LGBT-RIGHTS IN DECLINE
A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF THE EXPERIENCES OF LGBT-PEOPLE IN INDONESIA

EMMA FREIJ
ARON FALKENBERG
"LGBT-RIGHTS IN DECLINE"

- A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF THE EXPERIENCES OF LGBT-PEOPLE IN INDONESIA

Freij, E & Falkenberg, A. “LGBT-rights in decline – a qualitative study of the experiences of LGBT-people in Indonesia.”

Bachelor thesis in social work, 15 credits. Malmö University: The Faculty of Health and Life Sciences, Institution of Social Work.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to highlight the situation for LGBT-people in Bali with regard to the political changes in the country. Firstly, the living situation for LGBT-people have been investigated and secondly the possible effects that the newly implemented anti-LGBT policies have had on LGBT-people have been examined through interviews with six informants currently living in Bali. What has been unearthed is that LGBT-people have in the past lived in a climate of relative tolerance with discretion as a caveat; as long as LGBT-identities weren’t officially proclaimed, and same-sex relations were handled discreetly, LGBT-people haven’t been burdened with discrimination and violence. Contemporary research suggests that the current political developments regarding LGBT-rights, marked by swift and sweeping changes of a radical nature, have resulted in LGBT-people in Indonesia now facing discrimination and violence - even when LGBT-people attempt to handle their sexuality with discretion. However, this research suggests that this is not the case, and that LGBT-people aren’t as greatly affected or concerned with the political developments as have been suggested by scholars. As explained, reasons for this appear to be found in how LGBT-people lead their lives with discretion, which is a recurrent theme for many LGBT-people in Indonesia. However, another reason for this can be found in the strength of the LGBT-community, which appear to refute the negative consequences of belonging to a stigmatised and marginalised group for its members. Indeed, many LGBT-people found friendship, emotional support, improved healthcare and employment through the community.

Key words: LGBT, discretion, stigma, discrimination, society, Bali, Indonesia.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We would like to begin by thanking the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) who have benefited us with the Minor Field Study (MFS) scholarship which has enabled us to conduct this research. We would like to thank the organisation Gaya Dewata, and in particular its manager Arya Made, whom have played a key role in realising this research, by providing us with valuable information and informants. A particular thank you is also directed to the informants whose courage testimonies and willingness to share have been a necessity for this research to be completed. Finally, we would like to thank our supervisor, Martina Campart, whose support, enthusiasm and kindness have been of paramount importance.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## 1. INTRODUCTION

1:1 Aims and purposes
1:2 Limitations of the study
1:3 Research questions
1:4 Disposition and content

## 2. BACKGROUND

2:1 Indonesia
2:2 LGBT in Indonesia
2:3 Gaya Dewata

## 3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

3:1 Past situation for LGBT-people in Indonesia
3:2 Current situation for LGBT-people in Indonesia
3:3 LGBT in social media
3:4 LGBT and religion
3:5 LGBT – legal with an exception?

## 4. THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

4:1 Deviance
4:2 Moral panic
4:3 Stigma
4:4 Primary and secondary groups
4:5 The Looking-Glass Self
4:6 Shame

## 5. METHODOLOGY

5:1 Methodological approach
5:2 Interviews
5:3 Choice of informants
5:4 LGBT definition
5:5 Data analysis
5:6 Ethical considerations
5:7 Reliability and validity

## 6. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

6:1 Presentations
6:2 Themes
6:2:1 Double life
7. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

7:1 How LGBT-people describe their everyday life in relation to their sexual orientation. 30
7:2 How LGBT-people are affected by the newly implemented LGBT-policies. 32

8. CONCLUSIONS 37

9. REFERENCES 39

ATTACHMENT 1 43
1. INTRODUCTION

In all regions of the world people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) as well as other sexual minorities, or those who are perceived to fit this category regardless of their actual sexual orientation, often battle with discrimination, harassment and violence on a daily basis. Putting it simply, those who do not conform to social norms in regard to sexuality face challenges in the different arenas that constitutes a person’s everyday life. These arenas include but are not limited to school, the labour market and healthcare. One’s sexuality may also impede one’s life in a negative manner in other settings, as it might result in rejection by family and community and prompt hate motivated violence directed at the LGBT-individual. (United Nations General Assembly, 2012)

The reason for the discrimination and harm LGBT-people experience stems from forces and attitudes that do not accept all individuals as equal. The consequence of these intolerable and prejudiced positions can have lifelong consequences for the victim. (United Nations General Assembly, 2012) For example, there is strong evidence that LGBT-children and youths exposed to this kind of intolerance are more likely to consider suicide than other children and youths. (Joyner and Russell, 2001)

It should however be noted that the international community has acknowledged the plight of LGBT-people, and motivated by a spirit of equality, has taken steps to protect these individuals by reinforcing laws and enacting new legalisation whose aim is to strengthen the rights of LGBT-people. As of yet, there is no international instrument that specifically undertake the protection of individuals who identify as LGBT, however there are other movements of an international nature that seek to counteract anti-LGBT sentiments. For example, the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) argues that sexual orientation and gender identity is grounds for discrimination. States that are part of the CRC are consequently expected to report on discrimination and harassment related to LGBT-issues that connect to children and educational establishments. The CRC also argue that the member states should report on attempts and efforts to offer LGBT related health education. These attempts, and the position of international organisations, should be viewed as grounds for optimism and has had a positive effect on LGBT-rights in an international context. More and more LGBT-people are growing up in households and operate within communities that seek to protect and enhance the individual’s rights regardless of the individual’s sexual orientation. Many countries have moved in positive direction where LGBT rights are concerned, repealing laws that once criminalised LGBT identities and relationships. (United Nations General Assembly, 2012)

However, in spite of these attempts and positive developments, LGBT-people still suffer horrible discrimination in the world, and the protective efforts of international organisations are counteracted by certain governments in the world who do not recognise the rights of LGBT-people. Some countries have in recent times tried to pass legalisations that seek to criminalise homosexuality and “LGBT practices” that are now punishable. (United Nations General Assembly, 2012) Indonesia is one of these countries and Human Rights Watch (2017, p. 38-39) notes the developing anti-LGBT sentiments and policies in the country, that are characterised by swift and sweeping changes, with concern.

Social work can be described as a practice dedicated to alleviating the living conditions of people who are suffering from social deprivation. Therefore, it is of value for social workers to have a broad understanding of different marginalised groups to improve the quality of work in whatever field the social worker is involved in. In light of this, it can be said that this study
is highly relevant to social work, as it aims to illuminate and understand the difficulties faced by the marginalised group LGBT-people.

1.1 Aims and purposes

“Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere” is a quote by Martin Luther King, Jr (Mustanski, 2011) and his words are as true today as they were when they first spoken. However, it would be equally correct to say that justice is a threat to injustice everywhere, and this reasoning catches the essence of the purpose of this research; it is the hope of the authors that this essay might be a small contribution to the ongoing fight for LGBT rights that is currently unfolding itself on a global scale. Highlighting the difficulties faced by LGBT people in Bali in their everyday life can perhaps lead to increased awareness. Increased awareness might in turn prompt the rest of the world to take action against discrimination against LGBT-people, not only in Bali but also in the rest of the world. It should also be noted that this ambition is shared by the Swedish government, as it would be in line with the Swedish government’s global goal number 5 and 15 which argue for the need equality and for the need of a peaceful and inclusive society, respectively. (Regeringskansliet, 2018)

In shorter terms, this study aspires to offer broader insights into how LGBT-people in Bali experience their daily life and how that daily life might possibly be affected by the political changes in the country concerning LGBT-rights. More specifically, we want to examine which areas of LGBT-people’s lives might be affected by investigating the following aspects of their lives; family and other social relations, occupations and religious life.

1.2 Limitations of the study

There are some limitations that ought to be discussed in this introductory chapter of the essay. Firstly, the research has been carried out in a period of eight weeks, which given the depth of the research question might be considered too little time. Indeed, given the time and opportunity the research questions might have been answered in a far deeper extent. Further on, the goal of the essay is to research LGBT-people in general, however, only men and one transgender woman was willing to participate in the study as interviewees. The diversity of the result might thus be impeded and possible differences between gender will not be distinguishable.

1.3 Research questions

The following topics will be explored:

1. How LGBT-people in Bali describe their everyday life in relation to their sexual orientation in regard to their family and social relations, occupation and religious life.
2. How LGBT-people in Bali are affected by the newly implemented anti-LGBT policies.

1.4 Disposition and content

This study can be described as being divided in two main parts, the first of which concerns itself with a background to the issue being studied as well as previous research. The first part will end with a presentation of the theoretical framework that will later on in the second part be used for analytic purposes. The second part will initially introduce the methodology,
followed by the empirical findings and contain an analysis of those findings and lastly a conclusion of the study will be presented.

Part one:

2. Background – This chapter contains a brief introduction of Indonesia as well as an introduction of LGBT-rights in Indonesia with a historic perspective in mind. The activist organisation Gaya Dewata who has assisted this research will be introduced as well.

3. Previous research – In this chapter different research that is relevant to the subject will be introduced. A brief overview of the current situation for LGBT-people will be included as well as LGBT in social media, LGBT and religion, and finally the (ill)legal ambiguity of LGBT in Indonesia will be introduced. Scientific data from different researchers has been used for this part, especially the work of social anthropologist Tom Boellstorff whom has written a great deal about LGBT-people and their rights in an Indonesian setting.

4. Theoretical framework – This chapter contains an introduction of the various sociological theories that has been used for this research’s analysis. The concept of deviance, moral panic, stigma, primary and secondary groups, the looking-self glass, and shame will be presented.

Part two:

1. Methodology – The first chapter will present the methodological approach of the research. Why qualitative interviews have been chosen as the appropriate method, how the data has been gathered, what analytical tools will be used and how the definition of LGBT will be used in this text will be discussed. The programme Nvivo 12 will also be introduced.

2. Empirical findings – In this section, the interviewees will be introduced as well as the data produced from the interviews.

2. Discussion and analysis – The empirical findings will in this chapter be analysed through the theoretical framework.

3. Conclusion – In this final chapter the result of the essay will be discussed and conclusions based on the content of the previous chapters will be presented.
2. BACKGROUND

In this section information will be presented whose aim is to give the reader a chance to conceive a greater understanding of the topic of the essay. Firstly, a brief introduction of Indonesia and its political, economic and social situation will be provided. A brief introduction of LGBT rights in the Indonesian context will be presented as well. Finally, the activist organisation Gaya Dewata who has assisted this research will be introduced.

2.1 Indonesia

Indonesia is an archipelago nation with 264 million citizens and has thus the fourth largest population in the world. It is the largest Muslim country in the world but Indonesia is also the home to many other faiths and beliefs. Many Indonesians are followers of Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism as well. After the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998 the dictatorial government was replaced by a republic and the country has under recent years undergone democratic processes. However, this process has not been entirely unproblematic, and are characterised by tensions between religion, law and secularism. (Landsguiden, 2018; Globalis, 2018)

Indonesia suffered greatly from the financial crisis of 1998, however, under recent years the country has seen an increase in economic growth and in the gross domestic product (GDP) and is now the largest economy in Southeast Asia. Indonesia is the largest producer of palm oil and the largest industries within the country are centred around oil, cement and energy. Indonesia has good relations with its neighbouring countries and is one of the founders of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). (Globalis, 2018)

The province of Aceh in northern Indonesia has fought for its independence and an armed conflict has been going on from 1976 to 2005 which was when a peace arrangement could be reached. The conflict was perpetrated by the separatist guerrilla movement Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) and the Indonesian government and the military. The peace arrangement of 2005 has given the province of Aceh increased autonomy from the Indonesian government and the province has thus been able to implement its own laws. This has culminated in the adoption of sharia laws. (Landsguiden, 2018)

2.2 LGBT in Indonesia

80 lashes were the penalties dealt to two men for the crime of having consensual sex between man and man. The public caning took place on the 23 of May 2017 in the province of Aceh in northern Indonesia and was the first caning verdict issued for homosexual sex since the region adopted sharia laws in 2015 and consequently criminalized homosexuality (Dearden, 2017). Aceh is the only region in Indonesia where homosexuality is illegal and punishable, but homophobia and discrimination are widespread throughout the country. For example, in February 2016, defence minister Ryamizard Ryacudu said that LGBT rights are more dangerous than nuclear war, and in February 2017 mental health director at the Ministry of Health, Dr. Fidiansjah, compared homosexuality to a psychiatric disorder (Westcott, 2018). Later on, in December 2017 Indonesia’ Constitutional Court only narrowly rejected the application to criminalize same-sex relations in the country. Even though the law was not passed, Human Rights Watch argue that there are still legal means to persecute homosexuals in Indonesia by citing the law of pornography which is frequently used against homosexuals (Knight, 2018). An example of this occurred in October 2017 when 58 men attending a gay
club were arrested for violating the pornography law in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta (France-Presse, 2017).

While LGBT-people have experienced hateful rhetoric and sporadic violent attacks over the preceding three decades there has been a sweeping shift in the Indonesian approach towards LGBT-people during the last years (Human Rights Watch, 2017, p. 1). Anthropologist Tom Boellstorf (2016, p. 5) explains the situation like this: “What makes the current ‘LGBT crisis’ so concerning is the role played by state officials and organizations, and the concomitant threat to implement anti-LGBT policies and laws—a threat that in some cases has been carried out with astonishing speed.”

Although there is some research on LGBT issues in Indonesia, it isn’t an area that has been researched at great length. According to Arya Made, manager of the activist organisation Gaya Dewata, much of the knowledge of LGBT life in Indonesia is assumed knowledge as opposed to documented knowledge. Further on, it is interesting to note is that most knowledge accessible regard only men or transgender women – there is not as much knowledge accessible about LGBT-women. According to Made, LGBT-women are more distant and operate within close-knit communities. Made also suggests that the fact that women have many familiar duties they are not given the chance to be as autonomous from their families in the same extent as their male counterparts which might also account for LGBT-women being more obscure than LGBT-men.

The Indonesian island of Bali has long been considered a safe haven for LGBT-people, for visitors and tourists as well as those native to Indonesia, which some attribute to its Hindu influence; as opposed to belonging to an Islam majority as the rest of the country Bali is a province with largely a Hindu population - the homophobic elements in Indonesia, stemming from a Muslim dominated governance, are thus less present in Bali. (Brook, 2018) According to Made, manager of Gaya Dewata, this is the reason why activist organisations are placed and operate from Bali.

### 2.3 Gaya Dewata

The activist organisation Gaya Dewata is based in Bali was founded in 1992 and is a community-based, non-profit organisation providing HIV/AIDS education and prevention, care and support programmes, sexual health and empowerment programmes for the LGBT-community in Bali and Indonesia. Motivated by a vision of equality and inclusivity for LGBT-people, Gaya Dewata offers a wide range of services, such as defending LGBT-rights and educating and spreading knowledge about LGBT-issues, and counselling. Gaya Dewata also host community forums, focus group discussions and training workshops on fender, sexuality and sexual health related issues. Aside from this core agency, the organisation also seek to advocate for the LGBT-community in a wider Balinese community context, using social media as well as the universities as means to do this. (Gaya Dewata, 2018)
3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

3.1 Past situation for LGBT-people in Indonesia

Even though homosexuality, with the exception of the Aceh province isn’t illegal in Indonesia, Offord and Leon (2001, p. 244) argue that the Indonesian government’s official stand on homosexuality is that it is to be treated as something illegal. They go on to explain this by saying that homosexuality goes against all religious teachings in Indonesia which is what the country’s constitution is based upon.

Although not illegal, homosexuality in Indonesia has been treated with hostility in the past when explicit, however, with discretion as a caveat LGBT-people appear to have been able to live in a climate of relative tolerance (Hendricks, 1995, p. 81). This conclusion is echoed by Tom Boellstorff (2007) who describes the past LGBT-situation in Indonesia as: “the ‘tolerance’ of homosexuality exists only because Indonesians keep these practices secret and do not publicly proclaim homosexual identities.” (p. 56)

In the past, as long as one did not proclaim LGBT-identities it appears as if one could escape persecution. Boellstorff (2004, p. 477) exemplifies this by referencing to the then Minister of Tourism, Post and Communication Joop Ave. During a visit to New Zealand in 1995 Ave was accused by a male staff member of the Carlton Hotel in Auckland for making sexual advances against him which forced Ave to return to Indonesia earlier than planned. In spite of this, Ave did not only keep his public position, but the media dismissed the rumours. Boellstorff (2004, p. 477) claims that this reflected the general consensus that as long as one did not openly proclaim a LGBT-identity one would not be persecuted or harassed. Indeed, acts of violence connected to homophobia in Indonesia has been rare in the past; when heterosexual Indonesian men have been approached by other men for romantic or sexual purposes the typical heterosexual man would politely refuse. Or, had there been mutual sexual attraction the man would typically engage in a sexual encounter but keep quiet about it afterwards.

In conclusion, it can be said that in the past that same-sex practices were either ignored, greeted with curiosity or was casually looked down upon but it did not lead to the justification of violence if the same-sex practices and relations were treated discreetly. Indeed, in the past the concept of successful Indonesian masculinity was not impinged by being attracted to men as long as one eventually married and fulfilled the traditional Indonesian role of husband and father. Prior to marriage, same-sex relations are described as common, albeit never publicly acknowledged, and it is not unknown for these sexual relations to continue after marriage. However, it should be noted that these sexual activities are often not viewed as homosexual but rather seen as just ‘playing around’. (Boellstorff, 2004, p. 477)

Offord and Leon (2001, p. 244) argue that the need for discretion that defined the Indonesian LGBT-community in the 1990s were in some ways refuted by increased globalisation as this had resulted in increased visibility for LGBT-people in the media. Example of articles issued in The Jakarta Post in 1990s were “Only 8 % of the French people consider homosexuality a sin”, “Homosexual Men Strive to Fight AIDS” and “First Ever Gay Marriages in Sweden”. Other representations of homosexuality were frequent on television and in movies.

With cautious optimism, Offord and Leon (2001, p. 245) theorised a possible evolution for LGBT-rights in Indonesia: “It may be that as homosexuality becomes more visible there will be a legal and political response. It all depends on the dynamics of Indonesian society as it
responds to globalization and economic development and their coeval and consequential features, inter-cultural communication and individual autonomy.”

In a similar spirit of cautious optimism, human rights activist Todung Mulya Lubis (1994, p. 40) mused that globalisation, and the consequent interconnectedness of economic, social and cultural mechanisms, might provide the necessary prerequisites for a human rights development in Indonesia. This would include the development of LGBT-rights.

It would seem that these cautious optimistic statements were wrong. Not only wrong in the sense that the theorised change didn’t occur but also wrong in the sense that the opposite occurred which the following section of this essay will now explore.

3.2 Current situation for LGBT-people in Indonesia

Under the year 2016 Indonesian government officials issued a number of homophobic statements which, according to Human Rights Watch (2017, p. 38-39) seem to indicate the institutionalisation of homophobia in the country. For example, in early 2016 two government-appointed commissions expressed discriminatory statements towards LGBT-people. On February 1, the National Children’s Protection Commission declared that, in the interest of protecting children’s innocence, the distribution of information about LGBT issues to children and minors were strictly forbidden. On February 12, the National Broadcasting Commission announced that the broadcasting of information related to LGBT-people and issues were forbidden in fear that children and adolescents might duplicate LGBT deviant behaviour. On February 16, Dr. Fidiansjah, a psychiatrist and the mental health director at Indonesia’s Ministry of Health stated that homosexuality and bisexuality were psychiatric disorders and that people with this affliction had to be cured.

Human Rights Watch (2017, p. 46) reports that the Minister of Political Legal and Security Affairs, Aluhut Pandjaitan said that ”there is no guarantee that any normal family can avoid having a LGBT child” on February 15 2017. Pandjaitan went on to describe homosexuality as a chromosome disease that should be treated. Later on in December 2017, Indonesia’s Constitutional Court only narrowly rejected the application to criminalize same-sex relations in the country. The application was declined by only one vote (Knight, 2018).

Boellstorf (2004, p. 470) argues that the Indonesian state is attempting to integrate the concept of an ideal citizen into the Indonesian society. In this concept, the elements of a gender ideology as well as a family principle is included which has constituted a narrow vision of masculinity and femininity. Citizens who do not conform to this concept, such as LGBT-people, are therefore seen as a threat to the foundation of society and to the country itself through their none-normative identity. As a consequence, homosexuality is seen as a grave threat and as an assault on the nation. Boellstorf (2004, p. 470) argues that this nationalised concept of masculinity and femininity is one of the reasons why homosexuality is met with violence even when same-sex relations are handled discreetly. In other words, there has been a radical change that has occurred swiftly over the preceding decade.
3.3 LGBT in social media

The government has initiated a censorship streak on LGBT-content concerning LGBT-characters and “LGBT-behaviour” on television. The lawmakers are in the process of illegalising all content that fall under these categories which would make it impossible for LGBT-people or LGBT-themed programmes being screened in Indonesia. Further on, the government has demanded that the LGBT-dating applications Blued and Grindr be removed from Google Play Store and Google has complied with this request. In total 73 LGBT-related applications were censored. The motivations were that these applications contained negative and pornographic content. (Duffy, 2018) In a similar fashion, the popular messaging application Line removed all of their LGBT-related emojis. A similar demand will be issued from the government to the messaging application What’s App and its owner FaceBook to do the same. (Izadil, 2013) This censorship can be seen as worrying for LGBT-people, as Murtagh (2011, p. 393-394) notes that many Indonesian LGBT-people first discovered and began to understand their sexual identity through LGBT-themed media.

According to Rosie Perper (2018) of The Business Insider, Indonesian politicians are paying social media influencers, known in this context as “buzzers” to spread political propaganda, who then work in swarms to flood social media in order to influence general opinion to win elections and public support. This is something that is reported to have strengthen political and religious divides in the country. Perper (2018) argues that these buzzers have extensive influence of the general opinion, which she proves by referencing to the jailing of the Jakartan governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, more commonly known as Ahok. An edited video wrongfully portrayed Ahok as referencing to Quoran in a disrespectful manner, and the video spread like wildfire across social media and caused an outrage, which subsequently led to Ahok losing his position as governor of Jakarta and being jailed.

Ilmiah (2018) have also taken note of this development and introduces the Muslim Cyber Army which consist of islamist “buzzers”, or “trolls” as they are instead called in his text, who opt to spread conservative and religious propaganda. It is argued that the Muslim Cyber Army are highly effective, working collectively to manipulate social media with coordinated messages and by the usage of bots. It is suggested that the Muslim Cyber Army is closely affiliated with politicians and senior military figures. One of the targets of the Muslim Cyber Army are LGBT people who are portayed as blasphemous which has sparked anti-LGBT sentiment in the country. LGBT-people have been come to be blamed for various issues and problems in the country and it is feared that this might lead to increased violence against LGBT-people. It has already lead to demonstrations against LGBT-people and their rights.

3.4 LGBT and religion

A news article from Pink News informing about the current situation in Indonesia and the increase of LGBT intolerance states that part of the reason for this can be found in the connection to Islam. 90% of the Indonesian population is believers of the Islamic faith and Pink News tries to explain this connection by quoting a gay man asked about his family and colleagues:

“My family do not know, and very few of my friends do. In our Muslim community it’s not something you can easily admit to anyone. Homosexuality is perceived as a sin, so you technically cannot be a Muslim and gay at the same time.” (Mollman, 2016)
Boellstorff (2005, p. 577) help us to get a deeper understanding of this phenomenon as he writes about religious gay men and their relationship with Islam. In his works, he tries to explain Islam and gay are seen as ungrammatical, meaning they don’t make sense to each other and is not able to coexist openly. This is partly due to the silence regarding homosexuality, it is simply not spoken of. This is not only a product of homophobia but also ignorance as there are many people in Indonesia still not familiar with the word “gay”, or they have the impression of it as meaning male transvestite (Waria). (Boellstorff, 2005, s. 576) Although, it is of importance that this article was written before the incidents above took place, meaning the situation has escalated to the negative since.

It is also said that homosexuality isn’t something that is written about in the Quran (depending on the interpretation) and therefore not a Muslim concept. For this reason, it is not even considered a possibility for the followers of the religion to lead a life with both religion and this sexual orientation. However, there are still many Muslims seeing it as something that is against god. This is not only an outside perspective, meaning a lot of gay Muslims have this belief too. (Boellstorff, 2005, s.577, 579)

Regardless if the gay Muslims perceive homosexuality as a sin or not, Boellstorff show that a lot of them separate their life into a “gay world” and a “normal world” where they are gay in the “gay world”, but then get married heterosexually, have children and follow their religion (by fasting, praying and not eating forbidden foods etc.) in their “normal world”. This way not giving up on your religion is an option, however this is also one of the reasons why Muslims very rarely are in environments where they can be openly gay. (Boellstorff, 2005, s. 577, 582)

Marrying and having children may seem difficult for a gay man, but in the Islamic faith marriage and providing for a family is seen as the way to be a pious Muslim and a good citizen, meaning that if a man wants to follow the Islamic doctrine, this is the only way to do so according to many. Boellstorff (2005, s.578, 581) presents that a lot of Muslim gay men don’t see this as a tragedy, instead this is a privilege and an honor. One of his interlocutors even states that despite being gay, he believes that marriage with a woman has given him something he could never obtain with “only” a same sex partner.

By seeing this, we can start to get a deeper understanding as to why the LGBT culture and community is underrepresented in media etc. as well as comprehend where the focus on masculinity and femininity that characterizes the current day society has its roots. This cannot be fully understood by putting the blame to the muslim influence on the government for hiding away the “deviate behavior” but also needs to be understood from the belief of the people themselves.

3.5 LGBT - legal with an exception?

Although homosexuality is not considered illegal in Indonesia, with the exception of the Aceh province, the government has used the law of pornography, which refers to same-sex sex as deviant behavior, to persecute LGBT-minorities. It was this law which enabled the police to raid a gay club and arrest 141 men and charge 10 of them with violating the pornography law (Amnesty International, 2018, p. 196).

Another development important to note are the statements issued by Nadhlatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia’s largest Muslim organisation with over 50 million members. On February 22, 2016, the NU described LGBT people as a perversion and called the practice of same-sex relationships as a desecration of human dignity and equated homosexuality with a mental
illness. The NU went on to petition for the government to mobilise resources for rehabilitation for LGBT people. The NU has also been known for campaigning to criminalize “LGBT behaviours”, as well as to illegalise movements related to LGBT human rights (Davis, 2016).

The involvement of NU is particularly worrying from a human rights’ point of view, as the NU enjoys political influence and sway; although not officially active in politics since 1984, the NU has close connections to the political system, and has explicit affiliation with four political parties. The late NU president Abdumurrahman Wahid even served as Indonesia’s president from 1999-2001 (Bush, 2009, p. 16).

This approach to homosexuality is a violation against a number Human Rights articles (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948), however, the concept of Human Rights as a universal doctrine is an idea refuted by the Indonesian state. It is the view of the Indonesian state that their laws and legal system covers all the demands for justice and human rights protection in its own way and they dismiss the human rights concept as a western philosophy that is discordant with the Indonesian approach. The following quotes of legal expert Professor H. Azhary of the University of Indonesia sums up the Indonesian state’s attitude towards Human Rights: “(...) human rights as they are known in the western world do not exist in Indonesia, because the 1945 constitution does not recognize them.” And “(...) we don’t recognize the concept of legal certainty. What we have instead, is a quest for justice. Seen in this light even the concept of power takes on a different meaning. Power is a mandate from God”. (Offord and Leon, 2001, p. 240)
4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Deviance

Mats Hilte (1996, p. 64) describes the idea of deviance as an instrument of power used by authoritative groups in society as a means to preserve, reinforce and maintain their powerful position. Connected to the idea of deviance is the concept of the outer and the inner group which aims to explain the relationship between different groups in society. According to this theory, societal groups identify themselves through other societal groups, because the differences between the groups makes the uniqueness of one’s own group implicit. Through this method, the inner group can use the outer group to form its own identity and characteristics and establish a sense of unity and solidarity within the group. As a result from this, the inner group will also find its traditions and customs as normal whereas the outer group might in contrast be found as unnormal.

According to sociological theory, it is in the interest of a powerful group to mark a less powerful group as deviant, as this will result in an increase and preservation of the group’s own power. This is done through the establishing of stereotypes and myths regarding the less powerful group that mark them as unusual and/or dangerous. In this fashion, a system of power is created in which the powerful group remains privileged and influential and the less powerful group finds itself in a continuous disadvantaged position. Summarily, it can be said that the powerful group gains its power and influence by the suffering and impotence of the less powerful group. This inequality constitutes the system of power and the system cannot survive without the inequality and injustice. It can therefore be said that the production of deviants is necessary for the survival of the societal power structures. Some of the burdens facing members of an outer group whom are marked as deviants is unemployment, impeded healthcare and isolation. (Hilte, 1996, p. 66)

This system might be the result and production of the pursuit of power of certain groups in society, but this is not always clear and the actual reasons behind the power structure might be masked. Referencing to Zygmunt Bauman, Hilte (1996, p. 66) argues that people can feel threatened by others who they do not understand and who are not like themselves. Certain groups, such as religious minorities or homosexuals, are thus perceived as a threat towards society and driven by a genuine albeit unwarranted fear the more powerful group can retaliate. This retaliation can express itself in stereotypes, homophobia and discrimination and might result in unemployment, harassment and persecution for the victimised group. With this as a background, it can be said that societal power structures are born from the pursuit of power of certain groups in that society, but this truth might instead be seen as something else. For example, unemployment and poverty within immigrants might be explained as them being lazy and unwilling to conform to the customs of a new country. But in reality, immigrants belong to an underprivileged group who do not possess the same advantages as the majority population do. But instead of seeing the reality of the situation people are blinded by stereotypes and myths.

4.2 Moral panic

In relation to the theory of deviance, Hilte (1996, p. 69) highlights the sociologist Stanley Cohen who coined the term moral panic. A moral panic is society’s reaction to a group’s perceived threat towards the moral fabric of society and when that group is presented by the mass media in a stereotypical fashion. Another characteristic trait for the moral panic theory
is that the media makes use of exaggerations and myths to create a picture that is not anchored in reality. A Dictionary of Sociology describes the moral panic as "the process of arousing social concern over an issue – usually the work of moral entrepreneurs and the mass media." (Scott, 2014, p. 492)

Cohen first used the theory of moral panic in 1971 in an analysis of two conflicting youth groups in Great Britain – the Mods and the Rockers. The two youth groups were in conflict with one another and violence did at times occur between members of the two groups. However, the mass media exaggerated the incidents and painted a picture of the two groups as violent and dangerous and a threat to the morality which constituted and defined Great Britain. All members of the Mods and the Rockers were described in similar terms; dangerous, threatening, impulsive, barbaric and best to be avoided. In this fashion, Cohen argues that the Mods and the Rockers were labeled as "folk devils", dangerous groups and individuals, who pose a threat to the wellbeing of society and to its citizens. In response, the public demanded a more stern application of the laws, which were deemed by the public as necessary to pacify the youth groups and keep them under control. In reality however, as mentioned, the two groups weren’t violent save from anecdotic examples of violence between certain members of the two groups. Summarily, the moral panic theory describes how the mass media can corrupt the truth and effect the public opinion greatly which might have serious repercussions for those who have been wrongly and unfortunately branded as "folk devils". (Hilte, 1996, p. 69-70)

Although Cohen first introduced the moral panic theory to describe the Rocks and Mods in 1971, there are many groups in society that have historically been victims of moral panics. An example of this are homosexual men during the AIDS-epidemic in which homosexuals were met with discrimination and exclusion and were presented as perverts by the mass media. This gave rise to homosexuals being harassed and being forced to leave their jobs, that gay saunas were outlawed and closed down in order to prevent the spreading of the disease. Although many different groups may be the target of moral panics, they have have certain traits in common: they are underprivileged, they are perceived as immoral, they can be made to scapegoats and thus responsible for problems in society and lastly, they can be used to satisfy the self-interest of the powerful groups in society. (Hilte, 1996, p. 69-70)

### 4.3 Stigma

The term stigma has its origin in ancient Greece and was used to describe those with bodily marks meant to signify something unusual or devaluing about that particular person’s moral status. Marks were cut or burnt into the person which made it plain that this was a person to be avoided, especially in public arenas. The sociologist Erving Goffman (2004, p. 12) elaborates this idea and identifies three kinds of distinguishable stigma. The first kind of stigma that is explored is bodily defects of different kinds such as physical disabilities. The second kind of stigma is connected to the individual character when said character is connected with negative traits such as dishonesty, disloyalty or what is perceived as unnatural urges. Individuals might be assigned these stigmas based on their past such as having spent time in prison, suffering from alcoholism or being homosexual. The third and final stigma is what is described as a tribal stigma. A tribal stigma is inherited to the individual from belonging to one larger group. This can be one’s family, religious belonging or ethnicity to name a few examples. An individual suffering from a tribal stigma is attributed with traits stereotypically associated with the larger group that particular individual belongs to.
Those who do not suffer from stigma are identified as the “normals” by Goffman (2004, p. 13) who explains that that the “normals” behave discriminatory towards stigmatised people. Stigmatised people are seen as abnormal and different and are thus treated differently. This culminates in discrimination that very effectively impairs the stigmatised person’s chances in life. People who perpetrate discrimination are often unaware of this fact as society has formed a stigma ideology that cleverly disguises the true cause of the discrimination. A stigma ideology offers an explanation to the stigmatised person’s inferiority and thus, in the eyes of the perpetrators of discrimination, justifies their actions. Such a stigma ideology can be that unemployed are lazy, or that disabled people do not possess the necessary skills to carry out a particular job, or that immigrants are violent because they allegedly come from a violent culture.

When a “normal” meets a stigmatised person he or she often immediately categorises and ascribes the stigmatised person with a number of traits based on the stigma in question whether or not this assumption is correct. Based on this, Goffman (2004, p. 10) makes a distinction between the virtual social identity and the actual social identity. The virtual social identity is compromised of the traits the surrounding people assumes the stigmatised person has on account of said stigma. The actual social identity is the actual traits possessed by the stigmatised person.

An individual who is marked with a stigma might react to society’s response to the stigma in different ways. Some will try to do undo the stigma with, for example, plastic surgery or weight loss. Others will attempt to only befriend “normals” to appear less visible in regard to his or her stigma. Summarily, it can be said that a many people whom are stigmatized adopt different strategies to remove or mask their stigma from the general population to better blend in. (Goffman, 2004, p. 14)

4.4 Primary and secondary groups

Levin and Trost (1996, p. 87) introduces the concept of primary groups as presented by Charles Cooley. The idea of primary groups is used to describe an individual’s relationship to groups of people whom are close and influential to the individual. An individual’s primary group is often its family, but other primary groups is often present in an individual’s life as well, such as close friends. Primary groups consist of a relatively small number of people who know each other well and were characterised by face-to-face relationships. Those who belong to a primary group are totally involved with each other, membership in a primary group is not a part time activity; a father will always be a father, and a friend is assumed to always be a friend, for example. The relationships between those in a primary group are intense, demanding and intimate. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p. 87)

A distinction is made between primary and secondary groups. The latter is in contrast to the former often large, impersonal, formally organisation, functionally specific, requiring only partial involvement and membership may only be temporary. Example of such secondary groups are one’s co-workers, distant family members and acquaintances. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p. 87)

Primary groups have a profound impact on the individual. For example, children’s earliest experiences take place in the primary group of family and that primary group serves as the matrix in which a young child develops a sense of self. Later on, other primary groups may come to have impact on the individual such as close friends. It is through the influence of the
primary group that the individual develops its fundamental views, values and beliefs. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p. 87)

4.5 The Looking-Glass Self

The Looking-Glass Self theory was presented by Cooley and it suggests that an individual view itself as that individual assumes other views itself. In the looking-glass self-theory, focus does not lay on reality but rather the perception of reality. An interesting quote by sociologist Sheldon Stryker on the looking-glass self-theory is presented by Levin and Trost (1996, p. 91):

“It is Cooley’s emphasis on the underlying identity of person and society that is perhaps his major contribution. But important as well is his stress of communication as the link among men making society possible, his insistence that the “self” is critical to human behaviour […]”

How the looking-glass theory work in practice can be broken down to a three-step process. Firstly, an individual will imagine how he or she is appearing to other people. Secondly, the individual will then imagine how he or she is being judged by other people and lastly the individual will then revise how he or she thinks about him or herself which might result in change of behaviour or action. It is important to note that how other people actual perceive the individual is not what is relevant but what is relevant is instead how the individual imagines other people’s perception. The individual might wrongfully imagine or interpret the reactions of other people. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p. 92)

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, it can be argued that individual has a great deal of freedom as an individual has the power to define and redefine one’s reality through perception; through this power, an individual has the capacity to form its reality to certain degrees. However, at the same time, the looking-glass self limits this freedom as one’s perception of how other people view oneself will impede one’s power to influence one’s reality. Consequently, an individual’s sense of freedom might be limited by how the individual perceives itself through the imagined perception of others, which may or may not be correct. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p. 92)

Integrated to one’s perception of reality, are societal norms and values, which also play a part in limiting one’s freedom. These norms and values are often so internalised in one’s approach to understand reality that it is often impossible for someone to fathom the possibility to going against these norms and values. Based on this assumption, freedom is imagined, and the more symbols of freedom one learns interpret, the more liberated we are from imagined constraints. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p. 92)

4.6 Shame

Dahlgren and Starrin (2004, p. 78) writes about shame and different sociologists view on the concept. Here we get to realize some direct connection to shame and community. There are several theories regarding shame and what it means for social interaction but it’s apparent that all the sociologists mentioned use shame to understand the social interaction between people and groups.

Norbert Elias, one of the first sociologists to try and explain shame as an emotion believed that shame couldn’t be understood by only seeing it as an internal emotion but needed to be
seen as an element in the societal control. Shame here is about fear for social degradation and by feeling shame, a conflict within the own self occurs where the individual admits his or her submissiveness. In this manner, Elias liken shame as an inner control machine used to warn us not to violate norms and orders. (Dahlgren & Starrin, 2004, p. 78)

Another early sociologist, Georg Simmel, agreed with Elias about shame being connected to the inner control but has gone deeper, trying to explain shame in the group interaction. According to Simmel, an individual act and feels shame differently, depending on whether they act as an individual or as part of a collective. If the individual sees him- or herself as part of a group or community, he/she will have the courage to do things that he/she normally would feel shame to do alone. In a group or community, it’s common for shame not to be as apparent since shame arise when a person’s perception of their actions are in difference to others perception. If the group then has the same values and perception, no shame will arise. However, when an individual is completely engulfed in the group, he/she can feel a sense of responsibility for the whole group and therefore feel shame for the group. (Dahlgren & Starrin, 2004, p. 83-84) By understanding this we can start to see why the community may be of great importance, especially if you are part of a minority and there might not be a lot of room for whatever behavior the individual wants to express in the public space. Then the community where shame can be avoided becomes a sacred space for the minoritized person.

Van Vilet (2008, p.243) has another approach when writing about shame. Instead of focusing on the dilemmas an individual may face when feeling shame, she is interested in what is needed to overcome the feeling of shame, or more specifically, the emotions that may come as a result of shame. Doing this, he is using the Shame Resilience Theory (SRT), a theory originally developed by Brené Brown in 2006, studying the strategies to overcome emotions like feeling trapped, powerless or isolated. In order to be able to move on from the feeling of shame and what comes with it. According to Van Vilet there is a need of these emotions being replaced by feeling empathy, power and freedom.
5. METHODOLOGY

5.1 Methodological approach

When determining what methods will be used in a study it is wise to examine the purpose of the research and what kind of information that is sought after. The aspiration of this research is to investigate how LGBT-people experience their everyday life in Indonesia and if LGBT-people believe they are affected by the current anti-LGBT political developments that are unfolding themselves in Indonesia. Summarily, it can be said that it is the subjective experiences of LGBT-people that stand in focus and in light of this the qualitative approach for data gathering has been chosen.

Unlike the quantitative approach where numeric components are used to explain a phenomenon, and importance is placed on having a large amount of data from different people or subjects, the qualitative approach values the words and stories of the informants as the most relevant source of information. Naturally, qualitative studies are also based on a wide theoretical background, and the subjective experiences of the informants are processed in combination with that theoretical background in order to generate discussion and produce conclusions - however, the stories and the subjective experiences of the informants is the most central and important knowledge in a qualitative study. (Bryman, 2012, p. 36)

5.2 Interviews

The interviews have been of as semi-structured character, meaning that the inquiries are open-ended questions connected to the issue being studied. In the semi-structured interview, there are certain predetermined questions, but the structure of the interviews will also give room for relevant follow-up questions. In this fashion, the interviewers are given the opportunity to investigate certain subjects introduced up by the interviewee, meaning that the interviewees’ ideas and perspectives will be brought up to the surface. Another useful function of the semi-structured interview is that the main questions and the follow-up questions are alterable and can be changed which will allow more autonomy for the interviewer to investigate important subjects with the interviewee. (Kvale, 1997, p. 32) However, for the semi-structured interview to function properly it is important that the interviewees are given the leading role in the dialogue. In this way, the interviewee is given the opportunity and is encouraged to float out into the periphery of the subject, which is a necessity for gaining insight into what the interviewed person deems as relevant. (Bryman, 2012, p. 740)

Further on, it is of course important for the interviewers to listen closely to what the interviewees are saying, but it is equally important to take note of how they say are saying it. It makes a difference if the interviewee for example speaks with excitement or sadness or with monotony, and these are important factors to include in the analysis. This is one of the reasons why the interviews were transcribed, as this makes it possible to revisit the interview, and listen carefully to how the words are spoken. Finally, it is important to detect the reactions of the interviewee that the questions might prompt. The subject and the questions asked might be sensitive and it is important for the interviewer to notice when and if the interviewee is uncomfortable and when he or she might not be willing to answer a certain question. In response to this, it is important that the interviewers are flexible and ready to change the direction of the interview if needs be. In other words, the interviewer must follow the person who gets interviewed. (Bryman, 2012, p. 470)
Another important aspect to take into consideration when conducting interviews, is that questions using the word “how” rather than “why” are to be preferred, as this will encourage the informants to give more elaborate and profound answers. Using “why-questions” might also sound accusing and challenging. Hopefully, this choice of method will create a safer environment for the informants which will in turn produce more detailed and useful answers. (Becker, 2008, p. 205)

The interview consisted of twelve predetermined questions. Seven of these questions were connected to the informants’ everyday life in relation to their sexual orientation and four questions focused on their feelings and experiences towards the political changes in the country regarding anti-LGBT policies and sentiment. These two sections of the interview questions reflect the two research questions of the study. Due to most of the informants having limited skills in English, one of the employees of Gaya Dewata with sufficient English skills offered to assist the research by functioning as an unofficial interpreter. At this stage it should be noted that there are some disadvantages using an interpreter. Mistranslations and misinterpretations might result in the loss of valuable information, and these risks increase with an unofficial interpreter who lack the proper education and experiences enjoyed by official interpreters. There are also risks with having the manager of Gaya Dewata act as the interpreter, as the pre-existing relationship between the interviewees and the interpreter might impede the openness of the interviewees or their answers. Ideally, it would be best to have an outsider fulfill the role of interpreter, but this was not possible. The risks and consequences of having an interpreter with an already established relationship with the interviewees have been acknowledged and considered.

The interviews were carried out at the office of Gaya Dewata in a private room with only the interviewers, the informants and the interpreter present. In this way, the interviews were carried out in a location familiar to the informants, with privacy and discretion and with an interpreter the informants knew beforehand and trust. These circumstances can be seen as good prerequisites for having interviews with fruitful results.

5.3 Choice of informants

The research has found its participants through the activist organisation Gaya Dewata. The initial ambition was to interview LGBT men and women as this would give a diverse image of the experiences of LGBT-people. However, in spite of many attempts, only LGBT men and one transgender woman was willing to participate in the study. Arya Made, manager of Gaya Dewata, explains that this is because LGBT-women are more obscure than LGBT-men and operate within close-knitted communities which makes them more difficult to come in contact with. It is further on suggested by Made that the obscuration and invisibility surrounding LGBT-women can be connected to the fact that women in Indonesia have familiar obligations in a different way than men. This results in women having less autonomy from their families and are thus less likely to join LGBT-communities.

Although the desired diversity regarding men and women was unachievable, diversity amongst the interviewees has been found in other ways; the age of the interviewees ranges from 22 – 37 and the level of education, occupation, relationship with family members, and birthplace varies between the interviewees.

The fact that the interviewees came from the organisation Gaya Dewata and were selected as interviewees by the manager of said organisation needs to be discussed. The manager might have had ulterior motives when selecting the interviewees, for example he might’ve selected
interviewees who would praised the organisation, as this would have benefited his employer. The possibilities of this have been considered.

5.4 LGBT definition

LGBT is an initialism standing for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. It can be described as an umbrella term meant to include all those who identify with a none-normative sexuality. However, some argue that the term LGBT is not inclusive enough and is discriminatory against other sexual minorities, such as intersexual or asexual, and this belief has given rise to other terms meant to cover the full spectrum of sexual orientations. These terms included LGBTQ+, LGBTQIA, LGBTQ2S and LGBTQQIAAP. In an Indonesian context the term GWL, standing for Gay, Waria (the Indonesian word for transgender) and Lesbian is popular. However, for the purposes of this essay, the term LGBT will be used to include all sexual minorities. The term has been chosen as it is the most popular, acknowledged, well-known and used throughout various areas, including popular media and research.

5.5 Data analysis

The thematic method will be employed for the analysis, meaning that different patterns and similarities that occur in the different interviews will be pinpointed, examined and recorded. In order to create the themes used in this process the method of coding will be used. Coding is used to mark different and important subjects in the raw material prior to interpretation and analysis. Through this method, the complexities and intricacies can be found in the gathered data. In other terms, the thematic analysis gives the researchers the means to sum up the gathered data and pinpoint and categorize recurrent subjects that is brought up in the different interviews. (Kvale, 1997, p. 92-93)

For the purposes of creating themes and coding, the analytic program NVivo 12 has been used, which is a program used for assessing qualitative data.

5.6 Ethical considerations

As often is the case with qualitative studies, the subject and questions asked in these interviews are sensitive, and for this reason ethical aspects must be taken into consideration. Another reason that give cause for ethical consideration is the fact that all but one of the informants are discreet about their sexuality. Many of the informants’ families were ignorant of their children’s sexual preferences or involvement in the LGBT-community. In order to ensure that the study would be carried out in an ethically correct manner, the following ethical guidelines have been taken into consideration:

Obligations to inform and of consent: In line with this ethical necessity, the manager of Gaya Dewata has been informed about the purpose and ambition of this study, both through e-mail and in meetings prior to the interviews. The informants have been given the same information; indeed, every interview started with a brief explanation of the study; its purpose, who would share and read it, and how the result of the interviews would be handled.

Prior to each interview, it was clarified to the informants that participation was voluntarily and completely anonymous – the one exception of this is the manager of Gaya Dewata, Arya Made, who chose not to be anonymous because of his role in Gaya Dewata. Consent was given to record the interviews and keep the recording for the purpose of transcribing and would not be deleted until the essay was passed. The informants were told that they could
cancel the interview at any time and withdraw their participation. Contact information to the researchers was given to each of the interviewees should they wish to withdraw their participation after the interview had been completed.

Information about the purpose of the study was given to the interpreter as well to the informants at the start of each interview. Consent of participation was given by each of the informants at the start of each interview. This was done orally and through the interpreter, as the informants knowledgeable of spoken and written English was limited, however in hindsight it might have been better to offer translated letters of information and consent.

**Obligations of confidentiality:** All information has been handled with discretion and confidentiality. With the exception of the manager of Gaya Dewata, Arya Made, fictitious names have been allotted to the participants of the study to ensure that the study will contain no personal information.

From an ethical stand point, it may be considered questionable to share the kind of information that has been shared about the informants in chapter 6 since the informants are members of a marginalised group; by giving detailed descriptions, the risk of jeopardizing the anonymity of the respondents arises. However, with respect to this possibility the information that has been included in the study has been carefully reviewed to make this impossible. Although age, workplace and family relations have been explained none of the information is detailed enough to identify the informants.

**Obligations considering use:** The information gathered during the course of this study will be used for research purposes only and the information will be handled in accordance with the aforementioned ethical obligations.

Finally, it should also be noted that the fact that we are western researchers might also come to affect the research as we operate in a setting which is very different than the one existing in Bali. As a consequence of this, we might have prejudices, certain expectations and differing views which might influence our interpretation of the gathered data which might in turn come to affect the analysis. However, by acknowledging this and contemplating over it, the risk of this diminishes.

**5.7 Reliability and validity**

The concept of reliability and validity are important components to consider and review in research as it provides a guarantee that its result is accurate and authentic. By discussing the reliability and validity of a study, a study can prove its authenticity. (Kvale, 1997, p. 213)

More specifically, a research has validity if the method of data gathering actually examines what the research aims to investigate. A research with an unsuitable method of data gathering compromises the authenticity of the result. (Kvale, 1997, p. 215) After careful consideration, appropriate theories were chosen and with flexibility in mind, certain theories were removed or replaced because they were deemed as unfitting. This continuous process has resulted in the ascertaining that the final selection of theories is indeed the most suitable given what is being researched.

In regard to the interviews and validity, questions of different designs has been used, some have been quite open whereas others have been leading questions. This mix has been deemed as an appropriate instrument of extracting data; it has allowed for interviewers to steer the direction of the conversation with leading questions, so relevant subjects are brought up, but
then allowed for the informants to give personal and detailed answers connected the relevant subject being discussed.

The reliability of a study concerns itself with the consistency of the study’s result. In simpler terms, if the same or a similar study was carried out, the result should be the same. (Kvale, 1994, p. 213) As have been previously discussed, the informants are unfortunately almost exclusively male, but the informants were diverse in other regards, such as education, age, religion and place of birth. This diversity creates reliability for the research, as the informants together represent a larger group than just themselves through their diversity. In this way, the result of the study is applicable to LGBT-people in Indonesia in general as opposed to the result just representing the specific people whom participated in the study.
6. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Since a major part of this study is to examine the informants’ everyday life to gain a broader insight into the experiences of LGBT-people in Bali and the effect that the political changes concerning LGBT-rights may have had, one must have a broad picture of the informants’ lives. In respect to this, a presentation of each of the informants have been included in this chapter, as this will give the reader insight into the everyday life of LGBT-people in Bali.

6.1 Presentations

Arya Made is the manager at Gaya Dewata in Bali, Indonesia. He is 37 years old and was born in Bali, where he still lives today. He is the only son of his family and has four sisters. Arya identifies as a gay man and is today living with his boyfriend since 7 years back. He has not told his family, meaning his mother, father and sisters, that he is homosexual, however in his current hometown, Denpasar, he is open about his sexuality to friends and clients to the organization he works at. In the future Arya is hoping to find a woman he would like to marry, and him and his boyfriend has come to the agreement that if one of them were to find a woman, they would split up.

Lugi is a 26 year old man from Kupang, a city on the Island Timor and is now living in Denpasar where he works as a supervisor at a furniture shop as well as volunteer at Gaya Dewata. Lugi identifies as bisexual but has more attraction to men. He has had both boyfriends and girlfriends in the past but is at the moment single. In his hometown Kupang, he was an activist for the Christian protestant church and was active in the church choir, to this day singing is still a passion of his. He is not open about his sexuality to his family, only his cousin knows, who found out by accident. However, he wants to tell his family in the future, but due to the religious beliefs in Kupang, he doesn’t want to do it in the near future. Lugi is hoping to have a wife and children when he is older.

Kimora is a 28 year old man who is originally from western Bali and has a Muslim Balinese background. At the moment he is living in Denpasar and is working at Gaya Dewata as well as being a drag queen performer at night. Kimora is attracted to both men and women and is currently married and has a daughter with a woman. From the start he had decided to get married by age 27, which he did and now his daughter is one year old. His wife knows about his jobs as well as his sexual attraction to men but does not know about him having sex with men. His other family, meaning his mother, father, four brothers and six sisters, does not know about his sexual orientation or his job as a drag queen.

Garneta is a 27 year old woman who is from the center of Java and is now living in Danpasar. She has two jobs at the moment, one at a restaurant which is known for their drag shows where she is in charge of the lights and behind the scenes work for the shows, her second job is as an online sex worker. Garneta identifies as a trans woman with a sexual orientation towards men and is living with her boyfriend of almost one year. She has opened up to her mother and siblings about her identity as a trans woman and her sexual orientation.

Dhika is a 22 year old man born and still living in Denpasar. Sometimes he works as a waiter in a restaurant but also works as a drag queen performer and as a prostitute. He also volunteers at Gaya Dewata. Dhika identifies as a gay man and is currently living with his mother and father. Other than his parents, his family also includes his sister, who is married and is therefore not living at home with him. The family, including himself are Hindu, which is the reason he hasn’t told his family about his sexual orientation. He believes his family will
feel shame towards the extended family if they knew. Because of this he doesn’t think he’ll ever tell his family. Dhika also thinks he’ll get married to a woman at age 25.

Bayu is a 26 year old man born in Jakarta, Java and is currently living in Denpasar. He is working at a restaurant as a waiter and sometimes helps set up drag shows in one of the local restaurants. Bayu identifies as a gay man and is at the moment living with his boyfriend of two years. His family consists of his mother, father and two younger sisters. He has not told anyone in his family about his sexual orientation and is hoping that one day he’ll have a wife and children.

6.2 Themes

6.2.1 Double Life

In five out of six Interviews it became present that the persons interviewed lived in a world where they separated their life that was connected to their sexual orientation from the other parts, like family life etc.

Dhika and Kimora were the only ones who expressed with actual words that they felt like they led two separate lives. When Dhika was asked about him telling his family about him being homosexual, he was quick to explain that “I don’t want to tell them about my side life because I feel sorry for them[...].” By saying this he showed that for him his sexual orientation as well as his job as a drag queen and as a sex worker was not something to be mixed with his family life and the life he lived together with them. When asked if he would ever marry a woman, he became uncertain and explained that he was still too young to know that, but when later asked how he sees his own future he guessed he would marry in just three years.

Kimora described himself as a bisexual man and is already married to a woman and had a daughter with her. He felt happy for his marriage but also explained that he had not told her about him having sexual relations with men. She did however know about his job and the fact that he felt attracted to men. All of Kimoras friends in Denpasar know about his job as a drag queen as well as his sexual attraction to men. However, when he goes home to his family in his hometown in western Bali he acts more “like a man” as he expressed it. The people from his hometown does not know about his job either. Kimora was once seen at his job in Denpasar by his sister’s son, who told the sister about Kimora acting feminine at a bar. He explained that this incident made him feel paranoid, as he didn’t want his family to know about his other life which he is living in Denpasar. Kimora himself said:

“Because my family doesn’t know about my life here in Denpasar. It’s like a double life, when I’m in Denpasar, I become queer drag queen but when I go home instead, I’m acting man.”

Arya did not express in exact words that he was living a double life, he did however explain that he hasn’t told his parents that he is gay, as well as not telling them about his current job. Arya used to work as a tour guide, which to his parent’s knowledge still is his job. In reality he is working for a gay organization, but this is not something he plans on telling them.

When Lugi was in high school, he had a girlfriend but at the same time he felt his feelings towards men increase. This resulted in him having both a girlfriend and a boyfriend at the same time in university. The girlfriend was not aware of the other partner. Lugi describes himself as a bisexual man who has more sexual attraction to men, but during the interview he
uses the words “homosexual” and gay” when talking about himself. During the interview he talks about wanting to get married and have children in the future, but also says that “[...] not right now because I enjoy being a gay”.

Like the others, Bayu is not open about his sexuality to his family. He has told his parents that he moved to Denpasar in order to make more money, but in reality, he moved to be able to live with his boyfriend, whom he met first in Jakarta. In his interview, he tells that he never wants to tell his parents about him being gay, instead he is hoping to meet a woman to marry before he turns 30, so he can just introduce her to his family. When talking about religion, Bayu also states:

“When I’m at the mosque I don’t want to think about me as a gay. I just want to be there with my god and pray. Maybe I’m not gay in mosque...”

6.2.2 Family expectations and Marriage

All of the informants did in some way talk about family expectations and how they were affected by them. For many of them, the expectations of their family shaped their life choices like getting married, having children etc.

For Arya the expectations had their roots in the Hindu tradition. The father of a Hindu family hold ceremonies for their children at different ages and the last ceremony to be hold by the father is the marriage of their child. Before the wedding ceremony, the parents are supposed to have the responsibility for their children. Arya continued to explain that this comes with a pressure for the children to make their parents feel fulfilled;

“So, they feel their life isn’t perfect until their children get married. So they say we’re getting old now, so when will get married, because we don’t want us to die before you get married. That’s actually very sad for me”.

Like previously mentioned, Arya is the only son of his family, which he describes as a big responsibility. His sister does not have the same obligations and his parents tells him that he needs to marry to get a good future, because in the Balinese culture, the parents depend on their children for support when they are getting old. He tells the interviewers that

“That’s the biggest fear of my parents if I don’t get married. Because I don’t have brothers or nephews to take care of me when I am old. Maybe if I had brothers they wouldn’t be as scared of it but since I am alone, they are”.

Because of this, him and his boyfriend, who comes from a Muslim family but experiences similar pressure from his family, has decided that when either of them finds the right woman to marry, they will separate.

Similar to Arya and his boyfriend, Lugi also explains that his religious background creates difficulties for his life as a LGBT-person. He moved to Bali from Kupang, partly because he wanted “[...]to be free as a gay”. He tells that he thinks the prejudices in his hometown concerning LGBT- people comes from the religious background. He himself, as well as his family, is Christian protestants and he recognizes that it is difficult to be bisexual and religious at the same time.

Bayu also agrees that religion has had an impact on his life. He tells that homosexuality isn’t something that he had heard of until he was about 15 or 16 years old, it was simply not
spoken about. Instead he was raised in the belief that as the eldest (and only) son it’s important for him to find a good woman and have children. He explains that he feels pressure because of this but also that he himself wants to find a woman, it’s not only for his parents’ sake. “My mother, every time I talk to her, she ask me if I found a girl” he says in a humorous matter.

Kimora’s family doesn’t know about his sexual orientation or job as a drag queen. Like previously mentioned he clearly expressed how he was leading a double life, away from his family. When asked why he wouldn’t tell his parents about him being queer or a drag queen, he answers

“I don’t want to tell them because I don’t want them to hurt. Maybe if they find out that I’m like this they will hurt, and feel sad, shame. Because I live in a small town there, in a small village, where maybe the characteristics, the people aren’t as open minded as here”.

Further Kimora explains that love was not the only reason for his marriage with his wife. This was a decision he made early on, however he also says that his family did not pressure him to get married and that the pressure may have been reduced by the fact that he has many siblings who already are married.

Dhika also hasn’t told his parents about his sexual orientation or been fully truthful about his job. In his point of view, similar to Arya, the Balinese culture is part of the reason for not being fully open about his life. He also means that marriage is very important in the Balinese culture and explains his choice not to tell his parents by saying

“The reason for me not telling them yet is because I’m scared that they will get angry and also for my big family they would feel shame, because for them having a homosexual in the family…”

Garneta is the only woman in the informant group and is also the first to express herself openly to her parent. She has told her mother about her being a trans woman and is open to her family about her transition. In the interview she first told us that her mother cried the moment she told her, and soon clarified that her mother was crying out of proudness and not sadness. However, Garneta waited until her father was dead to tell her family about her identity and does not specify why.

When more closely focusing on marriage, it is interesting to see that all the men interviewed felt sexual attraction towards the same sex and that still all of them had something to say about marriage. All of them had thoughts about marrying women for different reasons.

Like previously mentioned, Arya had decided, together with his boyfriend, that if one of them found a woman they would marry, he would do so and the two of them as a couple would separate. This is not a “worst case scenario” for him, but something that he would like to happen. He states

“And we will live new life with wife, so hopefully I might find right woman. I have some friends who are also gay man who can get married with woman, they can find a right woman because they can understand their situation”.

Using the word “hopefully”, this is something that would be preferred, instead of living a life without a marriage.
Bayu is also hoping to find a woman to marry, even though he already have a partner. He hasn’t talked about this with his boyfriend but believes that this is something that is “just understood”. He states that he would like to have the typical family life and have children, both for his own sake and for his parent’s sake. He knows that they want grandchildren and are waiting for the day he will bring a girl home. He does, as previously mentioned, feel pressure from his parents when it comes to marriage, but says this is fine, since he wants to do it himself as well.

In contrast to Arya and Bayu, Lugi doesn’t want to think about the future much. He didn’t have much to say when asked about future plans, but as previously mentioned, the one thing he could say about the future was that some day he plans to have a wife and children.

Dhika, the youngest of the informant group, didn’t think much about the future either. He’s still too young to think about these things, according to himself. But this does not mean that he hasn’t thought about the possibility of marriage. In the beginning of the interview he only states that “The time will answer later”, but later when asked again he admits that he could be open for the idea of marriage, if it was to carry on the family.

The only one of the interviewees that was married already, was Kimora. A big portion of his day goes to taking care of his one-year old daughter and he speaks warmly about her. Like already mentioned, he had decided from the start to marry at the age of 27 and when that time came, he asked a woman to marry him. His wife knows about his feelings towards men and about his job as a drag queen, but Kimora has decided to keep the fact that he is having sexual relations with men a secret. Even though he is married to a woman, he’s still worried about his family seeing him acting feminine or find out about his job as a drag queen.

6.2.3 Community – Belonging

Every one of our informants were at one point of the interview asked about community and friends. It became apparent that it was a big source of safety for most and all of them said that community was something important to them.

Arya has more homosexual friends than he has heterosexual ones. He feels more comfortable with his friends who share the same sexual orientation with him and feels that the communication works better with them. Much like he feels a certain pressure from his parents, he feels similarly to the friends who does not know about him being homosexual. He says that they will often ask him about when he is getting married or if he wants children, which makes him uncomfortable. The ones he doesn’t want to know about his homosexuality is usually neighbors, people close to his house. Arya continues to tell us about how he wasn’t open with his sexuality until he was 18, at the time when he joined Gaya Dewata and got hold of a LGBT community. He expresses that the gay community has taught him a lot about how to face himself, as well as family and bullies. Arya expresses how much the community means to him by explaining that

“Well, if I hadn’t found this organization, I would probably have married young, at age 25 or 26. The reason I don’t get married young was because I was so happy to join this organization, I feel so comfortable in this organization, I feel freedom, and I’m happy. It makes me optimistic about the future”.

Lugi is specific when talking about communities. He explains that he is involved with especially two different gay communities, one for all types of gay members and one for the
younger generations of homosexual people. He tells that he also joins the gay communities back in his home town when he is visiting. Further, he says that the community accept him more than the “other general population” and that the community provides a place where he feels important.

Kimora, Dhika and Bayu all talk about community as being a place where friends can be found. All three of them sees the importance of not feeling alone and being able to rely on other people with similar life stories. Dhika shows this clearly by saying “Very important, gay community, and friend community for me. Because when with friends, you can fight together” and Kimora follows by stating “Because if I have friends and community then we can help each other and be stronger if we’re facing a problem or something. If we’re alone then maybe it’s difficult for us”. Bayu is in agreeance and tells that without his friends in the gay community, he would feel alone and might not have anyone to tell about his struggles. He also states that the LGBT-community has given him much knowledge about his rights as a gay man.

Garneta also talks about being able to share burdens with other like-minded people and also speaks about the feeling of acceptance as a transgender woman within her community, but she tends to put the focus on education within the community. She explains that from the transgender community, as well as from Gaya Dewata, she has gathered a lot of knowledge about being transgender, what rights she has and where to go for professional help if needed. When asked if she thought her life would be different if she never knew of Gaya Dewata, she answered

“Of course, it would be different, because from Gaya Dewata I get all my knowledge about sexual orientation and also what is your rights as a transgender. And maybe if Gaya Dewata was not here... Then I don’t know what would happen to me if I would face a problem here.”.

In the interview, she also tells that she is injecting hormones. She does this illegally and gets the injections from a nurse willing to help. The nurse helps many transgender women with this and Garneta got to know about her from other trans women who had been going there before. Without the transgender community, she might not have found out about this and would still not be in the process of transitioning.

6.2.4 Hiding

Arya describe his younger years as difficult. He was closeted in high school and felt fear of the thought that someone might find out. He himself says that he wanted to avoid being bullied. When he was 18 and joined Gaya Dewata, he loosened his guard and started to tell people about his sexual orientation, both to others and to himself. Later Arya is asked about his life in Denpasar and if he feels safe or ever had any bad experiences because of his homosexuality. He didn’t feel unsafe in Denpasar, but he does state an exception:

“Except when I meet relatives or family friends who live close to my family if I am with a gay member or a transgender in the public area. I feel uncomfortable then, because I am afraid that they will tell my family”

He continues to explain that by “acting straight”, it’s easier to get by. He says that if he were to act more feminine or typically gay, he might get insulted and be a victim to stigma. He explains this by saying:
“But to me, as long as you act “straight”, or not act too sissy, you will not get insulted or feel unsafe. People on Bali are very much nicer than people on other parts of Indonesia. But if you act too ‘queeny’ or too ‘gay’ and want to show that you’re gay with your behavior, you might get stigma from the general population on Bali”

Arya goes on to talk about his work at Gaya Dewata, where he tells that at the organization is mostly working on helping LGBT-people to get tested for sexual transmitted diseases, both by offering emotional support but also by actually connecting the people with safe hospitals as well as going with them. Safe hospitals meaning where the doctors and nurses are open-minded and won’t judge the clients. He connects the importance of self-acceptance to the issue of getting people to get tested. He explains that a lot of LGBT-people are in denial when it comes to their sexual orientation, but still has unprotected sex. It’s likely that these people won’t get tested due to the fact that they don’t want to come to terms with their sexuality. He also explains that some of these people simply does not want to know, they don’t want to get treated for a “gay disease”. He says he has seen people who say that they are having safe sex, but then die months later because they wouldn’t admit to having sex with someone of the same sex, and therefore not get tested.

Both Kimora and Dhika mentions the word shame. They do not speak about themselves experiencing shame, but instead the fear of their families feeling shame if they were to find out about the life they are living in Denpasar, both about their jobs but also their sexual orientation. Both Kimora and Dhika does not want to tell their family about their sexuality. They both express pity towards their parents and for Dhika this pity comes both from the fact that he knows that his parents would like grandchildren, which they might never get, but he also mentions shame towards relatives;

“...I’m scared that they will get angry and also for my big family they would feel shame, because for them having a homosexual in the family... So not only that my mom and dad will be angry and feel shame but also my big family like my uncle, grandfather bla bla bla”

Kimora feels similarly but focuses more on neighbors and community. He explains that in his home town, homosexuality isn’t as accepted and if the community there were to find out about his sexuality, it would be hard on his parents who would be forced to deal with the shame from the people around them.

Lugi also feels that there is a difference between Denpasar and his home town Kupang. He says that he is fine in Denpasar and people around him are accepting and when he talks about his heterosexual coworkers, he says that he thinks they would be fine if they knew about his sexuality. Kupang is different, he says that he’s not open about his sexuality there because he’s had some bad experiences, including one incident where his friends told him that they don’t want to have a friend who is gay.

In the interview we asked Garneta if her and her boyfriend discussed some statements made by the government about the LGBT- community. She then explained that her boyfriend is a heterosexual man, and that she needed to show him respect by not discussing these matters too much with him. This because he was not a part of the LGBT- community and therefore Garneta didn’t want to involve him too much.
It is of importance to bring up the fact that Garneta is the only one from the informant group that is open to her family about her status as a LGBT- person. All the others have chosen not to bring it up and only one of them intends to tell their family in the future.

6.2.5 Religion

All our informants have spoken about religion in different ways. Some of them are religious and practicing, some describe it as part of their past, something they came from. But every one of them has a relationship to religion.

Arya does not see himself as very religious. He tells that he doesn’t follow traditions well and that he very rarely goes to the temple to pray, and when he actually goes, it’s often because his family wants him to. He also says that he doesn’t have much knowledge regarding the Hindu belief. He talks more about Balinese culture and uses that to explain his family and their expectations, like we mentioned previously under Family expectations.

Kimora isn’t very religious either. He comes from a Muslim family and he does pray sometimes but admits to not following the Muslim custom of praying five times a day. He does however go to the mosque every Friday and participates in traditions like fasting during Ramadan. Kimora tells that he does not feel much pressure from his Muslim family, and not either from the religion itself. In his perspective, marriage is not something that is very important in the Islam belief, instead the focus lies in being a good person, before thinking of marriage.

Just like Arya, Dhika is a Balinese Hindu, but he does see himself as religious and goes to the temple regularly. He tells that he does so both because of his belief in god, but also since he values traditions. He admits to having some difficulties being homosexual and religious at the same time. He says that he himself does not see the problem with a gay man going to the temple, because for him it’s between the individual and god. But he also sees the issue other people may have and even states that in the religion, homosexuality is prohibited.

The only Christian in the group, Lugi, was an activist in church back home in Kupang. He was also active in the choir. He still sees himself as religious, since he believes in god and the Christian faith, but has since moving to Denpasar stopped going to church. He explains that since moving he has come to understand that to pray, you don’t need to be in a holy place, instead he prays at home. He goes further and tells that he doesn’t think his parents would understand him being bisexual and Christian at the same time, especially since he was an activist. He also states that it is difficult to be religious and bisexual but does not specify why, he only says “…maybe it’s different when you are in a western country but here they still follow the religion this way”.

Bayu has a Muslim background and he believes himself to be religious. He goes to the mosque and prays every now and then but does not follow the custom to pray five times a day, instead he prays when he feels like it. He also participates in fasting during Ramadan. Bayu separates his religion and his sexuality. When asked if it was difficult to be religious and homosexual, he explained that he does not feel his sexuality when he visits the mosque. He says nobody knows about his sexual orientation at the mosque and that it’s not something intentionally hidden, but something that simply is not thought about in the mosque. However, later in the interview he does state that when he was still living in Java, he was afraid of someone finding out and telling his father at the mosque.
Garneta comes from a very religious place in Java and is happy to have moved to a more secularized society. She feels more accepted and understood in Bali and she goes to the mosque every Friday afternoon. She explains that the people there accept her, and that people don’t care about her being transgender, since it’s her own relationship with god. However, she also tells that she cannot go to the mosque dressed as a woman, she must dress like a man. She also sees being transgender and religious as difficult but for her it’s about life after death. She explains:

“Yes, it’s very difficult for us because we think a lot about what happens when we die because we believe in heaven and hell in my religion”

6.2.6 Political changes

Surprisingly to this study, the insecurity and uneasiness about the recent political changes in the Indonesian government, as well as the many incidents where LGBT- people have been victims of harassment made in the excuse of other laws, not meant for the persecution of minoritized people, is shining with its absence.

The only informants that expressed any type of worry for the political developments were Arya and Garneta. When asked if they knew about the developments, Arya told that he was aware, and this was something he spent some time thinking about. Mostly, he expressed worry for a friend who owns a sauna, a place commonly used by gay men to have sexual relations in. He has been telling his friend that he should be careful, not hiring exotic dancers or hosting sex parties, in case the law against pornography would become a danger in Bali as well. Arya however did not express any sense of fear regarding himself. Instead he told that he did not have sex in public areas, and therefore did not see the reason to feel unsafe. When later asked how these changes and incidents had impacted the LGBT-community he said that there is a certain worry of who will be elected as the next president, but also states that they do not know if it would matter, seeing that the government and law in Indonesia is corrupt, and more about money than about ideologies.

Garneta also says that she heard about the developments made in the Indonesian government and says that she hopes that the suggested political changes won’t go through. Similar to Arya, she isn’t worried that the law will have a big impact on her, since she tries not to do any illegal work, and if the law would change, she could get another job. She also explains that if she was to start feeling unsafe in Indonesia, she would move to another country where they support LGBT-people.

Lugi, Dhika and Bayu all three admits to not knowing much about the politics. They express a certain disinterest in the subject and does not seem to feel much affected. Lugi explains that he feels that some parties try to talk bad about the LGBT-community in order to get more support from potential voters and when he is told about some of the incidents mentioned, he says that he feels sorry for the people affected. However, he does not feel unsafe and when talking about the risks of the pornography law he states that

“Actually, I’m not afraid at all because I heard that if you have a sex party or something, as long as you are not using narcotics or drugs and as long as you are not filming somebody else and as long as you’re not being noisy, the government can’t use that one”
Dhika tells that he has heard vaguely about the pornography law but asks to get further information. After this he also expresses pity towards the people affected but also does not go further into the subject. Although, he does tell that he feels there is a difference between Bali and the rest of Indonesia, making him not having to worry too much.

Very similar to Lugi and Dhika, Bayu says he has heard a little about the governmental developments and the pornography law but does not know much about the subject. When asked about his feelings about the incidents previously mentioned, he says he knows too little to be able to say much, but that he of course feels sorry for the people. He tells that he wishes for everyone to live a happy life and that he hopes a good president will be elected in the coming year, though he does not know who he himself is hoping will be elected.

Kimora expresses a will for all people to respect one another and hopes that no one will have to suffer from harassment from the government. He tells that he believes that all humans are created by god and should therefore respect one another. When asked about the coming election and the possibility of anti LGBT- laws forming, he states that he has no fear of this happening. He says that even if these regulations were to come, he would not be in danger since he is married, and therefore easily can pretend that he has no sexual attraction towards men. He is also calm when it comes to work, saying that if he no longer can perform as a drag queen, he’ll just find another job. Kimora also finishes up by saying:

“I’m not interested in the law of Indonesia because sometimes police doesn’t use that law to our community, so for me, doesn’t care about that stuff”
7. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

7.1 How LGBT-people describe their everyday life in relation to their sexual orientation.

In an attempt to explain the dynamics and intricacies of the relationships between an individual and the different groups that surround that individual, Cooley introduces the concept of primary and secondary groups. What defines a primary group is that the relationship between its members are intense, demanding and intimate and that it influences the individual in developing its fundamental views, values and beliefs. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p. 87) There can be found well-grounded evidence in the empirical data that the LGBT-community is a primary group for the informants.

Arya explains that he is more comfortable with other LGBT-people and that he feels that the communication works better between himself and members of the community compared to his heterosexual acquaintances. He exemplifies this by saying that none of his LGBT-friends pester him with questions about marriage or children. Arya credits the community with giving him enough courage to not fall to family pressure and get married at a young age and also says that he feels happy and free when participating in the community. Arya also says that the community has given him strength to stand up to bullies. Further, Kimora as well as Dhika and Bayu explains that it is important for them to meet like-minded people whom they can share burdens with and how the community has made them feel accepted for whom they really are. Garneta and Bayu also testifies to how the community has taught them more about themselves and their rights. Garneta has also received important education about being transgender from the community. Kimora, Dhika and Bayu also mention that they have formed important friendships through the LGBT-community and that strength can be found in unity, and that they through the community have friends they can fight with and face problems with together. Summarily, it can be said that the informants have learnt the values of self-acceptance and the importance of their own rights and gained strong friendships.

These testimonies illustrate that the relationship between the informants and the LGBT-community is strong and that community has profound effect on all of the informants; the community makes them feel liberated, knowledgeable about themselves and their rights, and gives them the courage to stand up to bullies and not to bend to family pressure. All of this indicates that the LGBT-community is a primary group for the informants. An example to further strengthen this argument can be found in how Garneta, Dhika and Bayu expresses that they have learnt more about their rights. This reveals that informants have adopted the views and values of the community, which according to Levin and Trost (1996, p. 87) is a sign that the group in question is a primary one.

To understand the human mind and why we as individuals choose to change ourselves to fit into the created norms of a society, Cooleys looking-glass theory is of importance. In this theory, the individual visualizes how he or she will be perceived from other people, and what they will make of the individual based on what they see, from this the individual makes a change in their behavior to not be judged in the way he or she imagined. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p.92) Even though most of the informants identify with a “outside of the norm”-sexuality, they still express a will to follow the norm in certain areas of their life. Marriage and having children being occurring wishes in all, exempt Garneta, of the interviewee’s life. It is not something the interviewees mention as something identity breaking, but on the contrary, something to look forward to and to cherish. When looking at the looking-glass theory, this
could be a result from the perfecting of the self to be better perceived by others, perhaps not knowing about their own adaption. Further when exploring the similarities between the informants who talked about marriage and kids, it becomes apparent that all of them are males who has a sexual attraction to men. This would suggest that there is a belief in that part of the LGBT-community, that marriage and children as a part of the norm, which is also supported when the majority of them talk about their families wanting them to go down that path in life.

The looking-glass theory also suggests that societal norms and values are so internalized in the individuals approach to understand reality, making it close to impossible to even as far as think of going against these societal standards. (Levin and Trost, 1996, p. 92) This would make the informants enthusiasm about marriage and children apprehensible. With this theory it is simply something they themselves have internalized and they are not thinking about the possibility to go against these norms and values, instead the society’s presumed values is seen as their own.

Whilst talking about the societies role in the individual’s life choices, there is a need to also bring up stigmatization and the emotions that may come as a result of this. In the looking-glass theory, the focus lies in the adapting an individual makes to better fit into what he or she believes to be the norm. To understand this, there is a need to bring up the emotion of shame as well as stigmatization. Feeling shame and experiencing stigma can be very traumatizing for a person and it can, like Cooley shows in his theory, cause someone to make choices that may change their entire life for the sake of fitting in. Knowing this and combining that with the empirical findings of this study, it gets easier to understand the informant’s life stories and we can begin to see a connection to theories about stigma and shame to the choice’s LGBT-people in Bali may make.

Goffman (2004, p.12) established three different kind of stigma, the second one being when the individual person’s character is connected with negative traits. In his exemplification of this he mentions “what is perceived as unnatural urges”. The statement of “what is perceived as…” is important because a person can only be stigmatized by acting or existing outside of the norm. It is apparent when talking to the informants, that there is a picture of Indonesia as a country that sees homosexuality and transsexuality as “unnatural” and therefore LGBT-people comes under Goffmans second category of stigma.

Further, it is also stated that when an individual is stigmatized, he or she will often get ascribed with different traits based on the prevailing stigma. Whether these traits are virtual or actual, does not matter for the “normal” person. (Goffman, 2004, p. 10) The informants of this study often describe a certain behavior as “queeny”. They use this term to refer to a man acting feminine, which according to the informants themselves, is a common trait assumed about gay men. It becomes apparent that this is a general image when Arya is talking about how he avoids acting “queeny”, so others won’t suspect that he is gay.

And what is the response to stigma? Goffman (2004, p. 14) meant that some people will try to undo the stigma by changing themselves to fit into the norm, much like in Cooley’s theory of looking-glass, and the other one being befriending those who are not stigmatized to appear less visible. The one first mentioned could be connected to all of the informants of this study, seeing how they often talk about them obeying to the norms, for example the gay men getting married or Garneta dressing as her biological gender in the mosque. However, the informants who regularly goes to the mosque or temple could also be using Goffmans other mentioned strategy for avoiding stigma, befriending the non-stigmatized people to make their own stigma less visible. There is a possibility of the religious holy place to be a place for this.
interaction to take place. This however goes against the statements made by the interviewees, saying that most of them only have, or mostly have friends from the LGBT-community.

As previously shown, there can be a strong connection between shame and community. Like Dahlgen and Starrin (2004) wrote, most sociologists who have theorized shame, have used the term to understand the social interaction between people and groups. When looking at the empirical findings of this study, the connection with community becomes evident.

Only one of the informants had told their family about them being LGBT. This can be understood when looking back at Norbert Elias theory of shame, when he states that shame works like an inner control machine, making us aware of the accruing norms and orders. (Dahlgren & Starrin, 2004, p.78) Then it becomes possible to understand why the informants chose not to tell their families back home. According to Elias theory, they would fear for social degradation and therefore they chose to protect themselves from shame by simply not letting anyone know about their sexual orientation. They have already created a picture of what is the norm and standards, according to the society in which their family lives in, and are adapting themselves to fit in. Seeing that they don’t perceive their sexual orientation as acceptable in the norm, there is a possibility of them hiding their identity to better fit in. This could be for themselves as well as for their families. Both Kimora and Dhika expressed a fear of their families feeling shame and in that the two of them might feel a sense of responsibility of not letting their families be outcasts.

7.2 How LGBT-people are affected by the newly implemented anti-LGBT-policies.

Boellstorff (2004, p. 470) describes the political changes in Indonesia regarding anti-LGBT policies and sentiment as being radical and having been carried out in astonishing speed and that the role played by state officials and the mass media is worrying. In light of this, it might be assumed that the repercussions for LGBT-individuals in their everyday life would be harsh or even devastating given what politicians have stated and the kind of policies that have been implemented. For example, homosexuality has been equated as a psychiatric disorder that could be cured and LGBT-rights have been compared to nuclear war by state officials. (Westcott, 2018) In a similar spirit of intolerance, politicians have banned LGBT-themed emojis and LGBT-dating apps and initiated a censorship on LGBT-themed television. (Duffy, 2018) Indonesia’s Constitutional Court only narrowly rejected the application to criminalise same-sex relationships in the country. (Knight, 2018) In its place, however, is the Law of Pornography which is used to persecute and detain LGBT-people. (Amnesty International, 2018, p. 196) When consulting sociological theories devoted to the study of discrimination, the assumption that these anti-LGBT policies might have devastating effects for LGBT-people grows stronger. However, in spite of this, few of the informants seemed affected by the political developments.

This paradox can be further scrutinised through the theory of deviance. Deviance is described as an instrument of power used by powerful groups in society in order to preserve, reinforce and maintain their powerful position. The powerful group, viewing itself and its members as the ‘inner group’, marks the less powerful group, which in the theory is identified as the ‘outer group’, as deviant. This is achieved through the establishing of negative stereotypes and myths of the outer group which marks the outer group as strange, dubious or even dangerous. This establishes inequality between the two groups, and this inequality generates power for the inner group at the cost of the outer group. The consequences of being in an
‘outer group’ that has been marked as deviant might be unemployment, harassment and isolation. (Hilte, 1996, p. 64-66)

With basis in this theory, it can be concluded that LGBT-people have been branded as deviants in the pursuit of power; allegedly, politicians hire internet ‘buzzers’ and ‘trolls’ who through the usage of automatic and coordinated messages spread anti-LGBT propaganda which has sparked anti-LGBT sentiment in the country. An example of these ‘buzzers’ and ‘trolls’ is the anonymous group the Muslim Cyber Army who through social media portray LGBT-people as blasphemous and dangerous and whose hatred has resulted in widespread demonstrations throughout the country against LGBT-people and their rights. This method have resulted in public opinion shifting to support politicians whom are against LGBT-rights. (Duffy, 2018) This description goes in line with the theory of deviance, as the politicians (the inner group) who seek to berate and persecute LGBT-people (the outer group), as this witch hunt will result in public support and thereafter also political power for the inner group.

The ‘buzzers’ and ‘trolls’ have undeniably led a fruitful war against LGBT-people and rights, as anti-LGBT laws and policies of a radical nature have been implemented. (Boellstorff, 2004, p. 470) Interestingly enough however, none of the informants of this study describe the consequences one might expect a deviant should experience, given the intensity of the hatred directed towards LGBT-people which has expressed itself in discriminatory laws and policies. Instead, the consequences of being a deviant in this setting appear to be rather mild: None of the informants except Garneta had told their families about their sexual orientation, the rest of the informants kept their LGBT-identity secret from their families and hometowns. Arya, Lugi, Dhika and Bayu have all considered to marry women in the future in order to carry on their family line and to meet their families’ expectations. These might be consequences of being branded as a deviant, but as explained, they appear to be somewhat benign given the context in which politicians, for example, describe LGBT-people as being afflicted with a psychiatric disorder and have decided to initiate censorship on LGBT-themed television and emojis.

Similar contradictions concerning the relatively mild consequences of being LGBT in Bali at this time becomes evident when consulting the moral panic theory. Cohen presents five criteria that all groups that are victims of moral panic fulfil; they are underprivileged, they are perceived as immoral, they can be made to scapegoats and thus responsible for problems in society and lastly, they can be used to satisfy the self-interest of powerful groups in society. (Hilte, 1996, p. 69-70)

LGBT-people in Indonesia can be described as underprivileged. For example, they suffer persecution and detainment with the ambiguous Law of Pornography as an instrument (Amnesty International, 2018, p. 196) and all of the informants felt that they had to hide their LGBT-identity from their families and hometowns. Garneta was the only exception to this, however when attending mosque Garneta had to dress as a man even though she identifies as a woman. These are examples of circumstances which LGBT-people have to endure which the rest of the population aren’t burdened with, and it is the difference between LGBT-people and their heterosexual counterparts define LGBT-people as underprivileged. Further on, it can be said that LGBT-people are perceived as immoral by the public. The motivations given by politicians for the implementation of anti-LGBT policies are sentimental and reference to morality and ethics. For example, the argument for the censorship of LGBT-themed television was that the innocence of children had to be protected. (Human Rights Watch, 2017, p. 38-39) These yielding arguments, in combination with the public support that has paved the way for the realisation of these policies, reflect that there is anti-LGBT sentiment in the public that has
its origin in a concern of moral and ethics. Further on, LGBT-people are described as problematic and dangerous and they can be made scapegoats and the inequality inflicted upon them can be used by powerful groups to preserve and produce more power - something which has been elaborated in more detail when reviewing the theory of deviance earlier in this chapter. With basis in these preceding examples, it can be said that LGBT-people fulfil the five criteria of Cohen and are the victim of a moral panic, which in Cohen’s terms mean that they have been branded as folk devils.

Folk devils suffer similar consequences as deviants do in the deviance theory, such as unemployment and harassment, (Hilfer, 1996, p. 66) but as have been previously explained LGBT-people appear to suffer only mild consequences of the intense hatred and intolerance directed towards them. Summarily, it can be said that LGBT-people in Bali fulfil the descriptions and criteria of being deviants and folk devils, but do not suffer the consequences the theories suggest they should.

Reviewing the gathered data there appears to be two reasons for this – discretion and community. According to various sources LGBT-people appear to have been able to live in a climate of relative tolerance if they acted discreetly and kept their LGBT-identities hidden. (Hendricks, 1995, p. 81; Human Rights Watch, 2017, p. 1; Boellstorff, 2007, p. 56) If one was discreet and not open about one’s sexuality, it appears as if one’s romantic or sexual activity as a LGBT-person haven’t been cause for persecution or harassment in the past. However, Boellstorff (2004, p. 477) claims that there has been a shift in this view and that LGBT-people are being target and persecuted even if handling their LGBT-related activities discreetly. There are notions to support this, such as the implementation of the Law of Pornography and how this law has been used to persecute and detain a group of homosexual men whilst in a sauna in Jakarta, even thou they handled their LGBT-related activities discreetly. (France-Presse, 2017) Based on this, it appears as if Boellstorff (2004, p. 477) is correct in his assumptions, but that does not mean that these political changes have come to affect the average LGBT-individual so profoundly as one might expect if they keep being discreet about their LGBT-identity in some regards. When reviewing the empirical data there is some notions to support this thought. Although all of the informants were open about their sexuality and LGBT-status in Denpasar, described as a tolerant and open-minded city by the informants, all of them, except Garneta, were discreet in other cities which did not enjoy the same reputation of tolerance and open-mindedness, such as their home towns. This discretion might be what accounts for the ‘immunity’, for the lack of a better word, enjoyed by the informants against the consequences the theory of deviance and moral panic suggests they should face. This idea is further supported by the fact that none of the informants seemed particularly worried about the political developments in the country, something that is interesting given that all of the informants were in some way involved in the activist organisation Gaya Dewata who advocate LGBT-rights in Bali. Only Garneta and Arya expressed uneasiness over the political developments in the country, but even then, they did so only mildly. Arya said he was somewhat worried about his friend who owned a sauna, and that he had told his friend to be careful because of the law of pornography, but that he otherwise didn’t think too much of it. In a similar fashion, Garneta said that she didn’t approve of the political developments and that if things got worse, she might move from Indonesia with her boyfriend. However, even that remark was expressed casually and without too much concern. The rest of the informants didn’t think too much of the political developments. For example, Kimora said he wasn’t worried about the political developments or the law of pornography because he is married and acted discreetly when he was meeting up men for sexual encounters and didn’t have sex in public areas. With the above as a background, it appears as if LGBT-people can, in spite of the political changes in the country,
to large extents avoid the consequences of being a deviant or a folk devil, with discretion as a caveat. However, at this stage it is important to point out that this might quickly change, as the recent developments are characterized by swift and dramatic changes, so the situation for LGBT-people is still precarious and might deteriorate even further.

Another reason for not being faced with the burden of being a deviant or a folk devil might be found in the strength of the LGBT-community. All informants had some sort of job that related to the LGBT-community, such as working at restaurants owned by LGBT-people, assisting with Drag Shows or working at LGBT-organizations. This can provide an explanation as to why the informants aren’t laden with unemployment like deviants or folk devils often are. (Hilter, 1996, p. 66-70) Further on, the LGBT-community can offer some useful insight and advice to its members regarding healthcare. Arya, in capacity of being manager of Gaya Dewata, explains that the members of Gaya Dewata offer to accompany LGBT-people when they test themselves for sexually transmitted diseases. Not only for emotional support, but through this service they can also direct LGBT-people to go the right kind of doctor or nurse for testing, which he explains is of importance, as there is a chance that some health staff might have moral objects of treating LGBT-people. Garneta, the transgender woman, also got help from the LGBT-community to find a nurse who was willing to help her find the hormones necessary for her transition from man to woman.

The LGBT-community can also provide comfort and support for the LGBT-people from a social and relational perspective. As earlier explained when reviewing the theory of primary and secondary groups, all of the informants held the LGBT-community in high regard, and the informants felt comfortable and that they could be themselves. The LGBT-community is where the informants have found friends, support and companionship. With this as a background, it can be said that the isolation often facing those marked as deviants or as folk devils, is refuted by the unity found in the LGBT-community. (Hilte, 1996, p. 66-70)

Summarily, it can be concluded that the consequences of being a deviant or a folk devil, such as unemployment, impeded healthcare or isolation (Hilte, 1996, p. 66-70) are refuted by the strength and unity provided by the LGBT-community.

Looking at how the informants are all very open about their status as a member of the LGBT-community in Denpasar, and in Denpasar only, it becomes interesting to try to extrapolate why this is. Most of the interviewees whom were not open to their family about their sexual orientation, still expressed that they led a good and open life in their current city, Denpasar. Arya and Dhika for example, explained how in Denpasar, they felt more comfortable being open here than in their home town. Even though still in Bali, they believed their home to be more traditional and religious, making it harder to be open about their sexual orientation. If we look back to another sociologist, Georg Simmel, it becomes apparent that the big LGBT-community in Denpasar could be the reason for the openness. Simmel meant that if an individual act as part of a collective, he or she would feel freer to do things that they normally wouldn’t do if they were alone. (Dahlgren & Starrin, 2004, p.83) This means that there is a great possibility that the reason for the interviewees feeling able to express themselves fully in Denpasar, is because they see themselves as a part of the community. This theory is strengthened by the fact that all informants expressed how the community was important to them. Beside this, they all also did state that they felt more accepted in the LGBT-community in Denpasar. If this is correct, it can also be a reason for the interviewees being calm and collected when talking about the occurring political changes in the Indonesian government regarding LGBT-rights. If there is a strong sense of community and solidarity, it would most likely inspire for a more accepting surrounding.
Simmel did also state a backside of this phenomenon. He said that if an individual was completely engulfed in the group, he/she could feel responsibility for the group and in that way feel shame for the group. (Dahlgren & Starrin, 2004, p. 84) This can be exemplified in Aryas’ interview, when he states:

“Except when I meet relatives or family friends who live close to my family if I am with a gay member or a transmember in the public area. I feel uncomfortable then, because I am afraid that they will tell my family”

By saying this, he shows that when family members see him interacting with other LGBT-people, he might feel a sense of shame for the group, as well as for himself. This however, only occurs in specific situations, and there seems to be no shame within the community. As a minority group, community becomes majorly important when there is not other way to be able to fully express the full self. That way it becomes quite easy for a member of the LGBT-community to be fully engulfed in the group.

Van Vliet (2008, p. 243) also writes about shame, and specifically Shame Resilience Theory (SRT), the studying strategies to overcome the emotions that may come with shame, such as feeling trapped, powerless or isolated. In her article, Van Vliet states that to overcome the feeling of shame there is a need of replacing these feelings with feeling empathy, power and freedom. This is something the interviewees experiences when they are as a group. Many of them talk about community being a place to find equals “who understand” and one person, therefore feeling empathy, Kimora, talked about “fighting together”, which implements that he feels certain power whilst in the community and lastly, three out of six informants used the words “free” or “freedom” when talking about the LGBT-community in either Bali or Denpasar. Seeing this it’s clear that the community may be a big reason for the informants not expressing feelings of shame when talking about their current home city. It also becomes apparent that this might be one of the reasons for the informants not expressing much fear for the political developments that have been occurring in Indonesia. Lastly, this has also shown that Bali has a strong LGBT-community in comparison to other parts of Indonesia, which makes Bali a safe haven for the minority group.

It’s clear to see how Bali and Denpasar is a safe-place for many LGBT-people and how the community becomes a very important factor to the informant’s source of feeling safety. Both when looking at an individual perspective, receiving harassment and neglection from their family, as well as when handling the bigger scale of political changes and governmental safety.
8. CONCLUSIONS

LGBT-rights is a common subject in the western world where equal rights for every human being is a never-ending discussion and there is also a force working on improving the living standards of minoritized groups in the society. In school children are educated about gender different sexual orientations, as well as how to practice safe sex. Even though the western world is privileged with knowledge and the freedom of speech, making it possible to discuss the previously taboo subjects, there is a big gap in the knowledge about the third world and how the same issues are comprehended in other countries. This study has tried to give an insight to Bali and their LGBT-community, especially focusing on the LGBT-peoples own perception and life stories, and how these might be affected by newly implemented anti-LGBT policies.

Previous research suggests that Indonesian LGBT-people that have in the past been able to live in a climate of relative tolerance based on discretion, are at risk of being harassed and even being treated as criminals because of their sexuality or their gender identity. Boellstorff (2004, p. 470) explains this by referencing to the political changes in the country, and how the state is currently going through a change of gender ideology and family principle, where the traditional concept of the gender roles has become important for the state - in this ideology, the masculine man and the feminine woman, are the only acceptable type gender identities. With basis in this, Boellstorff (2004, p. 470) argues that LGBT-people are perceived as a threat to society through their none-normative masculinity and femininity. Boellstorff (2004, p. 470) claims that this is one of the reasons as to why laws and principles regarding LGBT are changing, and why LGBT-people no longer can live in the same climate of relative tolerance as they have done in the past, which he argues is the case. With this as a background, one would easily conclude that LGBT-people would feel threatened by the general public and feel much uneasiness towards the political developments in the country.

Unexpectedly, the informants of this study expressed very little worry about the political developments, and even though they recognized and felt pity for other members of the LGBT-community affected by the manipulation of laws, they still did not see a need to feel unsafe. Most of the interviewees had heard something about the government’s statements, or about the law of pornography, but was not fully aware about how this had been used against LGBT-people, which might have been a reason for the lack of uneasiness. This unexpected result seems to stem from mainly two things; the strength of the community and how discretion is still a viable instrument for escaping harassment and persecution and feeling safe.

All of the informants were in greater or lesser extent handling their LGBT-identity with discretion. Either to their families, hometowns or when in a religious setting. The reasons for this given by the informants was not to prompt anger, shame or dislike from their surroundings. Although Boellstorff (2004, p. 470) theorizes that the political changes in the country, and how the state is trying to implement nationalized concepts of masculinity and femininity, has resulted in discretion no longer being a means to escape persecution and harassment for LGBT-people, that does not appear to be the case; discretion appear to still be means to avoid harassment and persecution. The reasons for this are unclear, perhaps the political changes in the country are yet to be felt by LGBT-people, the changes are very recent after all. Whatever the case, it appears as if discretion is still useful and effective tool to escape persecution and harassment, which is part of the reason as to why LGBT-people aren’t affected by anti-LGBT policies which previous research and sociological theories suggest they should.
When looking at the analysis of this study, we see that the community has helped LGBT-people to avoid the great hardship that may come from being stigmatized, being perceived as deviants or folk devils. (Hilte, 1996, p. 66-70) Even though the majority of the informants did inform that they either hadn’t yet, or never would, tell their families about their sexual orientation, they were still able to express themselves as who they were when in Denpasar, meaning the community made them feel safe enough to be open. When paring this with the Shame Resilience Theory (Van Vliet, 2008, p. 243) and seeing how the informants together express how they get the three components needed for getting over shame from the help of the community, it becomes evident that community has a big importance when it comes to how LGBT-people see their own everyday life.

Further, it was mentioned in the previous research that religion, and specifically Islam, had an impact in the life choices homosexual men made. This was something both Mollman (2016) and Boellstorff (2005, p. 577) had touched on and the interviews showed that this was something that did not only apply to Muslim gay men, but also Hindu and Christian men. From this the conclusion can be made that more than religion, the value of marriage and family life lies in the Indonesian culture, making all Indonesians affected. This explains why all the men from the study whom all had sexual attraction to men, had thoughts about marriage. It is an educated guess to also presume that these values are so implemented in the culture and in the individual’s upbringing and within their own self, that the informants feel at peace with some of the expectations laid on them. The one example of this of course being marriage. This explains why the informants very rarely expressed sadness or dissatisfaction when talking about their future plans of wife and children and why instead they saw this as something good and valuable.

Conclusively, it can be determined there are hardships facing LGBT-people living in Bali and there is risk of being seen as an outcast and there are certain areas of life where it is harder to be LGBT while concurrently following traditions and expectations. However, there are LGBT-communities that offer emotional support and friendships for LGBT-people, and these communities may also offer employment and ways to better healthcare and important knowledge about oneself and one’s rights. The Balinese LGBT-community, coupled with discretion when needed, appear to refute some of the negative consequences of being LGBT and offer a sense of safety and thus making it possible to look past the concerning political developments and still being able to lead satisfactory lives. However, the need for discretion has resulted in LGBT-people leading double lives, hiding big parts of their lives and their identities from loved ones. Some LGBT-people living on Bali even have families of their own or wish to have a wife and children in the future, and although it is hard to determine whether this stems from LGBT-people’s own desires and dreams or is the result of family expectations and deeply rooted traditions.
9. REFERENCES


Scott, J (2014) ”M: Moral panic” A dictionary of sociology, Oxford University Press


ATTACHMENT 1

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction/presentation
Present an introduction of the essay and ask for consent of participation as well as after consent to record the interview. Explain how the information will be handled, that the informants can at any time cancel the interview or withdraw their participation, and give contact information.

Questions and topics that will be explored

- How does a typical day look in your life?
- How did you know that you weren’t straight?
- What does your family think about your sexuality?
- Do you believe that you are treated differently because of your sexual orientation on a general level?
- Tell us about your job?
- Are you religious?
- Tell us about your friends?
- Is the LGBT-community important to you?
- Do you ever feel unsafe because of your sexuality in your everyday life?
- The Indonesian state has lately made statements and legalizations concerning LGBT-people. Have you heard of this? Have you/are you afraid you will be affected?
- Are you familiar with the Law of Pornography and how it has been used against LGBT-people?
- Is your healthcare affected by this?
- Can you access information about LGBT-issues easily?