THINKING AND WORKING POLITICALLY FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION:
THE WARIA OF BANJARMASIN, INDONESIA

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ABOUT THE GENDER AND POLITICS IN PRACTICE RESEARCH PROJECT

How can a gendered understanding of power and politics make development work more effective? Many development programs tend to look at gender issues and politics separately. Through a series of case studies, this research asks what we can learn from more integrated approaches. It includes:

- a literature review on thinking and working politically and gender equality

- a context paper, and three in-depth studies that examine how gender and politics came together in social change processes

    – women political leaders in the Pacific

    – labour reform in Vietnam's garment industry

    – transgender empowerment and social inclusion in Indonesia

- 14 short case studies of development programs that aim to be both politically informed and gender aware, and a synthesis of their key insights

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ACRONYMS AND TERMS

AD/ART	*Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga* (Articles of Association)
BP3A	*Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak* (Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection of the provincial or city government)
CMR	*Centra Mitra Remaja* (Youth Partner Centre) of PKBI Kalsel
Dinkes	*Dinas Kesehatan* (Health Department of the provincial or city government)
Disdik	Dinas Pendidikan (Education Department of the provincial or city government)
Diskop	Dinas Koperasi
Disnakersos	Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Sosial (Department for Labor and Social Affairs of the provincial or city government)
FPI	*Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defenders Front)
IDAHO	International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia
IWB-Banjaraty	Ikatan Waria Banua Banjarmasin Transgender Community Solidarity (Association of Banua Banjarmasin Transgender Community Solidarity)
Kesbangpol	*Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik* (National Unity and Political Affairs), a local government unit
Kesra	*Kesejahteraan Rakyat* (People's Welfare), a bureau under the provincial government
Komnas HAM	*Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia* (National Commission on Human Rights)
Komnas Perempuan	*Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan* (National Commission on Violence Against Women)
KPAK	*Komisi Penanggulangan AIDS Kota* (City's AIDS Eradication Commission)
KPAP	*Kantor Perlindungan Anak dan Perempuan* (Office for Child and Woman Protection)
LBH	*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum* (Legal Aid Institute)
LK3	*Lembaga Kajian Keislaman dan Kemasyarakatan* (Institute for Islamic and Community Research)
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NU	*Nahdlatul Ulama*, the largest muslim association in Indonesia
PBVSI	*Persatuan Bola Voli Seluruh Indonesia* (Indonesia's Volleyball Association)
PDAM	*Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum* (Local Government-Owned Water Supply Company)
Pelindo	*Pelabuhan Indonesia* (Ports Indonesia), a state-owned company responsible to operate state-owned ports
PKBI	*Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia* (The Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association)
Posyandu	*Pos pelayanan terpadu* (Integrated [health] service post)
Puskesmas	*Pusat kesehatan masyarakat* (community health centre/clinic)
Satpol PP	*Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja*, local police that is responsible to enforce local regulations (bylaws) and accountable to the local government, not to the national police force (Polri).
SKPD	*Satuan Kerja Pemerintah Daerah* (Subnational Government Working Unit)
SKT	*Surat keterangan terdaftar* (letter of registration)
ToC	Theory of Change

SUMMARY

This case study looks at two years of Program Peduli's work[1] with the transgender *waria* community of Banjarmasin (the provincial capital of South Kalimantan, Indonesia). The project integrated working in politically informed and adaptive ways with consideration of the gender dimensions of the waria's situation. It sought increased social integration and acceptance for waria by promoting positive interaction at the household and community levels and with influential individuals. It used political analysis to build networks and coalitions of local actors pushing to transform social norms. It also successfully lobbied government authorities to formally register Banjarmasin's waria association, and engaged key provincial and local government offices to improve social services for waria. This approach has significantly increased local acceptance and access to services for the waria in Banjarmasin.

The project achieved these results, in part, by using tools and approaches associated with thinking and working politically, and by effectively integrating gender considerations. Some of its key features included the following:

- **In recruiting staff the project emphasised local networks and knowledge over development experience, and it also involved a wider group of waria**. The project both employed waria in key roles, and involved local waria leaders from the outset in guiding and implementing the work. This led it to develop a context-sensitive strategy focused on promoting waria's social acceptance at the individual, household and community levels. The project also drew heavily on a broad network of locally legitimate waria who were committed to change throughout the program implementation period.

- **The project considered the gendered elements of politics and power dynamics**. The team's understanding of the central role that waria's gender plays in their social exclusion informed project goals, strategies and activities. Gender was brought into strategy discussions, informed programmatic decisions, and was reflected on in a specific gender analysis workshop.

- **The use of simple tools supported a flexible, participatory approach**. The project used theories of change, gender analysis and stakeholder maps, along with mentoring and peer learning events, to encourage strategic thinking, coalition building and adaptation. Tools were simplified so they could be used by a wide range of stakeholders.

- **The project adapted its strategy over time**. It shifted the focus of its networking from government actors to influential community members, for example, and added a home visiting initiative based on analysis midway through the project.

- **The project focused on network and relationship building to develop coalitions to support improvements for waria**. It regularly used stakeholder analysis to identify key stakeholders, consider the interests and incentives shaping their behaviours, and build strategic relationships.

- **The project was politically informed, but less 'politically active'.** Its explicit consideration of the gendered elements of politics and power dynamics shifted its strategy away from policy reform work and limited its engagement in formal political processes.

INTEGRATING GENDER ANALYSIS AND THINKING AND WORKING POLITICALLY – LESSONS

The Banjarmasin project applied political analysis to strategies aimed at changing hearts and minds to increase social acceptance: its decision not to pursue policy reform was based on political analysis (legitimate fear of backlash being one of the reasons); and its analysis of power dynamics at the individual, household, and community levels informed decisions about which stakeholders to engage.

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1 Program Peduli operates across Indonesia, implemented by the Asia Foundation with support from DFAT and the Indonesian government. It seeks social inclusion among six of Indonesia's marginalised groups – one of which is waria – by looking for ways to change the social relations that govern access to resources and economic opportunities. It targets three interconnected outcomes: increased access to public services and social assistance; increased fulfilment of human rights; and improved policy on social inclusion.

It is widely accepted, especially in gender studies, that power and political dynamics extend down to the household level, but working politically at this level has not generally been included in discussions on TWP approaches. Based on this case, extending the definition of TWP work to the level of individual, household and community transformations might include the following elements:

- Develop a theory of change that articulates how household and community transformations will support improved conditions for target beneficiaries

- Articulate the political analysis that indicates that work on policy does not offer a pathway towards transformative impact

- Start from sound analysis of power at the individual and household levels (which would require a sound gender analysis)

- Analyse the network of stakeholders who influence the beliefs and behaviours of individuals, households and communities, and draw on that knowledge for strategy

- Analyse the interests that shape individual, household and community behaviours, and how interest-based changes in behaviour link to longer-term normative changes

- Take a flexible, adaptive, and context-driven approach

This case reveals some potential tensions between TWP and gender-focused approaches, such as issues of scaling and timeframes. TWP programs often aim for incremental but tangible change by adopting short-term political strategies to achieve specific outcomes, usually policy outcomes. They aim to drive change that reaches scale without long-term development funding, whereas programs centred on community, household and individual transformations usually require long-term funding to reach enough people to spearhead societal change. However, in some cases it may be appropriate to focus on social acceptance until a larger and more amenable constituency is in place to support deeper policy reform.

Further, an incremental approach may risk tacitly condoning gender inequality to achieve short-term objectives. In Banjarmasin, the strategic and politically-informed decision to let project strategy be led by locally legitimate waria activists meant that their preference for incremental improvements guided the project's work. This approach was not as aggressive in promoting transgender rights as some would like to see. A case that explicitly used TWP methods to push for policy change that would have a transformative impact on gender equality might be a useful focus for additional research.

1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

There are many reasons why we might expect constructive conversations on aid effectiveness between practitioners engaging with gender issues and those engaging with the politics of development. Firstly, efforts to introduce both gender analysis and thinking and working politically (TWP) into programming have, at times, been relegated to the use of narrow analytical tools, rather than fully integrating innovative thinking that leads to broader changes in program strategies and approaches. There has been progress in encouraging more regular use of Political Economy Analysis (PEA) to inform program design, and a gender analysis during program planning is now considered a critical part of good practice. However, both communities are still working to move beyond analytical frameworks and to mainstream their ideas in ways that genuinely change how we do development work.

Secondly, conceptually, some of the ways in which gender and TWP experts analyse the dynamics shaping development outcomes show great complementarity. Good gender analysis includes a focus on analysing and understanding the impact of power dynamics on developmental outcomes for people of different genders, which TWP practitioners should understand. Similarly, TWP actors aim to understand interests, norms, and the way relationships shape developmental decisions to help guide program strategy – all considerations that have gendered elements. Despite this, there has not yet been a clear and sustained engagement between these agendas.

This study, part of the Gender and Politics in Practice research project, aims to deepen our understanding of how these two sets of ideas can interact during program implementation, and to explore both the potential tensions and opportunities for greater collaboration. It focuses on an initiative to promote social inclusion for man-to-woman transgender (waria) communities in Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan, Indonesia). The project is implemented by The Asia Foundation (TAF) as part of the wider Program Peduli,[2] under coordination of the Government of Indonesia and with funding from the Australian Government. This project used both gender analysis and TWP ideas to achieve a positive outcome for a gender minority.

The paper is based on field research and analysis carried out by five TAF staff, one of whom was directly affiliated with Program Peduli. Field research involved nine focus group discussions, 11 key informant interviews in Jakarta and Banjarmasin, and several phone interviews. In total 46 people were interviewed: 12 waria, 12 men, and 22 women. Interviewees included government officials and civil society representatives in Banjarmasin, implementing staff, and beneficiaries and stakeholders.

This paper has four sections: Section 1 describes the programming context; Section 2 introduces the project's activities and outcomes; Section 3 analyses how the program integrated and benefitted from ideas on thinking and working politically and from gender analysis; and Section 4 reflects on what this case might tell us about how TWP strategies and gender programming can come together. While this is only a single case and cannot confirm conclusions, it can contribute to wider discussion on this subject.

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2 See annex for an overview of Program Peduli at national level.

1.2 GENERAL SITUATION OF *WARIA* IN INDONESIA

Waria have long been a part of Indonesian communities. A waria is a person who is genetically male, but identifies and expresses (e.g. behaves and dresses) as a woman.[3] Traditionally, waria and inter-male sexual intercourse have been seen in the performance arts, martial arts, and shamanism (*perdukunan*) rituals and are generally accepted by some communities. For example, Bugis culture acknowledges five genders: *calalai* (female to male transgender), *calabai* (male to female transgender) and *bissu* (combination of all genders), in addition to male and female.[4]

These cultural traditions have given waria some social legitimacy. In general, however, waria as discussed in this paper are seen as an urban phenomenon that emerged at the beginning of the 20th century. Estimates of the size of the waria community in Indonesia vary widely – from just over 30,000 to 3.9 million.[5]

Waria started organising themselves in the late 1960s, when the first waria organisation, the Association of Jakarta's Waria (HIWAD), was established. HIWAD was supported by the then governor of Jakarta, Ali Sadikin (UNDP & USAID 2014). Waria in other cities established similar associations. These mainly functioned as social and cultural safe spaces, and supported waria to develop their livelihoods and to show they are useful members of their communities.

In the New Order era (1966-1998), waria faced many challenges, but did benefit from some limited national government support. The Ministry of Social Affairs supported waria associations (UNDP & USAID 2014), and waria were part of public life (Blackwood et al. 2007). Waria were involved in government programs, political parties, community and women's organisations, local volleyball tournaments, and appeared on television. Their slang became a part of urban slang (MacLaren 2014). Some waria organisations increased outreach to their constituencies starting from the early 1990s when the emergence of HIV/AIDS required more coordinated responses (UNDP & USAID 2014).

Since Indonesia's democratization and decentralization in 1998, civil society has gained more freedom of expression – but these freedoms have extended to more conservative groups as well. The general trend in the country has been towards more conservative legislation and more violent persecution of waria. Several laws and bylaws have been enacted that explicitly threaten the rights of homosexuals and *waria* (Ibid.; MacLaren 2014), and Intimidation and violence to prevent waria and LGBT events from taking place has become common.

While many would consider waria part of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community in Indonesia, in general, waria (including those in Banjarmasin) choose to present themselves as distinct from it, and as a traditional part of Indonesian communities. In part this is to avoid being perceived as part of a LGBT movement that in Indonesia is sometimes portrayed as representing foreign values or customs. However, the anti-LGBT rights movement does not always make this distinction, in either legislation or persecution.

One of the first major incidents of intimidation happened in 1999 in Solo (Central Java), when the seventh LGBT conference was dissolved after aggressive protests held by Muslim Youth Front. The following year, a gay and *waria* meeting in Yogyakarta was dissolved by Muslim protestors. The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) – established in 1998[6] – has frequently targeted LGBT events, for example using violence in early 2010 to prevent the fourth regional meeting of the Association of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans & Intersex in Surabaya, and interrupting a waria cultural festival in South Jakarta in 2012. In Yogyakarta, an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) for waria[7] was intimidated by the Islamic Jihadist Front (FJI), and eventually forced into closing in 2016.

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3 Dede Oetomo (1996), *Gender and Sexual Orientation in Indonesia.*
4 This culture considers bissu to be like priests, and as at the top of the pyramid of the gender system, with the other four providing the foundation. Source: Dr. Greg Ac-ciaioli as quoted by Sharyn Graham, Sulawesi's Fifth Gender (30 July 2007), accessible at http://www.insideindonesia.org/sulawesis-fifth-gender-2
5 The low estimate is from the Ministry of Health in 2010 (Tim Estimasi Menkes 2010, UNDP 2013), while the higher figure is from the Communication Forum for Indonesian Waria (FKWI), also in 2010. Figures are cited in MacLaren (2014).
6 Established in Tangerang (Banten Province) by several Islamic *ulama* led by Rizieq Shihab, the organisation aims to promote the adoption of Islamic laws and values in the country. As indicated in https://tirto.id/fpi-dalam-lintasan-sejarah-b1NT , the organisation was initiated as a paramilitary group established by the military to fight against the students promoting 'total reform' against the New Order government. The organisation has been acting unilaterally to eradicate any activities that they consider against the Islamic values.
7 The *pesantren* was established by Shinta Ratri, a *waria*, in 2008 to allow a small group of *waria* gathered to pray together and read the Quran in weekly basis.

In this context, waria face a range of difficulties:[8]

- **Access to services:** Waria generally have limited education, skills, social support, and job opportunities, which often leads to poverty. Many work as street entertainers or sex workers (but tend to receive lower incomes than other sex workers). The prevalence of HIV among waria is high. Although access to health services has improved through HIV/AIDS programs, generally waria are treated poorly by health workers. Waria often face bullying and harassment at school, resulting in high drop-out rates. Waria who are isolated from their families cannot access their family cards (KK) and so cannot get citizen identity cards (KTP) – which are required to access most government services. Further, both KK and KTP cards only have two options for gender: male or female.

- **Human rights and social acceptance**: Most waria are isolated from other members of the community and tend to stay within their own enclave or sub-culture. Waria face violence and harassment, particularly from police officers as well as from clients, if they work in the sex industry. Most waria migrate to cities or other parts of Indonesia due to lack of acceptance from their families. Although waria are sometimes better accepted by communities than other LGBT individuals, they are perceived as promiscuous and hypersexual. These stereotypes are partially linked to the many programs working with waria to tackle HIV/AIDS.

- **Policies**: Waria are often criminalized due to their sexual behaviours and profession as sex workers. No regulations protect waria's right to work and to do so free from discrimination.

1.3 LOCAL CONTEXT IN BANJARMASIN, SOUTH KALIMANTAN

Banjarmasin is the administrative and economic capital of South Kalimantan province, and has a relatively low poverty level. Based on government statistics, in 2015[9] only 4.4% of Banjarmasin's 675,440 residents were living below the poverty line, which is better than provincial and national averages.[10] Politically, power in Banjarmasin and South Kalimantan is relatively evenly distributed among different parties – some Islamic, some secular.[11]

Some policies enacted in Banjarmasin demonstrate the significant influence of Islam on local politics,[12] but in general the people of the region are fairly tolerant.[13] This tolerance has been explained in a variety of ways, including the province's trading culture, its multiethnic demographics, and the historical influence of a famous local religious teacher.[14]

While waria in Banjarmasin do face stereotypes and social exclusion, they have had some success in business. Waria-owned businesses dominate the local beauty salon sector, and waria are famous in the city for their skill as make-up artists and hairdressers. The local expression, 'no waria, no wedding', shows their social importance within the community.[15] Waria's role in the beauty salon industry has given them alternatives to working on the street as 'entertainers' or sex workers, and has likely helped generate greater social acceptance. The waria of Banjarmasin seem to be embracing a positive stereotype and meeting others' expectations to gain financial security and social acceptance.

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8 This analysis was drawn from a discussion and short paper developed by the Program Peduli Technical Working Group on the social exclusion of waria.

9 https://banjarmasinkota.bps.go.id/linkTableDinamis/view/id/834

10 Provincial poverty rate was 4.7%, while the national average was 11.2% in 2015.

11 The mayor of Banjarmasin from 2015-2020 is a PKS politician – conservative Islamic party – who was supported by his party and four secular parties. His predecessor was supported by another Islamic party (PBR). However, 78% of the 45 seats in the local legislative council (DPRD) are distributed among eight secular parties.

12 Two *syariah perda* provide examples of policies influenced by religion, these are: prohibition of activities during fasting month (No. 13/2003) and zakat management (No. 31/2003)

13 Discussion with the Institute for Islamic and Society Research (LK3), a Banjarmasin-based inter-faith NGO, on April 6, 2017.

14 Most of the respected current religious leaders follow the teachings of a highly regarded ulema, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, who taught in the province in the 18th century. His teachings focus on contextualization of the religion and non-syariah daily life practices rather than strict adherence to syariah.

15 A member of Association of Wives of Military Officers (Persit)

Relatively few waria in Banjarmasin stop living with their families or flee to other cities as seen elsewhere in Indonesia. Most are locals and, because they are still with their families, have fewer problems securing identity cards.

However, some waria in Banjarmasin have been rejected by their families, some of whom have even tried to 'bring them back to normal' through physical violence. Local waria also face police harassment and violence, and broader government and social discrimination.

Waria in Banjarmasin had started organising themselves before Program Peduli got underway. In 2009 several waria activists established the Association of Banua Banjarmasin Transgender Community Solidarity (IWB-Banjaraty). The intention was to provide a venue where waria in South Kalimantan could come together to share their problems and support each other to achieve their aspirations (Program Peduli 2016). However, the organisation did not have articles of association and was not officially registered.

The fact that IWB-Banjaraty already existed was an important consideration for Program Peduli. Prior to Program Peduli, HIV/AIDS programming was the only external assistance provided to waria. IWB-Banjaraty had been involved in a HIV/AIDS program, financed by the Global Fund. Some prominent waria had broader ideas for empowering waria, but no funding was available.[16] However, the HIV/AIDS programs helped develop some networks among waria in Banjarmasin that Program Peduli was subsequently able to engage.

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16 Interview with local waria, April 6, 2017.

2 ABOUT THE PROGRAM

2.1 PROGRAM OVERVIEW

NATIONAL PROGRAM SUPPORT FOR LOCAL PARTNERS

Program Peduli at national level gave its local partners considerable flexibility to design their strategies in a context-sensitive way, and to adjust their work plans throughout implementation with approval from the umbrella organisations. It supported design processes, quality control and overall cohesion through national-level workshops and analysis undertaken with the seven umbrella partner organisations. This discussion and analysis in turn informed the specific strategies of the 79 local CSOs that received support.

The national Program Peduli team and umbrella partners provided learning events and regular mentoring and coaching. For example, a national-level gender analysis workshop (April 2016) and learning event on gender analysis (October 2016) included partners focusing on waria.

A national technical working group on waria brought together representatives of CSOs working on human rights issues, gender and waria activists, TAF, DFAT, and the NGO leading Program Peduli's work with waria – the Indonesia Planned Parenthood Association (PKBI). Their discussions contributed to a note on the social exclusion of waria and to the grant agreement with the South Kalimantan chapter of PKBI, which was selected to lead the work in Banjarmasin.

LOCAL STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THEORY OF CHANGE WORKSHOPS

The process of generating locally relevant strategies for each of the Program Peduli locations started with a Theory of Change (ToC) workshop.[17] Workshops in each location (68 in total) analysed the different dimensions of social exclusion, identified desired changes, enumerated beneficiaries, mapped stakeholders, and described the program strategy and assumptions. TAF designed the ToC workshops to involve beneficiaries, and used a simplified ToC format and methodology to encourage participation (see Section 3.4).[18]

The initial ToC workshop for waria in Banjarmasin was externally facilitated by a social development specialist, and attended by 20 waria. Subsequently, PKBI headquarters supported PKBI South Kalimantan to revise the ToC in January 2016, and PKBI South Kalimantan in turn supported IWB-Banjaraty to develop its own ToC.[19]

BOX 1: WHAT IS A THEORY OF CHANGE?

A Theory of Change (ToC) is a conceptualization of how a program believes a desired change can happen and of their own role in contributing to it. ToCs are used in the management and monitoring and evaluation of many development programs.

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17 For more information on Theories of Change see Valters (2015) or Stein and Valters (2012).
18 The ToC format used focused on the intermediate and ultimate changes the program aimed to achieve, rather than the causal pathways toward the ultimate changes.
19 Email correspondence with PKBI staff, 12 and 13 April 2017.

THE STRATEGY IN BANJARMASIN: A FOCUS ON SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

The program team in Banjarmasin made the strategic choice to focus on increasing the community's acceptance of waria. The Banjarmasin ToC emphasized tackling discrimination by society over discrimination by state institutions and policies.

This aligned with the national technical working group's focus on waria's social acceptance. It also reflected differences between the situation of waria nationally and in Banjarmasin, where there were estimated to be fewer than 20 waria involved in sex work, for example.

Revised ToCs produced by PKBI and IWB-Banjaraty in early 2016 show further changes in how the dynamics of exclusion and pathways to social inclusion were understood. The later documents reflect a deeper understanding of the stereotypes, beliefs, and misconceptions that lead to social exclusion (i.e. waria are not real women; waria are trouble makers; waria will end up in hell; waria are a key population in the transmission of HIV; etc.), as well as more detailed information about the situation of waria in Banjarmasin. Some of the changes observed include an increased estimate of the number of local waria being rejected by their families (80% instead of 50%), and accordingly, a stronger focus on family acceptance as the key to social acceptance.[20]

The evolution of the Banjarmasin ToC also traces the development of a unique approach to social acceptance. PKBI South Kalimantan and IWB-Banjaraty pursued the inclusion of waria as a part of society, rather than demanding that society acknowledge waria as a special group. Social acceptance was envisioned as waria implementing social activities to help others, participating in national and religious activities, and building relationships to encourage community and religious leaders to accept waria as part of society.

PROJECT ACTIVITIES WITH WARIA IN BANJARMASIN

The Banjarmasin project put its ToC into action through six main initiatives: interaction with government, waria's social promotion through community activities, interaction with other stakeholders, a family forum, training/institution building for the waria, and public events. Figure 2 below depicts the spread of activities across these categories, which gives a sense of the time and effort applied to each.[21] A more detailed explanation of some of the activities is provided below.

FIGURE 2 – TYPES OF FIELD-LEVEL ACTIVITIES BY QUARTER

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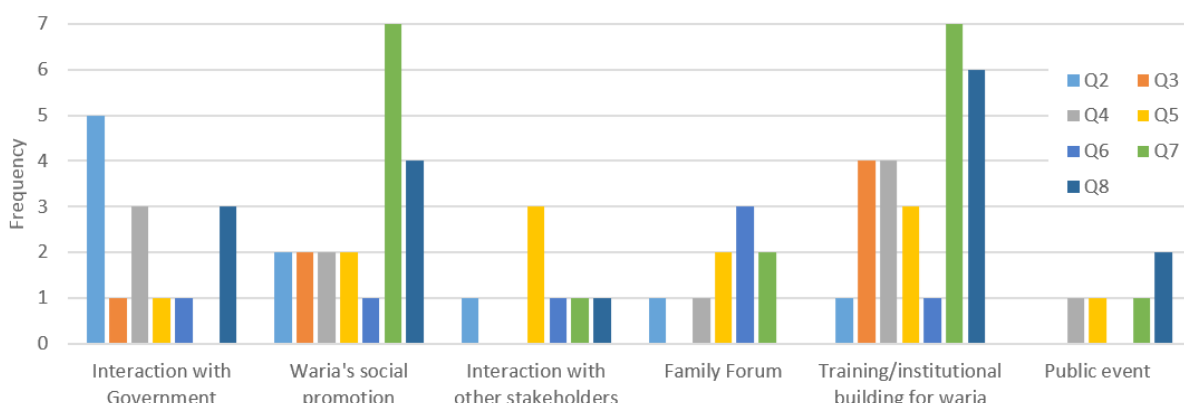
20 For example, the later ToC produced by PKBI South Kalimantan added two changes related to the family forum: waria embrace their gender identity and are accepted in their family; and the families that have accepted waria help influence others that have not.

21 These figures do not capture with precision the level of investment that went into specific activities or how staff viewed their relative importance, but they do broadly demonstrate the focus on social acceptance taken in Banjarmasin.

Interaction with government: The program first focused on building partnerships with government, as government agencies were viewed as key actors in promoting social inclusion, particularly in achieving improved services and policies for the waria. Early on PKBI Kalsel contacted two provincial government units: People's Welfare (*Kesra*) Bureau and the Provincial Health Office. The provincial government was selected as an entry point because they were familiar with PKBI through HIV/AIDS programs, and were expected to 'push' the city government of Banjarmasin to support the program.[22] As a result of this engagement, the governor provided an endorsement letter to the relevant local governments. PKBI South Kalimantan then asked the mayor of Banjarmasin for his endorsement. Interviews with team members suggest that, while it took persistence to set up the necessary meetings to request these endorsements, this process was critical to the program's eventual success. These initial efforts did much to help build the inexperienced team's capacity to interact and create networks with government officials.[23]

Based on these formal endorsements, PKBI Kalsel started working with the subnational government offices to secure their support. Over the course of the program, the team engaged government partners to advocate for the extension of social services to waria, to facilitate the official registration of IWB-Banjaraty, and to provide information about existing government programs that waria could access.[24] Registration of IWB-Banjaraty was eventually completed in late 2015. Engagement with government officials was reportedly not contentious in Banjarmasin, and some of the local exclusion waria experienced was likely rooted in a lack of consideration for their needs and the absence of proactive efforts to engage them in government programs, rather than intentional discrimination.[25] Engagement with the local government's SKPD forum, for example,[26] led to its various members making small but significant commitments to address waria issues. These included the Education Office encouraging waria who had dropped out of school to participate in equivalency tests; and the local administration and registration office committing to support waria to obtain legal identity documents; and offering support for some of the public events that IWB-Banjaraty held.

The Satpol PP, a local government police unit responsible for enforcing bylaws and local decrees,[27] was initially reluctant to meet with the project team, which staff felt was mainly due to negative perceptions of waria. However, after a persistent effort an initial discussion did happen, at which the head of the city's Satpol PP committed to ending violence against waria. This meeting and learning about waria's positive contributions to the community and their efforts to establish a legally registered organisation changed his perception of them.

Waria's social promotion: The strategy included supporting waria to implement social activities focused on helping others, to participate in national and religious activities together with the community, and to find constructive ways to build links with various actors in the community to show how waria add value. One activity that was well received by the community was providing make-up and hijab training.[28] The project also supported waria to lead Zumba exercise classes, participate in events to break the

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> ## BOX 2: WARIA AND VOLLEYBALL
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> Volleyball is a traditional waria sport, and an important activity for facilitating interaction with other members of the community. Senior waria in Banjarmasin were experienced volleyball players, and the program used this 'asset' to build relationships. For example, they arranged with Pelindo (Port Indonesia) to act as sparring partners for its female volleyball team. This led to Pelindo sponsoring the inauguration of IWB's management, inviting waria to help judge the company's fashion show, and to be the cheerleaders for the volleyball team. In addition, the Secretary of Banjarmasin's Volleyball Association (PBVSI) supported IWB-Banjaraty to host a Banjarmasin-wide volleyball tournament in 2016. PBVSI itself had not managed to organize a local tournament for about ten years.

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22 Source: interviews with PKBI staff on 5 April 2017.

23 Interviews with PKBI staff on 6 April 2017.

24 Source: analysis of Activity Report of PKBI Banjarmasin for Waria pillar in Program Peduli's MIS.

25 Staff of the People's Welfare (*Kesejahteraan Rakyat* or *Kesra*) Bureau of the provincial government. The interviewee was involved in the implementation of HIV/AIDS program, but said he could not imagine that waria could also participate in other government programs.

26 The SKPD forum is a local government forum that considers several issues relevant to the social and economic promotion of the waria, including tourism, SMEs, trade and labour affairs. It includes a range of local government representatives.

27 Satpol PP is responsible for enforcing bylaws and local decrees and accountable to the local government, not to the national police force (Polri).

28 For example, this training was provided to the staff of a community health centre (*puskesmas*), members of an interfaith women's group, parents of kindergarten and elementary school students, a women's group in a ward (*kelurahan*), wives of army officials, a girl's youth group, and the mothers of students at a local dance school.

fast with religious leaders during Ramadan, provide early breakfasts for the poor on the street during fasting month, and volunteer at an orphanage.[29]

Interaction with other stakeholders: The team expanded the focus of its outreach from government actors to other influential actors identified in project analysis as good entry points for broadening acceptance of waria among the general public. These targeted efforts to build strategic relationships included organising volleyball matches, engaging with influential women's groups like the army wives' association,[30] and with staff at the community health centre and religious leaders known for tolerance.[31] This outreach strategy included a communications plan and regular engagement with the local media that generated positive coverage.[32]

Family forum: The most significant social exclusion waria in Banjarmasin faced came from their own families. Therefore, IWB-Banjaraty identified and enlisted supportive family members to help encourage acceptance among other families through home visits and discussion events.[33] Forum members would regularly visit unsupportive families in a labour-intensive process of building trust, raising awareness, and providing mediation. The home visits emerged as a locally-driven solution, initiated by a couple who helped start the forum.[34] Supportive families were also invited to larger forum discussions.[35] The family forum activities have been repeatedly cited as among the most meaningful in improving the quality of life of waria in Banjarmasin.

Training/institution building for the waria: Once government support for the program and IWB-Banjaraty was secured, institutional development and individual capacity building for waria became a focus. The next step was to strengthen IWB-Banjaraty to ensure it would be sustainable and effective. The program provided institutional support and training – including in management, leadership and in establishing a cooperative – and training for individual waria, such as in entrepreneurship, journalism, personal finance, dance, photography, paralegal skills, and culinary skills.

Public events: Waria participation in public events was a key strategy for improving relationships with government and the community. In May 2016, for example, the waria association worked with other organisations to host an event to mark the International Day against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia (IDAHOT),[36] which was attended by around 100 participants. Interaction with the local government's SKPD Forum led to the waria's well-received involvement in large public events, parades, and festivals organized by the Tourism Office.[37]

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29 The number of women that received make-up training and hijab tutorials was 260, while at least 98 people were engaged in the Zumba dance classes and beach clean-up events.

30 The program made contact with the association of army wives by practicing volleyball in the army complex. Members of the association have defended the waria against criticism and invited their husbands and sons to interact with the waria.

31 The religious leaders the program worked with were affiliated with an interfaith CSO, the Institute for Islamic and Society Research (LK3) who identified religious leaders who are relatively open to waria. This outreach led to contact with a religious leader who is a member of the Banjarmasin chapter of Muhammadiyah (Indonesia's second largest Islamic mass organisation after NU), and a female religious scholar, who served as a resource person in a discussion with journalists and religious leaders. Lastly, a religious teacher from the Al Amin Foundation in East Banjarmasin sub-district invited the waria to participate in commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad in the first quarter of 2016. LK3 has also invited waria to participate in skills development programs – initially only focused on women – and engaged them in interfaith dialogues and in local religious events.

32 The media outreach resulted in positive coverage of project activities such as: http://banjarmasin.tribunnews.com/2015/04/14/biar-solid-waria-se-kalsel-adakan-perte-muan; http://banjarmasin.tribunnews.com/2015/11/27/bercerita-salat-dan-baju-koko-air-mata-waria-cantik-ini-tertahan-di-balik-maskara-hitam;http://banjarmasin.tribun-news.com/2015/11/30/waria-banjarmasin-serukan-pakai-kondom; http://banjarmasin.tribunnews.com/2017/03/18/pkbi-membahas-program-peduli-waria-banjarmasin

33 Initially 20 supportive family members were identified. Currently the Family Forum has around 40 members working to influence other families.

34 Phone interview with PKBI staff on May 2, 2017.

35 In addition to the seven Family Forum events indicated in Figure 2, many informal interactions have taken place.

36 Co-organizers of the event were the youth centre of PKBI South Kalimantan, the government's Centre for Integrated Services to Protect Women and Children (P2TP2A), and a local NGO working on drug addiction, Yayasan Lingkar Harapan Banua.

37 Including Banjarmasin's well known traditional floating market and the 2016 Dragon Boat festival. Participants and organizers commented that the waria's participation made these events livelier.

2.2 SUMMARY OF OUTCOMES TO DATE

After two years, the main categories of positive outcomes as reported by the project staff and beneficiaries during field research were better access to social services for waria in Banjarmasin, and signs of increased social acceptance.

Regarding access to social services, a specific success that has been noted is improved treatment by law enforcement. Law enforcement officials have not discriminated against waria or raided them based on their sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI),[38] and there have been no cases of Satpol PP violence against waria when arrested for breaking the law.

As a result of the program's engagement, government officials have made proactive efforts to inform waria about services they could access, including training on how to establish a cooperative and grants to promote entrepreneurship, and have invited waria to participate in government-led events. Waria have also received support to use government-owned facilities, and two sub-districts made specific changes to help waria receive legal identity with photographs showing their SOGI.

Much of the progress made on social acceptance has related to the work carried out through IWB Banjaraty. As a result of program interventions, IWB-Banjaraty has been revitalized and has played an important role in organising and empowering waria. This has involved increasing their awareness on how to access public services as well as implementing social promotion and acceptance programs, which beneficiaries report as having had positive outcomes.

Waria have reported feeling that they can more openly express themselves, and their participation in decision making at the neighbourhood level has increased. Acceptance by several interfaith religious leaders and the success of the family forum in supporting eight waria to improve their relationships with their families are also noteworthy.

To date the program has made a conscious decision not to work towards specific policy reforms, so there have not been clear outcomes on local or provincial policies. The initial strategy laid out some policy related goals, including developing MoUs with government offices and the legal aid institute. These goals were not achieved, but mainly because the implementing team decided that the MoUs did not align with the needs of waria in Banjarmasin. The main reason given for this change was the fear of a potential backlash from conservative actors, if they pushed government for more formal changes. .

While interviews with stakeholders and project documentation agree that PKBI Banjarmasin achieved positive results, it did not take the advocacy approach of many national waria and LGBT activists in Indonesia. Mainstream approaches to advancing social justice and inclusion for waria in Indonesia focus primarily on pushing for greater civil and political rights. This focus is consistent across several key reports, including UNDP USAID (2014), Komnas HAM (2016), and HRW (2016), as well as the initial thinking on the waria pillar under Program Peduli (MacLaren 2014) and the results of the national gender workshop.

The Banjarmasin project improved the ability of local waria to realise their rights, but did so by promoting positive engagement with strategic actors to create a supportive environment for waria. So, for example, rather than seeking an MoU with law enforcement to push police officers to end violence against waria, they focused on socially engaging government officials, including the national police and Satpol PP, to build trust and understanding. This dialogue and problem-solving approach yielded small but significant steps forward.

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38 Discussions with PKBI on 4 April 2017 and waria activists on 5 April 2017.

3 PROGRAM APPROACHES AND ANALYSIS

Program Peduli explicitly stated its intention to work in innovative ways, and to draw on ideas emerging from Thinking and Working Politically (TWP), Development Entrepreneurship (DE),[39] adaptive management, and other similar approaches.[40] When the activities and strategies used in Banjarmasin are compared with much of the relevant writing on these issues and ideas, some clear similarities as well as potential differences emerge. These, and how the case was affected by gender discourse and analysis, are explored below.

There are clear linkages between gender norms and dynamics and the situation of the waria and the challenges they face. The program analyzed and recognized those dynamics, and integrated that understanding into its strategy as it tried to improve social outcomes for an excluded gender minority. How this analysis and the gender considerations it explored were integrated into program strategy is discussed further in the following discussion. In addition, this section will assess how effectively, or in what ways, the program integrated ideas around TWP. This is somewhat challenging due to the wide range of definitions of what is good political programming, ambiguities that will be discussed in the sections that follow. To review the extent to which the program worked politically, analysis of the project strategies and activities focuses on a few key themes of the literature on TWP and related approaches:

Team composition, and the use of networks, relationships or coalitions to foment change (Denney & McLaren 2016). This includes the need for varied skillsets (Faustino & Booth 2014), and teams that are locally led and legitimate.

Flexible and adaptive program management. There is a growing recognition that programs are more likely to achieve impact if they adapt to new information or changes in context (Kleinfeld 2015; Rondinell 1993). A range of tools have been developed to encourage programs to adapt their plans and approaches during implementation (Faustino & Booth 2014; Ladner 2015).

Effective programs will generally be politically informed – meaning they analyse and understand the political dynamics of the problems they are trying to address and use that understanding to inform their strategies – **and often politically active** – meaning that they proactively engage in political processes to achieve their goals (Leftwich 2011; Carothers & de Gramont 2013).

These major elements will be explored in the following discussion of programming approaches observed in Banjarmasin.

3.1 RECRUITMENT: LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND NETWORKS PRIORITISED OVER EXPERIENCE

In developing the local program team, greater emphasis was placed on local networks and knowledge of the situation facing waria than on programmatic experience.

Formation of the project team required some early intervention by TAF, which prompted changes to PKBI's program management and approach to Program Peduli. Through early activities aimed at building consensus and a common understanding of the Program Peduli approach, such as the technical working group, PKBI's contributions confirmed that their expertise on waria and opinions about their empowerment did not fit very well with the Program Peduli thinking.

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39 DE is an iterative and politically informed way of working to achieve 'technically sound, politically possible' reforms. A 'technically sound' reform is defined by three characteristics: 1. Impact: The likelihood the measure will change the incentives and behaviour of people and organisations sufficiently, so development outcomes improve; 2. Scale: The prospects the reform will spread well beyond the initial project site; and 3. Sustainability: The likelihood the reform will continue without additional donor support.

40 These include 'Doing Development Differently' (Overseas Development Institute) and the Problem Driven, Iterative Adaptive approach (Harvard University).

There was a concern that PKBI management viewed waria as a "key target population" as in HIV/AIDS programs, rather than as agents of their own empowerment. In addition, PKBI took a conventional approach to program management and wanted to implement the program based on a static results framework and detailed work-plan.

As Program Peduli gave significant responsibility and flexibility to executing organisations, it was crucial to ensure that PKBI put in place staff who shared Program Peduli's vision for the work with waria, and saw waria as agents of their own empowerment. After negotiations, the final program management team at national level combined a long-term PKBI staff member and activist, who has extensive field experience as a program manager, with a national-level waria leader who had limited experience implementing development programs. Another more experienced PKBI program officer provided support.

This national program team, in turn, requested that all PKBI chapters involved in the waria work mobilise waria as their program officers. In South Kalimantan, PKBI hired two relatively inexperienced waria as their field-level program officers (POs) through a competitive recruitment process. One with a degree in public administration and experience in HIV/AIDS programming was hired to work with the 'elite stakeholders' in Banjarmasin. A second waria, who had dropped out of college but had experience supporting HIV/AIDS programming, was selected to facilitate work with the waria communities. The field level Program Manager has more experience working for PKBI.

These decisions showed a clear emphasis on local ownership and legitimacy in building a project team, and enabled a high level of trust among program stakeholders. Hiring less experienced staff also helped overcome initial concerns about an overly rigid approach to designing and implementing programs: the new POs immediately learned about flexible programming, rather than more classic work plans or logframes. The inclusion of waria in the Banjarmasin team was critical to staying true to the spirit of the program and had a profound effect on the outcomes pursued, the activities undertaken, and the stakeholders engaged.

3.2 DECISIONS ON STRATEGY: WIDE GROUP OF LOCAL CHANGE AGENTS INVOLVED

The program drew heavily on a broader network of locally legitimate waria who were committed to change. These individuals were members of IWB-Banjaraty who emerged as leaders within the group. The PKBI POs and IWB-Banjaraty supported coordination and discussion to help involve these influential waria in guiding and delivering activities. In this way, the program connected to and supported existing movements and networks rather than trying to convene a new one.

Examples of influential local waria engaged to support the project include the following:

- A senior waria in Banjarmasin. Her personality, leadership and philosophy played a significant role in shaping the focus and directions of the program. She was a main proponent of the strategy of engaging the wider community and who strongly believes that to receive more community support, waria need to give more to the community. This logic underpinned the program's 'social promotion' activities.

- A salon owner and former beauty queen who used her local celebrity status to help mobilise waria to participate in the association's activities.

- Another local waria salon owner who networked with provincial elites to help increase both her own business opportunities as well as broader social acceptance of waria. Through Indonesia's Association of Young Businesspeople (HIPMI) she built a relationship with the wife of the Provincial Police Chief, who is an advisor to HIPMI, and, through her, with district and sub-district police offices. She has used these relationships to facilitate meetings and government sponsorship of waria events.

Some opinions and visions set out by local waria did not get traction within the program. Specifically, some waria advocated that IWB-Banjaraty should continue its traditional focus on HIV/AIDS, rather than shifting to the work on social acceptance. This has resulted in a split within IWB-Banjaraty: some waria in the organization remain focused on the HIV/AIDS programs; while others focus on the new activities more closely linked to the work of Peduli. A small grant from Peduli to IWB-Banjaraty in 2016 was thought to have increased this tension and internal competition. The 'Peduli activists' are now considering the possibility of establishing a new organisation, which would include both waria

and other community members, to focus exclusively on accelerating waria's social acceptance. These differences demonstrate that even within the waria community there are differing ideas about how best to improve lives in their community. This means that despite extensive local consultation with waria, the program still had to make thoughtful choices on strategy as options enjoyed consensus support within the waria community.

3.3 CONSIDERATION OF THE GENDERED ELEMENTS OF POLITICS AND POWER DYNAMICS

The program team understood the central role that waria's gender plays in their social exclusion, and this understanding informed all aspects of the program, including the goals, strategies and activities. This focus can initially be traced back to the initial study of the constraints facing the waria carried out by the Program Peduli team. Some of the context of this first analysis is shared on Section 1.3 of this report, but in brief this national level analysis identified issues including violence and harassment by a number of parties including family members; exclusionary practices around access to services; a range of negative stereotypes that were commonly held in society; and the lack of legal protections for waria that emanated from the gender identity of waria. In addition, this early analysis tried to consider ways that some of these issues faced all women, and in which ways the discrimination faced by waria was different or worse. For example, while many female sex workers face similar risks of violence and harassment, waria are paid less for their work. Similarly, while household power dynamics often favor men over women, women are less likely to be excluded or pushed out from their family units.

BOX 3 GENDER ANALYSIS

A gender analysis workshop asked participants to consider six main categories of gender issues:

1. Gender stereotypes
2. Limited access to political decisions
3. Subordination
4. Gender-based violence
5. Poverty
6. Double burden

For each of these areas the implementing partners were asked (1) what they were doing to address the issues they had identified, and (2) to rate themselves on their capacity to follow through.

The decision to have the ToC workshop in Banjarmasin facilitated by an external expert with a strong understanding of gender issues in Indonesia helped the program further nuance the gender analysis. The differences between the situation of waria in Banjarmasin and that of the group nationally, (including the low number of Banjarmasin waria in the sex trade and the relatively high percentage who did have legal identity documents), led the Banjarmasin team to focus on social acceptance.

The program also conducted a formal gender analysis, which both confirmed its approach and suggested why a national strategy for promoting waria's well-being might be different.[41] This workshop went through six main categories of gender analysis (see Box 6). Findings included, for example, the difficult economic situation many waria confront because they try to gain their families' acceptance by providing financial support, while also facing discrimination that limits their job opportunities (a 'double burden'). The team also analysed the stereotypes and norms that waria face and the linkages between their gender and the forms of social exclusion they experience. Further, waria are considered 'second class citizens', and there is a view that only by accepting a male gender identity can they be full citizens. Because of this, waria are often denied basic rights, and are vulnerable to poverty and violence – including physical, verbal, economic, psychological, social and sexual violence.

The workshop discussions concluded that responses to the wide range of gender injustices faced by waria had to be multi-faceted, and had to include efforts to reduce the negative stereotypes that drive a lot of the exclusionary and discriminatory behaviour towards waria. And while the workshop did recognize the importance of policy advocacy, notes suggest that attendees thought that to attain basic rights for waria work needed to prioritise social recognition, social acceptance, and access to basic services as a starting point, which matches the approach taken in Banjarmasin.

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41 Interview with Peduli staff, 3 April 2017.

At the same time the national gender analysis process did lead to suggestions that PKBI expand its coalition building efforts and advocacy approach at the national level and build more relationships with institutions that do LGBT advocacy. This idea and focus on national policy falls outside of the scope of this paper, but in Banjarmasin the local ToC developed with a recognition that too aggressive of an approach to formal policy advocacy might hinder efforts to increase social acceptance and undercut support from some local stakeholders. This idea is discussed in Section 3.7 below.

During implementation, the Banjarmasin program also noted interesting ways in which conventional, hetero-normative gender stereotypes were applied to waria depending on the situation. On the one hand, interviews suggested that the community values waria for their skill and creativity in make-up application. On the other hand, a local volleyball coach welcomed them as training partners for his female team so the women would gain a 'more fighting, masculine spirit'.

The gender analysis identified issues specific to waria, as well as those they shared with non-transgender women, sex workers, and poorer communities, which aggregated into a unique set of challenges.

3.4 USE OF SIMPLE TOOLS TO SUPPORT A FLEXIBLE, PARTICIPATORY APPROACH

Shifting to a more flexible and political style of working can be a challenge for program staff used to working in more standard ways and systems (Cole et al. 2016; Ladner 2015). Program Peduli used several tools to engage key stakeholders and beneficiaries, build a common understanding of the program approach, set expectations, and create an environment conducive to the desired style of working. The use of these simple tools played a central role in the program's efforts to be flexible, politically engaged, and sensitive to the gender dynamics affecting the program. These tools and processes created excitement among implementers and beneficiaries, and more importantly, aligned their vision of the program. Simplifying the tools helped all partners take incremental steps towards adopting the intended programming approach, without requiring significant amounts of time for capacity building or talking about theory. A few of the tools used are introduced below.

THEORIES OF CHANGE

Program Peduli (at the national level – not only in Banjarmasin) held two-day ToC workshops with each local CSO partner, and included both program implementers and beneficiaries as participants. This was part of the program philosophy that true social inclusion required the excluded to formulate envisaged changes themselves, and in Banjarmasin this gave local waria leaders the opportunity to shape the program's strategy. However, this inclusive approach meant that there were varied levels of comfort with ToCs among participants, requiring the program to use a significantly simplified methodology. Rather than focusing on complex causal pathways to change, the workshops focused on identifying several intermediary changes in Banjarmasin that would contribute towards Peduli's three high-level outcomes.[42] The approach was also designed to help the EOs and local CSO partners break away from the rigid 'output-outcome-impact' structure of the logical models or results frameworks many of them were familiar with.

Through participating in the ToC workshop, waria realized that Program Peduli would support them to address problems they identified themselves. In other words, they were the 'subject' rather than the 'object' of the program. PKBI staff also found the ToC approach preferable to the traditional logical framework model they had previously used, as they appreciated the additional flexibility it allowed.[43]

In January 2016, Program Peduli held a workshop for all its partner CSOs working with waria to help them revise the ToCs to incorporate lessons from implementation and deeper analysis. PKBI South Kalimantan replicated the workshop to help IWB-Banjaraty develop its own ToC in February 2016.

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42 (i) increased access to public services and social assistance; (ii) increased social acceptance and fulfilment of human rights; and (iii) improved policy on social inclusion
43 Discussions with PKBI's Program Peduli management on April 4, 2017 and with waria representatives on April 5, 2017 and interview with local waria activists on April 6, 2017.

STAKEHOLDER MAPS

This tool was simplified to focus on the role of each stakeholder in achieving the envisaged changes, rather than elaborating the power/influence and incentives of each. In Banjarmasin, this mapping process helped the program identify the key stakeholders they needed to work with, which over time prompted a shift from an initial focus on building relationships with government, to developing a wider coalition of stakeholders.

MENTORING AND PEER-LEARNING EVENTS

The program has been using mentoring (with national level staff from TAF and the main umbrella organisations) and peer-learning workshops to share ideas and enhance participants' capacities to be flexible and to think and work politically. Creating opportunities for brainstorming, for considering new ideas for program strategies, and for individuals not directly involved in the program to ask probing questions about strategic decisions are all considered important for 'TWP'-style programming (see Cole et al. 2016). The workshops bring together local CSO partners and waria associations from different locations. Peduli program staff have reported that, through these exchanges, CSOs working with waria in other Peduli locations have learned from the Banjarmasin approach.

3.5 LOCAL RELEVANCE AND ADAPTATION

Program Peduli was designed to facilitate a flexible, adaptive approach to program design and implementation that empowered local actors to shape locally relevant strategies and solutions. While TAF and PKBI set out the high-level outcomes for the program – access to services, social acceptance, and policy reform – local partners decided which outcomes to emphasize and how to pursue them.

There was also significant scope for local partners to adjust their activities in response to program learning or changing conditions.[44] This process gave local partners space to incorporate their own deepening understanding of their social exclusion and potential solutions. The focus was on achieving results, rather than implementing activities and delivering outputs.[45]

This approach helped ensure that the focus of program activities reflected the local conditions and context unique to Banjarmasin (see Section 2.1). The way Program Peduli adapted to Banjarmasin can be traced by comparing the findings of key program documents, including the findings of the technical working group (May 2014), the document produced through the TAF-facilitated ToC workshop (November 2014), and two revised ToCs produced by PKBI South Kalimantan and IWB-Banjaraty (January-February 2016). It is worth noting that some of the activities reported as being highest impact, such as the family forum, were not originally planned but emerged through this ongoing adaptation of the work plan to analysis of the local needs of project beneficiaries and improvements to the strategies.

3.6 POLITICALLY INFORMED DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

Program design and implementation was 'politically informed' and focused on network and relationship building to develop coalitions to support improvements for waria.

The term politically informed has been used to describe the learning element of thinking and working politically, meaning that projects try to gather information on, conduct analysis of, and develop strategy with reference to political economy dynamics and the perceived interests of important stakeholders (Booth & Unsworth 2014). Program strategy was based on a deep understanding and analysis of the local context – including key players and their interests, incentives, ideas and relationships. The team extended their understanding of local politics to the community level and even into the household dynamics that were affecting quality of life for the waria and their levels of acceptance in Banjarmasin. The stakeholder mapping was an important tool in this regard.

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44 The revision of the ToC (and formulation of the ToC for IWB Banjaraty) was an initiative taken by PKBI, without direct involvement from TAF, but rather responding to the overall expectations set by the Peduli program.
45 This was reflected in the Letter of Grant between TAF and PKBI headquarters. The latter had a more rigid mechanism for monitoring PKBI Kalsel, which included quarterly workplans and budgets, but there was still significant scope for consultation and adjustments.

Three stakeholder maps were created over the course of the program – the first at the original ToC workshop for South Kalimantan PKBI (November 2014). When this initial map is compared with the actual relationships and networks that were critical to the main activities implemented, certain differences emerge. For example, it is apparent that the program team's thinking on the relative importance of engaging and cultivating relationships with various stakeholders evolved over time. The original stakeholder map emphasized working with government (including law enforcement agencies), religious and community leaders, in addition to national-level stakeholders. In practice, support for the program – and in particular for the formal registration of IWB-Banjaraty – from the provincial and local governments was critical to laying a strong foundation for local program implementation, but further government policy reform was ultimately not considered as important as originally envisaged. The program did engage religious leaders, but alongside many others within the community. These include some members of the community that were not identified as being important at the outset, such as women's groups, volleyball communities, mass media and a local NGO (LK3), but were later engaged as part of efforts to broaden acceptance of waria. Networking with the two national human rights commissions became less important than initially thought because anticipated pressure from FPI and similar groups did not materialize in Banjarmasin. PKBI headquarters developed some links, but these relationships did not have a significant impact on program implementation in Banjarmasin.

The stakeholder maps demonstrate a strong focus on creating active and sustainable associations to drive change, which involved drawing on pre-existing networks (e.g. from HIV/AIDS programs) as well as senior waria leaders. The program invested heavily in building relationships with government officials and seeking their support through the SKPD Forum, particularly in the initial stage of program implementation. There were also clear strategic decisions to build relationships and engage influential actors in the program as a way to influence social norms. Personal connections and friendships forged through volleyball proved to be very important in advancing waria's social acceptance.

3.7 POLITICALLY INFORMED VERSUS POLITICALLY ACTIVE

While the program was clearly politically-informed, the extent to which the program was 'politically active' is more limited. Its coalition-building approach is an important element of thinking and working politically. However, the program made a strategic decision to focus more on social acceptance and opportunities for waria within existing policies rather than pursuing significant policy change. The program engaged heavily with government officials, but these engagements did not seek to encourage specific policy reforms.

The decision to focus on waria's integration and acceptance within society, rather than demanding special rights or recognition, was in itself politically informed. There were legitimate concerns about the potential drawbacks of taking a more visible and forceful approach in pushing for change. This decision was based on a political economy analysis of the local situation and the program team's understanding that some aspects of waria's exclusion are due to national-level laws and regulations that would not be realistic to pursue at the local level. It was also motivated by a realistic fear of backlash from more traditional elements of the community that have been relatively quiet in Banjarmasin.

Many programs that would be characterized as TWP aim to identify critical decisions or reforms that are needed, and mobilise their networks, relationships and coalitions to make them happen. In the Banjarmasin case, the program did develop a coalition of local activists, but those engaged focused on finding ways to promte community, household and individual level transformations that would build towards changing local social norms.

It is not entirely clear whether this community engagement approach to social inclusion was intended to prepare the ground for a longer-term national strategy that would eventually aim to achieve more transformative policy reforms. The ToC suggests greater political activity and engagement might be considered as the local base for promoting such changes is solidified. There is also some suggestion in the analysis that stakeholders feel this next step is not necessary and may be risky. As this is an ongoing program, these internal debates are ongoing as well.

3.8 PURSUIT OF INCREMENTAL CHANGE IN ATTITUDES, NOT RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT

By taking the politically-informed decision to let program strategy be led by locally legitimate waria activists seeking incremental improvements, the program was not as forceful on rights issues as some would like.

The program achieved some notable successes in increasing social inclusion for waria and challenging negative stereotypes. However, it generally did so through an incremental approach that in some ways avoided direct confrontation with many of the negative perceptions and biases that affect waria. This meant choosing to challenge perceptions on a small scale, through direct engagement at the individual, household and community levels, rather than pursuing more aggressive strategies to assert rights and demand enforcement.

This more moderate approach emerged from extensive engagement with local waria leaders. They believe that the best way to build community support is by providing services to the community, and at times limiting their outward expression of being waria through clothes and make-up. These ideas emerged from the thinking of a prominent and locally legitimate waria leader and her allies. But their advice to waria not to always dress as women could be viewed as discouraging them from fully embracing their gender identity, and is certainly controversial. The decision to not actively try to assert rights by pushing for government enforcement, and to focus on slower change, might also be seen as making concessions or compromises on rights that should be inalienable. These positions differ from those held by many in the waria and LGBT movement nationally, however they have been positively received by waria in many other communities who have heard about the Banjarmasin case at shared learning events. Some of the approaches used in Banjarmasin are now, to some extent, being replicated by waria in the other locations.[46]

The establishment of *Forum Waria Peduli* – a network among the six waria associations in the program locations – is envisioned as the beginning of a countrywide movement, built up from the regions.[47] This may complement the existing waria (and LGBT) movement in Indonesia that, according to one expert, is currently in a 'half dead' situation.[48] She sees the fact that IWB-Banjaraty has been relatively successful in achieving concrete positive results for the waria as a good entry point for expanding the movement.

So the strategic and politically-informed thinking to engage this locally legitimate movement has yielded some positive results. But it has also required an approach that could make some with more strident goals uncomfortable, even if these are only intended to be short-term measures.

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46 To some extent, replication has happened in other locations where Program Peduli is being implemented, with the exception of Aceh.
47 Discussion with PKBI staff, 3 April 2017.
48 Phone interview with LGBT expert on 20 April 2017.

4 CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE INTEGRATION OF TWP AND GENDER PROGRAMMING

The Banjarmasin case used an approach that integrated working in politically sensitive and adaptive ways with consideration of the gender dimensions of the work. The analysis the program carried out (both using formal tools and informally through strategy and ToC development) was strengthened by consideration of gender as well as politics and interests. Both these critical lenses enhanced the program's efforts to understand the power dynamics, norms, relationships, and networks that shaped the context in which it was operating. And, effectively linking that robust analysis to its programming strategies and decisions seemed to have a positive effect on achieving local impact.

So, as a starting point, it is important to note that this program supports the hypothesis that integrating sound gender and political analysis into programs will increase their effectiveness. While this is a single case, which limits how much we can conclude more broadly about programs that combine gender-sensitive and TWP approaches, it does raise some issues for further consideration and discussion.

Ambiguity in terms and differing definitions complicate the analysis of this case. A program can engage effectively with gender and politics in a range of ways. On gender, programs can range from those that are informed by a strong analysis of gender dynamics, but do not focus explicitly on gender outcomes, to programs that aim to transform gender norms and relations. On TWP, approaches range from those that start with a sound political economy analysis, to those that apply politically engaged strategies to achieve transformative change.[49]

In addition, the literature on TWP principles generally goes beyond consideration of politics, and emphasizes the importance of working in flexible, adaptive or iterative ways (Easterly 2006) as an important element of a TWP approach. Of course, a program can be flexible and adaptive without engaging in any political analysis at all.

Another critical element of many definitions of TWP programming is a focus on being context driven and locally owned, again something that can be done without flexibility and/or thoughtful engagement with politics (Faustino & Booth 2015). A final condition often associated with TWP is a focus on solving a clear problem rather than on broadly improving processes or institutions.

A review of program documentation and field research confirms that the waria program in Banjarmasin has taken a gendered approach. The program team analysed the gendered elements of the disadvantages waria face and responded to that analysis in their strategy. The activities have achieved some positive outcomes for this local gender minority community, including greater social acceptance and a better quality of life.

The extent to which this case is also an example of TWP is complicated by the many elements that comprise a TWP approach in the literature, and the lack of guidance on their relative importance or weighting. The program clearly meets many criteria of a TWP approach – it was flexible and adaptive, it analysed power and politics and that analysis fed into decisions.

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49 It should be noted that where a program falls within these ranges does not necessarily indicate impact or quality. Recently, there is a tendency for TWP to be understood as synonymous with good or strategic programming. This has created an incentive for programmers to characterize their programs as TWP, and has compromised the conceptual clarity regarding what TWP is and what it is not.

At the same time, the program did not engage in formal political processes or attempt to influence policy discourse, and instead focused on changing social norms at the community, household and even individual levels. This was a politically informed decision, but it was also a decision to not be 'politically active,' which many would include as a core element of the definition of TWP. This observation is not a critique of the quality of the program, and does not suggest that its strategy was lacking something or was blind to politics. However, it points to the issue that broad and ambiguous definitions of TWP can make conversations about these approaches more complicated.

To qualify as 'political' for discussion and analysis, does a program have to meet all of these criteria and to some significant degree? At present, we lack a clear and common vocabulary to describe the differences on the broad spectrum of political and flexible programs. This ultimately limits analysis on these programs' effectiveness and potential for replication. Figure 2 below puts some of this variation into a simple graph, and proposes where we might situate the Banjarmasin case.

FIGURE 2 – THE RANGE OF POLITICAL AND FLEXIBLE PROGRAMS
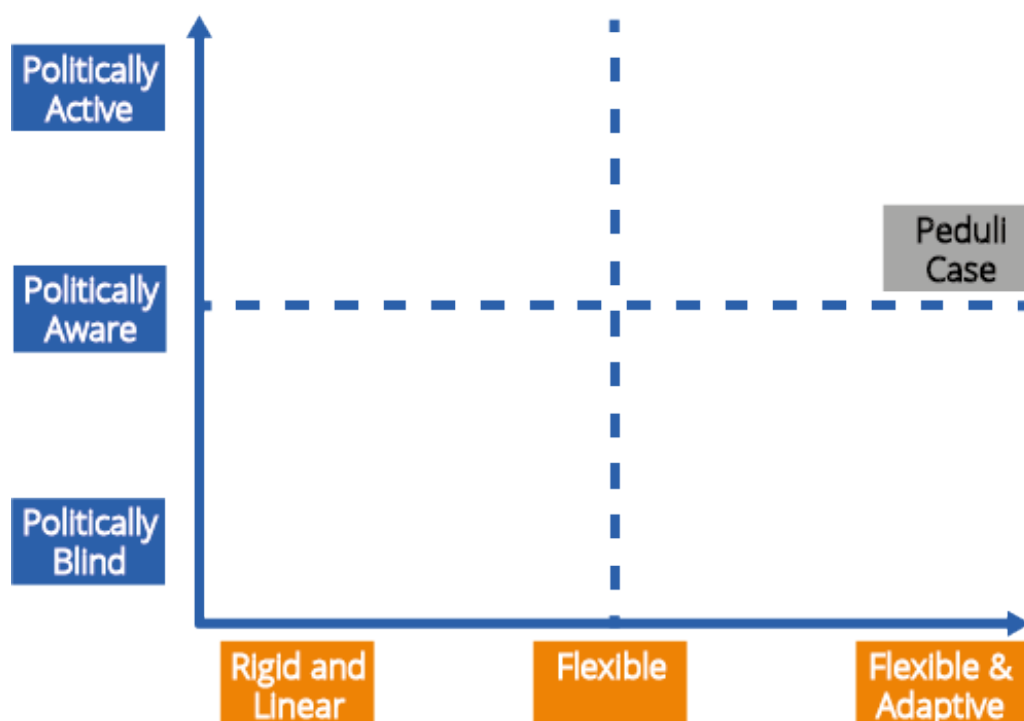
The idea of applying a TWP approach at the level of individual, household and community transformations has not been explored in the TWP literature, but the Banjarmasin case may provide an example and some guidance on what such an approach would look like. In many cases the theories of change used in gender equality or women's empowerment programming start by trying to foment changes in individual, household or community dynamics that then build towards wider social change. These programs aim to shift values, norms and power relationships at the grassroots level. The Banjarmasin case exemplifies this approach, as the program worked explicitly on increasing social acceptance of the waria, often doing so through direct engagement with individuals perceived to be relevant to the waria's well-being.

This approach is quite different from most examples of programs characterized as TWP, which tend to focus on policy reform. In contrast, the Banjarmasin case applies political analysis to strategies aimed at changing hearts and minds to increase social acceptance. It does so in at least two ways. Firstly, the decision not to pursue policy reform was explicitly based on political analysis (legitimate fear of backlash being one of the reasons). And secondly, an analysis of power dynamics at the individual, household, and community levels informed decisions regarding which stakeholders the program might engage, and who would have the legitimacy and influence to support individual, household and community transformations. This type of analysis is done in many gender programs, although often without explicit reference to TWP tools and frameworks, such as stakeholder maps and PEAs.

It is widely accepted, especially in gender studies, that power and political dynamics extend down to the household level (Koester 2015). Under this broad understanding of politics, it is clear that a program can take politics into account and work 'politically' at the household or community level, but this concept has not generally been included in discussions on the range of TWP approaches. Based on this case, extending the definition of TWP work down to the level of individual, household and community transformations might include the following elements:

- Develop a theory of change that articulates how household transformations will build into improved conditions for target beneficiaries

- Articulate the political analysis that indicates that work on policy does not offer a pathway towards transformative impact

- Start from sound analysis of power at the individual, household and community levels (something that would require a sound gender analysis)

- Analyse the network of stakeholders who influence the beliefs and behaviours of individuals, households and communities, and draw on that knowledge for strategy

- Analyse the perceived interests that shape individual, household and community behaviours, and how interest-based changes in behaviour link to longer-term normative changes

- Take a flexible, adaptive, and context-driven approach

These are very initial ideas, based on a single case. Further thinking and investment in framing would be needed to develop a clear understanding of what threshold might apply for characterising programs focused on community, household or individual transformation as 'TWP' programs.

Despite the role of politics in the household and community, issues of scaling and timeframes can present tensions between gender and TWP approaches. A critical feature of good 'TWP' programming is the aim to drive change that reaches scale without long-term development funding, which explains some of the focus on solutions that can be taken to scale through policy or market driven changes. This kind of scaling presents unique challenges for programs centred on community, household and individual transformations, as these approaches usually require long-term funding for NGOs and activists to reach enough people to spearhead societal change.

This issue of scaling points to timeframes as a complicating factor when trying to combine TWP approaches with gender focused programming. Much of the literature on TWP emphasizes an approach featuring time-bound efforts to achieve concrete goals. This may not match well with programs that are seeking longer term, transformative changes in societal norms (that often take decades to take hold or have to work in an incremental manner over a long period of time). This does not mean that longer term strategies for working towards gender equality or women's empowerment are not political. But it does mean that we do not have a sense of how to articulate these differences within programs that are politically engaged with sufficient nuance. And this leads to muddled conversations and unclear guidance on how programs can use both gender and TWP lenses to achieve greater development impact.

It should also be noted that starting with a focus on individual, household and community transformation might be an initial step in a long term, politically engaged strategy to achieve transformative gender impact. Underlying theories of change about how norms and societies are shaped over time and how programming is sequenced can be highly political. For example, focusing on social acceptance until a larger and more amenable constituency is in place to engage in deeper policy reform may be a sound strategy. However, these longer term strategies are a departure from much of the work currently being held up as models for 'TWP' programming. Also, these longer-term theories of change often are not fully articulated, as they fall outside of the three- to five-year timeframes commonly used in development programming.

Efforts to integrate TWP and gender approaches can lead to tensions around appropriate trade-offs and compromises. The Banjarmasin case illustrates that tensions can arise when TWP and gender focused approaches are combined. For example, TWP approaches may have a greater tolerance for short term trade-offs than programs seeking transformative progress on gender. TWP programs often aim for incremental change by adopting short-term political strategies to achieve specific outcomes, usually policy outcomes. While there are certainly many programs

supporting gender equality that take an incremental approach to progress, some may find this type of incremental approach could risk tacitly condoning inequitable norms to achieve short-term objectives, if not managed carefully and with a full understanding of the potential gender implications. Another possible objection might be that incrementalism means choosing to step back from opportunities to assert the principles of full equality and fundamental rights in order to take concrete steps forward in the operating environment.

The potential for TWP programming to accept compromises that do not prioritise full equality and freedom, based on an analysis of political feasibility and support for various policy options, may be inherently uncomfortable for many working on gender issues. For example, one of the most prominent and politically skilful local waria leaders recommended that waria should exercise moderation or restraint in expression of their identities in order to achieve greater social acceptance within their communities. This approach was not formally part of the program's strategy, but it was clearly influential among many waria in Banjarmasin. While this strategy and advice was seen as leading to positive results by some in the waria community, it did so partially by accepting limits on waria's freedom of expression. This could be a political strategy that will, over time, allow for greater eventual progress on equality for waria, but it might also be a compromise that achieves short-term gains while hindering progress towards longer-term goals. Ongoing monitoring and reflection are crucial for adapting as necessary to ensure continued progress towards equality.

A case of policy work that is transformative on gender equality might offer greater chances for synergies between TWP literature and gender programming. The Banjarmasin case chose not to develop a strategy based on policy reform. It may well be that there is no policy measure that would significantly transform the lives of the waria in Banjarmasin. In general, finding a single policy that will unleash impacts on gender equality without major investments in behavioural change, implementation support, or enforcement is a difficult task. However, research on programs aimed at advancing gender equality through policy reform would offer more opportunities to deepen our understanding of the synergies and tensions between gender and TWP approaches.

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# ANNEX: OVERVIEW OF PROGRAM PEDULI – NATIONAL LEVEL

The overarching assumption of Program Peduli is that reducing poverty in excluded communities requires changes in the social relations that govern access to resources and economic opportunities. TAF has been implementing the program under coordination of the Government of Indonesia with funding from the Australian Government since April 2014.[50] Program Peduli is organized around six marginalized communities (described by the program as 'pillars'), one of which is waria.[51]

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The Indonesia Planned Parenthood Association (PKBI) was selected to lead work focused on the waria. PKBI is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that provides access to information and services related to sexual and reproductive health to promote personal welfare, good health and national prosperity (Oetomo 1996). PKBI implements program activities with waria in six locations as part of Program Peduli, operating through local CSO partners. In Banjarmasin, the local partner is the provincial chapter of PKBI (South Kalimantan).

FIGURE 3

A national technical working group for each Program Peduli pillar worked to facilitate consensus on key areas of exclusion and corresponding programming and advocacy efforts, and to review civil society proposals.[52]

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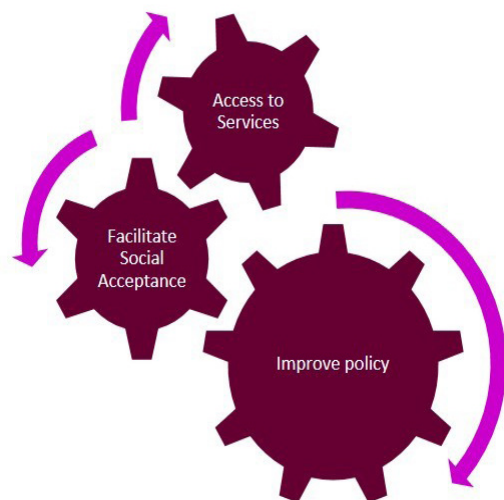
50 The first phase was implemented by the World Bank. The current phase implemented by The Asia Foundation has been extended to 2018 and is being implemented in 84 districts (out of a total of 514) in 26 of Indonesia's 34 provinces. Implementation takes place through seven national umbrella organisations and 79 local CSO partners.

51 The other pillars are: vulnerable children and youth, remote indigenous communities reliant on natural resources, discriminated religious minorities, people with disabilities, and victims of gross human rights violations.

52 The technical working groups were included in the design of Peduli to try and drive innovative thinking on the strategies to promote inclusion. As the grant agreement states, 'Social inclusion aims to organize, engage, and network marginalized communities and link them with government services, but the very pathways to inclusion – who is targeted, how they are engaged, what capacity is prioritised, and how advocacy is undertaken, to what end – remain outstanding questions.' Peduli Phase 2, DFAT Grant Agreement 70009, p. 25.

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