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SESSION
REPORT

506

LGBT and Human Rights: New Challenges, Next Steps



“As I wrote in the Lancet last July, ‘In the future, the laws that criminalize so many forms of human love and commitment will look the way apartheid laws do to us now - so obviously wrong. We know that LGBT people are a part of every human community.’

We therefore need a forum for a truly global conversation about how they contribute to, and are affected by, the law, culture and creativity – and how we can ensure that their voices are heard and understood.

I applaud the Salzburg Global Seminar for deciding to hold a session on ‘LGBT and Human Rights: New Challenges, Next Steps’, at which all regions of the world will be represented, and I hope that it will mark the beginning of that global conversation. ”

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, *South Africa*

Session 506

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LGBT and Human Rights: New Challenges, Next Steps

SALZBURG
GLOBAL
SEMINAR

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Table of Contents

- 01 Introduction
- 05 The Rule of Law, International Institutions and LGBT Human Rights
How can they move from aspiration to reality in the application of national and transnational law?
- 10 Multiple Discrimination Against and Within LGBT Communities
What data do we have or lack?
- 17 Life Stories
Truth and transformation
- 22 Knowledge Café
- 26 Culture and Resilience
Short talks, readings, performances & movie clips
- 31 Two Sides of a Coin?
Is the globalization of LGBT identities and human rights mirrored by an increasing global distribution of homo- and transphobia?
- 35 Global Development and Co-operation
What do local organizations really need?
- 40 Violence and Trauma
When does global outrage improve or endanger the safety and security of local LGBT communities?
- 43 Ways of Seeing Ourselves
- 46 Social Media and LGBT Identities in the 21st Century
Access, distribution, new social spaces and limitations
- 50 The Power of Money
How will the corporate world and philanthropy impact LGBT issues in the 21st century, and what are potential draw-backs?
- 53 Queer Film-Making
Reflecting and creating new realities
- 56 Prioritizing the Issues for Transgender People
Developing effective strategies to go forward globally
- 59 Religion in LGBT Communities and LGBT Communities in Religion
Tensions, strengths and strategies
- 62 Towards a Salzburg Statement on Next Steps
Integration of global working groups' recommendations
- 64 The Salzburg Statement of the Global LGBT Forum
Advancing human rights for LGBT people and communities
- 66 Conclusion
Now is the time to create a Global LGBT Forum

Introduction

“While we might not agree on methods or solutions,” Faculty Chair Dr. Klaus Mueller affirmed during the opening address at the Salzburg Global Seminar on LGBT and Human Rights, “it is probably safe to assume that we agree on the relevance of equal rights for all people, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people and communities, their protection under the law, and their right to express themselves freely.” Indeed, this fight for equal rights, safety, and free expression is what unified the remarkably diverse participants of the session. Sharing the vast array of specific and yet comparable experiences around the globe, exchanging and weighing methods, and building solutions marked the intense five days’ conversations.

What are the various challenges lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people and communities face around the world? What have been successes and weaknesses of using a human rights approach to improve the life situations of LGBT people around the world, and how might we learn from them moving forward? In an attempt to answer these questions among others, over 60 legal experts, activists, scholars, artists, politicians, journalists, researchers or human rights defenders – many holding more than one of these roles – met at the 506th session of Salzburg Global Seminar entitled ‘LGBT and Human Rights: New Challenges, Next Steps’ from June 2 to 7, 2013. The participants collectively represented 35 countries and regions from around the world and brought together decisive global voices from diverse spheres to look at LGBT and human rights through lenses such as cultural diversity, creative expression, and civic responsibility.

The seminar opened with an enthusiastic welcome from Clare Shine, Salzburg Global Seminar Vice-President and Chief Program Officer. “This is a topic close to my heart,” Shine relayed; “This session will be breaking new ground.” Her introduction included an overview of the history of Schloss Leopoldskron – the location of the seminar – founded in 1947 by students interested in creating a space of social and cultural dialogue between present and future leaders to discuss contemporary topics of global concern. This context thus provided an ideal place to host this much-needed seminar on LGBT issues, which, Shine noted, “have gone up the political agenda within national and international human rights discussions”. She also pointed out that the

We are using the identity labels lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender – and the abbreviation LGBT – as they are widely recognized in many parts of the world, but we do not intend for them to be read in any way as comprehensive of all relevant identities or exclusive of other cultures, terms or groups.

“I strongly believe now is the time to create a Global LGBT Forum. A space to come together and reflect on the new challenges we are facing and consider the next steps needed to secure the safety, free expression and equality of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people and communities.”

Klaus Mueller

seminar would abide by the Chatham House Rule, which means that participants were invited to use and share information, but requires that neither the identity nor the organizational or political affiliation of the participants be revealed without explicit permission. Shine concluded by expressing to participants a hope that they connect with people they may never have had the chance to meet, and that this meeting be “just one step in a lifelong relationship with Salzburg Global Seminar”.

Dr. Klaus Mueller, the initiator and session chair, provided in his welcoming address a detailed introduction to the seminar’s goals, content and framing, as well as his motivation for initiating the meeting.

Mueller, who is a museum consultant, filmmaker and historian, and whose academic work includes an in-depth study of the persecution of homosexuals under the Nazi regime, explained and problematized the usage of the term LGBT: While it appears to be the most common shortcut to address sexual orientation and gender identities, he explained, it also “tempts us to forget that we are not talking about concepts, but individuals and their lives.

“We do not wish to exclude other cultural concepts, contemporary or historical, to express sexuality and gender.” Instead he proposed that: “LGBT is a support we use until we choose another one. It points in the direction of a common cause even as our struggles are distinct.



Session Chair, Klaus Mueller opens Salzburg Global’s first ever session addressing LGBT rights

“We all come from families that were unprepared for us. A society that excluded us from its midst for a long time will take a long time to rebuild itself and truly change its core patterns of exclusion and prejudice.”

Regarding the session’s goals, he emphasized one goal in particular ; “to engage in a global conversation on the position of LGBT people and communities within contemporary society and the protection of their rights through the rule of law. Our ambition is to address these questions through the lens of cultural diversity, creative expression and ethical responsibility – bringing together leading voices from diverse spheres.” To achieve the conditions necessary to enable such a discussion, Mueller explained that there was a conscious attempt to shift the seminar from a presentation-based conference to an open conversation with short contributions introducing broader discussions. He also encouraged all participants to nurture a space of reflection and to assume that in this conversation “we will all change from experts to learners”.

“This is not a conference,” he insisted: “This is a retreat, a space, a conversation we shape.” He then provided an overview of some possible thematic foci for the discussions to come throughout the program:

Mainstreaming

Mainstreaming is not assimilation, but an attempt to open exclusive rights and spaces defined by heteronormativity, by habit, by prejudice, to the diverse reality of lives and identities. How might we best integrate human rights laws into international human rights norms?

Connectivity

How does instant Internet access impact long-term LGBT politics? How can we ensure that global campaigns do not overwhelm local initiatives? How do we react to the fact that not only the struggle for LGBT rights has gone global, but hate too?

Security

The most basic necessity within any society is the security and health of its citizens. In the last five years more than 1200 reported killings of trans people have been documented worldwide. Personal safety in public spaces remains a crucial concern for LGBT people everywhere. How can a global network contribute to improve the safety of LGBT communities?

Education

Who will educate those who design the future in which we will live? How can we improve access to education, eliminate gender-restricted access, and modify thinking in heteronormative gender binaries?

“We all come from families that were unprepared for us. A society that excluded us from its midst for a long time will take a long time to rebuild itself and truly change its core patterns of exclusion and prejudice. ”

Klaus Mueller

Identity

How can we find new ways to think about the place of religion in LGBT communities and LGBT communities in religion? Are social media leading to greater privatization or accessibility? How can we prioritize the issues of transgender people and support the growing awareness of intersex and gender non-conforming identities?

While the sphere of the law in an increasingly interconnected world provides an essential frame of reference, underlying cultural value systems need to be taken into consideration. No longer defined by conventional Western/non-Western divides, the meanings given to LGBT equality – in such diverse debates as those of a society’s moral fiber, political belief system, specific history, or social health – fluctuate greatly. In order to better understand this evolving moral, legal, social, and political landscape, and incorporating the themes of mainstreaming, connectivity, security, education and identity, the week included a broad and multifaceted range of panel sessions and working group meetings. Among others, issues such as national and international law, culture and resilience, violence and trauma, the future of philanthropy, religion and media were discussed. The session was profoundly enriched through artistic performances and the sharing of personal stories.

Although it may be true that participants came from profoundly different settings offering their specific experiences and approaches, the agenda-setting Salzburg Statement on LGBT and Human Rights at the end of this report is a testament that the session’s diversity was also its most apparent strength.

This session was the first of what Mueller and Salzburg Global Seminar hope will be a new Global LGBT Forum with regular international meetings in Salzburg.



Salzburg Global Chief Program Officer Clare Shine called the session’s topic close to her heart

The Rule of Law, International Institutions and LGBT Human Rights

How can they move from aspiration to reality in the application of national and transnational law?

Lousewies van der Laan *Vice-President ALDE, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, Netherlands (Moderator)*

Tamara Adrián *Human rights activist; Professor at Central University, Venezuela*

Sibongile Ndashe *Human rights lawyer, Equality Programme at INTERIGHTS, South Africa*

Yinhe Li *Sociologist, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China*

The moderator of the first session on law and legislation with regards to LGBT rights – Lousewies van der Laan, vice-president of the European Liberal Democratic party and former chef de cabinet of the president of the International Criminal Court in The Hague – asked each of the panelists to discuss how they have used international institutions to turn LGBT rights from an aspiration into a reality. To begin the discussion she noted that the Netherlands – where she is from – was the first country in the world to make marriage gender-neutral. Despite this precedent, however, conversation persists there about the place of sexuality in schools and other public institutions. Van der Laan was speaking here from experience: she is also a former member of the Dutch Parliament and the European Parliament, where she was spokeswoman on human rights.

Tamara Adrián, transgender human rights activist and professor at the Central University in Venezuela, discussed her role in the creation and approval of related resolutions and documents within the United Nations. During her first visit to the UN in 2005 for the Commission on Human Rights, for example, Adrián joked that “you only have two minutes” to speak before the commission, but she also used her time to meet with different delegations and to argue a case for the inclusion of LGBT issues within human rights documents. As it took 20 years to instigate discussion about women and rights in the UN, she was told by colleagues that she would need to wait just as long before LGBT issues were given due consideration. Her colleagues were wrong. The first declaration was signed just a few years later stating that it is against international human rights to provoke or support violence based on sexual orientation or gender identity around the world. “With these improvements,” Adrián warned, “have come increased efforts by fundamentalist groups promoting ‘traditional values’” – allegedly in opposition to LGBT identities.

“ With these improvements, have come increased efforts by fundamentalist groups promoting ‘traditional values’ ”

Tamara Adrián



Tamara Adrián (r) warned of the rise of the phrase 'traditional values' replacing religion to advance homo- and transphobia

“‘Sexuality Orientation and Gender Identity’ is not a language that’s beneficial to everyone.”

Sibongile Ndashe

The second speaker, Sibongile Ndashe, human rights lawyer from the Equality Programme at the international legal human rights NGO, INTERIGHTS in South Africa, asked what happens when civil society groups that aspire towards cooperation on the advancement of LGBT rights do not agree on a strategy. After the equality resolution by the Human Rights Council from 2011, in which violations based on sexual orientation or gender identity were explicitly forbidden, many from the Global North have encouraged the passage of a second resolution establishing certain rights-protection mechanisms. There has been a strong lobby from the Global South in opposition to this approach, explained Ndashe, fearing a backlash from local governments and leaders. “The sole and narrow focus on decriminalization as the only meaningful litigation to challenge the various penal codes based on human rights is inadequate. The value and role of comparative experiences must be interrogated, taking into account the context where they are to be applied,” she said.

Three questions were put forth as critical: Might the framing of the issue build broader alliances if it changes from a focus on “sexual orientation and gender identity” to “sexuality and gender”? “‘Sexuality Orientation and Gender Identity’ is not a language that’s beneficial to everyone,” Ndashe explained: “Which works and for whom?” What does progress mean when for some people we see positive results, but for others we see amplified violence? And finally: Who is involved in determining what needs to be prioritized?

Engagement with the courts, the legislature, other actors, regional and international institutions and processes must be determined by actors at a domestic level, Ndashe argued: “The strategies will have to be identified by

them as they will bear the brunt of action or inaction.” For the human rights movement, Ndashe asserted, an understanding of what constitutes readiness and the hard task of working towards preparedness to engage is what lies ahead. “We could start doing this by asking and attempting to answer the question: ‘how can we protect human rights now?’”

The final speaker, Yinhe Li, sociologist from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and a leading activist for the rights of LGBT people in the People’s Republic of China, briefly explored how social pressures have stigmatized and constrained the life possibilities of same-sex loving people in China, even in the absence of laws prohibiting homosexual behaviors. Even today, the most serious threat to same-sex sexual conduct between consenting adults comes neither from legal sanctions nor from police arrest in the name of public security, but rather from social prejudice. In a recent study, the majority of homosexual men questioned by Li reported viewing their homosexual behaviors as “risky,” and many explained that risk in terms of administrative sanctions or reform through education. To conclude, Li categorized the views of homosexual people in China into two groupings: those who adhere to and accept the status quo, and those who take a more radical stance with regards to the promotion of homosexual rights. According to Li, key issues for persons from the first group include pressures to get married and a lack of information on homosexuality. Those with a radical stance, alternatively, are highly critical of the arbitrary and discriminatory treatment that many homosexuals receive.

“ What does progress mean when for some people we see positive results, but for others we see amplified violence? ”

Sibongile Ndashe



The Global North and South have different timelines and agendas when it come to advancing LGBT rights, said Sibongile Ndashe

“The particular issue Chinese LGBT people confront is oppression by Chinese cultural values. It is estimated that seventy percent of gay men would heterosexually marry while a bigger percentage of lesbian women would choose to marry men so that they could produce children. The pressure is so unbearably powerful that a new kind of marriage of convenience emerges: some of gay men enter into marriage with lesbian women in order to address the pressure.”

Yinhe Li



In China, the most serious threat to same-sex sexual conduct between consenting adults comes neither from legal sanctions nor from police arrest in the name of public security, but rather from social prejudice, explained Yinhe Li (l)

Following the panel, participants were asked to discuss and collect reactions in small groups, and then all were invited to present summaries of their discussions to the larger group. Many of the problems raised by the Fellows were the same from country to country – but different, and appropriate solutions are clearly needed in each situation; one solution does not suit all. The first group problematized pressures from the global north to create a special rapporteur from the African region – a suggestion many from Africa view as premature and not without danger of a backlash. “Some special rapporteurs are already not invited to our countries,” one participant noted, “but people from the North feel that those from the South are delaying things by not agreeing to an office or rapporteur.”

UN documents on LGBT rights, one group acknowledged, are often perceived as symptoms of Western imperialism. “Many argue that the [LGBT] community isn’t unanimous; but why should there be only one voice?” The Fellow continued: “These issues should not look as though they are imposed on us by the West. I haven’t met people or organizations that really have a strategy; their actions are mostly led by instinct and ad hoc actions. We need to take time to decide on short-, long- and medium-term goals. Instead we are just responding to the actions from our opponents.”

Another group proposed that the value of UN rights’ documents lie in their ability to raise standards and initiate discussions about LGBT rights in general. In countries such as Brazil and Argentina, one group explained, constitutional courts have quoted UN human rights’ resolutions in court decisions.

One group suggested that it should be left to national and regional organizations to use and translate rights documents into their local contexts. “Activists in a particular culture know that culture, its traditions, the legal language of that place more than outsiders,” the representative explained, “they would be best placed to take UN resolutions, and appropriate, adopt and turn them into something relevant for that culture and context – bringing global and local together.”

Modifying the anti-sodomy law in India, one participant explained, which took years of inter-movement debate with women’s and children’s rights groups, highlighted the importance of alliances during this process: “In India the sodomy law took three years of inter-movement talking to draft a law without using sexual orientation in it. Instead the law states ‘Any consenting adult acting in private should not be criminalized,’ thus offering protection against marital rape, incest, and sex with minors [as well as consenting adults in same-sex relationships].”

Another group emphasized that rates of homophobic and especially transphobic violence appear to be worse in South Africa, where laws exist to protect LGBT people, than in countries with laws criminalizing homosexuality. “Law is imagined as a single barrier to progress,” the fellow concluded. “This narrow focus on the law has stopped people from thinking of other ways of engaging. Sometimes there will be opportunities where government passes something that sounds good but the lived realities of the intended beneficiaries mean that they aren’t able to benefit because the change has not happened [in society].”

“Law is imagined as a single barrier to progress. This narrow focus on the law has stopped people from thinking of other ways of engaging. Sometimes there will be opportunities where government passes something that sounds good but the lived realities of the intended beneficiaries mean that they aren’t able to benefit because the change has not happened [in society].”

From the discussion



Moderator Louise van der Laan’s (c) home country of the Netherlands made striding progress in enshrining LGBT rights with marriage gender neutrality laws, but the debate surrounding the place of sexuality in schools and public institutions continues

“As a result of the intricate interplay of authoritarianism and the ‘institutional closet’, it is particularly difficult to gather data regarding sexual orientation and gender identity-based violence and discrimination in mainland China. ”

Dan Zhou

Multiple Discrimination Against and Within LGBT Communities

What data do we have or lack?

Dan Zhou

Lawyer; Author, China

(Moderator)

Dennis van der Veur

Representative, European Union Fundamental Rights Agency, Austria

Maria Kozlovskaya

Program Manager, Russian LGBT-network, Russia

Carla LaGata

Lead researcher Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide, Transgender Europe, Germany

Aung Myo Min

Executive Director, Human Rights Education Institute, Myanmar

(Discussant)

Dan Zhou, lawyer and gay activist from China, chaired the panel on empirical research about multiple forms of discrimination against and within LGBT communities. Zhou has been practicing law as a licensed lawyer in the region for 14 years and was the first gay lawyer in China to speak out for LGBT rights. As part of these efforts he engages in public dialogue and education, and is therefore well aware of the value of data for activism, but also of the obstacles involved in seeking out data within the Chinese context. “As a result of the intricate interplay of authoritarianism and the ‘institutional closet’”, Zhou explained, “it is particularly difficult to gather data regarding sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI)-based violence and discrimination in mainland China. There are few, if any, reports about SOGI-based violence and discrimination there. One major conceivable reason is that most LGBT people in mainland China are still ‘in the closet’”. “China praises the achievements and successes of director Ang Lee,” Zhou observed, “but Brokeback Mountain is forbidden to be shown in full.” With this introduction, Zhou then asked each of the presenters about the data they have gathered or have available in their regions.

Before presenting data, however, the first speaker, Dennis van der Veur from the EU Fundamental Rights Agency, proposed looking at what he calls “SPO” with regards to the framing of issues related to LGBT human rights: Structures (e.g. laws), Processes (e.g. funding) and Outcomes (e.g. lived experiences). To address the deficit of data on the last aspect – outcomes – the Fundamental Rights Agency conducted a survey online about the rights situation of LGBT people in Europe, which was released just weeks before the Salzburg session was held. With nearly 100,000 respondents, this survey is the largest of its kind. Although it of course

still does not represent all LGBT people, the overwhelming frequency of rights violations reported in the study is telling. For example:

- 26% had faced violence in the last five years, with 10% saying they had faced violence in the last 12 months; 43% of transgender persons reported having been attacked more than three times in the past year;
- Over 70% of all LGBT respondents said they had hidden the fact that they were lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender at work in the past five years; incidences of work-related discrimination across Europe were highest among transgender respondents, but lower in Scandinavian countries where anti-discrimination policies have been in place for a longer time.
- Over 20% said they had suffered discrimination in the work place; 56% knew that there were laws to counter such discrimination, but only 10% of those who had suffered used such laws;
- 91% of respondents had witnessed homo- & transphobia in schools with the same proportion admitting to hiding their sexual orientation and gender identity at some point whilst in school;
- 53% of respondents felt that they could not even hold hands in the street with their sam-sex partner.

In general, the data, available online (<http://fra.europa.eu/en/survey/2012/eu-lgbt-survey>), demonstrate that transgender people consistently face more rights violations than other LGBT people. Despondently, van der Veur admitted that the survey had not shown that younger LGBT Europeans experience fewer hate crimes and other forms of discrimination. The similarity of data across countries suggests that there is a strong need for a comprehensive approach to improving the situation for LGBT people across Europe.

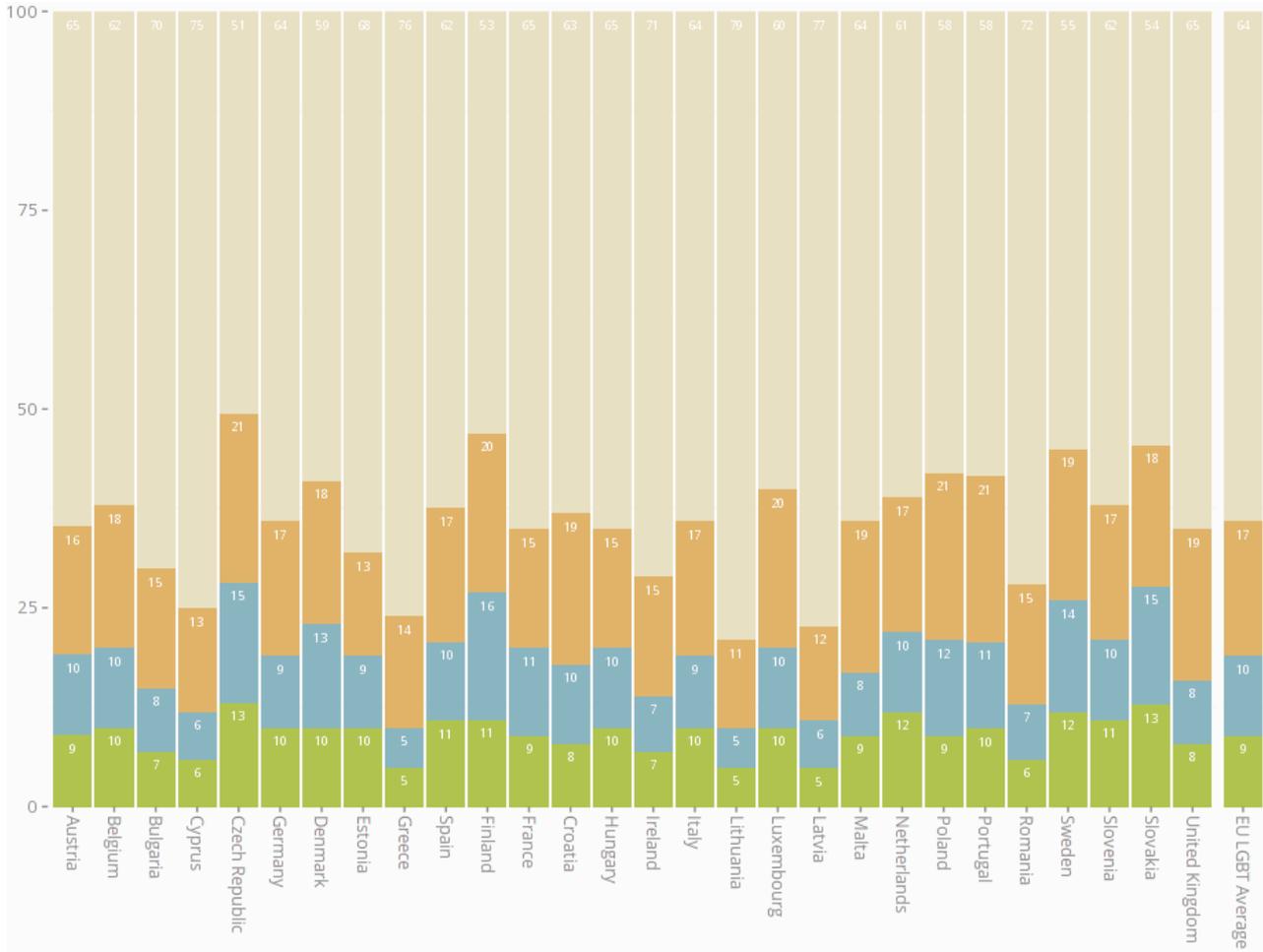
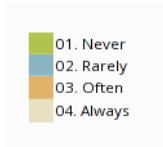


Dennis van der Veur presents findings from the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights' LGBT survey – the largest of its kind

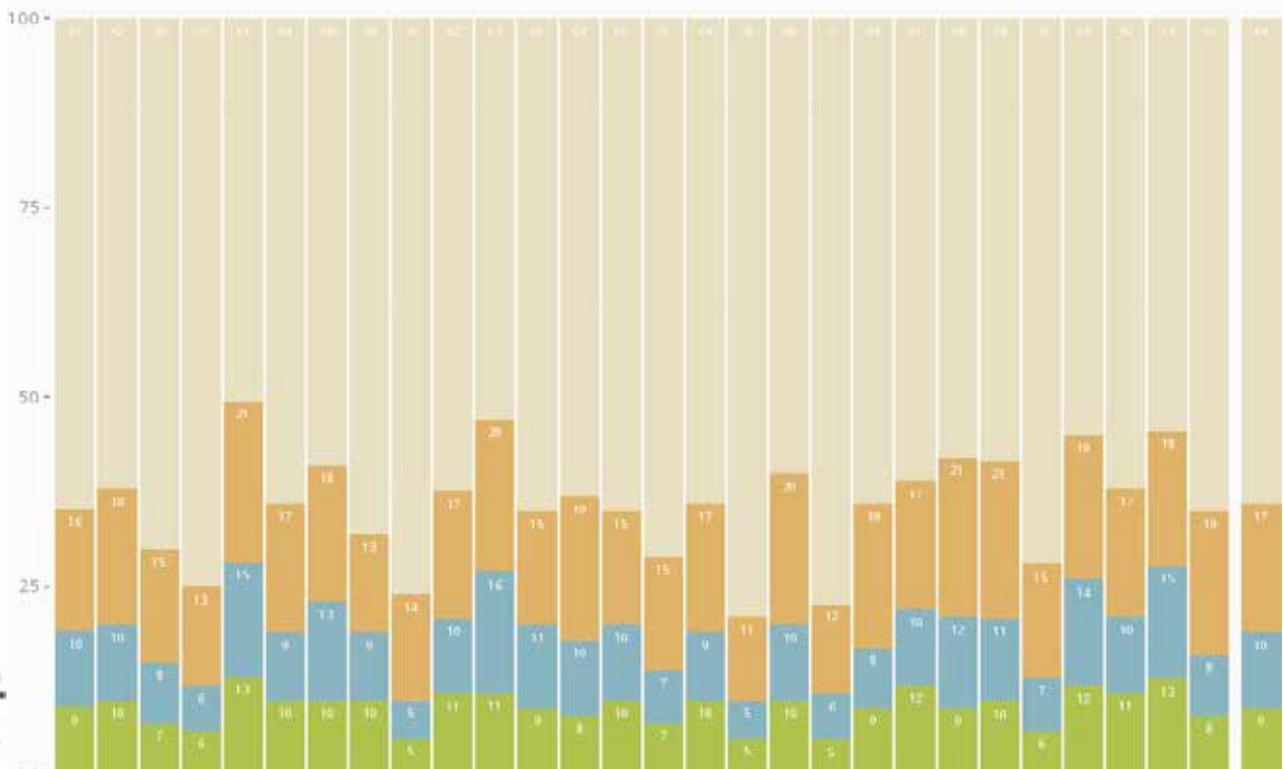
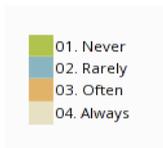
“91% of respondents had witnessed homo- & transphobia in schools with the same proportion admitting to hiding their sexual orientation and gender identity at some point whilst in school. ”

EU LGBT Survey by the EU Agency for Fundamental Human Rights

Responses to the question: "During your schooling before the age of 18, did you hide or disguise that you were L, G, B or T at school?"



Responses to the question: "Do you avoid holding hands in public with a same-sex partner for fear of being assaulted, threatened or harassed?"



Maria Kozlovskaya from the Russian LGBT-Network presented data on the situation for LGBT people in Russia, where local and now national laws forbid “homosexual propaganda”. The Russian anti-propaganda law, only recently signed into legislation, introduces a fine for citizens who disseminate information aimed at minors “directed at forming non-traditional sexual setup” or which may cause a “distorted understanding” that heterosexual and same-sex relations are “socially equivalent”. Kozlovskaya emphasized that the new national law could in theory forbid everything and nothing: from films to media campaigns to demonstrations. The law claims to “protect young people and to preserve tradition and morality in Russian society”. Although the numbers of hate crimes directed at LGBT people seem to be raising across Russia, the police ignore the hate aspect of the crimes, and sometimes even do nothing to address the crime. There have been several very recent reports of youth brutally murdered for being LGBT, in one instance even by a so-called “friend”. Why? “His being gay hurt my feelings”! A recent analysis by an independent research center determined that five percent of Russians felt that LGBT people should be exterminated; more than 80 percent felt that the propaganda of homosexuality should be prohibited; and 60 percent thought of the gay pride parade as a form of homosexual propaganda. The international discussion of the Russian so-called anti-propaganda laws has strongly increased as some activists and leaders consider a boycott or other protest initiatives during the Winter Olympic games to be held in Sochi, Russia in 2014.

Carla LaGata, lead researcher from the project “Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide” (TvT) was the final speaker. “When we talk about LGBT issues,” LaGata explained, “we are often missing the T from our data.” LaGata then stressed that even the existing research about transgender persons has been dominated by

“Our research shows that five percent of Russians think that gay people should be exterminated. This is one percent more than a year ago and it is of course a result of this gay propaganda law. ”

Maria Kozlovskaya



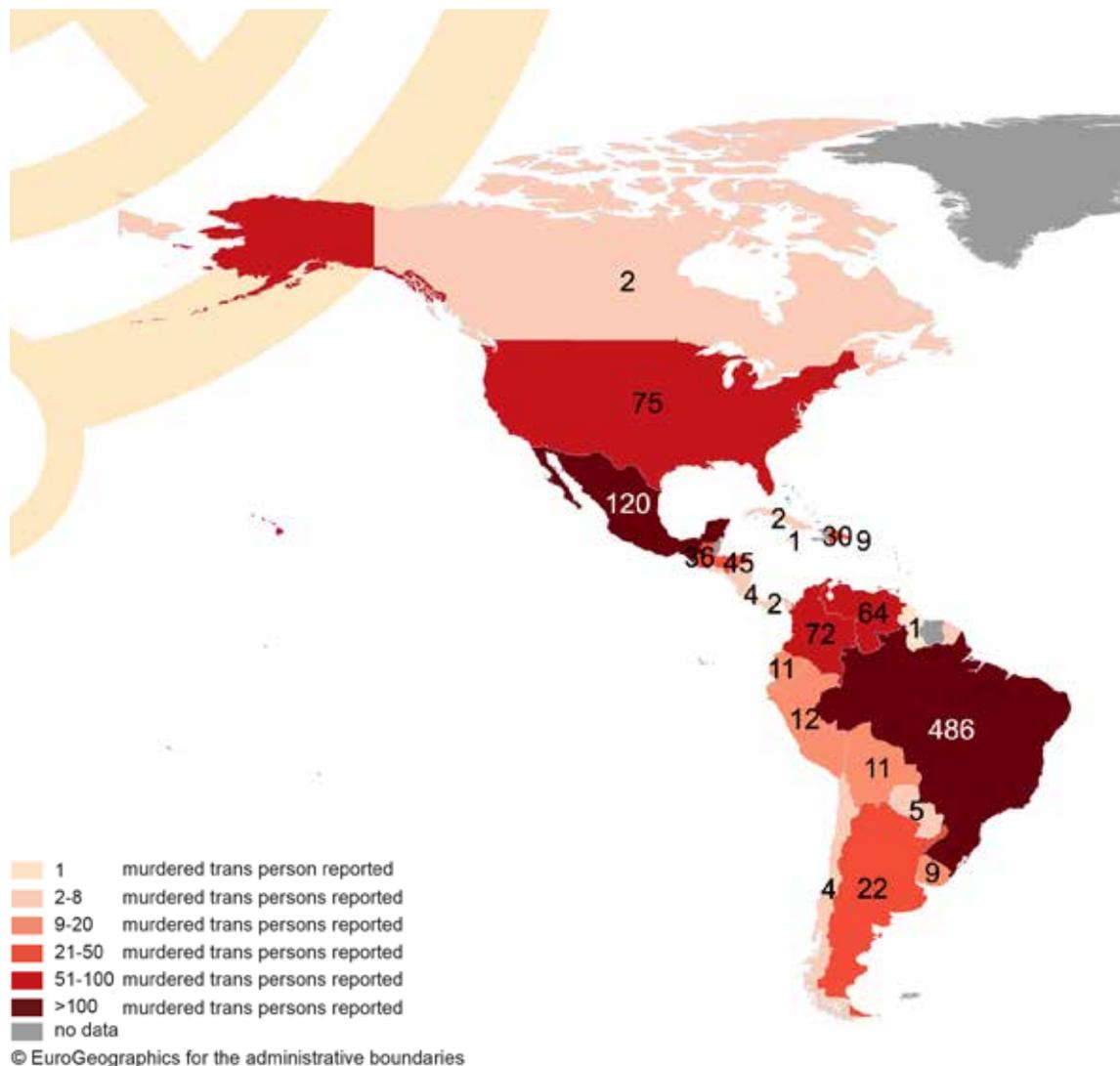
Russian lawyer Maria Kozlovskaya explained the impact of the recent anti-propaganda law on the LGBT population

“When we talk about LGBT issues, we are often missing the T from our data.”

Carla LaGata

medicine and by the Global North. These biases produce data that are pathologizing in the first case, and that misread local contexts in the second. A narrow focus on laws that criminalize homosexuality or gender non-conformity, for example, misses the importance of other (e.g. anti-prostitution) laws that are specifically used against transgender persons on a global level, or too quickly targets contexts where these laws may exist, but where transgender people are relatively well respected by the broader society.

LaGata then presented data from the TvT project, developed with 19 partner organizations and within an advisory board of 27 members from every region of the world. The project has a strong empowerment focus – including research trainings for local activists – and produces ongoing reports monitoring the reported cases of murdered trans people and a map of the legal situation of trans people worldwide, all available online (<http://www.transrespect-transphobia.org>). LaGata emphasized that there

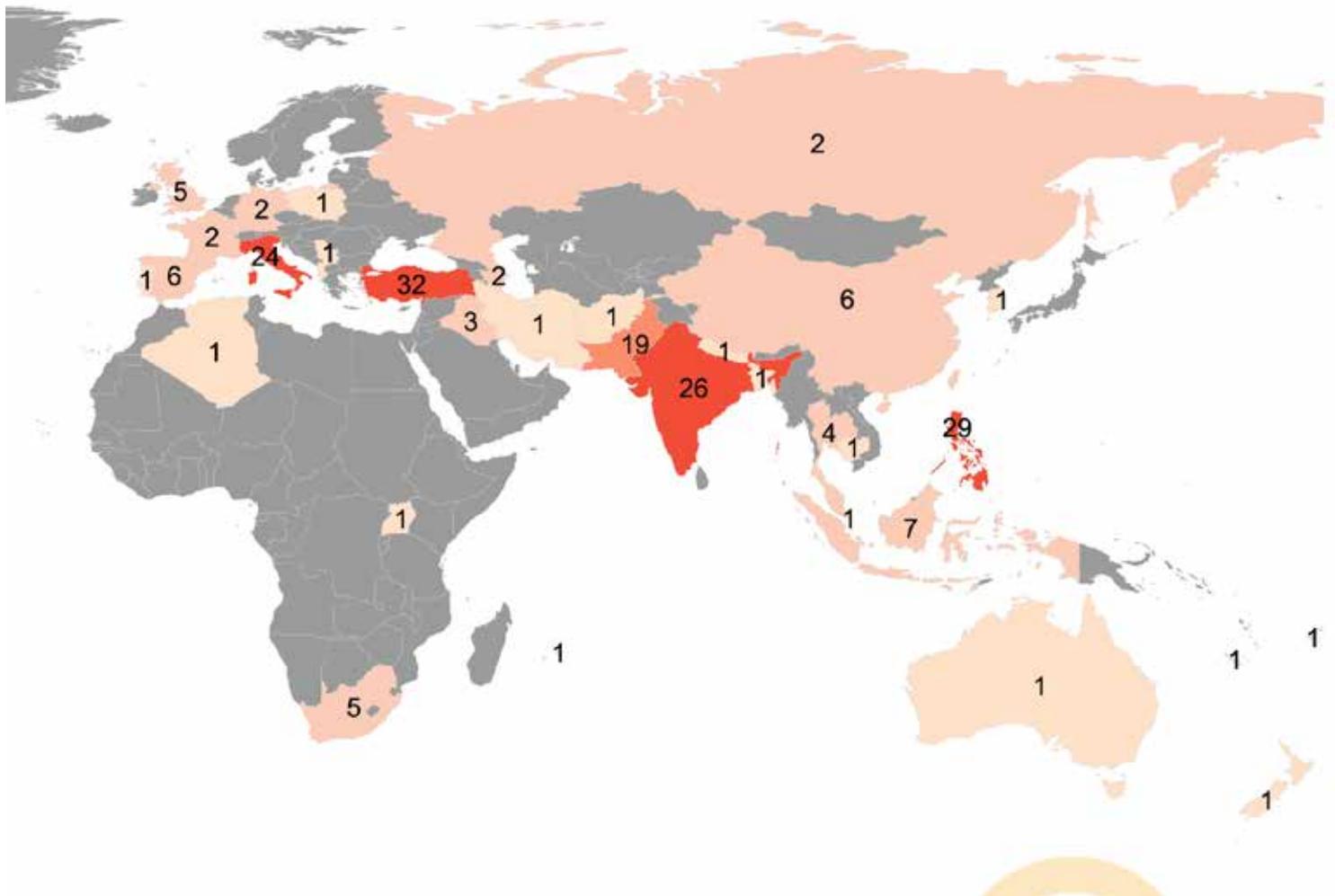


Map by TvT showing the number of trans people murdered between January 2008 and April 2013

has been a constant increase in reported murders. Since January 2008, the project was able to determine that at least 958 trans people have been murdered in Central and South America, 109 in Asia, 77 in North America, 77 in Europe, eight in Africa, and two in Oceania. Although the numbers seem especially high in South America, this is likely because there are already organizations monitoring in the region. Moreover, the Argentinean gender recognition law is seen by many as the best existing policy from which many countries, including from the Global North, could benefit. Passed in 2012, this law allows people to alter their gender on official documents without first having to receive a psychiatric diagnosis or surgery, and also requires public and private medical practitioners to provide free hormone therapy or gender reassignment surgery for those who want it – including those under the age of 18. In the Global North, transgender migrants and sex workers, especially people of color, are disproportionately targeted by violence. Even where laws exist, LaGata thus concludes, legislation does not always work.

“There has been a constant increase in reported murders of transgender people around the world.”

Carla LaGata





Carla LaGata's TvT project seeks to fill the transgender data gap in LGBT research

The discussant Aung Myo Min, Executive Director from the Human Rights Education Institute in Myanmar, offered two main challenges from research done on the impact of the sodomy law on LGBT people in Burma: a lack of previous information to use as reference, and fear from potential respondents about anonymity. Myo Min then asked the speakers about challenges they faced and about efforts they take to secure both the data and their respondents. Dennis van der Veur assured that there were no problems with anonymity in their study as they did not store IP addresses, but mentioned that the limited choices for identity labels posed a problem. Carla LaGata discussed the challenging strategies they utilized to promote the empowerment of local researchers and to develop a questionnaire that is globally relevant. To respond to concerns about the power of data due to small sample sizes, one audience member suggested taking available data to policy makers and asking them to comment: "These responses may get picked up by media outlets quicker than the data itself."



(l-r) Aung Myo Min, Carla LaGata, Dan Zhou, Maria Kozlovskaya and Dennis van der Veur

Life Stories

Truth and transformation

Marc Pachter *Director-at-Large, Smithsonian Institute, United States*
(Interviewer)

Travis S. K. Kong *Sociologist; Associate Professor, University of Hong Kong, China SAR*

Elizabeth Khaxas *Director, Women's Leadership Centre, Namibia*

Expanding upon the discussion on the necessity of reliable data on the lives of LGBT people today, the next panel focused on individual life stories. Panellists shared their personal stories in which they led participants through the complexity of their lives, exposed their struggles and solutions, and helped the Fellows to understand their very own individual narrative.

Sharing their stories brought participants, faculty, lecturers and specialists closer together, all thanks to the confidence and generosity of the three speakers. For many, the impact went much deeper – providing renewed mobilization, more profound understanding and enhanced alliances. The nuance and detail of each story rendered the human rights issues facing LGBT people real and complicated. Although each story was radically different – with chronicles that literally took participants around the globe, revealing specificities of time and space with regards to rights – the themes, situations, relations and structures that accompanied them did at times overlap. Marc Pachter, Director-at-Large from the Smithsonian Institute, former interim director of the National Museum of American History and director emeritus of the National Portrait Gallery in Washington DC, prompted each speaker with open questions about their lives. He also taught us the art of listening as he supported each speaker to find their own rhythm and way of sharing their story. The two speakers featured here kindly offered summaries of their stories for this report, presented below with a very brief introduction to their professional accomplishments.

Travis S.K. Kong is an associate professor of the Department of Sociology and director of the masters program in Media, Culture and Creative Cities at the University of Hong Kong where he teaches gender, sexuality, media, and cultural studies. His main research interests include Chinese homosexuality and masculinity, prostitution in Hong Kong and China, transnational Chinese sexuality and the social implications of HIV/AIDS. He is the author of *Chinese Male Homosexuality: Memba, Tongzhi and Golden Boy* (Routledge, 2011) and is the co-editor of the journal "Sexualities: Studies in Culture and Society". Kong is also involved with local NGOs concerning HIV/AIDS, media and culture, and sexuality.



Marc Pachter interviews Travis S.K. Kong and Elizabeth Khaxas as they share their life stories with the Fellows

“But I was constantly reminded: ‘You are not part of them, you are a Chinese gay man’. Gay means white, middle class... This is an ongoing topic in my life – talking about gays to gays – about discrimination inside the gay community. ”

Travis S.K. Kong

“I was born and raised in Hong Kong, in a very traditional working-class Chinese family. So when I was young, I was just a boy with a little bit of queer wonder. I didn’t really try anything. I did very well in my studies so I didn’t experience any major bullying. I was particularly drawn to my brother, who’s only three years older than me, but we turned out to have two very different lives. I turned out to be gay and he turned out to be a very committed Christian, even later becoming a missionary.

“The hardest part for me was to come out to my brother. I think he knew something so he just said, ‘Travis, I just want to have a talk to you. Are you gay?’ I just said, ‘Yes, I am,’ and we got into a really long debate. At the end of the day he couldn’t really argue with me, but he said, ‘Travis, I love you but you better not be gay, you had better quit!’ Like alcohol or drugs! Later on he would always try to ‘convert’ me back and would say being gay might be just a phase, but I always defend myself and say ‘If being gay can be a phase, then being a Christian could also be a phase - the next day you might turn into a Buddhist!’

“I became an academic because it offered a way for me to theorize experiences through writing. I lived as an out gay man once I moved to England but quickly became confused: we talked about being gay, about being a ‘family’. But I was constantly reminded: ‘You are not part of them, you are a Chinese gay man’. Gay means white, middle class. This is when I thought about the complicated relationship between racism and sexuality. At gay bars, men commented: ‘Oh wow, you’re so smooth’. Chinese or Asian gay men have tended to equate with femininity, passivity, and subordination under the ‘Western’ eye. This is an ongoing topic in my life – talking about gays to gays – about discrimination inside the gay community, not just about race and ethnicity, but also about age, class, gender, religion, etc., as the gay community is a highly stratified and heterogeneous community. ”

Elizabeth Khaxas is the director of the Women’s Leadership Centre, an organization that promotes feminist leadership among young women from various marginalized sectors of Namibia’s society. She was a teacher and a school principal for 14 years. In 1998, she worked as a Gender Programme Officer for SADC in Gaborone, Botswana. She was a founding and volunteer member of both Women’s Solidarity and Sister Namibia, and wrote extensively for *Sister Namibia* magazine. Khaxas also compiled and edited two volumes of writings by Namibian women. Being an ardent writer of poetry, Khaxas completed her sharing of her story with a poem she wrote upon her conversations with her mother. She allowed us to share her poem in this report.

**“So I bless myself
in creating my own
words
for the way
I love women.”**

Elizabeth Khaxas

*You wished me love
like you never experienced
You wished me marriage
unlike your painful one
You wanted a man to take care of me
No one ever took care of you
Mama why did you think
life would be so different for your
daughter?*

*You said I betrayed
my womanhood by loving a woman
Mama you must admit
that I have tried hard
I sent out my love
to me in all directions
It was thrown back at me
raped, battered and humiliated*

*I recalled myself
the way I love
with wholeness and tenderness
These are not new feelings
I learnt them from you
Finally I knew where
to look for love
you always wished for me*

*I will not bless this relationship you said
You had no words for it
no understanding
So I bless myself
in creating my own words
for the way
I love women*



Elizabeth Khaxas’s poems often reflect on her coming to terms with her sexuality and her love for her wife



Fellows show their gratitude for Kong, Khaxas and Shaw sharing their life stories of transformation

“What role does spirituality play in our lives?,”

From the discussion

The brief conversation following these talks focused on the common theme of spirituality within each narrative. What role has spirituality played in the lives of each presenter? Khaxas explained that the bible played a very important role in her life, but she has also read a lot about other religions as well as about spirituality and feminism. She now looks back and reflects on experiences of ecstasy, of growing love, and emphasized the importance of staying connected with her guides. She sees Christ as a role model of what is possible for us as humans, to also become gods: “Christ is an example of how to become gods and goddesses inside ourselves.”

Kong explained that he gave up Christianity – his life is in a new stage; he has started to do meditation and has become drawn to the idea of spirituality. He talked with a spiritual guide who helped to reconnect himself with his spirit and with his god. He has also gotten into tarot reading. He has found these transformations very fascinating, “trying to connect different fragments of life – connecting body and spirit.”



Top: Fellows Ajub Asfinawati, Travis S.K. Kong, Siti Musdah Mulia, Saskia E. Wieringa, Yinhe Li, Teyo van der Schoot and Paul Jansen take time out between the sessions to enjoy a walk through the Schloss grounds

Middle: Fernanda Milan (r) poses a question from the floor during discussions in Parker Hall, alongside Andriy Maymulakhin and Serhiy Ponomaryov

Bottom: Geeta Misra, Arsham Parsi and Paul Jansen continue their discussions on local organization funding in the Schlosspark



Knowledge Café

Instead of a panel of speakers, the next session consisted of a number of stations offering specific expertise regarding issues that are needed to move LGBT issues forward globally. The session was moderated and organized by John Lotherington, Salzburg Global Seminar program director and formerly the director of the non-profit organization 21st Century Trust (which merged with Salzburg Global in 2007), both of which specialize in bringing together future leaders from around the globe. Given the session's format, the focus of the gathering was on discussing rather than listening. Participants rotated stations every thirty minutes so that, within an hour and a half, everyone was able to visit and discuss the topics at a total of three stations. At each table was a facilitator who gave a brief introduction to the topic, led the discussion, and recorded major points. In this way the session offered a chance to share, exchange and strategize as a group.

Fund-raising and mobilizing public support

Tunggal Pawestri

Hivos, South East Asia, Indonesia

Tunggal Pawestri from Hivos South East Asia, discussed certain obstacles her organization has faced with regards to maintaining funding over long periods of time. Problems included competing for funding with other organizations and a lack of small-size grant options. Others in the group also voiced complaints about holding on to trained employees once a project and its funding had come to an end, and a loss of funding after a region or country loses its 'hot spot' status. For Kashish, a gay and lesbian film festival in India, one solution has been crowd funding. Although it does not typically guarantee a lot of money, it does raise awareness and helps to enable successful events.

Yogyakarta Principles: How to monitor, document and produce reports on the violation of LGBT people's human rights

Ajub Asfinawati

Human rights attorney; former director of Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, Indonesia

At another table, Ajub Asfinawati, a human rights attorney from Indonesia, discussed monitoring, documenting and producing reports on violations of LGBT people's human rights within the context of the Yogyakarta Principles. During the discussion some participants explained that, while the principles may be effective in many Western contexts, in their countries they "amount to little more than a piece of paper". In Iran, for example, international rights documents are understood to be

external to national issues, labeled “internal concerns”. In China, alternatively, a big challenge is getting people aware that LGBT issues might be understood as rights. One promising solution has been to educate LGBT people about human rights and the relevance of rights’ documents to the experiences of persecution and exclusion common to their communities, and thus to ensure that LGBT people are able to identify violations. Participants agreed that it is most helpful for activists to focus on the translation of international human rights law to local contexts.

LGBT related youth subcultures: Observations from a college campus

Zhang Hui

Assistant Professor, East China Normal University, Shanghai, China

Zhang Hui, Assistant Professor in Anthropology from China, discussed addressing LGBT issues among youth in a course he taught on queer theory. Hui discussed the popular interest among young heterosexual girls in male gay characters from Japanese comics or from gay pornography. Despite this interest, however, the same girls voice prejudices towards homosexuality. For others, the course provided an opportunity to reflect on their own prejudices; some even came out as homosexual in their final paper. Given the significance of the economy in China, one participant suggested emphasizing the link between tolerant countries and business success. Another participant discussed the press that a college-based LGBT group received in India, and the ensuing protests from parents about the group as a sort of propaganda for other young people. Participants at the table also discussed the use of the Internet among young people to come out, for example, or to access sex or dating partners, or to learn about safe sex. This led to a discussion about how young people are coming out at an earlier age, and the need to make them aware of the potential consequences of coming out. The use of humor and fun were also suggested as tools for education.



Paul Jansen, Director of the Hivos Johannesburg, South Africa office, discusses how to fund-raise and mobilize support for LGBT activism with Fellows



Ajub Asfinawati (lower left) leads the discussion on use and application of the Yogyakarta Principles with (clockwise) Todd Sekuler, Samira Montiel, Arsham Parsi, Tamara Adrián, Serhiy Ponomaryov, Yoojin Oh and Dan Zhou

The impact of party politics on LGBT rights

Ana Helena Chacon *Former Vice Minister of Security and Member of Parliament, Costa Rica*

Ana Helena Chacón, former politician in Costa Rica, led the discussion on the impact of party politics on LGBT rights. She noted that there are currently 14 countries in the world with positive legislation towards homosexual marriage, four of which are in Latin America: Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. However there are limitations; in Mexico gay marriage is only legal in its capital city and in Brazil only civil union is recognized, not marriage. On transgender issues, Argentina has proven to be a shining example because of its gender identity law, which allows transgender people to change their name in all legal documents without needing judicial approval, as well as getting the necessary medical care for their sex change for no cost at all. All of this is good news, in contrast to the rest of the subcontinent where religious and/or political conservatives have majorities in parliament. Most countries in the region are due to hold elections in the next two years, providing opportunities to work with the political parties, so they will have to take position on the issue of LGBT rights. Those working to advance LGBT rights need to know how the political parties stand on civil union, marriage, the right to adopt, to have shared credit, social security, the right to inherit, the right to change sex and name, and sexual education in schools. To construct a society based on human rights, we need to work with the political parties to promote and approve laws that will not discriminate or exclude certain populations with sexual diversity and other minorities. Ultimately, however, we depend on the electorate to not vote for parties that base their doctrine on hate and discrimination.

How LGBT people can engage online securely

Fadi Saleh

Literary Researcher, Syria

Fadi Saleh led the discussion on the issue of online security amongst LGBT activists within the Arab region. In more oppressive regimes, most LGBT activists depend heavily on social media in order to discuss LGBT rights and issues in their respective countries, mainly because the Internet offers a safe space, where activists are not faced by the same threats of doing activism on the ground. However, during the last few years, arrests based on people's online activism have been on the rise, especially in the Arab world. Thus, the discussion centered on the importance of raising awareness about online security, and the problems one faces when trying to raise awareness when it comes to these issues, especially in countries where people think that their online activities are not being watched, such as in the West. One participant discussed the latest problems arising in the US because of the government's constant surveillance of the Internet and other media. Another participant argued for the importance of raising more awareness concerning Internet rights and the right to online privacy. Other participants discussed the problematic issue of online vs. offline activism, and suggested solutions concerning how to resolve such a distinction and be able to do work on both sides of the dichotomy with minimal risks, without limiting oneself to only this or that form of activism.

Also discussed: The importance of Gay Prides, facilitated by **Romana Schlesinger**,

Executive Director from the Queer Leaders Forum and Rainbow Pride Bratislava, Slovakia.



Previously considered a safe haven, arrests based on people's activism on the Internet have been on the rise, Fadi Saleh, a Syrian researcher currently based in Germany, warned his discussion group's participants, including Amanda Martinez (r)



Fellows Todd Sekuler, Georges Azzi and Fadi Zaghmout continue their discussions with session chair Klaus Mueller beside the Leopoldskroner Teich, the lake next to Schloss Leopoldskron

Culture and Resilience

Short talks, readings, performances & movie clips

Hosted by Amy Lamé, artist and broadcaster from the United Kingdom, Fellows were encouraged to share their creative sides with the group, culminating in a series of brief readings, performances and film clips, some of which were exclusively produced for the session. Participants were offered the stage for 10 minutes and the time was well used to exhibit the wide range of talent from this groundbreaking program on human rights. This session demonstrated the power that various forms of art offer for feeling, surviving, coping, educating, communicating, and exploring the troubles as much as the joys, and the simplicities as much as the complexities of life.



Fadi Zaghmout reads an excerpt of his acclaimed novel *Aroos Amman*, translated from Arabic into English specially for the session

Fadi Zaghmout read an excerpt from his first book, *Aroos Amman*, in which he addresses – for the first time in Jordan – some critical LGBT issues, including marriages initiated to hide homosexuality and raids of homosexual spaces by police. The book has been very successful in Jordan, but it has not yet been translated into English. For this reading, Fadi was able, in cooperation with a kind translator, to translate one chapter into English from which he shared an excerpt:

Dozens of men had been arrested, but within a few hours several had been released. The guys they released were the more butch-looking ones, because, the way they police saw it, being gay was associated with looking effeminate. They released the foreigners because they hadn't been the target of the arrest operation and also to avoid any diplomatic complications. Then they released anyone from influential families, after they were inundated with phone calls. And finally, they released everyone who was wearing white boxer shorts, on the grounds that, in their minds, being gay was also associated with a Western influence. As Egyptian underpants are traditionally white, anyone wearing underwear of any other color was clearly under the spell of the West and was morally depraved. Unfortunately, the boxers Tamer was wearing that night, an international brand from a new store that had just opened in Cairo a few months earlier, were green.

Other highlights included self-written poetry from two speakers from the session on life stories earlier in the day, **Elizabeth Khaxas** and **Josephine Shaw**. Whilst Khaxas is a seasoned poetry writer and performer, Shaw was sharing her poetry for the first time in public.

Hella...hella
Our daughter has come home
Hella...hella
The one who has been cast away is home
let us dance and rejoice today
Shame on those who do not acknowledge
my daughter's homecoming
The African!
Shame on those who treated my daughter
as the stepchild of this continent
Lesbian, gay, transgender, transsexual, bisexual, heterosexual...
The image of the goddess, all of them...
Sons and daughter of Africa
Gods and goddesses!
Much beloved, know that nothing will separate you
from the love which is you
No homophobic dictators
No rejecting parents and siblings
No religion
No sodomy law
What took you so long to find your way home, daughter?
We have prepared a feast for you
Let all the world behold
Our daughter has arrived
The lesbian
The African lesbian
Sela...sela...
Africa
rejoice!

Elizabeth Khaxas, Director, Women's Leadership Centre



Josephine Shaw shared her poetry with the group

Ursa Major

*I have wandered back into this city,
like water wanders when forced up
and out and under pressure, then drops
on to nodding grass, drawn along a gradient.*

*My gradient, my magnet, took me here.
Felt unwanted - no city wants you.
Cities, like cats, watch you from distance.
But then you push other elbows away,*

*learn to love, and to love the distant
calling sirens which say this is real,
this has blood and human heat.
This has voltage.*

*I often sit and pick out remembered stars
in a shared sky above. Listening
to the robins that like to sing
at night around here.*

Josephine Shaw, *Trans Activist and Co-Founder of Trans Media Watch*

“These interviews aim to capture how the complexity – flux, ambiguity and contradiction – of their lives are interwoven with Hong Kong history. ”

Travis S.K. Kong

Travis S.K. Kong presented a short documentary film he specially made for this session, in which he interviewed Chinese older gay men, with whom he had been in contact with for many years.

“This ‘gay and grey’ project is my dream project as I found older gay men have been absent in LGBT studies, aging studies, and social history studies in Hong Kong. They are the missing [piece of the] puzzle of local gay history and also the ‘minority of the minority’ in LGBT social services and aging services. I have been conducting oral history of older [60+ years old] gay men in Hong Kong since 2009. I have interviewed 15 such men and have regular contacts with five or six of them. In this video I talked to three interviewees about their lives, first to recapture their past – how they realized their same-sex desires, how they found other men of the same kind when homosexuality was still a criminal offence, how they felt discriminations against their sexual orientation; and secondly to understand their present lives – how they felt being gay and being old and, for some, who have been living as a gay man married to a woman. These interviews aim to capture how the complexity – flux, ambiguity and contradiction – of their lives are interwoven with Hong Kong history. I hoped this little video can help us understand older Chinese gay men in particular but aging sexuality in general. ”

Another video, *I Am You: I Am A Picture Of You* presented by **Thilaga Sulathireh** from Malaysia, is specifically designed to raise awareness regarding the trans community, in hopes to foster understanding and promote tolerance and acceptance towards trans people and subsequently bridge the gap between the trans community and society. The video and more information are available here: <http://mytransally.weebly.com>

Laia Ribera Cañénguez presented and narrated photos of the play “AFUERA” she co-wrote and performs as a team about the experiences of being lesbian in Central American societies.



Laia Ribera Cañénguez shares photos of her play AFUERA

Tamara Adrián presented a new video, entitled *The Riddle* from the UN human rights office promoting the rights of LGBT people, in which she appeared. In the video, individuals from diverse backgrounds pose questions directly to the viewer designed to expose the nature of human rights violations suffered by LGBT people around the world. It also includes cameo appearances by UN Secretary-General and High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay. You can find the video with English, French, Spanish, Italian and Korean captions on YouTube: <http://youtu.be/sYFNW1-sM8>

Two Sides of a Coin?

Is the globalization of LGBT identities and human rights mirrored by an increasing global distribution of homo- and transphobia?

Klaus Mueller *Session Chair; Museums Consultant, Germany*
(Moderator)

Shereen El-Feki *Author “Sex and the Citadel” and Vice-Chair, Global Commission on HIV and the Law, UNDP, Egypt*

Ty Cobb *Senior Legislative Counsel, Human Rights Campaign, United States*

Paola Amadei *Head of Delegation for the European Union to Jamaica*

Faculty Chair Klaus Mueller moderated the first panel of the third day on the globalization of LGBT identities and its impact on the global distribution of homo- and transphobia. In his introduction, Mueller explained that the panel zooms out to general questions of sexuality and gender and asks how this translates into professional fields as diverse as an EU ambassador, a human rights adviser and an author. According to Mueller, “our previous discussion already showed how LGBT issues are connected to larger questions of gender and sexuality.”

Paola Amadei, Head of the Delegation for the European Union to Jamaica, opened the discussion with a brief overview of the recent rush of changes she has observed with regards to human rights and LGBT issues. Article 13 from the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam was the first to address discrimination based on sexual orientation by suggesting that a state might act on it; the 2000 charter on human rights was more concrete by prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation in the workplace. She then described a 2002 proposal at the UN to exclude the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) from accreditation, demonstrating the limited and lethargic impact these laws have on practice, even at the level of the UN. It took until 2010 for the EU to develop a so-called Toolkit on LGBT Rights aimed at providing “staff in the EU Headquarters, EU Member States’ capitals, EU Delegations, Representations and Embassies with an operational set of tools to be used in contacts with third countries, as well as with international and civil society organizations in order to promote and protect the human rights enjoyed by LGBT people within its external action.” The toolkit provides a very encompassing list of possible and suggested actions, ranging from monitoring and reporting, conducting

“There is a need for local voices and education about locally experienced discrimination. One promising solution has been to support local organizations without publicizing such support. ”

Paola Amadei



Paola Amadei cautioned that pushing for LGBT equality in some parts of the Global South is sometimes rejected as colonial

“History offers another resource for breaking taboos as the prophet Mohamed talked openly about sexuality. Thus, important historical figures from the region saw sex as a reflection of creativity and an aspect of empowerment and well-being. There is a need to rediscover that sentiment. ”

Shereen El-Feki

formal démarches, assisting court hearings, visiting people in detention, and encouraging visiting dignitaries to include the issue in their agenda.

Amadei then discussed the situation in Jamaica, where homophobia remains prevalent, presenting two central challenges. Firstly, compared with other rights issues, LGBT rights (along with the rights of prisoners) remain “controversial”. There is a willingness to acknowledge relevant violations but authorities insist that these violations are exceptionally not as serious as other rights issues. Secondly, guidelines that were used successfully to help promote the rights of the child do not seem to work for promoting and protecting LGBT rights. These challenges exist in part because related actions are often read as coming from colonial powers – from the Global North – and so activity from that region may only aggravate the problem. Thus, there is a need for local voices and education about locally experienced discrimination. One promising solution has been to support local organizations without publicizing such support.

The next speaker, Shereen El-Feki, discussed her recent book on sexuality and gender in the Arab world. Whilst sexual rights are seen as coming from the West, HIV provided a route to approach these topics during her five years of research because rates are rising in the region despite claims to the contrary. The only acceptable context for sex in the Arab world is marriage, explained El-Feki, but more and more people are not getting married due in part to high rates of unemployment. Although there are more women than men in universities in certain areas, many are not married because they cannot find a suitable husband, and thus are not supposed to have sex. Even in wedlock, however, women are not

supposed to explore or express their sexuality. LGBT issues are also taboo as they are seen to originate from the West. Sex education is extremely limited and medical practitioners are themselves unaware and stigmatizing. All the same, local communities are building solutions; some have succeeded in securing sex education. History offers another resource for breaking taboos, explained El-Feki, as the prophet Mohamed talked openly about sexuality. Thus, important historical figures from the region saw sex as a reflection of creativity and an aspect of empowerment and well-being. According to El-Feki, “there is a need to rediscover that sentiment.”

The final speaker, Ty Cobb, Senior Legislative Counsel from the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) in the US, explained that, despite its title, HRC advocates solely for LGBT rights and until now has focused primarily on the United States. However, there is new need to look abroad, he explained, ever since international debate began about the intended punishment of homosexuality in Uganda with the death penalty. US evangelicals had been promoting homophobia in Uganda prior to the creation of the proposed law, and thus they were involved with, but not the cause of its conception. Among many others, the then-US Secretary of State, and thus the USA’s most senior diplomat, Hillary Clinton voiced her opposition to the law, signaling a transformation in the role of the US with regards to LGBT rights on an international stage. It is with this background that there is an interest in HRC to create an international program, its form and content now being in development. Strengths of the HRC include influencing US corporations on LGBT inclusion, lobbying the state department and congress to support LGBT issues, and creating cultural change on a national level. The HRC has been conducting research on

“What are the expectations for the HRC from leaders outside of the US? How might a domestic group in the US best impact the international field given these available skills? ”

Ty Cobb



Sex and sexuality has not always been so taboo in Islam explained Sheeren El-Feki

“Mobilize funds and choose your labels wisely. HIV has been a successful frame; perhaps focusing on the family would be another. ”

Shereen El-Feki

the strategies of the far right for decades; it also offers programmatic work with families, foster care, and religious communities. The organization already works with the press and media and it has 1.7 million members, and thus the ability to educate on a large scale. With these skills, Cobb concluded by asking: What are the expectations for the HRC from leaders outside of the US? How might a domestic group in the US best impact the international field given these available skills?

The strength of the HRC, one audience member proposed during the discussion, is in news and media, and therefore his suggestion was for the HRC to take international issues and bring them to the US-based media – perhaps by broadcasting interviews with activists. Another respondent asked Cobb if the HRC focus on the gay marriage debate is a conservative politic, to which he replied that equal access is the goal, not the promotion of marriage. One participant asked Amadei about the potential benefits of restricting aid to Jamaica if they do not conform to international human rights standards. According to Amadei, however, this would only feed the problem. Instead she suggested continued engagement and dialogue. Amadei also relayed that there are non-obligatory guidelines for ambassadors regarding whether or not to intervene in local contexts during rights violations. A participant asked El-Feki about how to engage with the Arab world as a politician, academic, or activist. “Mobilize funds and choose your labels wisely,” she replied. HIV has been a successful frame; perhaps focusing on the family would be another.



Despite the focus on the gay marriage debate in the US, HRC is not trying to enforce heteronormative conservatism on the LGBT community, explained Ty Cobb; equal access is the goal, not the promotion of marriage

Global Development and Co-operation

What do local organizations really need?

Paul Jansen
(Moderator)

Director of the Johannesburg Office, Hivos, South Africa

Georges Azzi

Executive Director, Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality, Lebanon

Samira Montiel

Ombudsperson for Sexual Diversity, Ombudsman's Officer for Human Rights, Nicaragua

Ian Southey-Swartz

LGBTI Program Manager, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, South Africa

Paul Jansen, director of the Hivos office in Johannesburg, moderated the panel on the needs of local LGBT organizations. Jansen himself is very familiar with supporting local organizations in his work with international development. Even before he started working at Hivos, he worked with various other international development organizations, including the Population Services Lanka in Sri Lanka where he was the project coordinator for the relief programs for internally displaced persons. Given this familiarity and sensitivity to the needs of local groups, he asked the speakers about the needs of their organizations.

The first speaker was Georges Azzi, Executive Director of the Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality in Lebanon. In recognizing the uprisings that have occurred throughout the Arab world, Azzi proposed that it is not the right time to discuss LGBT rights directly within these movements, but that there is nonetheless space for joining and integrating into them as LGBT people and allies. Among major obstacles in the region, Azzi highlighted that in Lebanon existing laws forbid political organizing. He also stressed that laws are different in each context: although most Arab countries have legal texts against sexual contact outside of heterosexual marriage, some countries have French anti-sodomy laws and others have British ones. Azzi also discussed a lack of security for LGBT persons and activists, and a myopic focus on LGBT-specific issues when money would be better spent on access to food or housing. “Donors need to be ready to listen to local activists and change their focus if needs be.” Azzi then described several programs by the Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality, including a one-year social change program that helps build capacities identified as important by interested activists, and a security program that analyzes the legal texts that can be used against sexual rights activists and the laws that can be used to protect them. He also described steps the local LGBT organization used to fight anal exams as a test for homosexual behavior in Lebanon: they first approached the national syndicate of doctors to confirm that

“Donors need to be ready to listen to local activists and change their focus if needs be. ”

Georges Azzi



Top, this page: Karen Beale (r) and Johnpromise Ikenna Umeozuru continue discussions on the Schloss Terrace

Middle, this page: Klaus Mueller poses a question to Paola Amadei (l) during the Two Sides of a Coin? panel discussion with Ty Cobb and Shereen El-Feki

Bottom, this page: Ajub Asfinawati and Yoojin Oh in Parker Hall

Top, facing page: Kasha Jacqueline Nabagesera introduces herself alongside John Lotherington (l), Saskia E. Wieringa and Ana Helena Chacón in the Great Hall of Schloss Leopoldskron

Middle, facing page: Laia Ribera Cañénguez (c) discusses the role of art in LGBT activism with resident session artist Lyno Vuth (l) and Sridhar Rangayan

Bottom left, facing page: Arsham Parsi and Marc Pachter talk on the Schloss Terrace

Bottom right, facing page: Matthew Weinert (c) takes notes as Fellows listen to the discussion on the Power of Money



“LGBT organizations need to get over themselves! Your agenda can’t always be LGBT because in some situations it will take you nowhere. ”

Ian Southey-Swartz



Ian Southey-Swartz challenged the Fellows by declaring that they needed to “get over themselves”

there is no medical support that these tests are accurate, before then approaching the ministry of justice and the police.

Ian Southey-Swartz from the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, as a representative from a funding institute, outlined strategies interested parties might use to improve their chances of securing funding. Over all, he challenged the group by saying, “LGBT organizations need to get over themselves!” For Southey-Swartz that means looking at the current important issues in your area and expanding your agenda to include those topics. This may mean simply to position your organization with regards to major issues or to be a knowledgeable and clever part of a larger conversation about those issues. “Your agenda can’t always be LGBT,” he explained, “because in some situations it will take you nowhere.” Another suggestion is to embed your organization within a broader human rights agenda. An important part of such a move would be the development of ally organizations, such as with organizations of sex workers, women’s groups, HIV-positive groups, ethnic minorities or indigenous minorities. The mechanisms of social exclusion are similar for all of these groups, and there is a shared interest in the promotion of human rights for everyone. Southey-Swartz then warned of the usurpation of human rights language by conservative movements, and of the importance of creating a healthy relationship between organizations in the Global South and the Global North. During the discussion one Fellow suggested: “The language of economics is more universal,” to which Southey-Swartz agreed. This is especially true as human rights rhetoric from Western nations can be seen as an ‘imperial’, non-indigenous imposition to some Global South governments. Southey-Swartz also pointed out that the human rights agenda has proven less successful for the emerging economic powers.

Finally, Samira Montiel, the Ombudsperson for Sexual Diversity within the office of the Ombudsman for Human Rights in Nicaragua, discussed the issues affecting local organizations in Central and South America. Despite the progressive laws in Argentina, other Central and South American countries are remarkably dangerous for LGBT people, especially Honduras and Mexico. In Montiel's home country of Nicaragua, there have been improvements in this area: homosexuality was decriminalized in 2008 and soon after the government increased support for sexual diversity, prompting recognition on both national and UN levels. These successes are possible elsewhere as countries throughout the region offer democratic institutions and frameworks for change. All the same, support is primarily available for male homosexuals and HIV/AIDS sufferers; there is limited financial support for lesbians and trans issues. Transgender people face problems while voting if the gender they present does not match the gender on their ID. In ways such as this, trans people are denied rights of citizens afforded to others.



Kasha Jacqueline Nabagesera, founder of Uganda LGBT rights organization Freedom and Roam Uganda, poses a question during the discussion on the needs of local organizations

Montiel also highlighted the social, political and especially economic influence of the Catholic Church in Latin America: "The biggest threat at the moment in Latin America is religious fundamentalism. The churches have a great economic power, which is in no way comparable with that of the LGBTI organizations." She proposed that international corporations should offer a source of support in dealing with this unequal fight, but it is important that they do not influence the politics of the movement. "Discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity is structural, is institutionalized," she emphasized, "therefore, the answers need to be structural, aimed at changing social paradigms, policies etc. The basis for this is the education system." Two comments from the audience underscored that (1) social pressures in the region inhibit the reporting of violence in certain contexts, so available statistics are inaccurate, and that (2) religious women constitute potential allies for building dialogue and change within the church.

“Discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity is structural, is institutionalized, therefore the answers need to be structural, aimed at changing social paradigms, policies etc. The basis for this is the education system. ”

Samira Montiel

“I promised myself that I would raise awareness about LGBT identities, work for refugees, develop a project on HIV/AIDS, write an autobiography and become president of Iran...The position as president of Iran will soon be vacant. ”

Arsham Parsi

Violence and Trauma

When does global outrage improve or endanger the safety and security of local LGBT communities?

Tamara Adrián *Human rights activist; Professor at Central University, Venezuela*
(Moderator)

Arsham Parsi *Executive Director, Iranian Railroad for Queer Refugees, Iran*

Kasha Jacqueline Nabagesera *Founder, Freedom and Roam Uganda, Uganda*

Andriy Maymulakhin *Coordinator, Nash Mir (Our World) Gay & Lesbian Center, Ukraine*

Marko Karadzic *Former State Secretary for Human and Minority Rights, Serbia*

The Venezuelan lawyer, law professor and human rights activist, Tamara Adrián, moderated the discussion on violence and trauma within LGBT communities. Arsham Parsi – an Iranian LGBT Human Rights activist who lives in exile in Canada, and founding director of the Iranian Railroad for Queer Refugees (IRQR) – opened the panel by relaying to the audience that he has two birthdays: one from his middle class family on the day of his birth; the other on the day of his arrival in Canada, marking the beginning of a successful application for refugee status and citizenship. As an out gay man fighting for LGBT rights in Iran, he was forced to flee to Turkey in 2005 where he applied for asylum; his family, also targeted for violence and discrimination, was later forced to do the same. Upon leaving Iran and particularly after two friends committed suicide, Parsi made himself the following commitments: “I promised myself that I would raise awareness about LGBT identities, work for refugees, develop a project on HIV/AIDS, write an autobiography and become president of Iran.” He has since established the Iranian railroad for queer refugees, the Iranian Queer HIV Network, PGLAG Iran and the first volume of his autobiography is now complete. He then smiled coyly, remarking: “The position as president of Iran will soon be vacant.”

“Uganda is loud,” Kasha Jacqueline Nabagesera, the next speaker said, “but criminalization laws are all over Pan-Africa.” Nabagesera is the founder of the gay rights organization Freedom and Roam Uganda. Several people from the US took advantage of Uganda’s poverty and weak society, she explained, promoting fear of an invasive and dangerous “gay agenda”. A law currently under discussion in Parliament would make it illegal to reveal one’s homosexuality and even a landlord



Marko Karadzic (r) shares his traumatic experience in the Serbian government alongside panelists Andriy Maymulakhin, Kasha Jacqueline Nabagesera, moderator Tamara Adrian, and Arsham Parsi.

or family member could face a prison sentence for not disclosing the homosexuality of others. Nabagesera explained that she has always been gay and only later as an adult found out it was illegal; with nothing to lose, she then became an activist. The global community has been helpful in preventing the proposed legislation from becoming law. All the same, well-intentioned politicians and campaigners – threatening to withhold aid or medicine – are not listening to local activists, generating a backlash from the Ugandan people towards LGBT people in Uganda and violence toward Ugandan representatives around the globe. Nabagesera then quoted political positions in opposition to homosexuality in other countries including Cameron, Gambia, Namibia and Botswana. Even in South Africa, where laws are the most progressive, there are more reported hate crimes than in Uganda.

Ukraine is still between Western Europe and the Soviet Republics, explained Andriy Maymulakhin, director of the LGBT rights organization Nash Mir. Politicians publicly embrace integration and European values but they are also economically dependent on Russia. During the liberalization of the government this past May, for example, the only bill to be blocked was on the integration of LGBT rights into labor law. During an LGBT march in Kiev, about 50 percent of participants were foreigners, feeding into the notion that homosexuality is coming from the West. It is therefore critical to reflect on and translate strategies, Maymulakhin concluded, rather than simply copy them. International pressure has been helpful in as much as access to politicians is limited. Nonetheless, this must be well balanced with local organizations and initiatives. Society is not so easily changed, Maymulakhin acknowledged: “Like a buffalo”, he said, “it is slow and difficult to turn, but it could be very angry and dangerous.”

“Well-intentioned politicians and campaigners – threatening to withhold aid or medicine – are not listening to local activists, generating a backlash from the Ugandan people towards LGBT people in Uganda.”

Kasha Jacqueline Nabagesera

“Society, like a buffalo, is slow and difficult to turn, but it could be very angry and dangerous.”

Andriy Maymulakhin

The final speaker, Marko Karadzic from Serbia, admitted that he only in retrospect considered his experiences during his job as Former Serbian State Secretary for Human and Minority Rights as traumatic. Assigned to represent the ministry in public, he became the most visible government representative dealing with human rights, and also became the most vocal government official supporting LGBT rights. He received little support from fellow politicians, and yet received no official criticism or rebuke. The government needed people like Karadzic, he explained, who supported the values of the EU. However, only six months after becoming State Secretary, his assistant was fired, the use of an official car was often banned, his phone switched off, and all assistant ministers broke communication with him. Additionally, the Ministry for the Interior ignored repeated concerns he expressed about his personal safety. Building trust and relationships with media representatives became a priority – “They had the power to address attitudes and encourage behavioral change.” On the other hand, the media opened up space for ultra-nationalist groups to promote values that were against human rights and equality. Indeed, Karadzic’s name and photo were on many websites of ultra-nationalist, violent groups in Serbia. Someone broke into his apartment during this time, and he received threats via phone and e-mail. The newspapers were informing the public of the minister’s attempts to replace him, and his sexual orientation was used as the main reason for his substitution. “It was one of the hardest periods in my life,” Karadzic explained. In September 2010, overwhelmed with fear, anger, and a sense of powerlessness, he resigned. All the same, he acknowledged one important moment of international help on LGBT rights issues during his term: when the Church was forced to back down from attempts to block an anti-discrimination law due to pressure from abroad. He also recognized the importance of friends and family for emotional support – the only people he could trust and believe in at the time. (Further information and insight from Karadzic on his story is available here: <http://www.beyondintractability.org/reflection/karadzic-lgbt.>)



The session concluded with a moment of silence in memory of those who have been lost in this tragic and thus all the more urgent fight for LGBT rights.

Ways of Seeing Ourselves

Klaus Mueller *Session Chair; Museums Consultant, Germany*
(Moderator)

Zanele Muholi *Photographer and Visual Activist, South Africa*

Lyno Vuth *Artist, Cambodia*

The day concluded with the presentation of two visual artists – Lyno Vuth and Zanele Muholi – and their works, hosted by session chair Klaus Mueller. Although this session constituted the first official moment to discuss his works, the photos of the first artist, Lyno Vuth from Cambodia, were on display throughout the duration of the session, in an exhibition developed with Mueller and jointly mounted with the help of two Salzburg Global Seminar interns, Edward Thacker and Jaime DyBuncio. The exhibition shown at Salzburg Global Seminar was Mr. Vuth’s first show in Europe. Vuth is an artist, curator and artistic director of Sa Sa Art Projects – a Phnom Pehn community-based, knowledge-sharing platform and experimental art program.

One group of photos that Vuth discussed with Mueller consisted of portraits of nine Cambodian men who have sex with men, all disguised by having their faces covered in paint. The pictures are from the exhibition *Thoamada*, which means ‘normal’, ‘everyday’ and ‘commonplace’, and originated from a project in which Vuth invited these men to discuss issues related to sex, gender and sexual orientation. At the end of the workshop he asked the men to pose for a photograph, but they were reluctant because they did not want to be identifiable. He then proposed that they paint their faces to conceal their identity, and they were happy to do so – some with more paint, some with less. Although they were still recognizable once they finished painting, they were then willing to be photographed, signaling a transformation that had occurred, according to Vuth, as a result of the workshop.



From Lyno Vuth’s collection *Thoamada*. The artist’s work was shown for the first time in Europe at Schloss Leopoldskron for the Salzburg Global Seminar session ‘LGBT and Human Rights: New Challenges, Next Steps’

A second group of Vuth's photos, from the exhibit *Thoamada II*, followed from the first and explores the family contexts, dynamics and memories of LGBT people in Cambodia. During their conversation, Mueller asked Vuth to explain the circumstance and staging of several of the photographs: "I interviewed people together with their families, inviting them to share their stories and journey. After the conversation, I asked them to pose for two different photographs. One was a simple family portrait inside their house. They decided on their dress and pose. For the second photograph, I asked them to collectively choose a memory to re-enact, improvised with their belongings and surroundings." In addition, a narrative is offered to audiences in the titles and texts accompanying the images. In *The Salt Seeker*, for example, the text reads:

I met my wife during the Pol Pot regime when we were digging a canal opposite each other... During rice transplanting month, I went to ask for some salt from her, but she refused... During harvest month, we met again and started to talk, and we fell in love... This love is difficult, because they didn't let us meet... After 1979, we didn't get married properly but we created wedding rituals. I play the role of head of the family, as husband and with her as a wife, and we have adopted three children – two daughters and a son – and have six grandchildren. My children call me dad, and my grandchildren call me granddad.



'The Salt Seeker': From Lyno Vuth's collection *Thoamada II*. The artist's work was shown for the first time in Europe at Schloss Leopoldskron for the Salzburg Global Seminar session 'LGBT and Human Rights: New Challenges, Next Steps'

The second artist, Zanele Muholi from South Africa, captures the lives and love of black lesbians in post-Apartheid South Africa. She has worked as a community relationship officer for the Forum for the Empowerment of Women and as a photographer and reporter for *Behind the Mask*, an online magazine on lesbian and gay issues in Africa. Her solo exhibition, *Only Half the Picture*, traveled to the Market Photo Workshop in Johannesburg and the Afrovibes Festival in Amsterdam.

During her presentation of her work, Muholi introduced photos from several of her exhibitions, all of which deal with black lesbian sexuality, and often also with



Award-winning visual activist Zanele Muholi specializes in photographing black South African lesbian to document their history for posterity

taboo topics such as interracial relations or HIV/AIDS education. The photos are typically of close friends, often in very intimate situations, and represent the black female body in a frank yet intimate way that challenges the history of the portrayal of black women's bodies in documentary photography. She thus considers herself a visual activist and not just a photographer. In as much as the photos are often of friends, and especially of couples, she also discussed the troubles she has faced exhibiting the photos once the photographed relationships come to an end. The meaning and importance of the moment captured in the photos continue to impact long after the relationships are over.

Muholi explained* why she believes photographing this marginalized group is important:

“If I even talk about the work that I’m doing on black lesbians, I’m not doing it for myself. I’m doing it for the younger generation; I’m doing it for the older generation, who never, who were never even given the opportunity to open their mouths... And why black specifically is because as black people, they don’t have a tangible history that is captured by us on us. For the longest time, black history had been captured by the outsiders, as if we never existed. From our mothers to our fathers, to our great-grandfathers,” she added. “I think one has to find ways to re-write the history, for our own great-grandchildren. For them to know that we were once here and for them to understand fully the resistance and other struggles, that we still encounter...now. ”

Muholi's tender, sometimes very intimate portraits and videos of black lesbian South Africans challenge her audience's perceptions of what distinguishes art from documentary and activism, as was proven by the long-running debates continued by Fellows throughout the rest of the week, long after her photograph and video viewing was over.

*Muholi was speaking to Salzburg Global Seminar Editor Louise Hallman in an interview following her first Salzburg Global Fellowship, at the February 2013 session 'Power in Whose Palm? The Digital Democratization of Photography'. The full interview is available here: www.salzburgglobal.org/go/muholi

Social Media and LGBT Identities in the 21st Century

Access, distribution, new social spaces and limitations

Nazeeha Saeed *Journalist, France 24, Bahrain*
(Moderator)

Amy Lamé *Artist and Broadcaster, United Kingdom*

Lesego Tlhwale *Blogger, Inkanyiso.org, South Africa*

Fadi Zaghmout *Blogger and Founder of Arab Observer, Jordan*

The first event of the penultimate day was a conversation on social media and LGBT identities moderated by Nazeeha Saeed, the Bahrain correspondent for Radio Monte Carlo and France 24. Saeed was heavily involved in the coverage of the events in Bahrain during the uprising in 2011, and brought her experience as a journalist working for mainstream media into leading this round-table conversation.

The first to contribute to the discussion was Lesego Tlhwale, blogger for Inkanyiso.org. Tlhwale introduced Inkanyiso, an organization founded by the visual activist Zanele Muholi in 2006 that uses artistic and visual activist contributions from around South Africa to advocate for and promote LGBT rights. The Inkanyiso blog, to which Tlhwale contributes, publishes personal stories, poems and creative writing of LGBT individuals in South Africa and was created in response to the lack of visual histories and skills training produced by and for LGBT persons, especially artists from South Africa. Tlhwale stressed that media is a form of activism, and thus she stressed the value of social media such as Inkanyiso for engaging in political dialogue and change via artistic contributions. Although the blog is in English, a team of activists helps to enable contributions from LGBT people throughout South Africa, and not just from persons who speak English. She emphasized: the team works to preserve all texts they receive as original and personal as possible because that is how the authors intend for them to be told.

Second to contribute to the discussion was Amy Lamé, artist and broadcaster from the United Kingdom. Lamé started her career in media as a travel presenter for a prime time gay television show in the UK, and so she was able to travel the world to report on places and people of interest to LGBT viewers. Given the content of the show, she never had to come out as a lesbian; it was clear from the start. She continued to develop her career in television, and then in radio, and later



Nazeeha Saeed explains how social media and mainstream media can differ in covering minority issues

entered print journalism as her real passion was writing. She wrote about travel and food, but emphasized that work on these seemingly light-hearted topics were indeed powerful as she traveled with her partner and was able to integrate their relationship into her stories. Traditional media outlets such as newspapers have lost readership, Lamé lamented, and the online and blog spaces have become much more important. To respond to these changes, Lamé started her own podcast, called Homolab, which focuses on LGBT issues. She also works in partnership with the website Gaystar News, in part to increase the number of people listening to her podcast. The podcast is 30 minutes: 10 minutes focusing on news from Gaystar and then the rest of the time conducting interviews with celebrities or discussing news from around the world.

Nazeeha Saeed, journalist from Bahrain, was the next person to speak, and focused on the relation between mainstream media and social media, and which spaces both offer to report on sexuality and gender issues. Saeed relayed that it would be difficult to discuss LGBT issues openly in mainstream media in Bahrain. Nonetheless, journalists have in the past discussed certain problems transgender people face, including difficulties in court regarding efforts to change a person's legally recognized gender. Saeed's own work, she explained, has focused on women and human rights. She has specifically covered issues of rape and other experiences of violence directed at women, as well as the right of a child to access the nationality of his or her parents. She clarified that she covers "issues that are not otherwise covered by the mainstream media". For Saeed, social media has introduced new possibilities for engaging with otherwise taboo topics: it provided a chance to see what is happening in other regions and countries, and even in Bahrain, and provided the ability to do something about it – by writing about it.



British broadcaster Amy Lamé started her own podcast - HomoLab - in addition to her traditional media work

The final speaker, Fadi Zaghmout, is founder of the blog the Arab Observer in Jordan. In particular, Zaghmout discussed the challenges and advantages he faced with regards to anonymity on his blog: users were encouraged to write what they wanted and to remain anonymous, but then paranoia arose as information from the blog appeared in the mainstream media. In Jordan, Zaghmout explained, online newspapers have overshadowed the blogging world. Even on Twitter, those with the widest audience are either political or religious leaders, or celebrity personalities. In response to a question about the media response to a book he wrote about homosexuality, he relayed that he received much support in the form of interviews and positive reviews. In one interview, he corrected the journalist when she used homophobic language. Moments such as these are thus also subtle opportunities for change.

Following these presentations, the session chair Klaus Mueller, used the opportunity to discuss with the group how to best deal with photos and postings on Facebook and other public media sources to which participants are connected throughout and following the seminar. The context of the seminar is not exempt from these and other safety concerns, nor is it disconnected from the volatile and shifting environments many LGBT people face around the world. Indeed, many were taking photos throughout the conference, and people were blogging live about the seminar's events. Consequently, all participants were encouraged to make it known if they do not want to appear in photos from the session or by name in the program's proceedings.

During the discussion, Lamé responded to a question about the death of print media, suggesting hopefully that we might see a revival. Another person recommended the Arabic satellite series "Four" as an interesting case in as much

as the show's storyline is driven by viewers over Facebook, and has dealt with questions about masculinity and gender relations.

Another question prompted a discussion about the need to develop credibility as a blogger compared with journalists from established newspapers, citing one well-known case of an American man who pretended to be a lesbian blogger from Syria. One commenter highlighted that blogs are indeed sexed, gendered and raced: Writing in English communicates wealth, and may thus render you safer than bloggers writing in Arabic. Journalists around the world, others noted, have been arrested for criticizing the government.

For transgender people, one participant explained, online spaces are at times the only spaces where they can be themselves. Someone else pointed out that many people have no access to the Internet; the radio is a more powerful tool for reaching the masses in certain regions. In a concluding comment, Mueller reminded of the use of membership and other lists during the pursuit of homosexual men in Nazi Germany and asked the question how today we would deal with systematic state-sponsored persecution based on the surplus of information available through social media.



Lesago Tlhale's blog Inkanyiso shares stories of South Africa's LGBT community in their own languages

The Power of Money

How will the corporate world and philanthropy impact LGBT issues in the 21st century, and what are potential draw-backs?

Clare Shine
(Moderator)

Chief Program Officer, Salzburg Global Seminar, Austria

Geetanjali Misra

Executive Director, CREA, India

“We can talk to everyone but we don’t know who is listening! ”

From the discussion

During this conversation about the impact of the corporate world and philanthropy on LGBT issues, Salzburg Global Seminar’s Vice-President and Chief Program Officer, Clare Shine, engaged in a dialogue on the lakeside terrace of the Schloss Leopoldskron with Geetanjali Misra, the executive director of CREA in India. Among the challenges of the growing relations between LGBT activism and the corporate world, the conversation emphasized regional differences in the flow of money and how to ensure the continuity of funding and not just be “the flavor of the month”. To address some of these challenges, Misra made the following five recommendations:

Define long-term goals

What would success look like over a 10- or even a 30-year time frame? Clearly communicate the vision of society you are helping to build through your work.

Demonstrate that you have the right tools for society-building

Explain how the work for which you seek funding helps us deal with difference in a structured way and delivers benefits that meet the goals of corporate social responsibility, the private sector in general, as well as other stakeholders.

Define win-wins as concretely as possible

This may entail using positive images and terms, such as “social cohesion”, “reduced violence”, “employee retention”, or “positive consumer response”, and may mean that you do not rely on human rights goals alone.

Build strategic alliances focused on shared interests

Try to avoid fragmentation and rivalry between different subparts of the LGBT community and create imaginative coalitions with different categories of groups working for social justice, including for example groups focused on disability, religion, gender, or the environment. “Don’t move up the sexual hierarchy ladder – remove the ladder!”

Talk the language of business and NGOs

Applications should have clear criteria to demonstrate return on investments to the donor and should include evidence that they will follow through on that return.

During the discussion, one person suggested working with corporations without using the language of LGBT – “move away from alphabet soup” – or else engaging in dialogue but in closed spaces where corporate representatives feel they are in safety and privacy. Go into their comfort zone, the person suggested: “work alongside them secretly but in their language.” “We can talk to everyone but we don’t know who is listening!” one Fellow exclaimed exasperatedly. Another person suggested approaching HR departments rather than marketing or finance departments – employee retention is important and so companies want to keep their LGBT employees happy. Good targets are organizations that already have protection policies based on sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression.

One participant asked how to convince potential funders that transgender issues are important when there is so much ignorance or stigma on these issues. The answer seemed to suggest that one must find the right funders – some organizations are paying more attention to transgender issues at the moment. One should also know the funder, another person suggested – do they have an internal policy that reflects the politics you are trying to support? Bring them into your spaces so they can get acquainted with the issues you’re working on. Another solution is to build strategic alliances so that money might be shared across groups and organizations: “If you can’t convince a donor to fund you, get the organizations that do get money to change their attitudes and understand your agenda!”

“If you can’t convince a donor to fund you, get the organizations that do get money to change their attitudes and understand your agenda! ”

From the discussion



Geetanjali Misra (l) and Clare Shine address the funding gaps between LGBT rights groups and corporate and philanthropic grant-makers



Top: Fellows introduce themselves in the Great Hall of Schloss Leopoldskron

Middle 1: Marko Karadzic poses a question from the floor in Parker Hall

Middle 2: Fernanda Milan, Romana Schlesinger and Sudeshan Reddy applaud the speakers in Parker Hall

Middle 3: Clare Shine discusses the Salzburg Statement with Klaus Mueller and Ian Southey-Swartz, in front of Lyno Vuth's artwork on display in Parker Hall

Middle 4: Josephine Shaw and Johnpromise Ikenna Umeozuru share a hug after the minute's silence for LGBT victims of violence

Bottom: Filmmaker and actress Lola Amaria speaks with human rights researcher and lecturer Siti Musdah Mulia

Queer Film-Making

Reflecting and creating new realities

Klaus Mueller *Session Chair; Museums Consultant, Germany*
(Moderator)

Sridhar Rangayan *Filmmaker; Director, Kashish - LGBT film fest, India*

Lola Amaria *Filmmaker, Indonesia*

The end of the day consisted of interviews with two artists and screenings of their films, chaired by session chair Klaus Mueller, a filmmaker himself.

The first artist, Sridhar Rangayan, came from a small town in Southern India and grew up in a conservative household. He moved to Bombay to study and there he met his first gay friend who changed his life entirely. Before this meeting, Rangayan was not able to admit his homosexuality, he explained, although he had been having sex with men. The friend he met in Bombay had established the first gay magazine in India; Rangayan was quick to join him in this project soon after their meeting, and they later founded the first LGBT organization in India together. Rangayan eventually pursued a degree in visual communication, and began to work with women filmmakers on several film projects. He then branched out into TV, working in mainstream TV for almost three years before he left to pursue his own company with his partner. The first film they made together was called *Pink Mirror* and was about two drag queens and a gay guy that played with the clichés of Bollywood. Through this film, many people in India were exposed to images of transgender people for the first time. Moreover, it included transgender desire and sexuality, and was thus immediately banned by the censor board as vulgar and offensive. Rangayan believes the ban reflected a lack of comfort with images in which the man becomes the sexual object rather than the woman. They appealed the ban three times, but were told that they failed to treat the characters with enough empathy. For Rangayan this meant simply that the censor board wanted to see the transgender characters cry. The film resisted victimizing gay and transgender people, Rangayan noted proudly, and instead celebrated their sexuality.

After the decriminalization of homosexuality in India in 2009, Rangayan also started India's first queer film festival, which he sees as an important space for building identity and community. The first festival was paid for by UN agencies, and then corporate agencies have since covered the costs. Staff members are also volunteers, and thus the films are free of charge. According to Rangayan, the film festival has become the second most important space for LGBT people after LGBT

“As a filmmaker, my main aim has been to use cinema as a tool for greater awareness, combining entertainment with advocacy. I have seen change in my lifetime and I’m really happy that many things around me have changed for the better for LGBT community. ”

Sridhar Rangayan



Filmmaker Sridhar Rangayan co-founded the first LGBT organization in India and now organizes its first queer film festival

pride, although one third of those attending the screenings each year are not LGBT. Indeed, the festival is so successful that they are forced to turn away 20 percent of people each year; “lines form as early as nine in the morning”. The festival is also a place for distributing condoms, raising awareness about LGBT issues, and establishing respect for LGBT people in India. To conclude the conversation Rangayan discussed his most recent documentary film about the decriminalization of homosexuality in India from the perspective of LGBT people. It shows the dramatic shift from violence and fear that people faced to “a kind of hope”, as he says, “about the possibilities of a better tomorrow”.

“As a gay man living in India, having been in the closet for the first 28 years of my life, and having personally faced stigma, discrimination and violence because of my sexuality, my coming out in 1994 was more of a personal agenda. Me and my close friends had to raise our voice so that the shroud of invisibility would be lifted off the LGBT community. Very soon the personal became the professional. And then it was a concentric process of coming out – first to myself, then to the family, then to my workplace and then to the media. As a filmmaker, my main aim has been to use cinema as a tool for greater awareness, combining entertainment with advocacy. I have seen change in my lifetime and I’m really happy that many things around me have changed for the better for LGBT community. ”

The second artist to take the platform was Lola Amaria from Indonesia. Amaria is a director and producer, and most recently made the film *Sanubari Jakarta*, which screened after her introduction. The film is a compilation of 10 films by 10 directors, each lasting around 10 minutes long. Each film focuses on a different LGBT identity and experience, and they collectively aim to reduce violence towards LGBT people in Indonesia. Another goal of the filmmaker was to present the “essence of love” because, as she explained, “love belongs to everyone”. All directors used their own money for preparing and producing their films, and no one has asked for money in return. Moreover, over 95 percent of the people involved in the film project are heterosexual and none identify as transgender. For Amaria, also heterosexual and not transgender, the film involved a lot of research, and she received much support and feedback from LGBT organizations during the conception, creation and editing of the project. *Sanubari Jakarta* screened for the first time in 2012 in Jakarta and was invited to screen again in Jakarta for the 2013 International Day against Homophobia and Transphobia (IDAHO). The screening at Salzburg Global Seminar was the film’s European premiere.

“Love belongs to everyone.”

Lola Amaria



Promotional poster for the movie *Sanubari Jakarta*, which had its European premiere at Salzburg Global Seminar

Prioritizing the Issues for Transgender People *Developing effective strategies to go forward globally*

Josephine Shaw
(Moderator)

Transgender Rights Activist, United Kingdom

Fernanda Milan

Former Member OASIS Guatemala; Co-Founder, Trans Project, Denmark

Thilaga Sulathireh

Researcher and Advocate for Transgender Rights, Malaysia

Todd Sekuler
(Discussant)

PhD Candidate, Institut für Europäische Ethnologie, Humboldt University, Germany

“Transgender people are the most vulnerable and exposed segment of LGBT populations.”

Fernanda Milan

What are key issues affecting transgender people around the world? Josephine Shaw, Co-Founder of Trans Media Watch in the United Kingdom, addressed this question by moderating this first panel of the final day of the seminar, with a focus on prioritizing and strategizing issues for transgender people.

The first speaker, Fernanda Milan, co-founder of the Transproject in Denmark, opened by insisting that transgender people are the most vulnerable and exposed segment of LGBT populations. A Guatemalan native, she has become the first transgender person to be granted asylum in Denmark after the Guatemalan police attacked and threatened her because of her transgender activism. Fernanda Milan identified the following issues, which constitute for her the key priorities for transgender people today:



Fernanda Milan, who fled her native Guatemala for asylum in Denmark, says murder, trafficking and sterilization are three of the biggest issues facing transgender men and women

Murder

Transgender people around the world are dealing with the most basic struggle to survive.

Trafficking

Transgender women are especially vulnerable to sex trafficking.

Migration

There is a need to elevate the attention paid to transgender persons in migration, refugee and exile policies.

Gender reassignment procedures

There is an important inequality in accessing these procedures around the world, and even in places with facilitated access, the internationally recognized protocol for regulating access considers transgender persons to be mentally ill.

Sterilization

Legal recognition of gender change in most countries requires that transgender people undergo surgeries that leave them sterile – a major violation of their basic reproductive rights.

The second speaker, Thilaga Sulathireh, researcher and advocate for transgender rights in Malaysia, provided an overview of the legal obstacles facing transgender people in this Muslim majority country. In the 1980s Malaysia underwent a process of political Islamization, creating dual Sharia and civil law systems. Many transgender people are criminalized under both legal systems. The country now has 14 states, each with a different approach to enforcing Sharia. In some areas, for example, Sharia criminalizes cross-dressing in any form; in other areas such behavior is criminalized only when done for allegedly immoral purposes. Within Malaysian civil law, cross-dressing is considered disorderly conduct. After a third offence, punishment is imprisonment. Anti-trafficking laws are also used against transgender people in Malaysia, similar to in the Philippines. With regards to sex reassignment, there are significant challenges to changing the gender indicated on state ID documents, even after undergoing sex reassignment surgeries. Court precedents have been inconsistent in this arena, and there was a recent ban on changes, recommending instead that applicants be consistently referred to the Sharia court.

The panel's moderator, Josephine Shaw, was the last panelist to make a presentation before the discussion. She opened with a short collection of excerpts from films and television shows in which transgender people were portrayed with prejudice, bigotry, and ridicule. These images are widespread in the UK; indeed Trans Media Watch was created in 2009, Shaw explained, to improve media coverage of

“Legal recognition of gender change in most countries requires that transgender people undergo surgeries that leave them sterile – a major violation of their basic reproductive rights. ”

Fernanda Milan

“Television is an empty box into which the media pours prejudice.”

Josephine Shaw



Activist and researcher Thilaga Sulathireh highlighted the issue of the introduction of Sharia law to some states of Malaysia and its impact on transgender Malaysians

transgender issues. Its vision is a Britain in which transgender people and their lives in the media is accuracy, dignity and respect. For Shaw, media should be considered, with healthcare, as one of the most difficult but important areas for change. Public perception is an constitutes an “empty box into which the media pours prejudice”. Shaw then presented a few examples of how campaigners had worked hard to promote the presentation of informed and empowering images of transgender people in the media: by engaging in dialogue with television stations and other media, for example, or by education and training workshops.

To initiate discussion after the presentations, the discussant Todd Sekuler highlighted HIV/AIDS as a potential issue of concern for transgender persons. In Sekuler’s own research on HIV, he explained, he discovered that there is very little data available about the impact of the epidemic on transgender populations outside of the US, but that data indicate that rates are relatively high among migrant transgender women, and especially among transgender women in sex work. There is also a deficit of data about transgender men, he continued, and yet risk is there, especially for transgender men who have sex with men. One audience member then voiced concern about support for depathologizing transsexuality because it would make it more difficult to ensure coverage for gender confirming procedures by national or private insurance programs. Alternative approaches for structuring care are possible and less stigmatizing, the panelists agreed, and coverage must not be sacrificed. Medical support for pregnancy or contraception, for example, are typically covered by insurance policies although they do not deal with the treatment of disease.

Religion in LGBT Communities and LGBT Communities in Religion

Tensions, strengths and strategies

Siti Musdah Mulia *Research Professor, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Indonesia*
(Moderator)

Dennis Wamala *Country Co-ordinator, Other Sheep, Uganda*

'Peter' *Real name withheld*

Edward Mortimer *Rapporteur to Secretary General, Council of Europe on "Living Together: Combining diversity and freedom in 21st-century Europe", United Kingdom*

Siti Musdah Mulia, Research Professor from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, moderated the conversation on religion in LGBT communities and LGBT communities in religion, but she was also the final of the panel's three main speakers. She opened the discussion by admitting that as a heterosexual woman, she was in an unusual situation as "the minority in group."

The first speaker Peter (real name withheld) narrated the ordeal he went through in the hands of the authorities in the Catholic Church because of his sexual orientation. Brought up in a strict Catholic family, Peter knew when he was still young that he is gay; however, he knew at the same time that God was calling him to be a Catholic priest. While in the seminary, he fell in love with another seminarian and had to battle between his love for his boyfriend and the Catholic

“If Christ were in the world today, he would not reject homosexuality.”

From the discussion



Panel moderators Lousewies van der Laan and Siti Musdah Mulia both remarked that their heterosexuality made them part of the minority – an unusual, interesting and refreshing experience for them and other Fellows at the session



Being from such a religious country, LGBT Ugandans are well versed in theology, giving them strong arguments against the criminalization of homosexuality, explains Dennis Wamala (c), alongside Edward Mortimer (r)

“LGBT people in Uganda, well versed in the Bible, find themselves discussing theology with theologians, arguing against the criminalization of homosexuality. ”

Dennis Wamala

Church’s stand both on homosexuality and curate celibacy. In 2005 the church released a document stating that seminarians with deep-seated homosexual tendencies should be removed from the seminary school, and the local school organized spies to locate and report potential violators. The love letters Peter and his boyfriend exchanged with each other were discovered and this led to severe punishment for Peter, which culminated in his being denied ordination and expelled from the seminary. Rejected by most of his family and threatened by the local community, he fled to the UK. Rather than leave the Church at that point, he decided he would try and change it. Determined to become a priest and fight homophobia in the church, he has been meeting with several people – most of whom have left the church or priesthood – to know their take on the current situation. If Christ were in the world today, Peter concluded, he would not reject homosexuality.

Uganda is a very religious country, explained the second speaker, Dennis Wamala, human rights activist in Uganda: “our national motto is ‘For God and my Country’”. Indeed, the country only had three religions until the arrival of the evangelical church in the 1970s. People were drawn to its loud music and energy, relayed Wamala, and people started converting, creating tensions and even violence in communities throughout the country. The evangelical church thus grew powerful quickly, and they began to spearhead a fight against LGBT people. One bishop denounced this move and was excommunicated from the church. Homosexuality was condemned as sinful at each sermon, and so LGBT members began to leave, prompting the development of the first LGBT activist groups. Then, Wamala continued, evangelicals from the US arrived, claiming that LGBT people are out to destroy the family. Church leaders introduced an anti-gay bill demanding the death penalty and mandatory reporting of known homosexuals to the police. LGBT

people in Uganda, well versed in the Bible, find themselves discussing theology with theologians, arguing against the criminalization of homosexuality. They have become indifferent to religion, Wamala conceded, and yet religion is everywhere.

The final speaker, Siti Musdah Mulia, explained that she grew up in an Islamic family, went to an Islamic boarding school, and is now the minister of religious affairs at her university. In 2004 she proposed that the school promote a new, progressive interpretation of marriage and family. Her work in support of LGBT issues began 10 years ago, she explained, and she was often asked if she had been paid by a Western agency. Mulia responded that she came to the conclusion herself that LGBT people are human beings and that they deserve to be treated with equality – a concept promoted in the Koran. Since then she has initiated discussion groups about how to read the Koran and has met with government leaders to promote public policy reform. Mulia also works with an organization to train leaders from the different religions in Indonesia in intercultural dialogue. The principles of spirituality, unity, humanity, democracy, and social justice are compatible with Islamic principles Mulia insists. She thus asks: “How do we bridge the gap between religious teachings and what is implemented in social reality?”

Following the panel, the discussant, Edward Mortimer, rapporteur to Secretary General from the Council of Europe, made several observations on religion: one should try to move away from an essentialist understanding of religion; religions that appear to be the most successful are those that are the least compromising; and religious belief should be part of humanity and a way of interpreting that enables loving all human beings and gives space to be themselves.

One participant suggested the need for developing a global strategy to address fundamentalist religious groups. Another recommended open discussion about religious texts – they leave room for interpretation. Someone else emphasized the need to separate religious institutions from religious belief; another participant felt that religion is used as a tool to reinforce power relations; and still another underscored the essential role of religious people in this discussion, especially LGBT people of faith. Several participants acknowledged their own need for spirituality and involvement in faith congregations. The session thus consisted of both critiques of homophobia and transphobia within certain religious communities, and of discussions about the importance and involvement of some participants in their faith. Wamala summed up the session well by suggesting that our main responsibility must be to help LGBT people come to terms with their religion, their sexual orientation, and their gender identity.

“Our main responsibility must be to help LGBT people come to terms with their religion, their sexual orientation, and their gender identity.”

Dennis Wamala

Towards a Salzburg Statement on Next Steps *Integration of global working groups recommendations*

The final session of the five-day program was devoted to the challenging task of discussing, within a limited amount of time, the content and wording of the planned Salzburg Statement. Sudeshan Reddy, National Information Officer at the United Nations Information Centre in Pretoria, together with Salzburg Global Seminar Editor, Louise Hallman, drafted an initial text based on the written recommendations from each panel and from the six global working groups (see Appendix I). It was presented to the whole group by Reddy at the final plenary session.

Before reading the statement in its final form (see following pages), it may be helpful to consider some areas of debate about the statement's first draft. The issues discussed and the discussions condensed for this report are no doubt complex and of vital importance, and yet there is likely no single "answer" to the questions they raise. However, we include these issues here so that others may consider them in future, related work, and to render the creation of the statement as transparent as possible.

Some were critical of the language of the statement: Why focus on "LGBT" rather than the more inclusive terms "sexuality and gender"? Another person addressed a deficit about discussions of racism within the statement. There was also a question about how to address the near complete absence of intersex issues at the seminar, and another about issues of disability: How might these issues be best included in the statement despite the absence of representatives from each community within the context of the statement's creation? Or, given these absences, might it be best to not attempt to address their issues at all in the statement – to not speak for them without including their voices? Another Fellow suggested that the power of art



Sudeshan Reddy (third from left) collects input from the working groups for the Salzburg Statement; (clockwise from bottom left) Maria Kozlovskaya, Teyo van der Schoot, Fernanda Milan, Ty Cobb, Ana Helena Chacón and Edward Mortimer offer their recommendations on combating discrimination through global campaigns



Session Chair Klaus Mueller (c) briefs the working group chairs Sibongile Ndashe, Laia Ribera Cañénguez, Ian Southey-Swartz, Georges Aziz and Ty Cobb

in fighting for rights for LGBT people was an important focus of the seminar that should even be more strongly incorporated into the statement. With this lively and necessary discussion, Reddy pointed out again that the statement was built entirely on the previous written recommendations and choices of the panels and respective working groups, and that he and others would do their best to incorporate additional suggestions coming from the group discussion into the final statement.

Issues of communication, accord, and marginalization within the context of international discussion, exchange and debate are complex and inevitable, and this seminar was no exception. Given that the statement is to be used in very different environments, it does not intend to encapsulate all of the rich and complex issues and discussions addressed at the seminar. Indeed, it constitutes a major achievement that the group, with all the necessary and interesting questions raised, agreed on a statement in a condensed form.

The statement establishes a much-needed current state of affairs of LGBT and human rights, and provides some central recommendations about ways to move forward – which we hope will open doors to ongoing conversations across broad alliances. As a joint statement, it offers a tool for participants to share and bring back key elements from the seminar to their members, colleagues or constituents. The seminar and our statement are a testament to the urgency of ongoing discussions about LGBT and human rights, and illuminate the long road that lies ahead to ensure equal rights for all people, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people and communities, their protection under the law, and their right to express themselves freely.



The Salzburg Statement of the Global LGBT Forum

Advancing human rights for LGBT* people and communities

A CALL TO ACTION

Humankind's strength is its diversity. Free expression of sexuality and gender increasingly defines the societies in which we want to live in the 21st century. But progress is uneven. In 2011, the first UN Resolution on human rights, sexual orientation and gender identity was supported by over 40 countries. Yet in many others, governments still legitimize and sponsor violence against LGBT citizens through legal discrimination, condoned police violence and hate speech.

Now is the time to create a **Global LGBT Forum**. A space where all those working to advance LGBT human rights can come together to further progress, reflect on new challenges and opportunities, and consider the next steps to secure the safety, free expression and assembly, and equality of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people and communities.

We, the sixty participants at Salzburg Global's session on LGBT and *Human Rights: New Challenges, Next Steps* (June 2–7, 2013), came together from over 30 countries to launch the Global LGBT Forum. The following principles and recommendations are a result of our discussions. They are not exhaustive or prescriptive. We hope they serve to deepen future conversations and help us to reach out and build broader alliances across law, politics, activism and culture.

* LGBT: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender. We are using this term as it is widely recognized in many parts of the world, but we would not wish it to be read as in any way exclusive of other cultures, terms or groups.

Principles and Recommendations to advance LGBT human rights

Who should we work with?

Strength comes in numbers. We need to form broad alliances within LGBT communities and outside them, nurturing collaboration. New alliances can engage religious leaders and the corporate sector, when appropriate, and identify new partners. This inclusive approach should inform all areas of LGBT human rights work, from campaigns to fundraising.

What do we need to do and where?

Our efforts must be firmly grounded in the fundamental principles of universal human rights, but a global approach to LGBT issues that does not take local contexts into account may not be the answer. Understanding local cultures, economies and politics is essential to initiate and safeguard lasting change and achieve recognition of the same rights for all people. Embedding human rights principles in social, political, medical or economic contexts can contribute to a better understanding and greater impact over time.

Global campaigns need a unifying message with broad appeal and clear, realistic objectives. However, their phrasing and presentation should be designed with input from both local and global stakeholders. Although such campaigns can raise the visibility of LGBT struggles and expose violence against LGBT people, public exposure can also worsen dangerous situations. Sensitivity and caution are essential.

How can international law help?

Legal strategies to combat discrimination can differ at global and regional levels. Regular review mechanisms and litigation on the basis of existing international human rights law should be pursued, alongside the development of global and/or regional conventions on LGBT equality.

Action within the United Nations framework is important to set global minimum standards. UN achievements on LGBT rights must be protected, and this means that we need to remain constantly engaged.

The UN and its entities should establish or adapt structures to address human rights issues specifically related to sexual orientation

and gender identity. Gathering reliable data on threats confronting LGBT people is a key next step. Gender identity and sexual orientation need to be incorporated into procedures for documenting and monitoring human rights violations around the world.

How do we fund our work?

Donor countries should be careful about making development aid conditional on the advancement of LGBT rights. This can, and has, backfired in the past. Donors should not be prescriptive, but understand local contexts and listen to advice from local organizations on the ground.

LGBT organizations need to be strategic in identifying donors, and understand their respective conditions and agendas. Reliance on a single funder should be avoided, to prevent being subject to shifting changing donor interests.

Defining long-term goals can communicate the vision of the society we are helping to build. We need to demonstrate how our work contributes to overall social cohesion to make our projects more appealing and fundable.

How should we network and communicate?

Global, national and regional coalitions can help share information and promote democratic, transparent, inclusive and non-racist networks. In order for all to actively engage in such networks, building capacity is essential.

Mutual respect, deeper collaboration and the sharing of expertise and resources between and within the Global North and the Global South can strengthen effective international action. We commit to dialogue with all groups founded on the belief of full equality for all.

How can we use art and the media as tools for change?

Telling our stories challenges misrepresentations of sexual and gender diversity as well as dominant patriarchal and hetero-normative values. Increasing the visibility of LGBT people and communities in mainstream and alternative media and spaces is a key step to counter homo-lesbo-transphobia.

Culture and art are essential to dialogue on political and social change. Artists sharing ideas, experiences and collaborations can empower those working on LGBT issues. Skills building and appropriate financial resources are vital to advance dialogue, collaboration and visibility.

We need to work with all media to develop standards to ensure dignified and accurate representation. Social media has become a major global tool for activism and advocacy. However, hate speech, online security, censorship and the digital divide are challenges that need to be confronted.

How can we address the urgency of transgender rights?

Transgender people across the world face threats to their lives and safety. Governments, legal institutions, faith leaders and the media must fulfil their responsibilities to safeguard human lives and challenge transphobia.

The Salzburg Statement of shared principles and recommendations is accompanied by a comprehensive report on the conversations and topics addressed by this first Global LGBT Forum. We hope this statement allows us to begin conversations on many levels.

The views expressed in this Statement are those of session participants individually and should not be taken to represent those of any organizations to which they are affiliated

Salzburg Global Seminar is an independent non-profit organization founded in 1947 whose mission is to challenge present and future leaders to solve issues of global concern. We design and facilitate international strategic convening to drive progress based on Imagination, Sustainability and Justice. Salzburg Global Seminar hopes that this Statement by participants at our session on LGBT and Human Rights: New Challenges and Next Steps (2-7 June 2013) will pave the way for a Global LGBT Forum to address interconnected issues surrounding LGBT, human rights and wellbeing.

Conclusion

Now is the time to create a Global LGBT Forum

What a pleasure and privilege it was to meet with professionals from 35 countries and different fields of expertise for five days. This first Global LGBT Forum at Salzburg Global enriched us all. It was not a conference, but a conversation where time and space allowed us to learn about others and ourselves, build bridges, and understand similarities and differences.

Globalization is changing the world in an ever rapid pace, giving individuals, communities, corporations and nations the tools to connect around the world. The once regional or national struggle for LGBT equality now is intricately linked to debates around the globe, fueled by an understanding of fundamental human rights, but also intolerance or hate. How can we truly engage in a global and civil conversation? Our session brought together queer and straight, gender in many expressions, mothers and fathers – individuals with overlapping, changing identities. In spirit, our diverse identities point in the direction of a common cause even as our struggles are distinct. The session's diversity indeed was its most apparent strength.

Sharing personal stories energized our belief in the value of an open conversation about our aspirations, challenges and failures. With our Salzburg Statement, we hope to share some of this energy and to engage in broader discussions on the urgency of transgender rights, the importance of culture and art for a dialogue on political and social change, or the sharing of expertise and resources between and within the Global North and the Global South. Sexual and gender diversity concern all of us. There is much to learn.

Today, technology allows us to stay connected and to further develop our new global networks. But connections started in the safety and beauty of Salzburg Global Seminar, and enriched and changed the institution as well. While this was the first LGBT session at Salzburg, LGBT history is woven into the palace's long history. Who knew, for example, that Schloss Leopoldskron features transgender goddess Kuan Yin, a statue of whom stands in prominence in the palace's Chinese Room? Or that the escape of bisexual actress Erika Mann from Nazi Europe was helped by friend and former Schloss owner and Salzburg Festival founder Max Reinhardt (who, as a Jew, also later had to flee)? Or that same-sex couples have chosen the Schloss to celebrate their marriage? Deliberately weaving the session's topic into the final concert, without which no Salzburg session would be complete, pianist Damir Sertic played pieces by gay composers from Tchaikovsky to John Cage. On more than one level, this session felt like coming home.

As I said in my opening remarks, I strongly believe now is the time to create a Global LGBT Forum: a space to come together and reflect on the new challenges we are facing and consider the next steps needed to secure the safety, free expression and equality of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people and communities. I hope this first Global LGBT Forum will inspire regular international meetings in Salzburg and other places.

Klaus Mueller, *Session Chair – LGBT and Human Rights: New Challenges and Next Steps*



Top: Session Chair Klaus Mueller; Bottom left: statue of Kuan Yin in the Chinese Room of Schloss Leopoldskron; Bottom right: Fellows celebrate the end of the week-long session

Appendix I

Recommendations from the Working Groups

For two days of the session, participants were broken into six groups to discuss together and make recommendations about topics that would be included in the Salzburg Statement. Here follows the topics discussed and the final recommendations that were made:

Combating discrimination through global campaigns

1. We are part of a global LGBT equality movement, best advanced by organized regional, national, and local campaigns. While we make significant progress through these types of campaigns, we should not dismiss global campaigns as an effective advocacy tool. Global campaigns must be initiated with caution and only after input from local stakeholders. They can take at least two forms: 1) general global campaigns on LGBT equality issues or 2) campaigns meant to elevate a local issue to attract a specific global response. As a starting point for a global campaign on an LGBT equality issue, we find it most pragmatic to begin with a campaign around violence, a theme that has broad understanding. As for the second type of campaign, they should only be initiated after local stakeholders determine that a local LGBT issue is in need of global attention and global stakeholders believe an organized campaign on the issue could be effective.
2. Global campaigns should have a unifying message with broad appeal, and the messaging and terminology of the campaign should be designed with input by both global and local stakeholders. While we must be cautious about engaging in global campaigns, we must not let the best be the enemy of the good. As advocates working to advance equality, our campaigns should be made up of sustained activities intended to mobilize people to achieve specific results. They should aim to fulfill realistic and achievable objectives, and we should strive to have metrics to measure our success or failure. They should include partners and allies. They must be strategic. They should be scaled to reflect funding and we should strive for funding diversity. They should be timely and they should be organized around a predetermined timeline of dates or events. They must identify who they are intending to mobilize before they begin.
3. We must focus our campaigns on mobilizing those who currently support and those who are open to doing so, especially youth. If a campaign is about awareness, it should be tailored to those most likely to support us after being educated, not our most venomous opponents. And, while we no one model works for every campaign, they should strive to be coherent, focused, flexible, and inclusive. We must learn from the success and failures of previous campaigns and encourage constructive criticism of our campaign efforts. They should focus on achieving politically possible outcomes and supporting communities most in need. They should do no harm and we must evaluate the

possible unintended consequences of our campaigns before we begin them. In claiming success, campaigns must be mindful of maintaining their credibility.

4. There is a global movement toward equality despite the efforts of vocal, well-funded, and influential adversaries.
5. As regional, national, and local advocates, we must recognize our ability to have both a positive and negative impact on the global movement.
6. Where we can have a positive impact on the global movement, we should. However, we must do so with a keen understanding of the possible negative unintended consequences of such actions.
7. We recognize that those opposed to our rights and even their existence are organizing globally, especially voices and organization from the far right, and we know we must begin organizing to combat their messages of intolerance and hate.

Combating discrimination through international law

1. Recognize differential approaches to combating multiple forms of discrimination, which implies:
 - i. Different strategies and tactics at global and regional levels
 - ii. Identifying other frameworks (international human rights law, human security etc) which may assist in protecting LGBT rights.
 - iii. Encourage the use of universal peer review mechanisms and other reporting mechanisms
 - iv. Encourage litigation on the basis of existing international human rights law
 - v. Encourage positive interpretive approaches on traditional values as related to LGBT issues.
2. Encourage the drafting of separate global and/or regional conventions on LGBT rights.

Building inclusive non-racist global LGBT networks

1. Building capacity and skills of members to ensure active participation. This can be accomplished through national and sub-regional coalitions and information-sharing mechanisms.
2. Reflecting on Western-based LGBT terminology and the reasons for this exclusivity and dominance.
3. Emphasizing the need for democracy, transparency and autonomy especially through political pressure.

Supporting LGBT-related cultural diversity and expression

Believe in the Power of LGBTIQ Art. We feel it is important to challenge representations and readings of sexual and gender diversity within the existing debate on traditional values in different cultures and traditions. This can be done by creating and visibilizing non-patriarchal, non-heteronormative art in the form of writings, books, films, photography, paintings, sculptures, theatre, performance

arts, visual installations, new media, etc; as well as supporting and empowering LGBTIQ artists / activists to create LGBTIQ art and campaigns.

Towards this we propose three streams of action:

1. Visibility
 - i. Tell OUR stories, OUR way
 - ii. Get representation in mainstream venues, channels and spaces for our art
 - iii. Connect with our communities and a larger audience through our art and stories
2. Challenge
 - i. Challenge the dominant patriarchal & hetero-normative traditional values and representations
 - ii. Challenge stereotypical representations in art & media both within and outside our communities, by creative responses
 - iii. Challenge censorship in all forms by all agencies
3. Empowerment
 - i. Form local and global collectives to share ideas, experiences and collaborations
 - ii. Empower LGBTIQ artists and activists through skills building training and financial resources
 - iii. Convince funders to believe in the transformative power of art and artists
 - iv. Create spaces within our gatherings for emotional and spiritual experiences and use it as a tool for healing and empowerment
 - v. Empower art to move out of the margins of LGBTIQ discourse, into the center, as a tool for political and social lobbying and change
 - vi. Respect and Trust artists and art
 - vii. Put Cultural Artists and Activists at the center of Art

Improving funding for LGBT organization

1. How to increase accountability of donors. Donor-watch exposes stories of very directive funding and giving up privacy issues for funding is not ethical.
2. Map all funders and issues in the region. Make a case for core support. Information from bilateral in embassy funding.
3. Respond to RFPs in collations and partnerships with others
4. Currently there are more funds for the Middle East, transgender people, discrimination and legislations.
5. Donors to be congisant of power relations since they have the power. It is not their pocket money – they are facilitating and lobbying an agenda for social justice. They are dealing with real people and their lives.
6. How bi-lateral governments develop their policies does not come from committees. These are done in mutual partnership.
7. Provide examples of NGOS who have managed to reap the ‘bronze era’ easily – from core to project support, contracts to funding mergers and acquisitions.

8. Flexibility among NGOs is need to pitch up this framework.
9. Increase resources in general in terms of thinking on how to build partnerships. Human rights is not only about money.

Developing better global LGBT communications

1. We commit to communicate and collaborate to meet our shared goals, encouraging mutual respect, deeper collaboration and the sharing of expertise and resources between and within Global North and Global South, especially with regard to significant international action.
2. We commit to dialogue with socially progressive groups who are founded in a belief in full equality for all.
3. We encourage all LGBTI communities to claim greater access to media to the ends of education, self-expression, representation and empowerment.
4. We encourage policy makers, governments, non-governmental organizations and the mass media to represent our lives, expressions and experiences with accuracy, dignity and respect, and to be consulted in that representation.

Appendix II

Participants of Session 506

Chair

Klaus Mueller

*International Museums Consultant;
Historian; Filmmaker, Germany*

Faculty

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*Human rights activist; Professor at
Central University, Venezuela*

Lola Amaria

Filmmaker, Indonesia

Georges Azzi

*Executive Director, Arab Foundation
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*Sociologist; Associate Professor,
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Yinhe Li

*Sociologist, Chinese Academy of
Social Sciences, China*

Zanele Muholi

Visual Activist, South Africa

**Kasha Jacqueline
Nabagesera**

*Founder, Freedom and Roam
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Sibongile Ndashe

*Human rights lawyer, Equality Program
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Marc Pachter

*Director-at-Large, Smithsonian
Institute, USA*

Josephine Shaw

Transgender Rights Activist, UK

Lyno Vuth

Artist, Cambodia

Resource Specialists

Carla LaGata

*Lead researcher Transrespect
versus Transphobia Worldwide,
Transgender Europe, Germany*

Lousewies van der Laan

*Vice-President ALDE, Alliance of
Liberals and Democrats for Europe,
Netherlands*

Guest Lecturers

Dennis van der Veur

*Representative, European Union
Fundamental Rights Agency, Austria*

Shereen El-Feki

*Author “Sex and the Citadel” and
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HIV and the Law, UNDP, Egypt*

Fellows

Ajub Asfinawati

*Human rights attorney; former
director of Jakarta Legal Aid
Institute, Indonesia*

Paola Amadei

*Head of Delegation for the European
Union to Jamaica*

Milan Antonijevic

Director, YUCOM, Serbia

Karen Beale

*Associate Professor, Maryville
College, USA*

Ana Helena Chacón

*Former Vice Minister of Security,
Costa Rica*

Ty Cobb

*Senior Legislative Counsel, Human
Rights Campaign, USA*

Paul Jansen

*Director, Johannesburg Office, Hivos,
South Africa*

Marko Karadzic

*Former State Secretary for Human
and Minority Rights, Serbia*

Elizabeth Khaxas

*Director, Women’s Leadership
Center, Namibia*

Maria Kozlovskaya

*Lawyer and Program Manager,
Russian LGBT Network*

Amy Lamé

Performer; Writer; Broadcaster, UK

Amanda R. Martinez

Assistant Professor, Davidson
College, USA

Andriy Maymulakhin

Coordinator, Nash Mir (Our World)
Gay & Lesbian Center, Ukraine

Fernanda Milan

Co-Founder, Trans-project, Denmark

Geetanjali Misra

Co-founder and Executive Director,
CREA, India

Samira Montiel

Ombudsperson for Sexual Diversity,
Office of the Ombudsman for Human
Rights, Nicaragua

Edward Mortimer

Rapporteur to Secretary General,
Council of Europe, UK

Siti Musdah Mulia

Chairperson, ICRP (Indonesian
Conference on Religion for Peace),
Indonesia

Aung Myo Min

Founder & Executive Director, Human
Rights Education Institute, Burma

Yoojin Oh

Deputy Director, Human Rights
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Republic of Korea

Arsham Parsi

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Head of the Non-Discrimination
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Ukrainian Ombudsperson, Ukraine

Sridhar Rangayan

Filmmaker, India

Sudeshan Reddy

National Information Officer, UN
Information Center, South Africa

Laia Ribera Cañénguez

Actress, El Salvador

Nazeeha Saeed

Journalist, France 24, Bahrain

Fadi Saleh

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**Johnpromise Ikenna
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Todd Sekuler is currently a Ph.D. student at the Institut für Europäische Ethnologie at Humboldt University in Berlin and at the Institut d'Ethnologie Méditerranéenne, Européenne et Comparative at the University of Aix-Provence. Among other curatorial projects, in 2011 he co-curated a film series at C/O Berlin with the artist Aykan Safoğlu, critically exploring a retrospective of Robert Mapplethorpe's photography. He was a Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst research fellow from 2007 through 2008, and is since 2012 a doctoral fellow within the interdisciplinary program 'Gender as a Category of Knowledge' at Humboldt University. In his dissertation he explores the relationship between gender non-conformity, biomedicine and the French nation-state. Sekuler also holds an M.P.H. in sexuality, gender and health from Columbia University, USA.

This report incorporates the daily session reports by Salzburg Global Seminar Editor **Louise Hallman**.

ABOUT THE SESSION CHAIR:

Klaus Mueller works as an international consultant (www.kmlink.net) for museums, foundations and NGOs, including the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington DC. He serves as the Museum's Representative for Europe on the Museum's core themes of Holocaust documentation and education, antisemitism today, and genocide prevention. During the conception of the Museum's permanent exhibition, Dr. Mueller, an expert on the persecution of homosexuals under Nazi rule, served as a consultant, researching and overseeing the inclusion of material documenting the experiences of homosexuals under Nazism. He was the initiator, research director, and associate producer of the award-winning film 'Paragraph 175' (2000), which profiles gay survivors. Since 2010 he has served as the chair of Salzburg Global's Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Initiative.

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Salzburg Global Seminar

Salzburg Global Seminar was founded in 1947 by Austrian and American students from Harvard University. Convinced that former enemies must talk and learn from each other in order to create more stable and secure societies, they set out to create a neutral international forum for those seeking to regenerate Europe and shape a better world. Guided by this vision, we have brought over 31,000 participants together from 160 countries for more than 500 sessions and student academies across cultural and ideological barriers to address common challenges. Our track record is unique – connecting young and established leaders, and supporting regions, institutions and sectors in transition.

Salzburg Global's program strategy is driven by our Mission to challenge present and future leaders to solve issues of global concern. We work with partners to help people, organizations and governments bridge divides and forge paths for peace, empowerment and equitable growth.

Our three Program Clusters - Imagination, Sustainability and Justice - are guided by our commitment to tackle systems challenges critical for next generation leaders and engage new voices to 're-imagine the possible'. We believe that advances in education, science, culture, business, law and policy must be pursued together to reshape the landscape for lasting results. Our strategic convening is designed to address gaps and faultlines in global dialogue and policy making and to translate knowledge into action.

Our programs target new issues ripe for engagement and 'wicked' problems where progress has stalled. Building on our deep experience and international reputation, we provide a platform where participants can analyze blockages, identify shared goals, test ideas, and create new strategies. Our recruitment targets key stakeholders, innovators and young leaders on their way to influence and ensures dynamic perspectives on a given topic.

Our exclusive setting enables our participants to detach from their working lives, immerse themselves in the issues at hand and form new networks and connections. Participants come together on equal terms, regardless of age, affiliation, region or sector.

We maintain this energy and engagement through the Salzburg Global Network, which connects our Fellows across the world. It provides a vibrant hub to crowd-source new ideas, exchange best practice, and nurture emerging leaders through mentoring and support. The Network leverages our extraordinary human capital to advise on critical trends, future programs and in-region implementation.

FOR MORE *session info*.

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