State Homophobia in Indonesia

Securitization of LGBT People in Indonesia 2000-2016

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Abstract

This thesis aims to answer the question of why the Indonesian state has increasingly securitized LGBT people in Indonesia from 2000 to 2016, by focusing on two factors: public homophobia and state homophobia. Data on public attitudes toward the LGBT community in Indonesia will be drawn from various surveys conducted after 2000s. These surveys measure attitudes on existing heteronormative ideals in Indonesian society and capture the conservative turn starting from 1998 during the post-democratic transition period. The increasing threat of homosexuality as propagated by the Indonesian state will be historically and systematically analyzed through a number of statements made by political elites. Strong evidence is found on public and state homophobia increasing in Indonesia and this materializing politically and legally.

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1. Introduction

"LGBT must be banned, like we banned communism and drug trafficking." This statement, made by Berliana Kartakusumah, Secretary-General of the People's Conscience Party in Indonesia, explicitly aligns the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) movement in the same category as a dangerous political ideology (Singgih 2016). Kartakusumah's remarks reflect the view that the LGBT community represents a social and political threat to the state, one which it feels it needs to securitize. This came amongst a chain of political statements in 2016, an exceptionally troublesome year for the LGBT community in Indonesia, when many attempts to hold conferences, meetings, informal gatherings and cultural events were attacked by extremist vigilantes and conservative Islamic groups (Kwok 2016). Since then, many public officials have expressed increasingly negative attitudes toward LGBT people. This is part of a wider trend of political homophobia which emerged in 2016 and, as evidence shows, has been accelerating steadily since (Boellstorff 2004; Lamb 2017a).

To investigate this further, this thesis focuses on answering the following research question:

Why has Indonesia increasingly securitized LGBT people in Indonesia in 2000-2016?

This timescale reflects a critical period in Indonesia's democratic transition, which first emerged two years prior in 1998 (Liddle 2002). According to media sources, within this timeframe, Indonesia also bore witness to the most hostile environment the LGBT community has ever had to face (Oetomo 2001; Boellstorff 2004; Firdaus 2018). The analytical framework employed to answer the research question above is structured around the theme of voters' preference and the state securitization, based on the hypothesis that increasing homophobia in Indonesia is a result of changes in public opinion and rhetoric employed by official state organs. To gauge public opinion, voter preference in a number of public votes will be analysed in relation to the relevant issues being voted upon. The results of these votes are found in the public opinion polls. The extent to which rising homophobia is a direct result of state securitization policy toward the LGBT community will also be analysed, a process by which the state (that consists of democratically elected officials) perceive LGBT as a national threat that needs to be controlled by political measures, or an "extreme version of politicization" (Buzan et al. 1998: 23). This is distinct from public opinion as it focuses purely on the realm of public policy, where up until this time had not been a matter of public policy. To analyse public policy, the security framework established by the state to limit LGBT rights and same-sex legalization will be outlined and evaluated, evincing the extent to which it is perceived to be a national and political threat to Indonesia's culture and identity.

Data sources used in this research comprise surveys conducted by The Indonesian Survey Circle, The Pew Research Center and Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting. Statements made by Indonesian political elites in response to the topic of LGBT rights and same-sex legalization will also be examined. Finally, key contextual information will be drawn from secondary sources, such as academic papers and news articles related to the topic at hand.

It will be shown from the analysis of voter behavior that the majority of the Indonesian public do not tolerate LGBT in the state, especially when someone from the LGBT community holds a political position. The public's negative attitude towards the LGBT community seems to be increasing in parallel with increasing public awareness of its presence (Hidayana 2018; see Figure 4 & 5).

Furthermore, since 2016, the Indonesian state has increasingly securitized LGBT people in public statements (Knight 2016). These statements, made by Indonesia's political elite, have effectively snowballed, as influential politicians made statements causing more politicians to come out with similar views on homosexuality and same-sex legalization (ibid). A number of statements have established a discourse of securitization, declaring LGBT people as a threat to the nation, culture and children in Indonesian society (ibid).

This research contributes to the existing literature on discourses of securitization toward minorities in society, as well as how public opinion shapes or is shaped by these discourses, looking specifically at how certain minorities are framed as a threat in the rhetoric of public political statements. The research also seeks to reinforce the significance of language (through speech) in political discourse and its relation to culture and norms.

The following chapter is a literature that provides an overview of conceptual discussions on state homophobia, public opinion and tolerance, and state securitization. The existing literature on emerging and rising state homophobia will also be identified and evaluated for its relevance to the topic at hand. This serves as the foundation of the analytical framework employed in this research. This will come to light in the following chapter on methodology, where a data collection strategy will be outlined to identify state homophobia and changes in voter preferences and the perception of threat perceptions. The empirical analysis and findings are presented in Chapter 4, starting with a detailed background of increasing state homophobia in Indonesia since 2000, followed by analysis on voters' preference and state securitizing LGBT people in the country. A conclusion is provided in Chapter 5.

2. Literature Review

This section discusses the definition of state homophobia and the ideology of the political elite when making homophobic public statements. Furthermore, I explore two factors related to rising homophobia in Indonesia, the role of public opinion and its relation to political output and the theory on securitization.

2.1 State Homophobia

Homophobia can be understood through the lens of psychoanalysis, referring to the emotions and thought processes of the individual (Adam 1998). However, scholars also argue how homophobia is a political and social phenomenon that is reproduced structurally (Plummer 1981; Kitzinger 1987 in Adam 1998). Bosia and Weiss (2013) conducted global as well as local research on the phenomenon of political homophobia, finding that states use homophobia as a strategy for political purposes through policies, laws and overall political strategies that may not be documented in a state law or policy (Bosia 2013: 31).

Most scholars adopt similar definitions to state homophobia in analyzing their own cases. Adam (1998) theorizes homophobia at the discourse level is an important instrument through which heterosexism and heteronormativity are achieved and sustained. Similarly, Bosia (2014) defines state homophobia as "the set of practices and rhetorics about homosexuality used by social actors to defend, to solidify, or to contest state authority" (261). This may occur as a response to a critical phenomenon in society, as interpreted by the state (ibid). In other words, if there are elements in society that are perceived as a threat to the state, the state will take action.

The emergence or increase of state homophobia is a phenomenon recognized globally. Some states have strengthened policies to enforce their heteronormative ideals or repress sexual minorities (Maietta 2019; Bosia 2013). Maietta (2019) and Bosia (2013) describe and analyse the purposes of state homophobia and thus, why it emerges. Specifically, Bosia (2013) discusses the reasons in his article "why states act?"; the first is to "re-establish authority" (32) in circumstances where national sovereignty is threatened within the international domain, second, political homophobia may be used strategically to declare state sovereignty in crises that threaten a state's survival. Finally, Bosia considers state capacity building as a purpose of state homophobia. All mentioned purposes of state homophobia are described as occurring in "periods of instability" (ibid: 31), therefore, when a nation is considered stable, it is unclear if the same political actions would be taken or if state homophobia is merely a reaction. This understanding of political homophobia as being a form of (emotional)

reaction is recognized by Tom Boellstorff (2004), describing the phenomenon as “emergent cultural logic linking emotion, sexuality, and political violence” (469).

Extending on the explanation of political homophobia as a means to an end, Maietta (2019) describes how the LGBT community or movement is utilized as the “scapegoat of society”, mainly to gain support from the public who already possess such negative attitudes towards the minority. Zimbabwe is such a case that frames the LGBT minority for the nation’s failures (Aarmo 1999). The LGBT community is also a good scapegoat due to being more politically disempowered and lacking capabilities to challenge the state (Maietta 2019). Similarly, political homophobia is used as a tool to suppress the political opponents and claim they support LGBT rights that could harm the nation (Currier 2010).

Both Zimbabwe and Namibia are states that use homophobia as a political tool. The leaders of these states are showing signs of “growing authoritarianism” through the use of political homophobia (LaFont 2007 and Melber 2007 in Currier 2010: 111). Though, to claim political homophobia is the beginning of a process of stagnating democracy is insufficient (ibid). The question remains state homophobia emerges and persists in Indonesia’s case.

After Namibia gained independence from the Apartheid ruling in 1990, The South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO) took control to bring order the new nation. This organization targeted LGBT people in their campaigns (Currier 2010). The case of Namibia explains how political homophobia is used to re-establish authority and reframe its narrative as a heteronormative nation (Currier 2010), consequently establishing postcolonial amnesia. This process is explained as purposely selecting historical events and characteristics that strengthen the desired national image (Wieringa 2009).

Another purpose of state homophobia is to “differentiate themselves from the West” (ibid: 3) in an international context. This form of differentiating is related to the form of “othering” as explained as one way of identity construction (Rumelili 2004). This idea is shared with the case of Russia (Baer 2009; Sleptcov 2017) and Poland (Graff 2010) in a Post-Soviet context. Similarly, in the Indonesian context, Islam is the differentiator politically and morally from the West (Fealy 2019).

Henri Yulius (2017a) explains political homophobia as an emerging occurrence due to the increased globalization of the LGBT rights discourse. One event that received international attention was the decision by The United States Supreme Court to legalize same-sex marriage nationally (Altman and Symons 2016). While some nations supported this decision, others reacted with an aversion towards it and took action to strengthen their own heteronormative ideals publicly (Yulius 2017a). The

Government of Indonesia emphasized that Indonesia would not be accepting of such a legal verdict (ibid).

Davies (2016) acknowledges how increased international attention and the globalization of LGBT rights discourse plays a role in the increased backlash on the LGBT community. The collective visibility of the LGBT community in Indonesia is met with resistance, as they are perceived to be more threatening as a group than individually (Davies 2016). This reaction is shared with a politician in Zimbabwe during Mugabe's presidency, stating there would not be resistance if the LGBT community remained invisible (Long et al. 2003: 24).

Indonesia's debate on the LGBT rights was further exacerbated by social media as the anti-LGBT sentiment was shared on a large scale (Davies 2016). This is seen as a form of "soft repression", with silencing other groups or individuals as a form of repression with the largest scope (Ferree 2004). This means that the approach to silence these groups are more structural and with this the "the main vehicle for voice in the society at large is the mass media" (ibid 147). Which voices will be heard is dependent on which voices will be included and excluded by mass media.

Another considerable factor in the social perception of the LGBT community in Indonesia is the cultural image of the family. Heteronormativity is reproduced in Indonesia via personal interactions, such as families, as well as public institutions, such as religious practices and in schools (Epley 2013). Ultimately, the notion that a man and woman should enter a heterosexual relationship, marry and form a family is instilled from a young age and therefore normalized in Indonesia (Wieringa 2012). As a consequence of this dominant view, non-heterosexual individuals are largely marginalized (ibid).

According to Blackwood (2010), the normative concept of gender and sexuality in Indonesia is essential to the idealized concept of family:

> "women are oriented to domestic and wifely tasks, while men are encouraged to be head of households and active leaders in the public domain" (33).

When heteronormativity is the default in society, gender identities outside of the masculine and feminine ideal and non-heterosexual orientations are at a disadvantage (Yep 2003; Herek et al. 2009). As a result, increasing visibility only puts the gender and sexual minorities at greater risk of homophobic abuse (ibid; Boellstorff 2016.).

2.2 Securitization

A result of rising state homophobia in Indonesia is the concept of securitization; in other words, the state's perception that an issue is considered a national threat. This concept will be further explained and how the state's securitization process relates to the state actors' attitudes towards the issue and the people connected to it. This eventually influences political debates and the shaping of public discourses, e.g. a homophobic discourse.

Securitization was initially explained through the perspective of Neorealism. This perspective determines security as both an objective and independent concept (Booth 2003), one in which the states are meant to govern the existing threats using military tactics (Buzan and Hansen 2009). Neorealism emerged out of a need for a broader understanding of securitization after the Cold War when new security issues were emerging (Krause and Williams 2007), leading to different types of security and several perspectives of securitization (Buzan and Hansen 2009). One of these perspectives was developed as a part of the Copenhagen School of thought, which will be further explained below and used to analyze the discourse of Indonesia's case of state homophobia.

In the Copenhagen School (CS), securitization refers to the process of using speeches to frame an issue as a security one, it claims securitization is a social process (Buzan et al. 1998. Amongst the most important scholars of this school of thought that have explored the securitization theory are Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde and their book *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Securitization is the process of identifying an element as an issue of security, which then frames it as something that is securitized Wæver (2004). When an element – which can be an ideology, tangible material, or people – is securitized, it becomes the subject of less conventional policies, or emergency politics (Taureck 2006: 54). This approach of securitization focuses on the verbal aspect of securitization, also referred to as the 'speech act' (Buzan et al. 1998; Wæver 2007), while other approaches are non-verbal or practical (Balzacq et al. 2005). Both approaches place the issue on a high priority on the political agenda. Just as identity, "security is a social and intersubjective construction" (ibid: 55). In other words, security is not a fixed concept, while some may perceive an object as a threat, others might perceive it as normal. Ideally, according to Wæver, issues should be de-securitized eventually for the benefit of democracy (Roe 2004).

The Pornography Law is an example of the execution of securitizing homosexuality and can be viewed as a tool to further oppress LGBT people and strengthen conservative Muslim organizations (Walden 2017). It can serve to justify the discrimination of LGBT people as same-sex acts are considered

immoral and deviating from tradition and norms (Blackwood 2007). What is considered morally accepting is gaining more ground in legal and political debates (ibid; Souisa and Wulandari 2017).

Balzacq (2005) challenges the Copenhagen School of thought on securitization on being too limited and argues how "securitization is better understood as a strategic (pragmatic) practice that occurs within, and as part of, a configuration of circumstances, including the context, the psycho-cultural disposition of the audience, and the power that both speaker and listener bring to the interaction" (ibid: 172). This explanation extends the concept of speech act by describing it as a strategic tool.

Grayson (2003) also challenges the effect of securitization and how it may hinder the vulnerable groups in society, that may be the object of security. This leads to the relevance of 'othering' in identity formation, it constitutes a relationship of us versus them (see Huysmans 1998). When 'them' is perceived as a threat to the identity of 'us' they may be securitized, and political measures may be taken by the securitizer - in this case the state. Buzan et al. (1998) and Balzacq et al. (2005) argue that securitization can only be completed as a process when an audience agrees with the threat perception needing securitization. This legitimizes the state to take action against the threat which they deem necessary through their statements. As Balzacq et al. (2005) and McDonald (2008) argue, the conceptualization of securitization has been rather narrow and needs further development. Additionally, the argument on the role of the actor that identifies the security issue and the audience accepting the element being securitized is still under debate. This includes the influence of power relations and context of the securitization process (Balzacq et al. 2005). Besides the state, religion could also be a source of securitization practices, especially when it influences politics (ibid). This case is especially significant in Indonesia's case, where religious conservatives are playing a bigger role in the political realm. Ayoub (2014) argues that threat perception increases in nations where religion plays a big role in institutions and depends "on the degree to which the moral authority of religious institutions is tied to the histories of political transition and national identity" (356).

In summary, securitization is a relational and constructive process, as defined by several scholars as a part of the Copenhagen School of thought (Buzan et al 1998; Wæver 2007; Roe 2004; Balzacq 2005). In other words, the process of securitization is analyzed through discourse or 'speech acts'. A speech act is when an issue is presented – through statements – to the public as a security issue and labeled as a threat to the state, society or their identity. When the public accepts the speech act and the existence of the identity is perceived to be at stake, the state's actions are legitimized (ibid: 23). Issues

may be securitized as well as de-securitized (Buzan et al 1998), thus, the issue is either labeled a threat or it is removed from such label.

In order to explain the process of securitizing the LGBT community by the Indonesian political elites and take a more integrated approach, it is essential to take the social, historical and political context into account.

2.3 Public Opinion and Political Tolerance

This section explores how public opinion may impact the political standpoint, specifically in terms of tolerance towards opposing or controversial views. The role of public opinion, through voters' demand, is looked at being one of the factors that explain the rise of state homophobia. The main argument is that there is a relation between public opinion and political tolerance, which provides the foundation for the state's perception towards certain issues.

The literature on public opinion affecting politicians' decisions are heavily discussed among scholars but differs on the relation between public opinion and politicians' decision. Bartels (1991); Stimson et al. (1995); Burnstein (2003); Wlezien (2004) argue there is a positive relation between the two and public opinion strongly affects how politicians make decisions regarding public policy. In democratic states, following the opinion of the public is considered essential for politicians' career as they depend on the public's voting choices during elections (see Stimson et al. 1995). Additionally, the notion of the public and the dominating attitudes towards an issue having influence on a political discourse is framed in Habermas' discussion of the public sphere and its potential to influence the state (Ward 1997).

There are, however, scholars who argue against the impact of public opinion on political choices, claiming instead that public opinion is affected by politicians' choices, made through policies (Wlezien 1995; Soroka and Wlezien 2005). Public opinion is presented as responses to (proposed) policies, either supporting them or opposing them. This response is presented through (online) discussions, the voting during re-elections or in the form of public protests. These scholars claim that politicians do not necessarily follow public opinion when forming policies, though they can still be guided by them. There are also arguments made in which public opinions respond negatively towards politicians' choices, mainly when they are considered to cause extreme changes in society. The relationship between public opinion and politicians' choices is interchangeable and they both affect each other in the process of policy making (Soroka and Wlezien 2004).

There are scholars who claim public opinion can only affect policies depending on their place in society or the issue itself (Petry 1999; Petry and Mendelshon 2004). In most cases, when public opinion is shared by elite groups in society, it is more effective in changing policies as they are more engaged with the political domain. This would be relevant in explaining Indonesia's case, in which public opinion is most influential if voiced by elite groups and the issue discussed in considered controversial and urgent.

While there lacks a consensus on the relationship between public opinion and politicians' choices or policies, they are still useful in explaining how states are affected by an increasing significance of public opinion, such as Indonesia in its democratic transition. This is mainly the case in the level of political tolerance, expressed through the freedom minorities possess to express themselves and not be persecuted as a result (Sullivan, Piereson & Marcus 1979). The complex part is that opinions can differ, and some are more vocal than others through their position in society.

Regarding public opinion on homosexuality and policies, scholars like Hooghe and Meeusen (2013) explored cases in Europe and Lewis and Oh (2008) explored the United States case, and argue there is a relationship between (positive) attitudes on same-sex relations and the policies that carry out their rights. Whether a decrease in public tolerance translates to political intolerance or vice versa is to be determined in Indonesia's case.

3. Research Method

To answer the main research question (Why did Indonesia increasingly securitize LGBT people from 2000 to 2016?) process tracing will be used, gathering empirical and statistical data on homophobic attitudes from the period of 2000 to 2016 on through political elites' statements and public opinion polls. Collier (2011) explains process tracing as:

> "the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator" (Coller 2011: 823).

Process tracing is aimed to analyze data - in this case the opinions and attitudes on LGBT in Indonesia - as the independent variables, and how they cause certain outcomes - here the political process of securitizing LGBT people. Process tracing also aims to validate the causal effect of acquired data (Bennett and George 1997). High validity is achieved when various variables are taken into account and its alternative causal effects, though data can be limited by time and access (ibid).

For a within-case analysis such as state homophobia in Indonesia, tracing the sequential events from 2000 to 2016 is essential to explain the causal mechanisms of state homophobia. In this case, outcomes from surveys and the content of the statements from political officials are analysed. This method is applicable to describe and analyse social and political phenomena and how certain events can cause these phenomena (ibid). A timeline will be provided of the events that relate to the increase of state homophobia from the 2000s and that contribute to the narrative of increasing state homophobia. Process tracing can equally depend on qualitative and quantitative information (Collier 2011). This is where the surveys play a role.

The two factors that are chosen to explain the phenomenon of increasing securitization of LGBT people are public opinion and state homophobia. The first factor refers to the voters' preferences revealed in the public opinion polls. These preferences may change over the years and is traced as they change. The second factor is the process of the state becoming increasingly homophobic, leading to the securitization of sexual minorities, in other words, increasingly perceive them as a threat. This process may be interpreted through political statements, which appear to be more hostile towards the LGBT community or through proposed revisions of laws and policies to oppress sexual minorities. If these two processes connect to the timeline of state securitizing LGBT people in Indonesia since 2000 to 2016, there is a significant relationship between public opinion and state representatives'

attitudes to the eventual securitization of LGBT people as a political outcome and change in political discourse.

Regarding the public opinion, data is collected from existing surveys on public attitudes towards homosexuality in Indonesia. This is done from different periods to establish the increase or decrease of tolerance towards homosexuality and to reveal a timeline that may connect with the political outcomes. As for the process of securitization by the state, several statements made by Indonesian authorities will be collected and analyzed, showing an increase of state homophobia. The political actions and proposed laws related to sexual minorities will be examined as to whether they are direct consequences of increased public and state homophobia.

These processes will trace whether there is a causal mechanism between the public preferences and political elites' homophobic attitudes with its political outcomes in a single case.

4. Empirical Findings

4.1 The Rise of State Homophobia in Indonesia since 2000

4.1.1 Historical Context

In the fifteenth century, gender and sexuality were regulated through Islamification of norms (Robinson 2008) and the traditional gender binary roles in Indonesia - in which women are seen as housewives and child bearers and are subordinate to their husbands in domestic settings. This was further concretized by Dutch colonialism and continued post-independence (Stoler 1991 in Blackwood 2005b).

The Sukarno period (1945-1966) was the period after Indonesia gained independence. After the departure of the Dutch colonizers, social norms with regards to marriage, family and gender roles were predominantly set by Islamic teachings, one in which heteronormativity was more accepted over sexual diversity (Boellstorff 2005). During this time, women were structurally encouraged to be mothers and wives from an early age, while men were to be the head of a household and the sole breadwinner of the family (Wieringa 2012).

This was followed by the authoritarian reign of the New Order (1966-1998), which was ruled by President Suharto, who granted more military control and limited political participation. This period also strictly regulated gender and sexuality through the "family principle" or *azas kekeluargaan* (Boellstorff 2004), which characterized the state as a family which the population must contribute toward in order to maintain the functioning of the state (Romano 2003). The New Order also propagated heterosexual gender norms through state *Ibuism* (Ibu meaning mother) and aimed to set the social differences between men and women and how they should present themselves in society (Epley 2013).

4.1.2 Democratic Indonesia

After the Reformation Era of 1998, Indonesia's political system transitioned to democracy granting greater freedom for self-expression in civil society and for groups to self-organize (Antlöv et al. 2008). Simultaneously, both liberal/progressive and conservative sides of the political forum were set to become more institutionally present in Indonesia (Van Bruinessen 2011). It was especially on the

conservative side that religious norms were becoming more politicized and targeting sexual minorities (ibid).

Institutional Attacks

Despite its transition to democracy in 1998, both sexual and religious minorities have become more vulnerable in Indonesia (Kwok 2016). Boellstorff (2004) describes an "unprecedented series of violent acts against 'gay' Indonesians beginning in September 1999" (465). Similarly, in 2001, Dede Oetomo, an Indonesian LGBT activist and founder of the first Indonesian LGBT organization *GAYa Nusantara*, stated that at that time, Indonesia was "entering a new phase in the development of Indonesian homosexualities, one where homophobic attacks, previously unknown, are becoming a bitter reality" (Oetomo 2001).

These attacks have manifested themselves in a number of ways, some of which have been reported by The Alternative Report of Indonesia's ICCPR State Report Concerning the Rights of LGBTI 2013, claiming verbal attacks on LGBT organizations have increased since 2000 (*The Alternative Report*. 2012). More attacks have been reported by *Forum LGBT*, an Indonesian LGBT network. They have reported 47 attacks on LGBT people conducted by both state and non-state actors in 2013, with many more attacks undocumented (*Recorded abuse against LGBT* 2013). For example, a 17-year old girl was arrested after her parents accused her of being lesbian (ibid).

According to Agustine, the founder of the *Ardhanary Institute* (an Indonesian LGBT organization), LGBT activists have become more organized and have campaigned for human rights since Indonesia's democratic transition, which, as a result, has made LGBT people more visible (Walton 2017). Increased visibility, however, was not welcomed. The emergence of LGBT ideas in mainstream political and social discourse clashed with the ideas of both liberal and conservative Muslims, who opposed the concept of gender equality and LGBT rights (van Bruinessen 2011: 7).

LGBT Events

While Indonesia's new political system allowed citizens more freedom to self-organize, when it came to LGBT related events and gatherings, conservative Muslim groups attempted to have these cancelled permanently (UNDP 2014). Some of these attempts proved to be successful: Three attacks were reported, one during the International Conference of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex Association (ILGA), the second occurred at an LGBTI Human Rights workshop conducted by the National Human Rights Commission and *Arus Pelangi* (Indonesian LGBT organization) and finally, the annual Q! Film Festival (Alternative Report of Indonesia's ICCPR State Report 2013). The founder of

the film festival brought out a statement on social media and the Q! Film Festival cancelled any future events from 2017.

Not all LGBT events in Indonesia have been subject to physical attacks, but the number which have received threats, especially from radicalized Muslim groups, has increased. This came to attention in 2010, when the national meeting of Jaringan Gaya Warna Lentera Indonesia (GWL-INA), an Indonesian national LGBT network, had to be canceled due to a considerable number of threats received in the run up to the event (ibid).

Police Protection

While it is not illegal to host LGBT events or gatherings, conservative Muslim groups have fought to stop these events from occurring, while the police have been unable to guarantee protection from attacks, leading to a decline in public events in the midst of growing intolerance (UNDP 2014). The police have acted similarly towards other minorities within Indonesia's society (ibid).

One case that has challenged the competence of local law enforcement in guaranteeing human rights occurred when a police officer in Central Java was fired from the police department when his sexual orientation was revealed (Kapoor 2019). The police officer's appeal was dismissed by the provincial police, who found the decision to fire him legitimate due to his "deviant sexual behavior" (ibid). When the accused police officer complained to the National Human Rights Commission, his lawyer argued the police department's decision was discriminatory and in violation of his human rights (Wargadiredja 2019). However, the court ultimately rejected the lawsuit (Cahya 2019). This is not only indicative of the state's failure in its duty to provide protection to LGBT people, but its role as a perpetrator of the attacks themselves and how discrimination can be found within cases of its police personnel.

As with many similar LGBT meeting and events before it, the GWL-INA's national meeting was ultimately cancelled due to the lack of a guarantee from the Indonesian government that its members would be protected (ibid). Furthermore, the Indonesian government's inaction in the protection of LGBT people is reflected in the failure to prosecute radicalized groups following past attacks. (ibid).

Legislation on sexual minorities

Since the democratic transition of 1998, Muslim political parties and organizations were becoming more politically engaged. This included conservative Muslims that wished to influence laws and

policies more based on Islamic morals, which evidently led to regulation of people's private and public lives as will be further explained in this section.

At the same time, after the fall of Suharto's New Order regime in 1998, the state has made attempts - through revisions to the Criminal Code - to regulate gender and sexuality under heterosexual norms (Blackwood 2007). Despite their attempts, conservative Muslims have not been able to fully criminalize homosexuality (ibid). However, both revisions to the Criminal Code – in 2000 and 2005 – did include new definitions of "indecent sexual acts" which aligned with traditional religious values (ibid). These include prostitution, consensual heterosexual relations outside of marriage (adultery), and indecent acts (not specified further) (ibid: 300). These proposed laws clearly regulate sexuality in society under a more conservative framework, but do not officially criminalize of homosexuality.

On the other hand, same-sex relations are specifically referred to in Article 493 (part of the second draft) under the heading "crimes against morality," which is an example of the legislation's attempt to define morality through religious values (Blackwood 2007). For example, the only form of sexual act permitted by law is intercourse, banning any other form of sexual act (i.e. sexual acts between homosexuals) (ibid 301). Furthermore same-sex relations under the age of 18 are prohibited (ibid 301). The Criminal Code (KUHP) that defines and criminalizes indecent sexual acts - sexual acts between adults and minors - is defined in Article 292, in chapter IV (crimes against decency) of the Criminal Code (KUHP, Chapter 14, Article 292). Conservative Muslim groups have attempted to include the criminalization of sexual acts between same sex persons (of all ages) in the code, but this has to date not been implemented (Lindsey and Butt 2018: 198).

Two legal aspects that put people in same-sex relationships at the biggest disadvantage in terms of social justice are marriage and adoption, which are currently only permitted for heterosexual couples. Specifically, the Marriage Law of 1974 identifies a lawful marriage between the binary man and woman (Wieringa 2013). Fighting this law and for the rights of gay and lesbian individuals to marry is seen as rejected by the general public, as it goes against their norms and values (ibid).

These revisions of the Criminal Code preceded the passing of the Law on AntiPornography (UU-AP) 2008 (hereafter *The Pornography Law*). *The Pornography Law* criminalizes "deviant sexual intercourse" and explicitly defines the sexual acts not between a heterosexual male and female as deviant (*The Pornography Law* 2008). It extended the criminal code beyond regulating pornography in the media to regulating pornographic behavior in a broader sense (Bellows 2011). It proscribes not

only pornographic material in the media, but also indecent acts, dances and clothing that is perceived to be over-sexualized (Rinaldo 2011; Lindsey and Butt 2018).
Since its signing into law, LGBT people have been arrested or charged as a result of members of the public informing the police (Pausacker 2008). with conservative Islamic organizations in particular having acted as law enforcers (ibid).

Those encouraging the new law, mainly religious organizations and politicians, claim Indonesia is deteriorating in terms of morality, putting the nation as a whole at risk (Bellows 2011). There is a consensus that progressive moral and social values from the West are threatening Indonesian culture, leading to greater emphasis on conservative Islamic morals to "redresses moral degradation blamed on globalization, viewed as originating in the West" (ibid 2011: 211). While it does not explicitly target LGBT people, *The Pornography Law* does more harm to those engaged in same-sex acts, incorporating moral and religious values, as Allen (2007) describes a "symbol of religious and cultural hegemony" (113). The debates that that sparked from *The Pornography Law* were increasingly concerned about the effects of immoral behavior on Islam and society in Indonesia (Rinaldo 2011). As concerns began with pornographic material shown in the media, it continued to censor more indecent images and behavior on television and the internet, including LGBT-related content (Tang 2016).

Increasing state homophobia was also illustrated by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) and Family Love Alliance (AILA)'s appeal to criminalize consensual same-sex relations in 2016 (Yulius 2017b). These appeals effectively reopened the debate on whether homosexuality should be banned through the establishment of new criminal law (ibid). This attempt to criminalize homosexuality eventually failed but helped sow the seeds for other action aimed at further repressing LGBT people.

Attempts to regulate sexuality in the media.

In 2016, the *Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia* (KPI) or Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, an independent agency that controls content broadcast on Indonesian radio and television, issued a policy which banned LGBT-related content (Tang 2016). According to the Commission, this was done to protect children from deviant or immoral behavior. A spokesperson of the commission, supported the censorship as it was "in the best interest of the children and teenagers in the country" (Sundaryani 2016). The Commission also increased censorship any content which appeared to normalize LGBT-related behavior, including, for example, images of effeminate men.

Another politician and member of parliament Hanafi Rais referred to Islam as the necessary source of legal actions against LGBT people (Putri 2018). On the issue of broadcasting LGBT-related content, he

added: “It is destructive for our younger generations. If the content has no educational qualities, and is only for commercial or advertising purposes, then we must reject it.” (Kapoor and Da Costa 2017).

In addition to the content on television, member of parliament Ahmad Zainuddin urged the government to ban LGBT-related content on social media and treat LGBT as a social crisis (*Anggota DPR Desak Pemerintah* 2016).

Activism

In March 2016, The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and United Development Party (PPP) attempted to criminalize LGBT activism and visible campaigning for LGBT rights (Rostanti 2016). Both are Islamic-based political parties, who at one time wished to implement Sharia law in Indonesia (Al-Hamdi 2017). One member of the Parliament, Saleh Partaonan Daulay, has voiced his views on the increased visibility of the LGBT movement and their campaigns. He claims it poses a threat to public order (Raditya 2016).

Public Officials Homophobic Statements

The final part of this section - containing evidence of rising state homophobia - focuses on the public statements made by public officials in Indonesia condemning sexual and gender diversity.

The first reports of anti-LGBT related public statements can be found in 1994, under the New Order Regime. Abdurrahman Wahid, the then chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), an Islamic organization made one of the first statements regarding homosexuality in a paper titled ‘Islam and Women’s Rights,’ where it was stated “lesbianism is deviant and should not be condoned” (Blackwood 2005; 228). Then the minister of women’s affairs, Mien Sugandhi, made the following comment in national newspaper *Suara Karya*:

> “I can understand that lesbians have individual rights, but I cannot accept them as Indonesian women. My belief is that lesbianism is not in accordance with Pancasila, because lesbians have forgotten their fundamental duties as mothers, giving birth, and raising children” (Webster 2008; Schneider 2015: 236).

At the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, Haryono Suyono Indonesian Minister of Population stated his objection towards legalizing same-sex marriage in Indonesia (Blackwood 2007). These statements or views were not further concretized in policies or laws.

Homosexuality re-emerged in political debate during the Presidential election of 2004 (Blackwood 2007). The election was won by President Yudhoyono who demonstrated one of the most intolerant attitudes towards homosexuality, labeling same-sex acts as “deviant” (ibid 303).

In 2014, the state-authorized religious council MUI stated the case for criminalizing the LGBT community (Kingston 2019). Although the appeal was rejected, it led to LGBT individuals facing increased marginalization due to this being a *fatwa* or a “religious edict issued by a government-authorized council” and concretized within the main ideology (ibid: 230).

According to (Amnesty International 2019), the extent to which LGBT individuals are marginalized and discriminated against has risen in Indonesia since 2016. This period also witnessed an increase in the statements made by government officials publicly condemning all sexual minorities. While homophobia was prevalent prior to the wave of homophobic rhetoric propagated by the statements of public officials’ statements in 2016, LGBT individuals faced increased discrimination and harassment by law enforcement, family, the workplace and institutions, since these statements were released. (Amnesty International Report 2017: 188).

In 2016, a wave of anti-LGBT statements by politicians and religious leaders was exacerbated by excessive media attention. One of the first statements was made by Research, Technology and Higher Education Minister Muhammad Nasir, who asserted: “LGBT people should be banned from entering universities for corrupting the nation’s morals.” (Swaragita 2018).

Subsequent statements made by politicians further stigmatized LGBT people. Mahfudz Siddiq, former Chair of The Commission of the House of Representatives (DPR), stated “LGBT issues can damage national security, identity, culture and the faith of Indonesians.” (Knight 2016).

Minister of Defence Ryamizard Ryacudu compared the LGBT movement and their campaign for human rights to a “proxy war” (Lamb 2017a). Then there was the People’s Consultative Assembly Chairman Zulkifli Hasan who stated “It [homosexuality] does not fit with our culture, should be banned because it does not fit with the culture of Indonesia. As a movement, the existence of LGBT must be opposed.” (Knight 2016) and the Secretary-General of the People’s Conscience Party Berliana Kartakusumah claimed “Being LGBT is an infectious and dangerous disease. LGBT must be banned, like we banned communism and drug trafficking,” (Singgih 2016). The Minister of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection at the time, Yohana Yembise, was found on the same side as the former politicians stating, “I strongly reject LGBT, watch the children!” (Afrian 2016). A politician and legal specialist, Yusril Ihza Mahendra reported on the LGBT phenomenon and the need for stronger Islamic law by stating “bila

LGBT berkembang, maka bisa terjadi pemusnahan sebuah bangsa!" ("Yusril Ihza Mahendra: Hukum Islam" 2016) by Yusril Ihza Mahendra. This roughly translates to "If LGBT develops, it could mean the destruction of the nation!". A report from Reuters, an international news agency, who has frequently reported on Indonesia's rising homophobia also claimed that "hostility toward the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community has risen sharply in recent years" (Kapoor 2018). A few of the main public officials' statements will be further analyzed in chronological order and how they led to the securitizing of LGBT Indonesians.

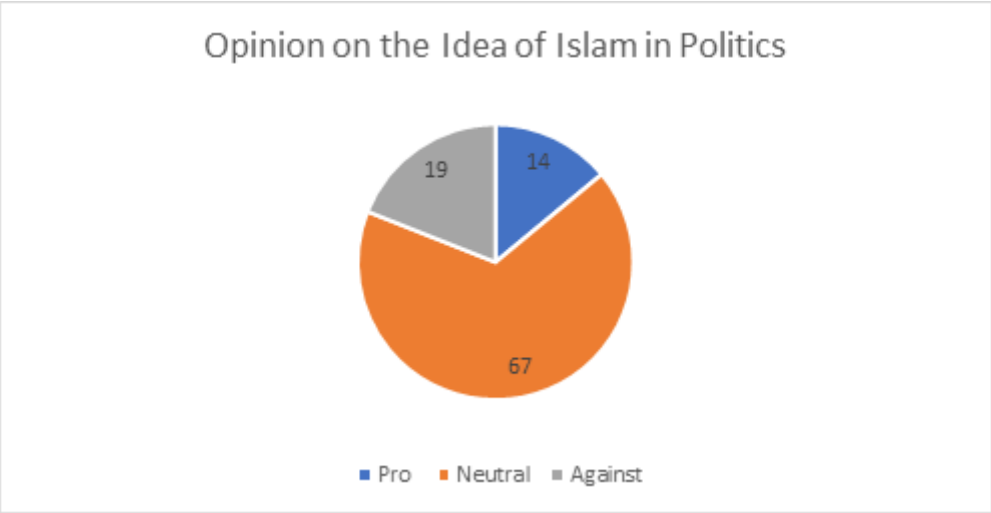
From the historical evidence provided here, it is clear that though levels of homophobia have vascilitated throughout recent history in Indonesia, there has been a spike in discrimination and harassment, especially from the political elite and conservative religious groups, starting in 2016.

4.2 Voters' Preference in Democratic Indonesia

The second subchapter of the empirical findings focuses on the public's preference in democratic Indonesia. This preference is revealed in the national and international surveys. Each survey will aim to explain their outcomes and relation to the increasing state homophobia.

The outcomes of surveys portray that the majority are not accepting of LGBT people in Indonesia. This percentage is shown to either increase throughout the years (2005-2012-2016) or are higher in comparison to other countries. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Hooghe and Meeusen (2013) and Lewis and Oh (2008) argue that public attitudes on same-sex relationships and political tolerance in the form of recognizing same-sex marriage is related. Indonesia does not and will not recognize same-sex marriage in their country in the near future according to Oetomo (Emont 2016). He claims Indonesia is not ready for this change but hopes it will achieve it someday. Dede Oetomo is considered one of the most important figures in the world of emerging LGBT activism in Indonesia (ibid).

Figure 1. Opinion of Islam in Politics



Source: Saiful Mujani and R. William Liddle (2004).

There were surveys conducted in the 2000s to examine the opinions on pro-Islamists in Indonesia. These established a positive attitude towards the active, radical Muslim groups and "unprecedented support for the idea of an Islamic state" (Bruinessen 2011: 2). These surveys were conducted as part of a research by Saiful Mujani and R. William Liddle (2004) and interpret the findings of the surveys as 14% being Islamist and supporting the idea of Islam in politics, 67% is neutral towards the idea and 19% even against the idea. Instead of a 'conservative turn', Mujani and Liddle (2004) state that some observers refer to the 2000s Islamism in Indonesia as merely a response to secular teachings, modernity and enlightenment and the oppression faced by Muslims to mobilize politically (116, 117). Therefore, the outcome of the survey presents changes in public opinion as being a reaction to social, political and economic changes and the role of elite groups and radicalized Muslim groups in a democratic state.

Although the liberal Muslims seem less vocal than the conservative political players, they are still part of many political discussions and have not just been observers of the changes in the political climate. The struggle between the two forces in religious and political affairs continue to this day, in which the most recent conservative Muslim individuals or organizations mainly desire to silence the more liberal Muslims, as they are accused of being too liberal to be Muslim (van Bruinessen 2011: 8). Dede Oetomo backs this up by stating that Indonesia is "struggling to balance progressive democratic values with conservative religious ones" (Emont 2016, quoted in The New York Times).

Figure 2. Acceptance of sexual minority and religious minority 2005 and 2012

Category	2005(%)	2012(%)	Change(%)
Homosexuals	64.7	80.6	15.9
Ahmadiya	39.1	46.6	7.5
Shia	26.7	41.8	15.1
People of different faiths	8.2	15.1	6.9

Source: The Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI), Oct. 1-8

The second survey reveals a rise of intolerance towards homosexuality. This survey was done by the Indonesian Survey Circle and published by The Jakarta Post (2012). The percentage represents people objecting to having a particular group as their neighbor. These groups are categorized in sexual minorities (homosexuals) and religious minorities in the other three groups, Ahmadiyah, Shia and people of different faiths. When it comes to homosexuals as neighbors, in 2005 64.7% would object it, which rose to 80.6% objecting it in 2012 (Figure 1). This reveals a rise of 15.9% that would object to homosexuals as neighbors, which reflects the headline of the Jakarta Post 'Homophobia on the rise, survey says' (2012). 1200 people participated in the survey and while this is presented as a national survey, a researcher from LSI claimed the majority of the participants that responded with intolerance towards the presented minorities were male and at a socio-economic disadvantage due to the low level of education and income ("Homophobia on the rise" 2012). This would state that the socio-economic position of an individual would affect the tolerance of a minority group and this would require the tracing of an individual's attitudes towards minorities as they improve their socio-economic position. To extend this to the state level within an international setting, Indonesia's growing religious conservatism and intolerance should then be explained by a diminishing economy, which data states is not occurring.

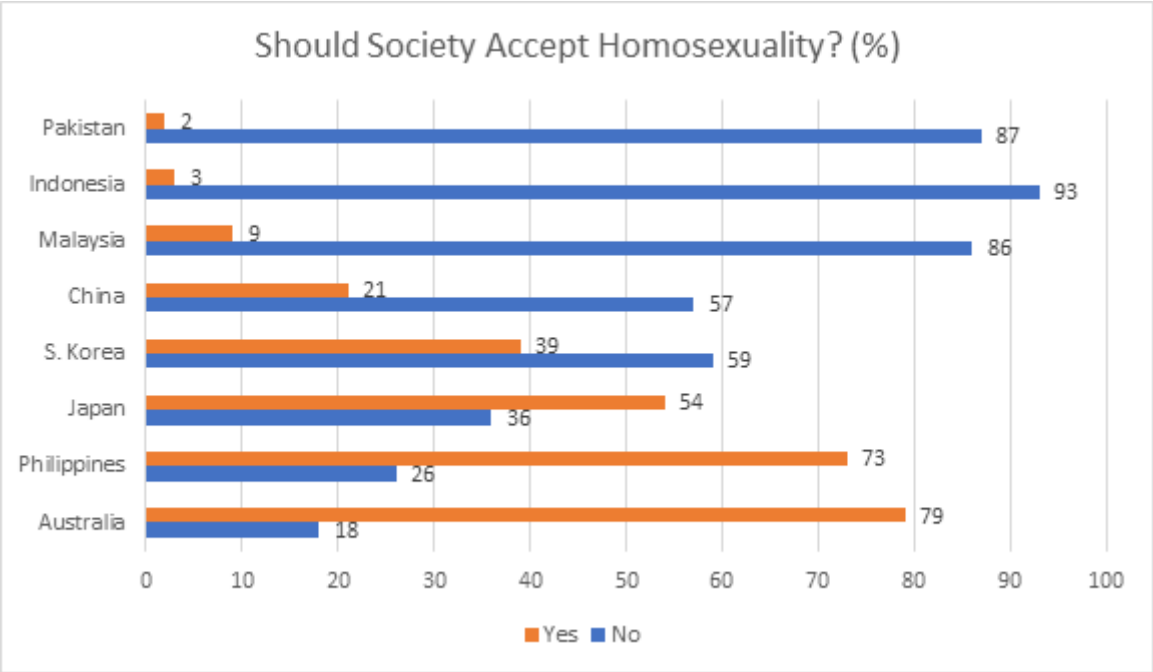
One of the explanations to this rise of disapproval towards homosexuality in Indonesia is provided by Van Bruinessen (2011). He determines the conservative turn to have taken place in the mid-2000s and gives different explanations and consequences to this development in Indonesia's political discourse. First, the conservative turn occurred due to an increase of support towards the ideology and the rejection of progressive or liberal views of Islam (ibid: 3). Two Muslim organizations were considered

to be part of the more liberal Muslim groups, Muhammadiyah and NU. One of the most prominent conservative Muslim organization was the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI), which have emancipated themselves from the national government since the Reform Era in 1998. In 2005, MUI began issuing *fatwas*, a form of authoritative opinions, on social and political aspects that they considered "incompatible with Islam" (ibid: 3). Amongst the fatwas was the opposition towards secularism and pluralism, which are part of Indonesian constitution, and private practices criticized as going against Islamic values. The fatwas have been proposed as being implemented as laws, but often rejected by the legislative branch.

Another explanation on the conservative turn in the early 2000s can be traced back to the democratic transitions as it "has drawn many of those who were previously involved in organizations or institutions supporting intellectual debate towards careers in political parties or institutions, thereby weakening the social basis of liberal and progressive Islamic discourse" (van Bruinessen 2011: 5).

In 2006 a revision on the Regulation of Places of Worship was signed and established in order to ensure less conflict between different religious groups and enforce the government to guarantee religious freedom in Indonesia (Salim 2007: 119). Although, in practice, the realization of religious freedom for religious minorities was still hindered as the Muslim majority were at an advantage (ibid). The new regulations were criticized by the parliament and more liberal Muslim leaders for lacking religious freedom for minorities (Salim 2007: 121). The revised regulation did not prevent religious conflicts from happening as they took place in the same year in which Christian communities were the target violent attacks (Salim 2007; Hamayotsu 2018). According to Hamayotsu (2018) the increase of these type of attacks were facilitated as a result of political democratization and the increased cooperation between religious political elites and radicalized Muslim groups, e.g. Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), which ultimately empowered the conservative Muslims politically and weaken the liberal Muslims. As a result of this newly gained power concentrated within the MUI, they made claims to increase their conservative alliances nationally (ibid). The increased political coalition provided enough support for the eventual imprisonment of Jakarta's governor in 2017. The main differences with the conservative and liberal Muslims in Indonesia is the approach they take on teachings of the Qur'an, with the conservatives taking the teachings more literal and implementing them as a part of their daily activities and political systems (van Bruinessen 2011).

Figure 3. Should Society Accept Homosexuality – Country percentages



Source: Pew Research Center (2013)

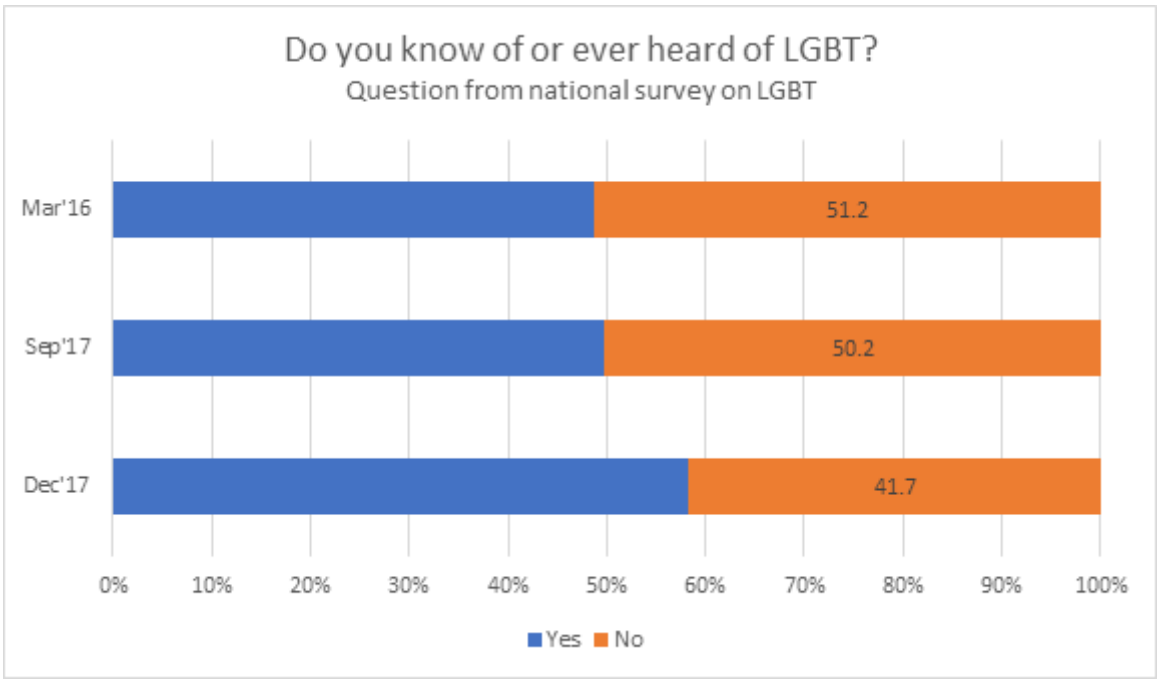
In a different survey done by Pew Research Center in 2013 (see figure 2), it shows how 3% of Indonesians being surveyed believe society should accept homosexuality and 93% believe they should not. The same survey was done previously in 2007 and shows that the situation did not change on the attitude towards homosexuality acceptance. The statement on acceptance can be broadly interpreted, while the previous survey asks specifically whether participants *would* accept a homosexual as a neighbor, this survey asks participants what society *should* do as a regulator of norms and values. This statistic poses a different way of asking the question, which potentially leads to a different answer by the public. This survey shows how a vast majority believes the society should not accept homosexuality, but it does not state whether they are perceived as a threat to society in need of securitization measures.

As Indonesia received more media attention on the increased religious conservatism, scholars have conducted research on the political development of Indonesia since the 2000s and the "conservative turn" (Mujani and Liddle 2004; van Bruinessen 2011, 2013; Hamayotsu 2018).

Van Bruinessen (2011) frequently mentions how the 1998 political reform was a significant trigger to the increasing conservative influence and the empowerment of conservative groups. Additionally, he argues how international developments equally play a role in the conservative turn. In other words, it provides the context of the increasing conservatism (ibid 34). In this survey, countries with a more

similar history, culture or religion with Indonesia (Malaysia and Pakistan), show similar results in terms of normative acceptance of homosexuality.

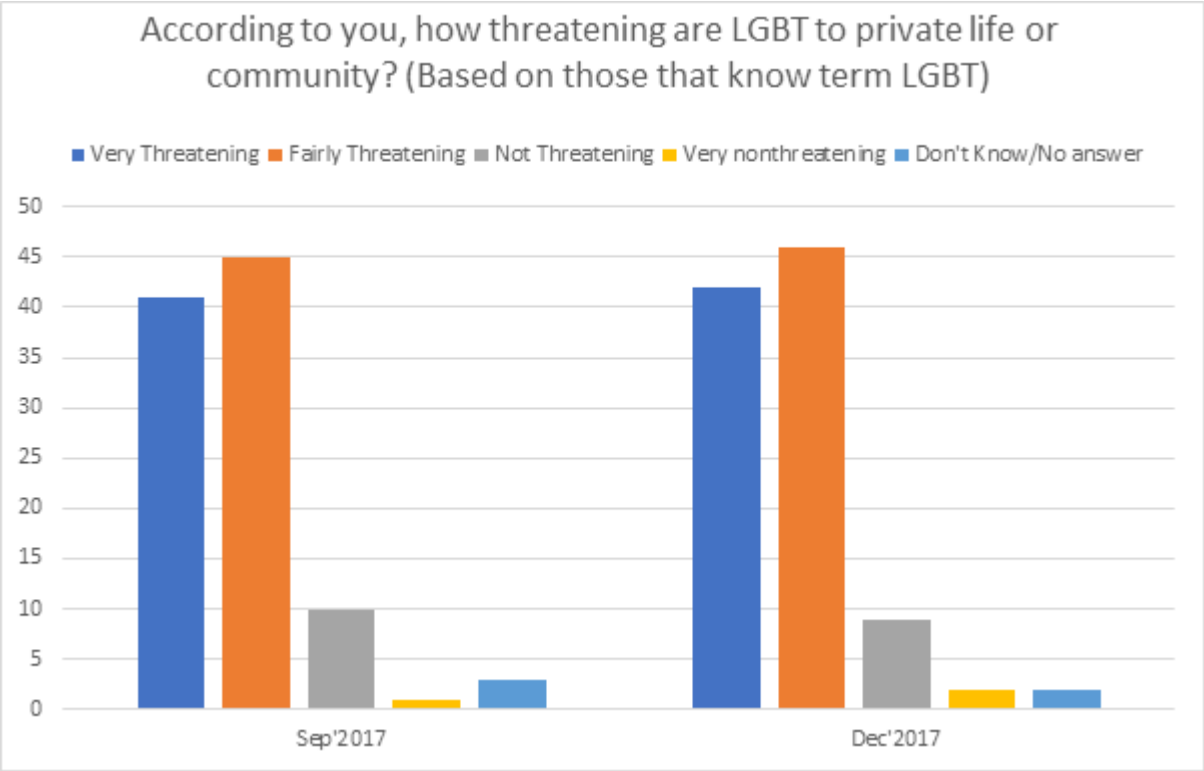
Figure 4. Knowledge of LGBT in Indonesia



Source: LGBT national survey – Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting • Get the data

The third survey (Figure 3) is one of the three surveys provided by Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting (Indonesian research company) on the concept of acceptance of LGBT people. The third survey reports data on a similar question asked in three different periods, March 2016, September 2017 and December 2017. This is also the period in which most political, homophobic statements were made. The question refers to the knowledge on LGBT people and shows an increase after each period, stating more people gain knowledge of the sexual minorities. Whether the information they receive is positive or negative is not shown in the survey or what their attitude is once they become informed. However, it does still show that either there is an increase of attention on the minority group, that is parallel to the increase of negative attitudes shown in other surveys.

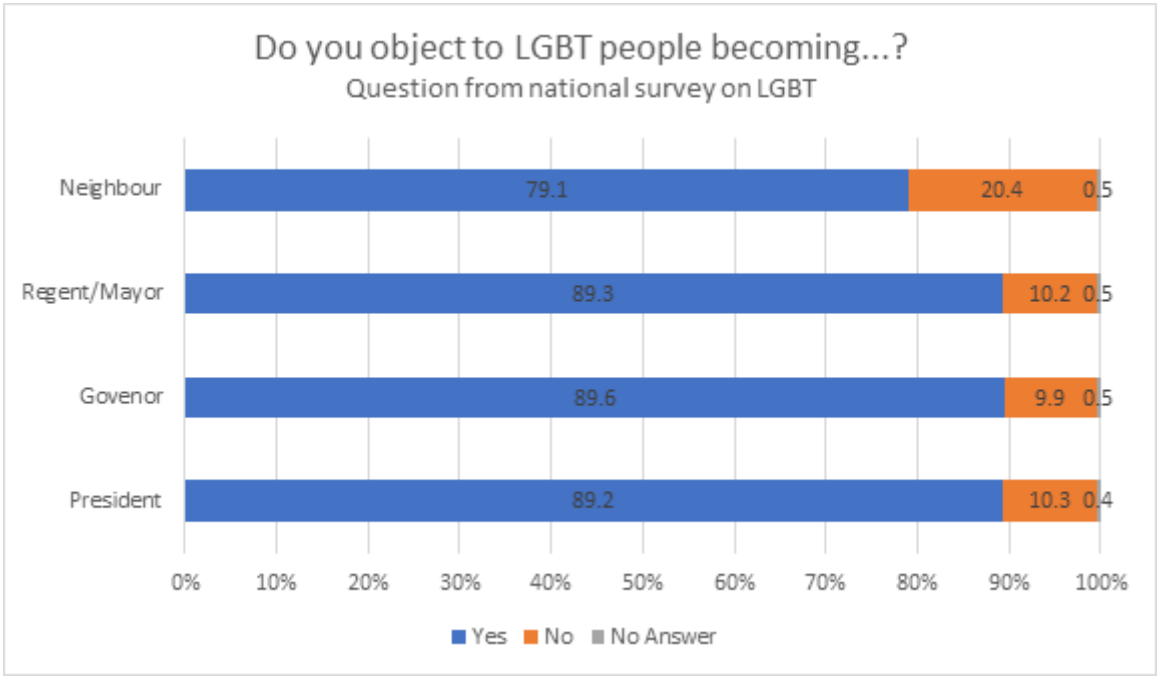
Figure 5. Threat of LGBT to private life or community in Indonesia



Source: LGBT national survey – Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting • Get the data

The same research center asked the question - three months apart - “how threatening do you find LGBT people to be to your private life and community?”. In September 2017, it was found that a majority perceived LGBT people to be at least fairly threatening (combined 86), and a small group perceived them to be (very) not threatening (combined 11). Combined results of those finding LGBT (very) not threatening did not change after 3 months, while those finding LGBT people at least fairly threatening increased. This is the most up to date data available found on this survey.

Figure 6. Objecting LGBT as neighbor or public official – in Indonesia



Source: LGBT national survey – Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting • Get the data

Figure 5 includes the same question that has been asked in the first survey, however, extends the group homosexuals to the term LGBT, including other sexual and gender minorities. The results are not far off, as close to 80% of the participants object to someone from the LGBT community becoming their neighbor. The participants seem even more opposed to LGBT people attaining a political function, e.g. Regent, Mayor, Governor or President. As Indonesia is able to democratically elect political leaders, they will choose candidates that reflect the most with their morals and values, which will least likely be one of a non-heterosexual or gender non-conforming identity. This is explained by the concept of heteronormativity, which is deeply embedded in Indonesia's society (Wieringa 2012). Gender and sexuality aim to normalize the social differences of a man and woman and consider what is to be deviating the norm. Heteronormativity is reflected on private sexual lives as well as the society's formal and informal institutions regulating gender and sexuality (ibid). This explains how the elected political candidates reflect the society's general attitudes.

The claim of rising religious conservatism in Indonesia from van Bruinessen (2011) is backed up by Hamayotsu (2018). An example of this is the imprisonment of Jakarta's governor Ahok and being charged for blasphemy in May 2017 (Lamb 2017b). This is seen as an example of how Islamic organizations were mobilizing and realizing their conservative and intolerant demands (ibid; Souisa

and Wulandari 2017). If the public has largely supported his imprisonment due to blasphemy, they will unlikely be accepting a political official that is considered to deviate gender and heterosexual norms.

Figure 7. Four Questions on LGBT acceptance in Indonesia

Study Question	Year	Response		Sample size
(1) Percent who believe that "homosexuality should be accepted by society"	2007	3%		1,000
	2011	5%		
	2013	3%		
(2) Percent who would not a homosexual as a neighbour	2001	55%		1,004
	2006	67%		1,985
(3) Is homosexuality ever justified?	2008	Always wrong	95.4%	2,000
		Almost always wrong	3.7%	
		Wrong only sometimes	0.4%	
		Not wrong at all	0.1%	
		Don't know	0.4%	
	2013	Morally unacceptable	93%	1,000

(4) Do you personally believe that homosexuality is…		Morally acceptable 3%	
		Not a moral issue 2%	

Sources: (1) – (4) Source: M.V. Lee Badgett, Amira Hasenbush & Winston Ekaprasetia Luhur (2017)

(1) Pew Global Attitudes Surveys
(2) World Values Survey
(3) International Social Survey Program
(4) Pew Global Attitudes Surveys, 2013
(1)-(3) From tabulations in (Smith, Son and Kim 2014), (4) From "Global views on Morality" (Pew Research Center, 2013)

Figure 7 is a composition of the surveys that asked participants on their acceptance on homosexuals in society. The first section shows the percentage of participants that believe homosexuality should be accepted from 3% in 2007, 5% in 2011 and then back to 3% in 2013. This mainly reveals that the level of acceptance of homosexuals in society remains very low. The second part of the survey shows that the percentage of participants that do not accept homosexuals as neighbors from 55% in 2001 to 67% in 2006. Although a bigger sample size was used in 2006. This survey asked the same question in the first survey (Figure 1), where in 2005 64.7% of the participants would not accept a homosexual as a neighbor. This percentage grew towards more than 80% in 2012 that would not accept the sexual minority as a neighbor. The third section of the figure asked participants in 2008 if homosexuals were ever justified, and a striking majority of 95% of 2000 participants claim it is always wrong. The fourth survey was conducted in 2013 and asked participants if homosexuality was morally acceptable, with 93% claiming it was unacceptable, a similar percentage as the survey in Figure 2 where participants were asked if society should accept homosexuality. The surveys show the majority of the public not being accepting of homosexuals and the number does not seem to be decreasing.

The public seem to be more in consensus as can be traced back in the surveys. One explanation for this is the growing role of mass media in reproducing and sensationalizing this sentiment as many attacks occur from vigilante conservative groups. Citizens have been acting on their own to shame LGBT people as images circulate the internet condemning their behavior (Yulius 2018). This increasing exposure through technological advancements have put LGBT people more at risk of shaming and abuse from different directions. The public are able to become more engaged in the homophobic

discourse through social media, while for LGBT this means more access to information, it also leads to increased possibility of abuse.

In terms of the political tolerance towards same-sex relations, the concept of the 'conservative turn' in Indonesia demonstrates that the tolerance has decreased. It can be argued that there is insufficient evidence for the direct relation between the conservative turn in politics and the increasing negative attitudes, and that they are two processes that sustain each other.

4.3 The State Securitizing LGBT Indonesians

This subchapter analyses the increased state homophobia through these statements made by public, political actors. Through the process of securitizing LGBT people there are a few recurring themes found within the statements: the increased threat of national security or sovereignty, the threat of decreasing morality or culture and the threat of LGBT people and behavior towards children. The last theme perceives the children in Indonesia to be the most vulnerable group in need of protection from immoral behavior from sexual and gender minorities. Some themes may overlap within some statements or debates; therefore, this subsection is not structured by themes, but by political statements, which refer to the LGBT community or its movement as a collective threat.

The sources of these statements originate from Western as well as Indonesian news articles. This is to prevent essentialism when the sources are concentrated from one area. Most statements are translated by Western news articles; however, they can be traced back to Indonesian articles. The main goal of each statement is to interpret and analyse the intention behind the statement.

Statement 1.

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) expressed his view on homosexuality during a presidential debate, through the promise of hindering the legalization of the sexually indecent acts as it goes against religious values (Sinar Harapan 2004 in Blackwood 2007).

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was elected president of Indonesia in 2004, representing secular and democratic values (Budianta et al. 2015). However, it was during the Yudhoyono presidency that Indonesia became more intolerant towards gender and sexual minorities, labelling them as deviant (Bush 2015). The course towards regulating gender and sexuality through religious values began with a televised statement referring to the revealing of a woman's navel, which was

found to be indecent by president Yudhoyono (Budianta et al. 2015). This led to the new draft pornography law, which eventually passed in 2008 (ibid).

Yudhoyono was perceived to be a supporter of democracy, though, on the notion of human rights he was more on the conservative side on certain political issues (Berger 2015). He even was a firm supporter of *The Pornography Law* and its role in regulating morality (Budianta et al. 2015). The president had been criticized nationally for the lack of commitment to preserve human rights in Indonesia (ibid). One of his claims on human rights referred to the freedom of expression on sexuality, with this freedom being relative and in need of religious guidance (Yudhoyono 2012 in Berger 2015). When Aceh implemented Sharia law, he remained silent on the effect this would have on sexual and religious minorities (Holike 2011). His lack of willingness to support minorities and their human rights was based on the government's responsibility to establish a stable society (Berger 2015).

With this in mind, it can be postulated that Yudhoyono's presidency in the early 2000s led Indonesia to a more conservative turn, in which debates on morality and sexuality emerged. Homophobia was not the main narrative of the state just yet, but part of a state-sponsored heteronormativity embedded in society and politics.

The following statements are the start of the wave of anti-LGBT statements made in 2016 by political actors. They reveal a state-sponsored homophobic discourse in Indonesia, which was previously limited to a heteronormative narrative reproduced by public institutions and personal interactions.

Statement 2.

Research, Technology and Higher Education Minister, Muhammad Nasir on January 24, 2016
"Saya Larang LGBT di Semua Kampus, Itu Tak Sesuai Nilai Kesusilaan!" (Batubara 2016) which roughly translates to: "I forbid LGBT on all campuses; it is not compatible with moral values!". Similarly, he has been quoted in The Jakarta Post stating: "LGBT people should be banned from entering universities for corrupting the nation's morals." (Swaragita 2018).

This statement occurred as a reaction to the circulation of a poster which offers consultation by the Support Group and Research Center for Sexuality Studies (SGRC), a study group from the University of Indonesia. The support group aimed to offer advice and access to information on sexual health and reproductive rights by students (Walton 2017). The minister accused the group of being associated with an LGBT support network, though this was later denied by founders of SGRC ("Minister: I'm not

against" 2016). The minister later rephrased his statement by claiming he is not against LGBT people, but he opposes their behavior of affection in public settings (ibid). Minister Nasir also argues how the university is an institution responsible for maintaining national morals and values, thus, opposing the public displays of LGBT behavior. Soon after his statement was made, more statements followed by authority figures as well as religious organizations targeting the LGBT community. This opened a discussion on how to handle the issue and what measures were to be taken, if any.

As a direct response to Minister Nasir's statement and the accusation of SGRC being an LGBT network, Nasir Djamil from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) stated how the LGBT community was a threat to the nation and should not be allowed to organize ("LGBT not Welcome" 2016).

Statement 3.

On January 24, 2016 People's Consultative Assembly Chairman, Zulkifli Hasan, stated: "It [homosexuality] does not fit with our culture, should be banned because it does not fit with the culture of Indonesia. As a movement, the existence of LGBT must be opposed." (Knight 2016)

The statement by Zulkifli Hasan wishes to ban homosexuality in Indonesia. The reasons for opposing homosexuality is stated as being against the culture of Indonesia, which claims reflects on heterosexual norms, and other sexual orientations are considered deviating the norm. It was previously seen as the duty of public institutions (schools, religious institutions) or family relations to reproduce heterosexual norms as a part of Indonesian culture. As these homophobic statements have increased, the government is seen as becoming just as important to regulate sexuality and gender to conform to morality.

One of the ways the government is increasing its role in the regulation of gender and sexuality is through laws or policies that would limit LGBT the freedom of LGBT people and even securitizing them when they are considered a threat. It can also be done without official policies and through public support. If the public increasingly stigmatizes LGBT people and denies them the right to work, education, housing, a partner and freedom to express, they are structurally excluded from society. Without any laws to protect LGBT people from discrimination, this process will continue.

Statement 4.

February 14, 2016 “Menteri Yohana: Saya Menolak Keras Aksi LGBT, Awasi Anak-anak!” is a headline of Kompas, written by Muhamad Malik Afrian (2016). This translates to “Minister Yohana: I strongly reject LGBT, watch the children!”

During an interview on February 14, 2016, Minister of women’s empowerment and child protection, Yohana Yembise said she strongly rejects LGBT and the involvement it has with children:
In the Kompas article, the minister adds that she perceives the LGBT community to be a threat to children and wishes to prevent the “outbreak” of LGBT on children. She urges both the parents and the government to take action to ensure the safety of the children. This means to limit or remove the exposure of social media that may show LGBT related content (Afrian 2016). Certain messaging applications have been called to remove certain emojis that reveal gay or transgender content by the Minister of Communication (Hutton 2016). This was encouraged by the Yohana Yembise, and further stigmatized the LGBT community. The child protection minister does not condone same-sex relations amongst adults, but opposes their behavior being exposed to children. This way of thinking believes that children will become gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender when they see it happening in public. Additionally, it places adult LGBT people in Indonesia as perpetrators when their identity is carried out in public. In other words, if they display affection towards the same in public or men behave effeminate around children, this is seen as harmful.

Yulius (2016) also discussed the different events that occurred involving the sexual crimes committed towards children, referred to as sodomizing, and alleged charges of sexual crimes. These (alleged) crimes have quickly established a narrative that relates sexual abuse against children with homosexuality. The narrative creates emotional responses and a foundation for the use of social norms that are at risk of disappearing through immoral behavior.

Catholic priests have claimed a similar narrative, claiming the sexual abuse of children in the catholic church is to be blamed on homosexuality (Rodriguez 2009). This has been similarly claimed by a German cardinal (Huggler 2019). Similarly, conservative Muslims in Indonesia have made homosexuality the culprit of immoral behavior towards children. This shows how religion has influenced narratives that prejudge a whole group.

There is a risk of pedophilia and homosexuality being part of the same narrative, in which they both become less distinguishable and a threat to children. In Indonesia, according to a police spokesman, children are seen as vulnerable and to be protected from both sexual predators and pedophiles as

well as turning into homosexuals (Oetomo 2016; Walden 2019). The theme of protecting children in the homosexual context tends to recur (Altman and Symons 2016: 55) and not just in Indonesian context.

Statement 5.

On February 20, 2016 Minister of Defense Ryamizard Ryacudu stated: "LGBT is dangerous, we cannot see it, before you know it you are brainwashed" (Galih 2016). He compared the LGBT phenomenon in Indonesia to a "proxy war".

The statement that compared the increasing visibility of LGBT people and the legalization of LGBT rights in other states to a proxy war frames the LGBT phenomenon as a security issue. War usually refers to a conflict between state or non-state actors with the use of physical weapons. A proxy war is fought by external state or non-state actors that are often financially and ideologically supported by major powers. This was done during the Cold War for example (see Bar-Siman-Tov 1984) and is now used to explain a modern warfare fought with soft power (Haripin 2016). The LGBT community can be seen as acting on behalf of the 'West', and their intention to influence other nations through the legalization of same-sex relations and marriage (ibid). The possibility of legalizing same-sex relations in Indonesia is seen as a threat to the nation as it changes the moral ideas and culture of the nation. This type of war is not always fought the conventional way through weapons, which Ryacudu finds the most threatening: "In a proxy war, another state might occupy the minds of the nation without anyone realizing it. In a nuclear war, if a bomb is dropped over Jakarta, Semarang [another town in Java] will not be affected; but in a proxy war, everything we know could disappear in an instant – it's dangerous." (Lamb 2017a). Statements like these are then used by radicalized religious groups to target LGBT activists and individuals as a way to fight this 'war' (ibid). In terms of securitization, this statement not only frames LGBT as a security issue, it goes further to determine Indonesia has an enemy that it needs to overcome using political and military measures.

Statement 6.

On February 26, 2016 Secretary-general of the People's Conscience Party, Berliana Kartakusumah stated: "Being LGBT is an infectious and dangerous disease. LGBT must be banned, like we banned communism and drug trafficking," (Singgih 2016, quoted in the Jakarta Post; Knight 2016).

Similar to the above statement is one made by the leader of Islamic People Forum (FUI) Muhammad Fuad stating "If legalised, this disease will be more contagious and harmful to our children." (Widianto

2016), which is quoted in The Guardian. Both statements compare being part of the LGBT community to that of a disease that can spread to others. Muhammad Fuad states how the added process of legalization of same-sex relations would exacerbate the 'disease', providing conditions that could advance the influence the LGBT community has. Fuad adds to his statement how the children are a vulnerable group to the perceived threat, a recurring theme in other statements.

Although the sexual transmitted diseases are not mentioned, e.g. AIDS, there are accusations made on the increased threat of AIDS if LGBT becomes more permitted to public space or legalized (Widianto 2016). HIV/AIDS have become terms often used in debates concerning the LGBT community in Indonesia (Yulius 2017b), often as a reason by oppositions of LGBT rights as they claim it promote 'free sex' leading to these infections.

Statement 7.

On February 26, 2016, a statement made by Yusril Ihza Mahendra was published by Sharia.co.id stating: "Bila LGBT berkembang, maka bisa terjadi pemusnahan sebuah bangsa!" ("Yusril Ihza Mahendra: Hukum Islam" 2016). His statement translates to: "If LGBT develops, it could mean the destruction of the nation!"

Yusril Mahendra is a politician and a legal specialist. His statement regarding LGBT people supports the idea of Islamic law regulating public life. He also argues that Indonesia as a nation is threatened if LGBT develops. While the development of LGBT is not defined in the statement, it could be interpreted as a phenomenon that is becoming more visible and claiming public space. Same-sex relations have long been seen as a sinful act by many religions according to Yusril ("Yusril Ihza Mahendra: Hukum Islam" 2016) but has increasingly been seen as a threat to the nation as it becomes more visible. While not clear in his statement, Mahendra states that Indonesians, and mainly the younger generation, must be protected from LGBT (people). The future of the nation depends on the youth after all, which links the theme of nation and protection of children.

Statement 8.

On March 7, 2016 the Chair of the commission of the House of Representatives, Mahfudz Siddiq, stated: "LGBT issues can damage national security, identity, culture and the faith of Indonesians." (Knight 2016)

This statement makes it clear that Mahfudz Siddiq perceives LGBT to be a security issue, and perceived LGBT issues as a threat. What is considered to be an LGBT issue in this context? It could be referred to their behavior, their identity or their public campaigning for human rights. Mahfudz claimed how Indonesia was in a state of emergency concerning the LGBT phenomenon (Simanjuntak 2016). With the increase of visibility on LGBT cases, through campaigns or discriminating incidents in the media, the minister sees is as the possibility of increased public conflicts ("Government drafts ban" 2016).

When Mahfudz Siddiq frames LGBT as a threat to national security, identity and culture, it addresses seven indicators that make it an emergency issue (Simanjuntak 2016). In sum, these indicators refer to the LGBT acting as a collective group and normalizing their orientations and behavior through media (television). In addition to public figures in the media, institutions, companies and academics increasingly support and advocate for the LGBT community, which Siddiq labels as the perpetrators (ibid). LGBT individuals and supporters are now able to reach a larger audience through social media and there are no laws and policies that are regulating these processes. He has also stated that medical professionals believe LGBT behavior can easily spread amongst the public, which is a clear sign of the danger it possesses. As a result, it can be argued that LGBT issues attempt to be destabilizing factor to the nation and therefore, the government must re-establish authority and public order.

The state is not in full consensus on the LGBT rights issue, while some condemn their behavior and identity to be normalized, there are politicians that have defended them as being Indonesian citizens and should be protected from harm. I argue that the statements condemning the LGBT community in Indonesia are aiming to reframe the heteronormative narrative in Indonesia. While this was previously deemed unnecessary, with the increasing visibility of LGBT people and the movement that aspires to legalize same-sex relations, the opposing group sees this as the need to fight this process. Not only does the public become more aware of the LGBT community, they seem to become more adverse towards the sexual minorities as a part of society. The government lacks the ability and often the intention to protect sexual minorities structurally, while some members of the parliament encourage the anti-LGBT sentiment.

The statements mainly seem to condemn the LGBT activism and their collective action and campaigning for human rights, as this destabilizes the nation and its moral values. The most vulnerable group are the children according to most of the statements made by politicians**.** Overall, these statements demonstrate the increase of state homophobia to occur in 2016, as media reports have

mainly been published from that year. Politicians have not been as outspoken about the LGBT community or their activism efforts as they have been in 2016. These statements that refer to the securitization of LGBT people have further encouraged public and political debates to discuss the issue of public morality and human rights.

5. Conclusion

Increasing securitization of LGBT Indonesians from 2000 to 2016 can be traced back to the increased perception of the 'LGBT threat' by the state and the increased visibility of the LGBT community, which is met with public resistance and backlash. The surveys have revealed an increase of awareness of LGBT presence and their increased objection towards the LGBT community in society.
Indonesia has seen a conservative turn in its political climate since the 2000s, parallel to the democratic transition the state was experiencing and seen as a facilitating condition to the rising religious and political conservatism. Alongside conservatives becoming more politically engaged, LGBT activists were gaining visibility in Indonesia. However, Indonesia chose to politically and publicly resist and repress sexual minorities and their campaign for LGBT rights. State homophobia is seen as the state's negative attitude towards sexual minorities, leading to policies, laws and discussions to further repress their freedoms. Islam has been the underlying foundation generating the negative attitudes towards homosexuality. With the conservative turn from the 2000s opening new political space for conservative Muslims, LGBT people became increasingly repressed.

The reports and legal and moral debates reveal the increase of state-sponsored homophobia in Indonesia from 2000 to 2016. Why did the Indonesian state increasingly securitize LGBT Indonesians in 2000 to 2016? This thesis provided two factors that contributed to answering the question: the relationship between public opinion and political tolerance in a democratic state and the increase of state homophobia in Indonesia through the public officials' statements.

The main changes occur politically and legally, and the political elites and radical, conservative Muslims are integrating politically. Conservative Muslim organizations were strengthened by supportive alliances and able to propose their policies to govern the public that fit their moral and cultural standards. While laws such as *The Pornography Law* were established in 2008, acting as a symptom of the securitization of homosexuality, other propositions to criminalize homosexuality were dismissed or regulated more locally. The main indicator of increasing securitization can be found in the increase of political statements opposing LGBT rights or the community altogether.

Tracing the evidence of voters' preferences and opinions on LGBT acceptance in society since the 2000s, it has been shown that acceptance has generally been low for a long time yet has been decreasing over the years. This process has coincided with the political and religious conservative turn. These two processes have similar goals, allowing them to sustain each other. The other factor is that

of state homophobia. Examining the statements made by authorities opposing the LGBT community in Indonesia, it can be argued that they have led to a full force of securitizing LGBT Indonesians in 2016. This is when most of the statements were said and initiated many more discussions to further control the behavior of LGBT people in Indonesia. The statements have mainly been condemning their behavior to collectively ask for equal rights and claimed this could harm the nation's culture and identity. This suggests the necessity to securitize LGBT in Indonesia in order to protect the nation.

This thesis aimed to determine how state and non-state actors have contributed to the securitization of LGBT Indonesians since the 2000s in a democratic state. Though, to increase the scope of this research, further research could be done on the coalition between state and non-state actors that further enable state homophobia in Indonesia. Additionally, more research could be conducted on practical securitization measures by the government and how public institutions were influenced by state-sponsored homophobia. Finally, the difference between the moderate and conservative Muslims was insufficiently identified within the polls of public opinion, with more research this difference could be determined.

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