning (Wodak and Mayer 2009: 1-2) and translation might redefine meanings, I take further consideration when treating this type of document during selection and analysis. It is

important to note that the program web page also provide other relevant resources that are produced by other organizations such as OHCHR. For this research, I exclude those type of document to be selected.

19 documents that published between 2013 to 2017 are collected for first examination. 10 of those discuss country level situation: 8 cover overall areas of concern of the program, while the other 2 are reports on media coverage in Thailand and public attitude in China. For further analysis, I then select 3 documents based on relevance to the research questions and diversity in: organization in charged to develop the document, method employed to collect information, position in the timeline of program history, and target readers. The selected documents are described in bellow table. Description of each document and method of analysis are presented in the following sections.

Table 2. Selected Text

No	Title	Year of Publication	Remarks
1	Being LGBT in Indonesia: Indonesia Country Report – A Participatory Review and Analysis of the Legal and Social Environment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) 2015Person and Civil Society	2014	National consultation process; First term of program implementation
2	Report of the Regional Dialogue on LGBT Human Rights and Health in Asia-Pacific	2015	Regional consultation process; Second term of program implementation
3	Leave No One Behind – Advancing Social, Economic, Cultural and Political Inclusion of LGBTI People in Asia and The Pacific – Summary	2015	Regional consultation process; Second term of program implementation

Source: Author

The three selected texts are consistent in constructing the overall component of the program instead of focusing on specific topic. The length of those document varies from 24 to 78 pages. The third document is unique as it is a summary of a document that its full version is not available for public. Furthermore, the selected documents reflect various characteristics are considered during analysis process. For instance, different level of processes to inform consistency of the discourse, and different period of establishment are also useful to inform the progress of conceptualization. Having documents that produced in different term of program implementation provide benefit to explore "intertextuality" among those three, to observe potential "recontextualization" (Resigi and Wodak 2009: 90) of some component or even the whole construction of the discourse.

Wodak and Mayer (2009: 10) reminded that a document is hardly the product of individual thoughts. This echoes Escobar (1995: 1-20) who explained that on understanding the "regime of representation" we need to examine the mind of knowledge producer. Therefore, I am taking considerable time and space to understand individual or organization that participate in developing each document. Furthermore, I draw an explanation about their relationship with the program or individual organization. Although UNDP is the main partner of this program however, as a standard practice, a disclaimer is included in all documents stating that positions taken by the document do not necessarily reflect the position of UNDP or the UN. On reflecting to this, the program suggest that all documentations do not speak on behalf of one organization but instead a collaborative efforts where certain compromise and agreement are discussed and settled.

Introduction to the Texts Analysed in The Paper

Across three texts, there are not many metaphors used to appeal for reader's emotions. 'Technical' terms are observed to also be minimally used. For instance, the term heteronormativity which commonly used in LGBT narrative is used at minimum and most of the time in a specific way such as when discussing procreation focus marriage or education. On the other hand, terms and words that are commonly used in human rights advocacy are extensively found across texts. All documents give a balance proportion between discussing the live of LGBT people and explaining the proposed actions to solve those 'problem'. Overall, I would argue that the formal style of the three documents corresponds to the intended user and moreover to the emphasize of this program to speak on behalf of SDGs.

Being LGBT in Indonesia: Indonesia Country Report – A Participatory Review and Analysis of the Legal and Social Environment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) Person and Civil Society (2014)

This text is produced to provide overview about LGBT rights in Indonesia, as part of the mapping exercise conducted by the program in its first term of implementation. Together with other studies implemented in the first term of the program, this document feed the development of "eight steps towards LGBT-inclusive development work" that will be implemented by key development actors in Asia (UNDP 2014: 7). This document follows similar pattern across 8 countries, exploring aspect of: laws, policies, politics, social and cultural, religion, education, health, employment, media, and LGBT alliance and movement. In the last part of the document, recommendations are addressed to three groups of development actors namely: "LGBT community and organizations in Indonesia", the government of Indonesia, and "multilateral and bilateral organizations" (UNDP 2014: 10-12). This document is selected because it has the biggest involvement from local LGBT organizations. Furthermore, it represents the first term of the program that have explicit objective on LGBT rights movement (UNDP 2014: 6-7).

Report of the Regional Dialogue on LGBT Human Rights and Health in Asia-Pacific (2015)

Following the establishment of country level situation mapping, a regional dialogue was conducted in the early 2015. The event was co-organized by Multi-Country South Asia Global Fund HIV Program, and ISEAN-Hivos Multi-

Country Global Fund HIV Program. That makes this document unique as it is a compromise made by this program with a bigger and more established consortium. Moreover, it is also a representation of regional process when agenda of actions are contested and negotiated among program stakeholders. However, it still keep LGBT movement in the core strategy to achieve the goal of the program (UNDP 2015a: 1). Lastly, this is the first document produced by the program that mention the Pacific in it, which might be a compromise as well as expansion of program reach.

<u>Leave No One Behind – Advancing Social, Economic, Cultural and Political Inclusion of LGBTI People in Asia and The Pacific – Summary</u> (2015)

This document is produced based on regional consultation meeting and additional consultation with experts on issues that considered need to be addressed by the program. This "agenda of actions in the context of the SDGs" is the main program document of 'Being LGBTI in Asia' (UNDP 2015b: 1). It contains the overarching strategies proposed by the program to be implemented by key development actors in all level, concerning the live of LGBT people in Asia and the Pacific. The strategy highlights areas of importance in: laws and policies, health, education, employment, family, media, and political participation. Its recommendations are constructed to directly linked SDGs indicators that deemed relevant to include LGBT people and their concerns in development agenda. Therefore, it is a powerful advocacy material for the member of this program. Furthermore, it can be directly used by other development actors from government sector, to integrate their work into SDGs agenda. Another unique point of this document is the recurrent mention of the Pacific which is not the area of reach that is designed by the program.

Scope and limitation

As an exercise to present alternative narration of LGBT rights movement in development context, this research is also a process of knowledge production. It is therefore important to acknowledge where it is situated to understand the scope and limitation. As explained in the beginning of this paper, this research is not neutral but instead politically motivated to unpack the patterning of development intervention. Moreover, my positionality influences my focus and the way I interpret those. I stated in my introduction that results of this re-reading the dominant development 'tale' are intended firstly to contribute to local LGBT movement in Indonesia and later to other countries in Asia. By saying this, I include activist, academia and other parties that are related or concern about sexual rights movement in Indonesia and furthermore Asia. Most of the results might reflect common thread at the global level because the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' represents the dominant intervention framework in this issue. However, it is important to note that my paper is culturally, socially and politically grounded within the scope of Asia. Thus, to use those in other context need careful consideration and possibly also adjustment.

Chapter 5
Civil Society Movement Without a Movement

In this chapter, I am using analysis that have been conducted to three selected texts to answer my research questions. The first part of this chapter presents overview of what problems around LGBT rights that have been presented by the texts. In this part, I highlight what the 'real problem' according to the program that need intervention, what are in the background, and the goal that want to be achieved. Who the LGBT people are, is then presented in the following section. In this part, I am discussing diversity of representation. I also utilize several key assumptions relevant with problematization of who the LGBT people are. I then continue to further discuss notable features of assumption that I consider significant in influencing how LGBT rights movement is presented by the program. This chapter will then be closed with discussion and reflections on the representation of LGBT rights movement by the program.

Being LGBTI in Asia's Problem Representation

Borrowing from Bell and Binnie's work in 2000, Wilson (2009: 73-85) stated that human rights is a "neat concept" which logic is plausible and the framework deemed complete. Therefore, the first thing that I would like to present is an investigation whether the recurrent ideas used by the program are implying the narrative of problems beyond "sexuality [that] conceived as rights" (Sabsay 2013: 81). Across all texts, "people" (used 639 times) and "human" (used 295 times) as well as other words that represent various image of sexual identities, such as transgender, gay and lesbian, are among the most frequently used words. Next to those, "gender" is used three times more frequent than the combined "sexual" and "sexuality". This gives indication that gender a safer word to be used. Furthermore, it frames LGBT issue within the umbrella of gender concerns although there is not any mention about sexual rights in gender section within the global development agenda. Nonetheless, although "rights" is most of the time juxtaposed with "human" or "violation" however, we need to further investigate whether this program expresses a shift in the mission "from saving the women to saving the gays" (Bracke 2012: 237-252).

The program argues that violation of human rights is part of daily reality that can be recognized from persistent violence, discrimination and pathologizing towards LGBT people in all aspects of their live. As the "undesirable people" (UNDP 2014: 27), LGBT are excluded from participating in the social, cultural, economic and political processes (UNDP 2015b: 6) that further marginalized their position in society. Conflict and confrontations are further emphasized through description of unlawful personal, group and public attitudes towards LGBT people that deeply-rooted in cultural and religious practices (UNDP 2014: 30). The situation is worsened by persistent "conflict, religious extremism, weak government, and economic underdevelopment" (UNDP 2015b: 6) in the country. Those intensify maltreatments that must be dealt by LGBT people. Eventually, some of those have jeopardized their safety and security, to an extent that family as the immediate support system fail to provide protection (UNDP 2014: 37-39).

The experiences of LGBT people that explained above tend to be presented by the program in the background. Thus, although the live of LGBT people are described as 'stories of the reject' however, those are used to convey the representation of what considered as the central problem. The program points out that the supposedly well-known LGBT issues is less of a concern in Asian countries as their existences have been made invisible by conservativism since a long time ago (UNDP 2014: 25, UNDP 2015b: 5-6). For 'Being LGBTI in Asia', the fact that government is actively participating in making LGBT people invisible (UNDP 2014: 50) and becoming the compliance of ones who commit "the most obvious human rights violation" (UNDP 2015a: 15), are the problem that need to be addressed. Furthermore, the government is represented to be an active violator of human rights because it fails to establish legal framework that eliminate discrimination based on sexual identity which exclude them from social services such as in health and education (UNDP 2014, UNDP 2015a, UNDP 2015b). It also fails to provide protection due to its reluctance to enforce legal consequences for persecution and other violent acts towards LGBT people (UNDP 2014: 25, UNDP 2015a: 17). Instead, the government is criminalizing people with non-normative sexual identity (UNDP 2015a: 14-20). Moreover, the most severe act performed by government is to deny non-binary sexual identity (UNDP 2015a: 14-20) which make LGBT people not acknowledged as full citizen.

The program further asserted solution on prioritizing 'inclusion' through arguments that by denying their full citizenship, government placed LGBT people in danger from growing resistances that perpetrated by religious conservative groups (UNDP 2014: 50, UNDP 2015a: 9-10). In avoiding clash of civilization to happen therefore, government must take key step in ensuring inclusion. Furthermore, it is part of human rights principles that without exception, applies to all people despite cultural differences (UNDP 2015a: 15). However, despite its call to ensure protection for the safety and security of LGBT people, the program's core arguments to hold government accountable is elaborated as follows.

Refusal to accept the 'true' identity of LGBT people is underscored as neglect to the potential "human capital" that crucial for the country's development (UNDP 2015a: 7). For instance, it increases probability of dropout from school (UNDP 2015a: 55-57) and denied access to basic needs (UNDP 2015a: 38-39). In a long run, it placed LGBT people in disadvantage position to get 'decent' employment. This undoubtedly will marginalize them further from society. Moreover, for not involving LGBT people in economic activities, government wastes the potential of new captivated market (UNDP 2015a: 33-34) as the "conservative estimation" stated that there are 100 million LGBT people living in Asia and the Pacific (UNDP 2015b: 5). The exceptionality of LGBT issues is further emphasized by arguments that being homophobic and transphobic country has economic cost (UNDP 2015a: 32). In greater extend, it will hurt the economy and specifically "the poor" (UNDP 2015a: 7 and 32). If government does not tackle this situation seriously, economic development indicators that reflect country's 'prosperity' will not be achieved (UNDP 2015b: 4-5). Consequently, such country will remain be considered underdeveloped (UNDP 2015b: 5).

According to the program, "political advocacy" (UNDP 2015a: 14) then should be conducted to hold government accountable in enforcing structural progress (UNDP 2015a: 10). In this narrative, government is believed to be the

main driver of "social transformation" (UNDP 2015a: 14) through establishing legal framework. It is already praised that "[a]rguably the most important of positive developments is a series of landmark developments in law and policy reform that are creating more positive social environment for LBTI people" (UNDP 2015b: 5). By stating that, it is assumed that government have power to change people's attitude to accept instead of only tolerate LGBT people (UNDP 2014: 26, UNDP 2015a, UNDP 2015b: 4) through application of laws that are not only engage LGBT people in development process, but also punish the violators of LGBT rights. Nevertheless, the program argues that such transformations are essential to foster the creation of enabling condition for "greater social, economic, [and] political inclusion" for LGBT people (UNDP 2015b: 4-5). Only within this condition that full citizenship for LGBT people can be guaranteed (UNDP 2015a: 10).

It is important to notice that the program use less words that can be correlated with safety and security (42 times) comparing with words associated with human capital and economics arguments such as education (242), employment (55) and work (137). It implies that when the program says provision of protection (213), it suggests the creation of condition where LGBT people can do 'productive activities'. This needs to be done because "[i]n addition to the personal cost of being in the closet, at the more structural level, one must note the decrease of productivity, lack of company loyalty, and brain drain for government and corporate institutions due to homophobia" (UNDP 2014: 31). This further echoed through the proposed strategy to convince the government that LGBT rights is a sound investment as study said that the "rights and growth move together, [where] additional protection of rights over the years correlate with extra USD 340 of GDP per person" (UNDP 2015a: 32). Furthermore, the program urges key development partners to get engaged in this political advocacy (UNDP 2015b: 5). In this regard, it is important to further investigate who the LGBT people, community and organization that are expected to take the leading role in political advocacy as they are the one who can educate others about the issue (UNDP 2015a: 56).

After presenting key arguments that emerged from texts I conclude that in the beginning, the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' follow the pattern of problematizing human rights issues to urge for actions as described in Chapter 2 above. The proposed solution that focuses on the central role of government is also following the logic of State-People dynamic of human rights discourse. What is striking here is the monolithic representation of the actors. For instance, the State and society are represented as oppressive, and potential protective measures from community is projected through the role of family. Furthermore, the relationship between individuals and their social orders and networks is perceived as one way and not interdependent, but furthermore overlooked despite its constant mention in arguments about tolerance and acceptance.

Nevertheless, from reorganizing the web of arguments across texts, it is obvious that the program conveys other narratives that anchored in different discourses. As this research aims to provide alternative reading to this development intervention, the narrative that represent familiar concepts away from human rights discourse need to be presented. This is the story about a group of people that has been overlooked in the past. They need to be included in the system not because of entitlement but instead, their current condition is contra productive for economic growth. Unfortunately, their marginal nature caused them to

be less capable than others. In this regard, they themselves need to demand for the government to increase their merit so that they can be identical with others. Only by doing this, their existence is of value for the society.

By moving away from the narrative of human rights, diverse arguments that previously might clashing with each other and furthermore produced too big of a messy program design, can be better situated and understood. Furthermore, it can clarify other key concepts that influential in this program. This is a program to "normalize" non-normative sexualities through the implementation of "the politics of inclusion" (Sabsay 2013: 80-90). Inclusion means LGBT people will become 'equal' with others thus can be treated as other citizens in their potential and role in the market. In this regard, LGBT people are seen as the source of human capital. Furthermore, the evolution from safety and security problem into economic prosperity projects the trend to intersect sexuality with "capitalism" and "liberalism" logic (Duggan 2002: 175-194) that are also apparent in human rights' advocacy strategy (Oswin 2007: 649-669). At the end, the program showcases proof of critique that address towards development project in interpreting "progress" and "modernity" to go back into economic prosperity (Escobar 1995: 5 and 11-12).

The Paradox of Identity: Who Are the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender?

The program reiterates facts that "legal recognition" of sexuality as subjective identity is hardly found in its program area (UNDP 2015b: 8). Therefore, there is not any current formal representations disputed by the program. In this absence, what have been presented as 'who the LGBT people are' thus can be treated as the suggested model that should be acknowledged in the legal framework of countries within the area of program.

In societies that have deeply-rooted and widely-spread (UNDP 2014: 30) influence of religious conservatism, narrative of morality has vastly been penetrated social, cultural and political discourses (UNDP 2015: 25). This type of society perceives LGBT people as immoral (UNDP 2015a: 10) therefore they are unwanted (UNDP 2014: 27). Their low social status further put them as object of 'problematic behaviour' of other member of society such as violence, criminalization, denial of 'true' identity, neglect and discrimination (UNDP 2015b: 6-9) which create further vulnerability. To survive a live as victim therefore, it is very common for LGBT people to live in discrete as visibility prompt them to alienation and danger (UNDP 2014: 32 and 34). It is a very complex situation for LGBT people because they need to participate in activities outside of home such as in employment or study (UNDP 2014: 30-33). However, participation post a danger for them to expose their sexual identity to the environment that are not accepting it (ibid.). This invisibility has also been made an excuse for government to exclude LGBT people in all aspect of development (UNDP 2015b: 5). This arguably positioned them as second-class citizen (UNDP 2015a: 9). According to the program however, all is caused mainly by society's misunderstanding about non-normative sexualities (UNDP 2015b: 6).

When discussing problems around the live of LGBT people, range of identity markers are mentioned such as "disability", "HIV" status, "poverty", "migrant status", employment, age and ethnicity (UNDP 2015b: 7). However, most of those are connotated with ideation of lacking, less than others, difficult and

being marginal. For instance, those are the source of "stigmatization" and abuse such as in work place (UNDP 2015a: 3-4) which further deteriorate "mental health" (UNDP 2015a: 41) which increase the case of "suicide" among LGBT people (UNDP 2015a: 3). Therefore, instead of serving the purpose to draw holistic picture of who LGBT people are, intersectionality framework is merely used to emphasize the image of LGBT people as 'deprived' member of society. Overall, the frail lives of vulnerable victim that is narrated by the program is used to represent LGBT people as 'the reject' by society.

The portrayal of LGBT people as advocate who fight for their rights, I would argue, cannot be separated from how LGBT rights movement have represented by the program. Furthermore, it cannot be separated from the proposed "political advocacy" (UNDP 2015a: 14). Thus, it assumes that one should be part of group or organization to be part of the solution unless that LGBT individuals perform similar characterization of group or organization. One characteristic that accentuate how different LGBT people have been represented as part of the solution is that they must becoming political (UNDP 2014: 43) thus they must be visible in public sphere. This imagines LGBT people as not only sexual being but also political being (Sabsay 2012: 615, Sabsay 2013: 80-84). Precisely, a liberal self who qualify to participate in the political system and mechanism. On further indicating how political advocacy should be done, the program suggests an idea about good credential (UNDP 2014: 9-12) as a set of characteristics for ones to be able to perform this task and furthermore accepted to be part of traditional 'formal political system'. For instance, such organization or person should have knowledge on political system and advocacy skills (UNDP 2014: 14-15 and 42-43) that one can predict that for individual those can be acquired from hands on experience, connection or for formal education. Moreover, there should be organizations that pay fulltime to perform the tedious advocacy work (UNDP 2015b: 10). Otherwise, this type of people and community shall come from middle to high socio-economic status where access to higher education is not an obstacle and financial stability is not a daily survival. By having this characterization, the program performs a selection to get what is preferred to work on advocacy addressing LGBT issues while others are excluded. Considering most society in Asia are privileging their male member, it can be predicted that the gays will be ones who sit in the negotiation table although transgender is the most visible community within the acronym (UNDP 2015a: 68). Evidently, there are miss-match when undesired figures are present in advocacy, which then create uneasiness and furthermore erupt conflict. Another consequence of performing this selection, I would argue, is entangled with how LGBT organizations and its movement are represented which I will discuss further in the later section of this paper.

Despite all social and political struggles that are constructed around the lives of LGBT people at the end, the program aims to achieve for economic prosperity (UNDP 2015b: 4-5). The opening remark from Helen Clark, UNDP administrator, that is included in the second document is particularly important. That statement sums up the arguments about health, education, safety and security (UNDP 2015a 38-39 and 55-57) into the notion of "human capital" (UNDP 2015a: 7). Government investment on those aspects are needed because the country need LGBT people to be part of the market as source of labour and furthermore consumption (UNDP 2015a: 33-34, UNDP 2015b: 4-5). LGBT people as 'the reject' has been elevated into 'the economic being' that is the

bearer of national economy (UNDP 2015a: 7 and 32, UNDP 2015b: 4-5). At the end, LGBT people must follow the purpose of economic system, which country that doesn't want prosperity like the West? (Duggan 2002: 175-194).

To sum, characterizations of LGBT people within the construction of problems might not correlate with one in the constructions of solutions. LGBT people who are advocate for human rights do not fully fit with the criteria of vulnerable victim. Likewise, many LGBT people might be eliminated from becoming the desired human rights advocate as their education status do not meet the requirement. The program, I would argue, tends to see those as mutually exclusive that dismisses the notion that identity is resulted from intersection of many factors. Furthermore, it particularly ignores the fact that LGBT people belong to certain social networks where the shared identity(ies) influence the way they live their lives. For instance, LGBT people may be part of Moslem community or member of the "hardline Islamist groups or organizations" that depicted as the main threat of LGBT rights (UNDP 2014: 50). However, all are fit with the characterization of 'the economic self'. Furthermore, considering the narrative of problem-solution that resemble the economic logic, I would argue that 'the economic self' might have to be considered as 'the most desired LGBT people'. Nonetheless, in all characterizations, the program dismisses the idea of choice and decision making. Either being invisible or exposed or be part of the market, LGBT people are forced to take it. For instance, when discussing the method of survival which is dominated by the narrative of 'being invisible', the invisibility itself has never been depicted as a fair choice. Instead, that is forced by external factors (see example in cases of accessing education and employment that described in UNDP 2014: 30-33).

Before moving to the next observation, this question must be posted again: who are we talking about when we characterize LGBT people? Unless in the section about school bullying and intersex, the program does not specifically discuss about children and youth (UNDP 2014: 33-35, UNDP 2015a: 46-51, UNDP 2015b: 9). Young people is also inadequately mentioned in economic aspects of the program. For instance, they are mentioned briefly on the discussion about technical skill training to get job, but missing from discussion about structural problem and proposed solution in employment and housing (UNDP 2014: 30-33, UNDP 2015b: 13). This suggest that the program looks into children and young people in their capacity of "becoming" than "being" (White 2002: 1095-1096). Furthermore, it strengthens the narrative of human capital that need to be secured to sustain market system. Lastly, it implies the scope of those characterization to predominantly relevant for adult because the program ignores to address the specificity of being children and its complex contestation with sexuality.

On reflecting further to the contestation of "alphabet soup" (Budhiraja et al. 2010: 131-144) within the politics of identity, it is important to noticed that outside the mention of acronym LGBT, bisexual is addressed only 6 times in all texts which limited to express its unexplored nature that make bisexual people more invisible and misunderstood which then create uncertainty in their lives (UNDP 2014: 26). The program is neglecting the possibility that bisexuality might not exist, either as a notion or a form of non-binary sexuality, in certain part of Asia. In contrary, the live of transgender, gays, and MSM (man who have sex with man) are extensively used to describe how vulnerability exist and change must be fostered. For instance, the physical performance for instance

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by transgender and crossdresser that might not conform the struggle of bisexual in workplace, has been overly-highlighted without comprehension from other forms of non-normative sexuality (UNDP 2014: 30-33). Nevertheless, those characterizations are used to represent all letters in the acronym which then justify interventions. This post a danger of misrepresentation from the real problem which further exclude others that do not fit with criteria to grant participation in political movement. Lastly, I would like to draw an attention to the fact that the program (un)intentionally nuances characters in representing LGBT people. As discussed above, this brings up thoughts about the complex entanglement of diverse identities within one body. Nonetheless, the program conveniently disregards other factors that construct one's identities, its conformity to and influence on social context. Instead, it is portraying the live of LGBT people as revolving only around sexuality and sexual identity through its insistence to acknowledge sexual identity before others. This disregard other construction of personhood in non-Western societies which might not put sexuality at the centre of intersection.

Democratizing Homophobic Nations Through Silencing Local Specificities

A great deal of assumptions is observed from the studied texts. Most of those are specific in topic and context such as generalization of invisibility among different form of non-normative bodies in diverse issues, or how the program ignores the reluctance of intersex to be included in the acronym and the program (UNDP 2015a: 18, UNDP 2015a: 26). As mentioned above, there are also assumptions around age, generation and consent around the entanglement of young people, sexuality and gender identity. I discussed several assumptions that considered relevant to my research problem and question in previous sections and will continue problematizing more in this part and the following when reflecting to LGBT rights movement.

On proposing "political advocacy" (UNDP 2015a: 14, UNDP 2015b: 4-5) as the strategy to "…address inequality, violence and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, intersex status, and promotes universal access…" (UNDP n.d.), the program follows the framing of State-People dynamic within human rights discourse. Other than urging for establishment of common platform for key stakeholders to work together (UNDP n.d.) and greater participation of LGBT people in holding the government accountable (UNDP 2015b: 4), the program does not provide elaboration on how this strategy is suggested to be implemented. This implies an assumption that a certain political system is already in place. On reflecting to Sabsay (2012) and Wilson (2009), the program projects the underlying assumptions of pre-conditions to ensure the effective implementation of political advocacy which include political system and mechanism. Such political system should acknowledge distribution of power and participation from the people. Furthermore, it must have mechanism in place that can be accessed by representation of LGBT group to participate in policy deliberation and monitoring process (ibid.).

The list of requirements for the desired political system can be endless however, it is important to relate those to the arguably most important goal of advocacy that is "legal recognition" of subjective sexual identity (UNDP 2015b: 8).

This goal implies ideation about what Sabsay (2013: 80-84) said as the entanglement of being sexual and political. She elaborated further that on examining the aim of development intervention to acquire full citizenship, we must understand that "…the idea of citizenship [can be translated] as an entitlement of an abstract individual/subject of rights conceived as liberal self that sexual democracy could then define itself as implicitly secular, and stand for personal liberties and individual rights" (Sabsay 2012: 615-616). Through this clarification about the immediate goal of LGBT political advocacy, we can see clearer that Wester model of liberalism is assumed to be in place to implement the strategy effectively in achieving the immediate goal (Sabsay 2013: 80-84, Weeks 2010: 129). The reutterance of problematic behaviour that perpetrated particularly by conservative religious group which in the case of Indonesia is the "hardline Islamist group and organizations" (UNDP 2014: 25, UNDP 2014: 50, UNDP 2015b: 6) has been brushed over together with other cultural and social factors that might be influential in creating social justice such as class, gender and generations. Instead, it has been used to insist on the implementation of political project that sustain the supremacy of Western democracy. On insisting to this, the program deliberately undisclosed facts that in the West, LGBT people continue to get discriminated and become victim of violence (see for example in HRW 2016b, ACLU[9] n.d., and FRA[10] n.d.). This arguably display the claim of "exceptional status of the West" to "tolerate" and "accept" LGBT people (Puar 2007: 7-11, Puar 2013: 336-337) as signifier of modernity.

By assuming that Western liberal model is in place across Asia, the program is clearly disregarding local context and assume it as monoculture continent. The ignorance about diverse political system imply an assumption that they already have the enabling political system, and in the of its absence, the program suggests that it should be achieved. In this regard, when the program calls for LGBT community and organization to lead the movement or political advocacy (UNDP 2015b: 4), it does not put focus on how they will work and get empowered. Instead, it is a call to join and utilize the suggested political system and mechanism which is the Western liberal democracy. This brings to another assumption that acceptance or rejection towards LGBT people to participate in policy deliberation is only determined by the availability of the political system and mechanism. The program overlooked the complexity of its own characterization of LGBT people – from victim to game changer, from rejected to leading advocacy – which supposedly grounded in cultural and social context (Seidman 1995: 116). Evidently, those characterization that influenced by class, gender, generation, and so on, can determine their access to formal policy deliberation mechanism. In this regard, the program further assumes a "separation between political context and social context" (de Tocqueville as quoted by Seckinelgin 2002: 357) where both cannot influence each other. This contradicts with several key premises of the program such as on the instrumental role of legal framework to propel social change. Moreover, it raises question on the purpose of having civil society group, particularly LGBT community and organization, in this construction of vision and strategy (UNDP n.d.).

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[9] ACLU: American Civil Liberties Union
[10] FRA: European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights

Professionalizing LGBT Rights Movement?

It is important to further notice that the portion to discuss LGBT organization and their activities are gradually decreasing from the first term (2013 – 2014) to the second term (2014-2017) of program implementation. Furthermore, in the most updated program strategy, LGBT organization is discussed only within the call for an increased investment from international partners (UNDP 2015b: 10). If this is the case, we then need to revisit the current first objective of the program that said, "increase participation of LGBTI people in policy development including universal access to health, social service, education, employment, and rule of law and accountability mechanism" (UNDP n.d.). I corroborate this expected outcome to understand the meaning of having civil society, particularly LGBT groups, in the strategy of "political advocacy" (UNDP 2015a: 14, 2015b: 5). It is important to investigate as the premise of participations by government and non-government actors is in the form of "movement" (UNDP 2014, UNDP 2015a: 1-2, UNDP 2015b: 4).

The program's focus on "political advocacy" (UNDP 2015a: 14) is a vital component of the texts and furthermore to the program. When the focus of the program is on political advocacy, LGBT groups and organizations are required to shift their strategy from primarily taking care of each other in their 'community' (UNDP 2014: 17) into getting involved in high-level political process such as in national, regional and global level (UNDP 2014: 14-15 and 42-43). Consequently, LGBT organization must present good credentials to guarantee access to the political process of policy deliberation (ibid.). The program suggests areas of improvement that focus on ensuring legal status and establishment of organizational structure and professional management system (UNDP 2014: 17-20, 47 and 49). Furthermore, connection with a more established network are suggested to be built to improve organizational profile (UNDP 2014: 19-20).

This proposal for improvement introduce what Seckinelgin (2002: 361) stated as the "new organizational culture" to local groups in countries like Indonesia. Such organization projects the image of "high-skilled professional" (Paternotte 2016: 1474-2829) that needed by the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' in ensuring program strategy can be implemented effectively thus goals can be achieved. In the process, ones that succeed of becoming 'professional' are invited to be part of the elite lobby and advocacy group that facilitated by the program. Furthermore, to join the program means merging into the Western liberal model of work and success. On a further reflection to the whole arrangement of political system in policy deliberation, the program tends to commodify civil society into a working unit that assigned with specific task (Seckinelgin 2002: 358). Reiterating from Oswin (2007: 656) research on civil society movement in South Africa, the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' has changed sexual rights movement from its progressive nature.

Civil society and its movement is "culturally located and particular in context" (Seckinelgin 2002: 361) thus it needs to at the minimal, conform with local context of community that it represents. Ideally, civil society works in platform that speak to its vision and project similarity. As discussed in the sections above, the collective identity of this program is narrowed into sexuality and sexual identity, assuming all letters in the acronym have similar problem and priority that they want to advocate. This raise concerns not only about inclusion/exclusion but also visibility/invisibility within non-normative sexualities. Furthermore, in

reflecting to the representation of proposed solution by the program, it is not firmly about equality and justice for LGBT people but instead establishing credible government. In this regard, LGBT organization and people are instrument to achieve that said goal. Lastly, across the examined texts, the program hardly uses 'we' and persistently uses 'they' when presenting the problem and proposed solution for LGBT rights struggles. This bring complex contestation about partnership and solidarity. However, one thing is clear that LGBT organization is arguably seen as less important than what it is in achieving equality and justice.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

In this paper, I deliberately move away from contesting local resistance towards LGBT rights movement in non-Western countries. I argue that posting questions which deviated from the illuminating light of attacks and agitation contribute to counter the story about the dying movements and furthermore speak to the potential rebound at the local level. Critical discourse analysis has helped me to challenge the perceived image that development aid's first concerns is about the life of LGBT people. Instead, it showed that government's incapability to create enabling environment for economic development is at the cornerstone of intervention justification. Furthermore, through the analysis of program that reflects complexity of LGBT rights movement from global to local, I present various aspects of development interventions that are problematic, from its planning to execution. The human rights discourse has been used to grant warrant for other discourses that reflect Western model of modernity. Through this paper I argue that the 'Being LGBTI in Asia' is an economic project that value LGBT people as an instrument for economic prosperity. Furthermore, it is a political project that rely on the liberal democracy system where LGBT people is symbolized as the bearer of individual freedom.

Sexuality as separate sphere has been projected through diverse LGBT characterizations that revolve around sexual identity and expressions. Furthermore, sexuality has been regarded as exceptional which reflects in the centrality of the politics of identity and inclusion. This post risk of privileging some on the expense of others, not only within LGBT community but also in society which. I would argue, this might trigger backlash towards LGBT people. Furthermore, those silencing diversities at the local level and imposing the preferred model of LGBT people and society that might not correspond with realities.

The combination of program's focus and assumptions that applied in diverse representation of LGBT people is arguably produced consequences to the way LGBT rights movement is seen. The program has narrowed the role of LGBT people and organizations into a working unit that serve specific purpose in the long production lane to deliver legal framework. On reflecting to Puar (2007) notes about moment of convergence, the apparent question of which one is best and preferable – advocacy or movement – I would argue, is not important. Instead, it is rather urgent to take critical stand from the imagery of this framework and strategy as the only conceivable way to demand change. Furthermore, we need to further understand in which way those two hinders or creates civic space to acquire justice and equality.

This study focuses on analysing text therefore, other materials such as videos are excluded from consideration. In future investigation, I found video materials is especially important for instance to see gaps of representation among letter LGBTIQ in the problematization. Social media connected with the program is unfortunately also excluded as it needs expanded techniques to analyse those properly and sufficiently. In the future, it is important to unpack the complexity of public exposure that garnered through persistence use of sexual iden-

tity in representing LGBT people. Particularly, it is a good entry point to understand the persistent agitation directed to the community. Furthermore, investigating LGBT movement from the perspective of resilience might also be critical to contribute to the challenge for local actors to re-signify power dynamic within international solidarity. Only then we will be able to better understand the holistic life of LGBT people. Furthermore, it will enrich knowledge produced from the South as a reminder for the international development of their biases.

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Annex 1 – Sexual Orientation Map (ILGA 2007)
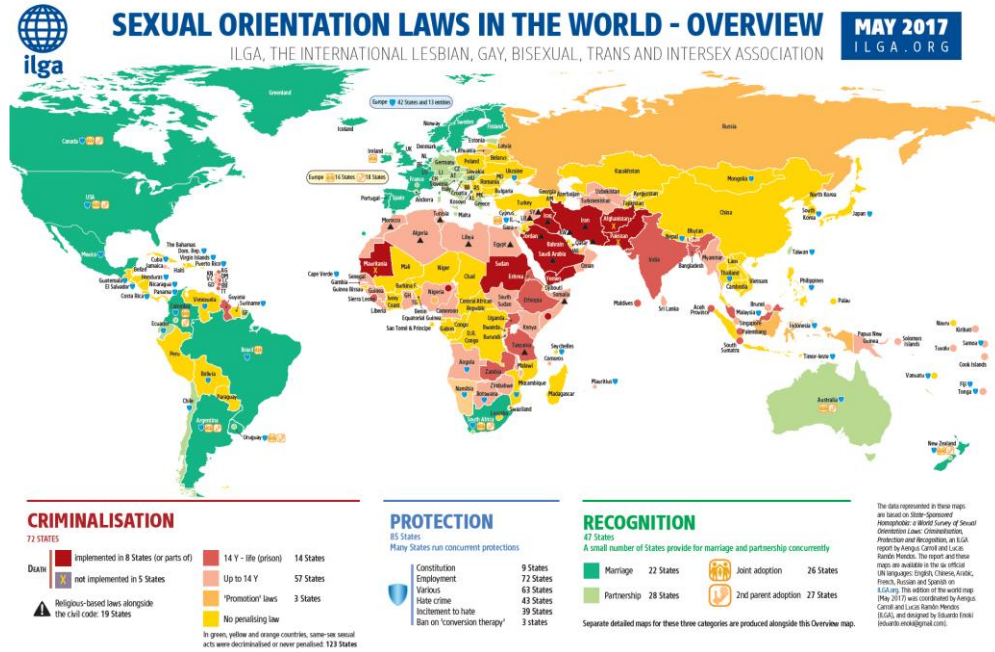
Source: ILGA 2017

Annex 2 - Analysis Table Using WPR

WPR Question (Bacchi 2009)	Text 1 Being LGBT in Indonesia: Indonesia Country Report A Participatory Review and Analysis of the Legal and Social Environment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Person and Civil Society (UNDP 2014)	Text 2 Report of the Regional Dialogue on LGBTI Human Rights and Health in Asia-Pacific (UNDP 2015a)	Text 3 Leave No One Behind Advancing Social, Economic, Cultural and Political Inclusion of LGBTI People in Asia and the Pacific (UNDP 2015b)
1. What is the problem presented to be?	LGBT people is less of a concern for Indonesia because they belong to the group of "**undesirable people**" (p. 27) whose existence are ignored and denied. This situation constantly create uncertainty in their life. Persistent rejections can be found in all aspects of life (social, economics, legal) that jeopardize safety and security, to an extent that immediate support system such as family fail to provide protection (p. 37-39). To survive therefore, it is unavoidable for LGBT people to **living in discrete**, as visibility prompt them to violence, discrimination and alienation (p. 32, 34). In this sense, government is actively participating in making LGBT people invisible such as in forcing LGBT organization to not mention their sexuality and gender identity in the name of organization (p. 50). **LGBT rights movement is in general hard** to be done as society is deeply confined by the narrative of morality. Moreover, it is a lonely battle as being allies to LGBT rights is burdensome and brings	Government do not provide specific protection to their marginalized and vulnerable citizen, LGBTI people. In contrary, they complicit with ones who do "the most obvious human rights violation" (p. 15). Those are perpetrated by: across the document: other people in society and work place, Islam → Malaysia (p. 40) Indonesia (41, 51), bisexual → doctors (p. 5). This is in contrary with the common knowledge that State and its apparatus' **obligation** is to uphold international human rights that, without exception, apply to all human-kind despite differences in culture (p. 15). This make LGBT people "stayed in the closet to protect themselves" (p. 10) Of not doing its obligation, government is neglecting the potential "human capital" that crucial for the country's development (p. 7) → statement from Helen Clark Government should realize that being homophobic and transphobic has economic cost (p. 32) which hurts the	LGBT people have been **excluded** from all aspects of development because they are invisible (p. p. 5) due to "conflict, religious extremism, weak government, and economic underdevelopment" (p. 6). If we don't tackle this situation, economic development indicators as the reflection of country's 'prosperity' will not be achieved (p. 4-5). Furthermore, such country will remain be considered underdeveloped (p. 5). Enabling condition need to be achieved for "greater social, economic, political **inclusion**" of LGBT people (p. 4-5). To achieve that, political movement from the identified stakeholders – government, judiciary, LGBT community, national human rights institutions – is key (p. 5). However, role of LGBT community in advocacy is expected to be growing (p. 4)

	"negative image" (p. 30, 46). However, **progress can be achieved if movement is done through adoption of human rights framework**.	country's economy and specifically, "the poor" (for example in p. 7 and 32). →Helen Clark said "large economic cost " (p. 7) Consequently, political advocacy is a must to demand government in achieving "social transformation" (p. 14) that guarantee full citizenship for LGBT people (p. 10). Furthermore, advocacy is best to be led by LGBT community.	
2. What the presupposition or assumption underlie this representation of the 'problem'?	Injustice towards LGBT people are **human rights violation**. It is deeply-rooted and widely-spread (p. 30) because of the influence of **religious conservatism**, firstly Islam and secondly Christianity, which narrative of morality vastly penetrate social, cultural and political discourses (p. 25). The government is perpetuating those through the implementation of **decentralized government system** which **intensifies religious "conservatism"** in local level (p. 27). Example is given to prove this through complex case of bylaws in province Nangroe Aceh Darussalam. However, as this province in Sumatra island has been widely known (in Indonesia) as using Islamic teaching as the principles of their bylaws, this example is more to show case the extend of **deprivation in the life of LGBT people that caused by Islam** (p. 44-46) instead of the effect of decentralized government system.	The government is considered not fulfilling its obligation because they let LGBT people marginalized and vulnerable. The proofs are: LGBT people become **object of violence, discrimination, pathologizing**. Those happen because they have been regarded as second-class citizen (p. 9) whose existence are considered immoral (p. 10). State and its government is considered fail to: 1. legally acknowledge **category(ies) of LGBT identity** as the first step to recognize their full citizenship 2. prevent and punish their apparatus who participates in committing violence, discrimination and pathologizing 3. establish laws that ensure inclusion 4. establish laws that ensure protection in regards with their specific vulnerabilities	It is **urgent** because it concerns a big population as per "conservative estimation" of LGBT population given by this report: 100 million (p. 5). This number can bring bad statistic for economic development indicators in the SDGs. In regards with goal that need to be achieved: inclusion means "acceptance and recognition of [their] needs and rights" (p. 4). Emphasize given on provision of legal framework as an '**expanded responsibility**' of duty bearers instead of realization of 'hidden aspects' of their given responsibility (p. 5) Intersectionality of identities are acknowledged to be fundamental to shape one's challenges. A range of identities are mentioned – disability, HIV, poor, migrant, sex work, etc (p. 7). Most of those connotated with lacking, less than general, marginal, etc. Therefore, instead of serving the purpose to draw holistic picture of the life of LGBT people, intersectionality framework is

While there are some careful assessments within diverse topics, in general, below 'proofs' are given to illustrate how complex life of LGB people in Indonesia are exacerbated by religious conservatism namely Islam:

- LGBT people are culturally tolerated however not accepted, for instance that bisexual **behaviour is acceptable** but **identifying self** as bisexual **is not** (p. 26).
- LGBT sexual conduct is vastly considered **pornography** which against social and religious norm and furthermore national law (p. 22-24) → **morality basis**
- However, other than pornography law (No 4/2008), there is not any other national law that criminalized LGBT people. However, LGBT identities are **not legally acknowledged thus not officially protected**. (p. 23)
- Furthermore, attitude of providers has made the already limited social services completely inaccessible even for **certain group that are known and better tolerated** such as transgender man-to-woman (*waria*), MSM and gay man (p. 34, 36).

The last three of above example putting emphasize to government's roles in the issue of LGBT rights. As much as government be seen as accomplice to conservative Islam however **they must be**

Without those provisions, LGBT rights are not fully upheld. Therefore, **government must be held accountable**.

Furthermore, political advocacy to ensure LGBT rights, **must be tied with development agenda** because this is the era of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (p. 7). There is not any conflict in this because other than becoming the duty bearer of human rights, government is also responsible in facilitating economic development processes.

The message for political advocacy is clear: government must **invest** in LGBT inclusion. Because study said, "rights and growth move together, [where] additional protection of rights over the years correlate with extra USD 340 of GDP per person" (p. 32). This investment will yield in:

1. quality of human resources
2. market opportunity (p. 33-34)

Other than the West, many parts of the world make progress (p. 10) even in Asia and the Pacific (p. 14-15). Other countries must make **structural progress**, learn from the West (p. 10). Or else, there will be sanction from Western countries as consequences (p. 10).

And the one who can effectively do it is LGBT community itself through **political activism**, because they are the one who can educate

used to emphasize the description of LGBT people as **deprived**. Deprivation itself is characterized by area of focus in this document where LGBT people are **object** of: misunderstanding, violence, criminalization, denial of 'true' identity which means underestimation of citizenship, neglect, discrimination (p. 6-9)

Family, but not society, is the environment that matters for LGBT people → emphasize on nucleus size of intimate circle, which project Western construction of personal-private-social

Now, LGBT people and communities are expected to be the **subject** of political movement. Emphasize given on the benefit from national and regional level activities suggest the priority of this program and network. Typical activities in national level, such as policy advocacy and Therefore, real life conflict and contestation in local level such as one with the raise of "religious extremism" (p. 7) and discrepancy between urban and rural (p. 10) are left on the hand of LGBT organizations themselves.

More "**financial investment**" must be directed to LGBT organization (p. 10) as it is the most needed to do by international development entities. Although the document acknowledged that LGBT 'organizations'

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made ally to LGBT rights, assuming they have power to 'contain' conservative Islam group.

Although it is frequently express that in the beginning of its establishment, LGBT groups and organizations are meant to provide support for the community itself, now they **must work on advocacy** towards to government. It is also shown from how this report commission the workshop to spend good portion of the document to discuss about **becoming political in public sphere** (p. 43). This also implies persuasion for LGBT organization to decide that working together is better to achieve goal – **collective actions**.

First thing first, collective actions shall be formed based on '**collective sexual identity**' (p. 47-48). This is due to assumption from 'facts' that although different types and degrees of human rights violations have been experienced by diverse sexual identities however, **'we' share similar experience of injustice that are perpetuated by 'them'** - "hardline Islamist group and organizations" (p.50).

Although in contrary, local voice expressed preference to "**work around existing barriers**" instead of pursuing "**change society**" (p. 20). From the suggestion that collective action should be in the form of policy advocacy works, this document assume that **government have power to change attitude of**

other people (p. 56). Program like Being LGBT in Asia take the role of **facilitating "solidarity and partnership"** (p. 7).

Those all imply several assumptions such as:
1. all letters in LGBTI have similar struggles and concerns, which already debated in the dialogue sessions (for example from the I group), everyone assume to experience the same discrimination, criminalization and pathologizing,
2. LGBT people only come from lower socio-economic group,
3. culture and social context of all countries are not important in shaping power dynamics that influence marginalization of LGBT people,
4. the position of LGBT people in their local social network are similar.
5. all countries in Asia and the Pacific to have democratic political system that enable active political participation of its citizen,
6. And furthermore, democracy is the political system that can guarantee provision of human rights in Asia and the Pacific.

also oppressed (p. 10) however, it still assumes they can develop themselves and self-thrive, and make big jump from being the object to subject.

Local naming of non-normative sexualities shall be **treated as a matter of language differences** although, this strategy acknowledged variation of meaning to sexuality. Thus, the term LGBTI is assumed appropriate and furthermore sufficient to be used to claim rights. Furthermore, this is a development work where LGBTI is the formal term used across the board thus, local level works are expected to follow suit.

Lastly, recommendations addressed to non-government actors are omitted from the summary. Thus, this summary document only contained recommendation to government which emphasize the central role of government in SDGs.

	people towards LGBT. As mention in the document that the This strategy is considered effective to create "society [that is] more conducive to the protection and promotion of human rights of LGBT Indonesians" (p. 20). The government's power to change people's attitude then can be imagined as exercise through the **application of punishment to the violation of laws to protect LGBT people**. ***In regards with proposal to expand the role of LGBT organizations in advocacy:*** Policy advocacy is a long and tedious process, assuming LGBT organization know what to do and how to do it. It is shown by recommendation to improve capacity that is addressed only to LGBT organizations and not to others (p. 9-12) To be able to engage in policy advocacy, LGBT organizations must have **good credential**. Several suggestions are given to achieve this such as: 1. Building legitimacy through formalization of organization (p. 11-12, 49). Also, work with more established organization working in other issues – especially human rights – are crucial (p. 19-20), assuming they communicate with each other, and the registration system is well-established. 2. Maintain certain standard. This can be		

achieved through ensuring a clear structure and selecting who should and can participate in the movement, to ensure quality and capacity (p. 17-19, 47)

3. Work in high-level political process such as in national, regional and global level (i.e. example of UPR process, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ASEAN, etc in p. 14-15, 42-43); assuming that civil society participation is established in the country.

Furthermore, this suggested strategy **assumes that the political system in Indonesia is open for civil society participation**, a liberal system.

Being part of global network and solidarity however shall not make LGBT movement afraid of specific accusation of becoming the accomplice in the imposition of "**foreign idea**" (p. 40, 51) as LGBT is local realities. Proofs are available from indigenous acceptance (for example p. 16-17).

Overall, collective actions should aim for a society that is **less conservative Islam**. Furthermore, creating an **urban-like** society is important as those can foster **friendlier spaces for LGBT rights movement** (p. 27). This implies the ideation that enabling condition for LGBT rights to prosper is going hand in hand with 'progress' and economic prosperity.

3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?	A two days participatory analysis workshop was co-organized by UNDP and two major LGBT networks in Indonesia: HIV focused network, and human rights of sexual orientation and gender identity network. A number of 71 participants attended the workshop, representing central government, national human rights institution, donor agencies, universities, non-governmental human rights institutions, legal aid organizations, civil society institutions, religious leaders. 39 out of 49 organizations in the workshop represented divers local LGBT organizations. The workshop was funded by Being LGBT in Asia program **to "develop network" among actors working in the issue** (p. 13). The document follows similar pattern of exploration to aspect of: laws, policies, politics, social and cultural, religion, education, health, employment, media, and LGBT alliance and movement.	A two days conference was conducted in Bangkok, Thailand which organized through partnership of: 1. UNDP 2. UNICEF 3. UNESCO 4. UNAIDS 5. APCOM (Asia Pacific Coalition on Male Sexual Health) 6. Asia Pacific Transgender Network (APTN) 7. B Change Foundation 8. Public Interest Law Network (PILnet) 9. Out Leadership (corporate group for LGBT+) 10. The Lancet (academic journal) 11. Embassy of Sweden 12. USAID It was attended by 225 participants from 33 countries. I include Australia and New Zealand as part of the Pacific, thus only 2 countries can be considered located outside the targeted areas of the program: Switzerland and the USA. Most participants were from Thailand as the host country. 78 community organizations participated on invitations from the organizing committee, and the rest of participants are experts and government representatives. The biggest group of participants (37%) identify themselves as transgender, which implies the size and strength of APTN's network.	This report was developed by John Goodwin, an expert consultant hired by the Being LGBT in Asia UNDP program. Two methods were done in the development process: desk review of researches, program report and data base; and interview with divers experts on government, human rights, and community. Documents that produce by UNDP and Being LGBT in Asia also been used to develop this document. As the Being LGBT in Asia program documents, especially country reports, were developed through participatory workshops with representatives from LGBT organizations, UN country offices, international development organizations, and Government to Government development aid, this report is claimed as resulted through grass root participations. This document is projected as the **agenda of action** for the Being LGBT in Asia program, its partner organizations, and global alliance working in this issue, in mainstreaming LGBT right into **Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)** in their respected countries. Although the project to develop this document was administered directly by UNDP, disclaimer is stated that its content might not reflect UNDP and UN position towards the issue.

		Other than to document past achievements, the conference was aimed at explored avenues to further strengthen the protection of LGBTI human rights across the region (p. 1). Six areas of concerns were discussed: advocacy, health, economic impact and private sector roles, personhood and legal gender recognition, education, and families. Invited speakers presented their case in each session, mainly combining two development players: experts and practitioners. Representatives from government bodies, including independent NHRIs, were also given the opportunity to speak. Open dialogue that followed presentations were recorded and presented as part of this proceeding.	
4.	What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silence? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	Although nuances are presented however: • Age and generations are hardly discussed. Younger generation is only mentioned when discussing bullying in schools (p. 33-35) or in sex education related with Sexually Transmitted Disease (STD) or HIV (p. 32), lack of knowledge and capacity from parents to provide information (p. 34), and gender reassignment procedure (p. 36) → the idea of becoming • Although acknowledged as invisible (p. 16), but the careful notes about bisexual is further invisible in the document. • The over-representation of transgender, gay and	Contestation in each topic are presented by representation of LGBT communities nevertheless, some are not followed through: • The proposed meaning citizenship, although it is scattered mentions are observed such as good citizen is visible (p. 16). • The connection between human rights approach and market approach (p. 35) • Exceptionality of HIV issues (p. 28) Health issues is not HIV issues (p. 27) • Intersex → there have been a lot of contestation from the community itself, but the program insists on include them in the acronym.	• Transition from being excluded from all aspects in life into included and even lead the advocacy is not discussed • Cultural and social ground of LGBT people are overlooked thus the representation is solely constructed around gender and sexuality expression. • The picture of society that narrowed into 'source of violent acts' is 1) generalizing, 2) overlooking other factors that trigger violence, and 3) overlooking potential role of society, 4) disregard the two-way relationship between agency and structure

	MSM only understood in the level of unintentional spotlight gained through HIV AIDS programming (p. 25, 36) → broader gender inequality issues are not brought about in the discussion
	
	Furthermore:
	• Other than being forced to remain invisible, it never discussed how LGBT people used diverse strategy to survive the life
	• Although acknowledging the diversity (p. 9) society is represented only as source of problem for LGBT people instead to also be the source of protection. For instance, through the use of words "disapprove" (p. 3) "against" (p. 26)
	• It ignores the reality that LGBT people are also part of group and share similar identity with that group. For instance, they might be part of the "hardline Islamist group and organizations" (p.50) and share some of the values
	• It overlooked other source of resistance but instead insisting the confrontation perpetuated by Islam.
	• In regards with advocacy, it doesn't problematize the 'jump' that must be done by LGBT people from being marginalized to sit at the same table of high-level
		"Intersex is not an issue of identity, it is a lived experience" (p. 18, 26)
		     Although it falls under bodily autonomy (consent), but again this is not about sexual identity (p. 18)
		     "Rather than being treated as people, we are reduced to being perceived as a different kind of rare physical experience" (p. 18, 26)
		• Young people is the most overlooked group (p. 28) that make them "unaware about my rights" (p. 17)
		• It ignores to see LGBT people as part of their society
		"faith is an integral component of my life, don't separate it from my reality" (p. 19)
		"I act as transgender activist but please don't forget that I am also taking risk not only for my activism but also on my identity" (p. 17)
		• Further ignorant towards intersection of sexuality with class, gender and race are further ignored. Consequently, different characterization of LGBT people (victim, vulnerable, leader of advocacy, consumer, worker) are seen as mutually exclusive	

	political debates. Overall, it is just suggested that LGBT organizations must be professional and strategic, almost business line. • Moreover, gaps between what the local movement want (p. 20) with program's suggestions are not discussed			

5.	What effect are produced by this representation of the problem?	• Homogenization of experiences
		• Characterization of LGBT people are very narrow around their body performativity (in the case of transgender) and sexual identity. The program will hardly identify LGBT people as their other 'status/identity'
		• Representations will focus on the 'down side' of being LGBT instead of in attempt to tell the story about the complex juncture of identities within one non-normative body
		• Strength of LGBT community will be ignored
		• LGBT people will be depicted as peculiar being that do not have any similarity or connectivity with the cultural and social context → although indigenous acceptance is brought about in the beginning of the document
		• Moreover, it will neglect cultural specificity of "acceptance" and "tolerance" while perpetuating the use of Western standard to understand those
		• Ignorance to culture, social, and political specificity in local level will also
			• Homogenization of experiences
			• LGBT people will continue be looked as fragments of 'identities' or 'problems' instead of in wholeness
			• It will become an economic project → to avoid loss therefore we should invest in improving human capital (p.7)
			• he potential for advocacy to include some for the expense of others are not seen as a problematic
			• It will become a blanket advocacy project because:
			• Only ones in middle income group can participate because poorer class focus on survival and higher class have too much privilege
			   • Problem presented are reflection of middle income group, while the problem of middle class is that they get stuck in their "comfort zone" (p. 19)
			   • Over-representation of certain group, for instance transgender (p. 68)
				• Generalization of characteristic which are not grounded in culture, social, political context
				• Protection is translated as pre-condition that needed for economic development to achieve prosperity
				• Instead of social justice program, this is: 1) an economic program, and 2) liberal political program
				• Divers characterizations of LGBT people are seen as mutually exclusive → program can use one for certain purpose and ignore others

	influence into the understanding of how LGBT people can lead the advocacy → only through the establishment of political mechanism • Perpetuate the tendency to use experience of 'some' to describe 'all' • Gaps between what the local movement want (p. 20) with program's suggestions are ignored	54	
6. How/where is this representation of the 'problem' produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?	The document mentioned that it is developed with participation of 2 major LGBT network in Indonesia. Also, it is attended by international organizations that represent the dominant discourse making: from UN, US-base, and EU-base. Therefore, it is expected that this document will reach wide audience from non-government sector. Its penetration to government's discourse is questionable as connection between those two is discussed in limitation especially because the document does not address how the marginal being (LGBT people) can sit down together with others that considered 'key actors' by the program. It might be disputed using perspective that move away from the discourse of 'identity' but instead using the notion of 'personhood' which potentially more acknowledging to complex intersection of internal and external factors.	It might be disputed using issues that already been raised but overlooked by the program	As the main text that present holistic intervention design, it is a powerful source to get disseminated by the program. The recommendation is cut to focus only to government, leaving other actors to send a request if they want to know about what the program think they need to do.