

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adam, A. (2019, January). *Merayakan Drag Queen di Yogyakarta, Menerobos Bayang-Bayang Teror*. Tirto.ID. Retrieved June 29, 2023, from <https://tirto.id/merayakan-drag-queen-di-yogyakarta-menerobos-bayang-bayang-teror-dc5l>
- Almendral, A. (2018, April). *A Transgender Paradox, and Platform, in the Philippines (Published 2018)*. The New York Times. Retrieved May 20, 2023, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/29/world/asia/transgender-philippines-discrimination.html>
- Amanada, A. N. N. (2020, December). Tinjauan HAM Terhadap Kelompok LGBT di Kawasan Asia Tenggara. *Journal of International and Local Studies*, 2(1).  
<https://journal.unibos.ac.id/jils/article/view/706>
- Andaya, B. W. (n.d.). *Introduction to Southeast Asia : History, Geography, Livelihood*. Asia Society. Retrieved July 12, 2023, from <https://www.google.com/url?q=https://asiasociety.org/education/introduction-southeast-asia&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1690278254341360&usg=AOvVaw3h-tZ5WOfqCo56Vi2HinXs>
- Arus Pelangi. (n.d.). *Tentang Kami : Sejarah*. Arus Pelangi. <http://aruspelangi.org/tentang-kami/>
- Arus Pelangi & Butar, E. B. (2020, Maret). Yang Sedang Kami Lakukan Saat ini dan Beberapa Waktu Kedepan : Rainbow Leadership Training Indonesia. *Outzine : Newsletter Arus Pelangi*, 12-13.
- ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. (2020). *Strategic Plan 2020-2024*. ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. Retrieved May 21, 2023, from <https://aseansogiecaucus.org/images/resources/publications/20200226%20ASC%20Strategic%20Plan%202020-2024.pdf>
- ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. (2020, February). *Strategic Plan 2020 - 2024*. The ASEAN SOGIE Caucus. Retrieved May 19, 2023, from <https://aseansogiecaucus.org/news/asc-news/140-strategic-plan-2020-2024>
- ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. (2021). *Fact Sheet: Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression, and Sex Characteristics (SOGIESC) and the UN Human Rights Mechanisms in Southeast Asia (2017-2020)*. ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. Retrieved May

16, 2023, from

<https://aseansogiecaucus.org/images/resources/publications/20210706%20ASC%202021%20Fact%20Sheet%20UN%20Mechanisms%20SOGIESC%20SEA%202017-2020.pdf>

ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. (2021). *Fact Sheet: Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression, and Sex Characteristics (SOGIESC) and the UN Human Rights Mechanisms in Southeast Asia (2017-2020)*. The ASEAN SOGIE Caucus. Retrieved May 30, 2023, from

<https://aseansogiecaucus.org/images/resources/publications/20210706%20ASC%202021%20Fact%20Sheet%20UN%20Mechanisms%20SOGIESC%20SEA%202017-2020.pdf>

ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. (2021, February). *ASEAN Queer Imaginings*. The ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. Retrieved May 30, 2022, from

<https://aseansogiecaucus.org/images/resources/publications/20210225%20ASE>

ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS. (2023, January). *SOGIESC Mainstreaming: Experiences and Reflection from Southeast Asian Civil Society Organizations*. The ASEAN SOGIE Caucus. Retrieved February 10, 2023, from <https://aseansogiecaucus.org/news/asc-news/197-sogiesc-mainstreaming>

ASEAN SOGIE CAUCUS [@aseansogiecaucus]. (2020, October). *Hello Queerblings! We are coming up with a collective LGBTQ+ statement in solidarity with our Thai and Indonesian queerblings who are on forefront of the pro-democracy movements*. [Instagram post; attached thumbnail link]. Instagram.

<https://www.instagram.com/p/CGpfhkSggIlu--P1oGb2YPSaCiqDn1p11CbHOY0/>

Baylis, J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (Eds.). (2014). *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Bolden, R., Williams, R., & O'Regan, N. (2021, June). Leading to Achieve Social Change : An Interview with Ruth Hunt, Former Chier Executive Officer of Stonewall. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 30(1), 91-97. 15295039309366878

Brownell, C. (2009, July). *Rethinking Malaysia's Sodomy Laws*. The Malaysian Bar : Badan Peguam Malaysia. Retrieved July 6, 2023, from

[http://www.malaysianbar.org.my/general\\_opinions/comments/rethinking\\_malaysias\\_sodomy\\_laws.html](http://www.malaysianbar.org.my/general_opinions/comments/rethinking_malaysias_sodomy_laws.html)

- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble : Feminism and The Subversion of Identity*. New York and London : Routledge.
- Campbell, C. (2022, November 3). *LGBTQ Couples Are Watching Thailand's Same-Sex Marriage Push*. Time. Retrieved January 29, 2023, from <https://time.com/6228051/thailand-lgbtq-family-marriage-equality/>
- Choomgrant, K. (2015). *OUT OF THE CLOSET : AN UNDERSTANDING OF 'QUEER HERITAGE' IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTHEAST ASIA*. Academia.edu. Retrieved May 29, 2023, from [https://www.academia.edu/75413450/OUT\\_OF\\_THE\\_CLOSET\\_AN\\_UNDERSTANDING\\_OF\\_QUEER\\_HERITAGE\\_IN\\_THE\\_CONTEXT\\_OF\\_SOUTHEAST\\_ASIA](https://www.academia.edu/75413450/OUT_OF_THE_CLOSET_AN_UNDERSTANDING_OF_QUEER_HERITAGE_IN_THE_CONTEXT_OF_SOUTHEAST_ASIA)
- Chua, L. J., & Gilbert, D. (2015). Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Minorities in Transition: LGBT Rights and Activism in Myanmar. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 37(1), 1-28. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24518272>
- CNN Indonesia. (2023, July 12). *Pertemuan LGBT se-ASEAN Batal Digelar di Jakarta*. CNN Indonesia. Retrieved July 20, 2023, from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230712125409-20-972500/pertemuan-lgbt-se-asean-batal-digelar-di-jakarta>
- Dukcapil Kemendagri. (2021). *Dukcapil Beri KK dan KTP-el pada Transgender dengan Jenis Kelamin Laki-Laki atau Perempuan*. Direktorat Jenderal Kependudukan dan Pencatatan Sipil Kementerian Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia. Retrieved June 22, 2023, from <https://www.dukcapil.kemendagri.go.id/berita/baca/755/dukcapil-beri-kk-dan-ktp-el-pada-transgender-dengan-jenis-kelamin-laki-laki-atau-perempuan>
- Dũng, L. T. (2013). *Lê Thánh Tông xử án quan hệ đồng tính nữ sinh con*. Người đưa tin. Retrieved April 23, 2023, from <https://www.nguoiduatin.vn/le-thanh-tong-xu-an-quan-he-dong-tinh-nu-sinh-con-a77573.html>
- Fejes, F., & Petrich, K. (2009, May). Invisibility, homophobia and heterosexism: Lesbians, gays and the media (L. Steiner, Ed.). *Critical Studies in mass communication*, 10(4), 395-422. 15295039309366878



- Friedrich Naumann Foundation. (2020, October). *Thailand Takes Lead in LGBT Rights*. Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. Retrieved February 23, 2022, from <https://www.freiheit.org/southeast-and-eastasia/thailand-takes-lead-lgbt-rights>
- Ghadavi, J. (2022, August). *Vietnam declares being LGBTQ+ is 'not an illness' in victory for gay rights*. The Guardian. Retrieved April 28, 2023, from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/aug/24/vietnam-declares-being-lgbtq-is-not-an-illness-in-victory-for-gay-rights>
- Gilbert, D. (2015). Categorizing Gender in Queer Yangon. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 28(2), 241-271. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43186960>
- Goh, J. N., & Kananatu, T. (2019, January). Mak nyahs and the dismantling of dehumanisation: Framing empowerment strategies of Malaysian male-to-female transsexuals in the 2000s. *Sexualities*, 22(1-2), 114-130. 1363460717740256
- Gumelar, G. (2020, November). *House discontinues deliberation of family resilience bill*. The Jakarta Post. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/11/26/house-discontinues-deliberation-of-family-resilience-bill.html>
- Han, E., & O'Mahoney, J. (2018). *British Colonialism and the Criminalization of Homosexuality: Queens, Crime and Empire*. Taylor & Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351256209>
- Huang, C.-L. (2022, February). *Underneath the Rainbow: The Truth Behind Queer Tourism in Thailand*. Asia Media Centre. Retrieved May 30, 2023, from <https://www.asiamediacentre.org.nz/features/underneath-the-rainbow-the-truth-behind-queer-tourism-in-thailand/>
- The Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM). (2019). *Study on Discrimination Against Transgender Persons Based in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor (Right to Education, Employment, Healthcare, Housing, and Dignity)*. OHCHR. Retrieved June 30, 2023, from [https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/SexualOrientation/SocioCultural/NHRI/Malaysia\\_Human\\_Rights\\_Commission.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/SexualOrientation/SocioCultural/NHRI/Malaysia_Human_Rights_Commission.pdf)
- Human Rights Watch. (2022, August). *Malaysia: State-Backed Discrimination Harms LGBT People Criminalization, Conversion Practices Threaten Safety, Dignity*. Human Rights

- Watch. Retrieved July 6, 2023, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/08/10/malaysia-state-backed-discrimination-harms-lgbt-people>
- International Labour Organization. (2022, September). *New UN survey on migrant workers with diverse sexual orientation, gender identity and expression in South-East Asia*.
- International Labour Organization. Retrieved July 24, 2023, from [https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS\\_854497/lang-en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_854497/lang-en/index.htm)
- Library of Congress. (n.d.). *1969 : The Stonewall Uprising*. Library of Congress. Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/stonewall-era>
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1999). Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics. *International social science journal*, 51(1), 89-101.  
<https://courses.washington.edu/pbaf531/KeckSikkink.pdf>
- Lind, A. (2014, December). "Out" in International Relations : Why Queer Visibility Matters. *International Studies Review*, 16(4), 601-604. 24758505
- Makhmucik, H. (2020, March). *SOGIESC (SEXUAL ORIENTATION, GENDER IDENTITY, EXPRESSION, SEX CHARACTERISTIC)*. Redline Indonesia. Retrieved April 25, 2022, from <https://redlineindonesia.org/sogiesc-sexual-orientation-gender-identity-expression-sex-characteristic/>
- Manalastas, E. J., Ojanen, T. T., Torre, B., Ratanashevorn, R., Choong, C. H., Kumaresan, V., & Veeramuthu, V. (2017, June). Homonegativity in Southeast Asia: Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, 17(1), 25-33.  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317329054\\_Homonegativity\\_in\\_Southeast\\_Asia\\_Attitudes\\_Toward\\_Lesbians\\_and\\_Gay\\_Men\\_in\\_Indonesia\\_Malaysia\\_the\\_Philippines\\_Singapore\\_Thailand\\_and\\_Vietnam](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317329054_Homonegativity_in_Southeast_Asia_Attitudes_Toward_Lesbians_and_Gay_Men_in_Indonesia_Malaysia_the_Philippines_Singapore_Thailand_and_Vietnam)
- Mapendere, J., & Carter Center. (2020). *Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks*. UN Peacemaker. Retrieved July 22, 2023, from <https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/TrackOneandaHalfDiplomacyMapendere.pdf>



- Medistiara, Y. (2021, April). *Kemendagri Tegaskan Tak Ada Kolom Jenis Kelamin Transgender di e-KTP*. detikNews. Retrieved February 23, 2023, from <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5545707/kemendagri-tegaskan-tak-ada-kolom-jenis-kelamin-transgender-di-e-ktp>
- Moore, G. (n.d.). *2021 Myanmar Crisis: Implications for LGBTQ People*. Outright International. Retrieved July 26, 2023, from <https://outrightinternational.org/insights/2021-myanmar-crisis-implications-lgbtq-people>
- Munack, G. L. (2018, January). Capitalism and Democracy : The Importance of Social Class in Historical Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 34(4), 225-244. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-interamerican-studies-and-world-affairs/article/abs/capitalism-and-democracy-the-importance-of-social-class-in-historical-comparative-perspective/BA0DC213C39FE05CD706A575359E4160#>
- Niedda, M. (2020). *Feminist and queer studies: Judith Butler's conceptualisation of gender*. Le portail en langues étrangères. Retrieved July 18, 2023, from <http://cle.ens-lyon.fr/anglais/civilisation/domaine-americain/feminist-and-queer-studies-judith-butlers-conceptualisation-of-gender#section-3>
- Pagulayan, C. (2022, June 29). *How the Queer History of the Philippines Inspires Our Struggle Today*. Oxfam Canada. Retrieved June 27, 2023, from <https://www.oxfam.ca/story/how-the-queer-history-of-the-philippines-inspires-our-struggle-today/>
- Pilcher, J., & Whelehan, I. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. SAGE Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446278901>
- Pink Dot Singapore. (n.d.). *About Pink Dot SG*. Pink Dot SG. Retrieved June 30, 2023, from <https://pinkdot.sg/about-pink-dot-sg/>
- Queer In The World. (n.d.). *Gay Vietnam: Queer Culture, Local Life, And What You Should Know*. Queer In The World. Retrieved April 24, 2023, from <https://queerintheworld.com/gay-vietnam/>
- Ritchie, J., & Lewis, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. SAGE Publications.



- Sari, W. P. E. (2021, December). Sulitnya Orang Indonesia Menerima Kaum LGBT. *Journal of Divinity, Peace and Conflict Studies*, 1(3), 259. <https://journal-theo.ukdw.ac.id/index.php/aradha/article/view/725>
- SEAQCF. (n.d.). *About the Festival*. Southeast Asian Queer Cultural Festival. Retrieved 25 July 23, 2023, from <https://seaqcf.net/about>
- Stables, D. (2021, April). *Mengenal lima gender dalam Suku Bugis di Sulawesi yang kerap alami stigma dan diskriminasi*. BBC News Indonesia. Retrieved May 10, 2023, from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/vert-tra-56854166>
- Steinmetz, K. (2015, April 10). *See Obama's 20-Year Evolution on LGBT Rights*. Time. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://time.com/3816952/obama-gay-lesbian-transgender-lgbt-rights/>
- Strangio, S. (2022, November). *Singapore Repeals Archaic Law Criminalizing Sex Between Men*. The Diplomat. Retrieved June 30, 2023, from <https://thediplomat.com/2022/11/singapore-repeals-archaic-law-criminalizing-sex-between-men/>
- Tambakau, A. (2021, July 13). *LGBTQ+ History in Asia (that you've probably never heard of)*. YouTube. Retrieved March 2, 2023, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AaOE8qN3Xu0>
- Tan, C. (2015, Fall). Pink Dot: Cultural and Sexual Citizenship in Gay Singapore. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 88(4), 969-996. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43955499>
- Tang, S., & Wijaya, H. Y. (Eds.). (2022). *Queer Southeast Asia* (1st ed.). Taylor & Francis Group. 9781003320517
- Tekath, S. (2023). *LGBTQ+ in Myanmar – A sin from a former life? Couple of Men*. Retrieved May 27, 2023, from <https://coupleofmen.com/17362-gay-myanmar-homosexuality-punishment-lgbtq-sins/>
- Thiel, M. (2018, January). *Introducing Queer Theory in International Relations*. E-International Relations. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/72252>
- Travis, D. (2016, January). *Desk Research : The What, Why and How*. User Focus. Retrieved March 2, 2022, from <https://www.userfocus.co.uk/articles/desk-research-the-what-why-and-how.html>



- Trihart, A. (2021, February). Report Part Title: Twenty-Five Years of Advancement on SOGIESC at the UN. *A UN for All?: UN Policy and Programming on Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression, and Sex Characteristics*, 2-12.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep28857.6>
- UN Women. (n.d.). *Thailand promises education to cultivate acceptance of gender equality, data to monitor progress, training to promote gender-responsive budgeting (updated)*. UN Women. Retrieved June 29, 2023, from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/get-involved/step-it-up/commitments/thailand>
- Wijaya, H. Y., Tang, S., & Offord, B. (2018, November). The Globalization of LGBT Identity and Same-Sex Marriage as a Catalyst of Neo-institutional Values: Singapore and Indonesia in Focus. *Global Perspectives on Same-Sex Marriage. Global Queer Politics*.  
[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62764-9\\_9](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62764-9_9)
- Wilcox, L. (2014, December). Queer Theory and the "Proper Objects" of International Relations. *International Studies Review*, 16(4), 612-615. 24758508
- Witchayanee, O. (2015). Rethinking Gender : Negotiating Future Queer Rights in Thailand. *Gender, Technology & Development*, 17(1), 79-104. 0971852412472125
- Wolf, S. (2009). *Sexuality and Socialism: History, Politics, and Theory of LGBT Liberation* (1st ed.). Haymarket Books.
- Yue, A., & Zubillaga-Pow, J. (Eds.). (2012). *Queer Singapore: Illiberal Citizenship and Mediated Cultures*. Hong Kong University Press.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1xcslv>
- Yuniarti, R. (2018, June). *Internasionalisasi Lesbian, Gay, Biskes, dan Transgender oleh Amerika Serikat Periode 2011-2016*. Institutional Respository UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. Retrieved March 21, 2022, from  
<https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/43506>