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Gender, Sexuality and the Sustainable Development Goals: A Meta-Analysis of Mechanisms of Exclusion and Avenues for Inclusive Development

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GENDER, SEXUALITY AND THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS: A META-ANALYSIS OF MECHANISMS OF EXCLUSION AND AVENUES FOR INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT

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Abbreviations

IDS   Institute of Development Studies
SPLP   Sexuality, Poverty and Law programme
LGBT   lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender
SDG   Sustainable Development Goal
SOGIE   sexual orientation or gender identity and expression
NGO   non-governmental organisation
CSO   civil society organisation

1 Introduction

Through its work, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Sexuality, Poverty and Law programme (SPLP) provides new evidence-based knowledge and policy options that support efforts to: (1) strengthen, through legal reform, the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people and those marginalised because of their gender identity and sexuality; and (2) support LGBT people and those marginalised because of their sexuality to establish sustainable livelihoods. This in turn supports the production of risk-sensitive, practical approaches that can be implemented to achieve legal reform and tackle poverty among people marginalised due to their sexuality.

To date, the SPLP has produced over 40 policy and research publications, two toolkits and one interactive map. Of these resources, the programme has worked with local and national activists and academics to generate 18 empirical studies to document the impact of discriminatory laws and policies on the lives and livelihoods of people marginalised on the basis of their gender identity and/or sexuality. These studies include five policy audits, six poverty case studies and seven legal case studies, and they draw on original research in South Africa, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Egypt, Brazil, India, Nepal, Vietnam, the Philippines, Cambodia, Pakistan and Lebanon. This report is based on a meta-analysis of the 18 empirical studies. Through this analysis, we traced the programme's overarching findings against the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

While global leaders maintain their commitment to the post-2015 vision of more inclusive development and the dissolution of inequalities, the work conducted by the SPLP calls attention to context-specific experiences of persons whose sexual orientation or gender identity and expression (SOGIE) does not conform to societal norms, rendering them vulnerable to various dimensions of exclusion from development policies and resources (cf. Mills 2015). To highlight the importance of integrating diverse SOGIE representation within the SDGs, this report presents seven main themes that emerge from the SPLP data and maps these findings onto the contemporary SDG framework. Correlations between global development areas, national, context-specific policies and laws, and various facets of everyday discrimination conducted against persons with non-conforming SOGIE are examined in this report.

In Section 2 below, we provide a methodological overview for the meta-analysis and summarise the main research tools employed across the SPLP studies. Section 3 outlines seven core themes emerging from the SPLP studies; these themes emerged through the meta-analysis of the qualitative data in the SPLP's 18 empirical studies. The seven themes reveal linkages between gender, sexuality and development and speak specifically to 12 of the 17 SDGs. The final section discusses the implications of these findings for the post-2015 development era and suggests a number of practical strategies to ensure that development programmes walk the talk and 'leave no one behind'.

2 Background and methodology

Under the SPLP, three types of studies have been conducted: policy audits, poverty case studies, and legal case studies. Policy audits engage with particular policies to draw out policy impacts on the lives of gender and sexual minority groups in particular contexts. The poverty case studies examine linkages between poverty and sexuality, drawing on empirical data emerging from different research sites. The legal case studies focus on how legal instruments and mechanisms affect the lives of gender and sexual minorities.

The studies were conducted in a total of 12 countries spread over three continents. The majority of the studies were conducted in Asia, followed by Africa and lastly South America, as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1   Geographical spread of SPLP studies

Continent	Number of studies
Africa	5
Asia	6
South America	1

The main research methods employed in these studies include semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions. In total, 36 focus group discussions and 125 semi-structured and in-depth interviews were conducted. Table 2.2, below, shows the frequency with which these methodologies were applied in the 18 empirical studies. The following table (Table 2.3) then provides a snapshot of the studies conducted per country, to bring together the research methods used per case study type and the frequency with which they were employed.

Table 2.2   Breakdown of research methods

Research tool	Frequency
Semi-structured interviews	60
In-depth interviews	45
Focus group discussions	36

Table 2.3   Country-wise breakdown of research methods

Semi-structured interviews		
Country	**Case study type**	**Frequency**
Brazil	Policy audit	13
Ethiopia	Poverty case study	9
India	Poverty case study	7
Nepal	Poverty case study	10
Rwanda	Poverty case study	6
Vietnam	Legal case study	15

(Cont'd).

Table 2.3   (Cont'd).

In-depth interviews		
Country	**Case study type**	**Frequency**
China	Policy audit	4
India	Policy audit	3
Philippines	Policy audit	11
Philippines	Poverty case study	3
Cambodia	Legal case study	9
Egypt	Legal case study	5
Vietnam	Legal case study	10
Focus group discussions		
Country	**Case study type**	**Frequency**
India	Policy audit	3
Philippines	Policy audit	2
Ethiopia	Poverty case study	5
India	Poverty case study	2
Philippines	Poverty case study	5
Egypt	Legal case study	16
Vietnam	Legal case study	3

Box 2.1   Additional methods

In addition to the research tools discussed above, various SPLP studies employed different techniques to better understand local contexts. Some examples are provided below.

Diverse stakeholder meetings
While conducting the policy audit in Brazil (Mountian 2014), researchers participated in a meeting organised by the Department of Education of Belo Horizonte (capital city of the state of Minas Gerais) in partnership with the LGBT Rights Center of the Municipal Government. *Travestis*,[1] transsexual women, educators and policymakers were all actively involved in this meeting, which focused on historical limitations and discrimination faced by *travestis* and transsexual persons within the education system. The meeting was recorded and the transcripts later used to develop the analysis for the policy audit.

Rapid surveys
In India, the policy audit research team conducted a rapid survey with parents of 20 rural girls who were pulled out of school (Nirantar 2013).

Capacity-building workshops
The research team undertaking the poverty case study in Rwanda facilitated a two-day capacity-building workshop, which, alongside the workshop report, was a significant source of data for the study (Haste and Gatete 2015).

Participatory photography
In Nepal, researchers gave participants basic 'point-and-shoot' cameras as a means to document their life experiences and explore various research themes, which served as a source of data for the poverty case study (Boyce and Coyle 2013).

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[1] *Travestis* is the term used to describe transgender individuals in Latin America.

In 2015, when the individual studies had all been completed, a research team conducted a meta-analysis of all the studies in order to draw out cross-cutting findings. The meta-analysis was conducted across three stages. The first tier of analysis was informed by a Grounded Theory approach (Strauss and Corbin 1994; Glaser and Strauss 1973), in which the research team coded each study individually. Through an iterative process, the researchers identified the following cross-cutting codes: (1) family, community and class; (2) economy, employment and livelihoods; (3) patriarchy and gender norms; (4) social mobility and migration; and (5) religion, power and the state.

The second stage of the meta-analysis entailed writing a report on each code with a summary of key findings drawn from the data across the studies, as outlined briefly below.

1. **Family, community and class:** The studies explored how laws are used to regulate what constitutes a 'family' and the role of class in shaping social and familial experiences of marginalisation. The studies also found that media attention around sexual and gender rights is driven by middle and upper classes, which masks intersectional dimensions of inequality that drive social, economic and political forms of exclusion.
2. **Economy, employment and livelihoods:** Almost all of the studies found that social marginalisation and policy discrimination drives many sexual and gender minorities to work in the informal sector, with little or no legal protection to ensure sustainable livelihoods.
3. **Patriarchy and gender norms:** The studies found that normative assumptions of gender performance were underpinned by patriarchal social norms and reinforced through everyday acts that punished non-normative gender identity and sexuality.
4. **Social mobility and migration:** The studies identified the importance of upward social mobility, often through migration, for increasing economic wellbeing and reducing social stigma; conversely, stigma and the struggle for viable economic livelihoods compelled many people to migrate, disrupting existing social and familial support networks.
5. **Religion, power and the state:** Findings from the studies indicated the close relationship between the state, community and family as spaces where gender and sexuality norms are policed and reinforced. Faith leaders and communities were ambiguously represented in the studies as capable of reinforcing harmful social norms, and as key allies in reconfiguring social norms and influencing state actors to play a more constructive role in the lives of people who had historically been marginalised through the state's harmful use of power through policy.

Finally, the third stage of the meta-analysis entailed working across each thematic report and the Sustainable Development Goal framework, to examine linkages between each goal and the overall findings of the meta-analysis. The outcome of this thematic mapping with the SDGs is described in the following section. Through the three stages of the meta-analysis, the researchers identified seven themes that correlate with 12 of the 17 SDGs. Section 3 turns to discuss each of these themes in relation to the SDGs in detail.

*   **Intersectionality:** Intersectional divisions of gender, class, caste, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, poverty, race, etc., were all thematically examined in many of the SPLP reports, and analysed in the broader SDG framework to highlight the necessity of holistically considering different social divisions that may affect sexual and gender minority populations' overall socioeconomic and political access and status.
*   **Heteronormativity:** This theme speaks to the encoding of heteronormativity in law, policies and practices – which creates gaps in service delivery to SOGIE individuals and structurally deepens the discrimination experienced by these individuals.

- **Education and livelihood opportunities:** This theme discusses that in order to fully understand the economic lives of SOGIE individuals, their experiences within education systems and labour markets must also be analysed.
- **Migration:** This theme explores the impact of discrimination-driven migration on the economic lives of SOGIE individuals – and the states.
- **Reforming societal attitudes:** Through this theme we explore how policies and laws aiming to enhance the rights of gender and sexual minorities are rendered blunt and incomplete without addressing the societal attitudes and social practices responsible for perpetuating discrimination against SOGIE individuals at the community level.
- **Missing data:** In this theme we discuss how data pertaining to the lives of SOGIE individuals are not only left out of government and non-governmental organisation (NGO) data banks, but are also omitted from subsequent policies and development initiatives based on those data banks. This makes SOGIE individuals and their issues invisible.
- **International donors – be mindful!:** International donors intervene in local contexts through their development agendas and programmes. This theme aims to deconstruct this role and discusses the importance of the local context as a driver of the development agenda instead of donor priorities.

3   Speaking to the SDGs: The relationship between sexuality, gender and development

Overall, SPLP research studies most frequently examined linkages between policies, laws and various dimensions of SOGIE-related discrimination; thereby the thematic coverage of SPLP reports predominantly relates to SDG 10, which broadly looks at inequalities within and among countries (United Nations General Assembly 2015) – with over 90 per cent of reports thematically covering this area, as shown in Figure 3.1.

The next highest thematic overlap is seen between SDG 16 and the SPLP studies, at 89 per cent (see Figure 3.1). This goal focuses on 'peace, stability, human rights and effective governance based on the rule of law' (*ibid.*). Numerous SPLP reports touched on the applicability of Western human rights frameworks to drive LGBT rights agendas in developing country contexts. In some cases, these identity categories were deemed useful by local activists and sexual and gender minorities. On the other hand, SPLP research also indicates that in numerous national contexts, these frameworks did not necessarily resonate with local contexts, norms and gender identity categories, and may in fact hinder progress on further incorporating understandings and acceptance of non-conforming SOGIE into legal, policy and social realms.

In addition, SDGs three, five, and eight were covered by 72 per cent of SPLP reports, each. These development goals focus on health and wellbeing; gender equality; and decent, equitable employment and work options that lead to greater economic growth (*ibid.*). From lack of inclusive coverage by national health and welfare programmes, to exclusion of SOGIE non-conforming populations from gender equality policies targeted at women and additional barriers faced by gender and sexual minorities in accessing work options within the formal economy, the SPLP reports illuminate the many dimensions of exclusion that such populations may experience.

Figure 3.1 provides a visual representation of how many SPLP reports speak to specific goals (shown in percentages). The linkages between SDGs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, and 17 (full list provided in the Annexe) and the themes emerging from SPLP research are complex; each theme may correspond with the targets and vision espoused by multiple SDGs. Therefore, the exclusions, and inclusions, experienced by SOGIE non-conforming populations under one SDG and thus one comprehensive 'category' of development may reverberate across several different social dimensions and thematic areas of development – a ripple effect that may span across several different SDG focal areas.

Figure 3.1   Thematic coverage of SDGs in SPLP studies (%)
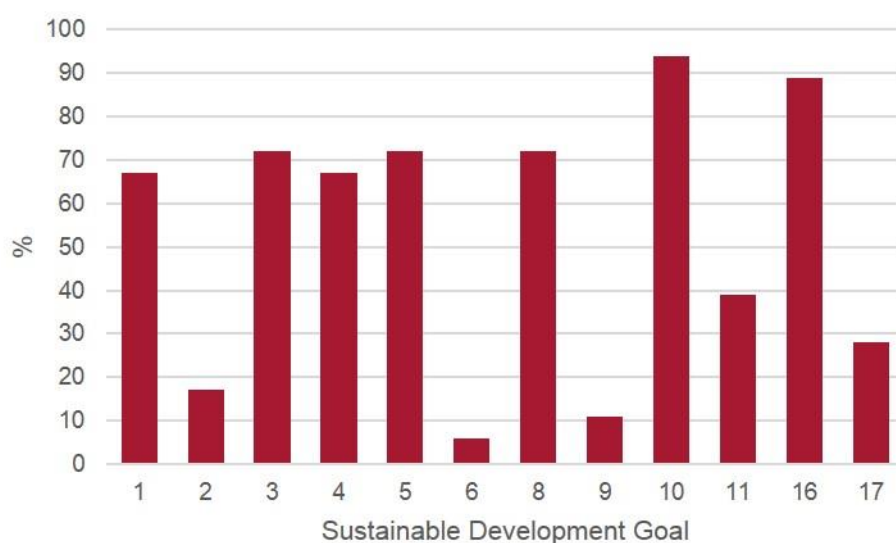
The following section will examine each of the themes emerging from the 18 SPLP studies, followed by a discussion on how these correspond to the SDG framework.

3.1   SPLP studies: seven empirical themes

3.1.1 Intersectionality

Crenshaw famously introduced the term 'intersectionality' in 1991, in order to denote overlapping social categories and corresponding calibrations of oppression, domination and marginalisation (Crenshaw 1991). The principle of intersectionality underpins the work of the SPLP, as researchers explored the relationship between social categories – such as sexuality, gender identity, class, ability, age – and corresponding forms of marginalisation that foregrounded particular intersections between sexual identity and age in studies on education in Brazil (Mountian 2014) and India (Nirantar 2013), for example. In her more recent examination of intersectionality theory and praxis, Crenshaw, along with Cho and McCall (2013) articulates three,

> loosely defined sets of engagement: the first consisting of applications of an intersectional framework or investigations of intersectional dynamics, the second consisting of discursive debates and both the scope and content of intersectionality as a theoretical and methodological paradigm, and the third consisting of political interventions employing an intersectional lens.
> (Cho *et al.* 2013)

The SPLP studies reflect the first 'set of engagement' with intersectionality, namely as a framework for investigating the dynamics between gender, sexuality, class, age and ability and resultant forms of social, legal and policy marginalisation.

Intersectional divisions of gender, class, caste, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, poverty, race, etc., were all thematically examined in many of the SPLP reports, to highlight the necessity of holistically considering different social divisions that may affect sexual and gender minority populations' overall socioeconomic and political access and status.

Different dimensions of vulnerability interweave through people's lives; addressing one aspect, such as gender discrimination, or income poverty, through policy or law may not

adequately address other socio-political factors and power imbalances playing on people's overall wellbeing. Additionally, people that fall outside of traditional gender identities and sexualities, such as transgender persons, might face highly exacerbated situations of multi-dimensional exclusion. Dimensions of transgender exclusion were echoed across many of the SPLP case studies.

Box 3.1   Linking with the SDGs – Goal 10

The countries that sign up to the SDGs commit to pursuing the SDGs' 17 goals and 169 targets, as measured by a set of indicators. The following information is based on the SDG outcome document, and illustrates the dialogue between the empirics emerging from the SPLP and the SDGs.

The intersectional considerations of the SPLP empirical studies thematically link to all Sustainable Development Goals, as the goals, overall, pertain to improving individual lives and all-inclusive development. However, consideration of intersecting dimensions of vulnerability, discrimination and exclusion are most evident in the language employed in Target 10.2 of SDG 10, as seen below.

Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries
Target 10.2: By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status.

SPLP case study example:
The policy audit emerging from China highlights how discrimination and oppression are multi-layered for people who are not only gender and sexually non-conforming, but also disabled (Li and Xiaopei 2014). This case study therefore points to the need for development actors to ensure that: intersectional social dimensions of exclusion and discrimination are considered in policymaking and agenda-setting – to holistically, and inclusively, direct the gains from development so all can benefit.

3.1.2 Heteronormativity

Another consistent theme running through the majority of the SPLP case studies is the need to be aware of, problematise, and break down heteronormative[2] gender and sexual norms. This includes terminology and 'norms' stemming from religious or legal discourses that are then encoded into national policies and laws. From heteronormative language used to define family units and beneficiaries of social protection programmes, to the harmful influence of hegemonic masculinities on gender and sex norms that may be employed to justify various types of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), these case studies demonstrate that heteronormative policies and laws tend to prevail within the majority of countries and contexts studied.

In order to reveal and address the root causes of the many dimensions of exclusion experienced by sexually and gender non-conforming populations, analysis of policies, programme definitions, and norms for heteronormativity must be conducted at all levels – global, regional, national and local community levels.

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[2] Heteronormativity can be defined as the 'institutionalisation of the idea that only heterosexuality is normal, and only particular kinds of heterosexual relations are normal', underpinned by the idea of a male/female binary (Jolly and Hawkins 2010: 6).

Additionally, discrimination, marginalisation and violence experienced by gender and sexually non-conforming persons on a daily basis can be linked to the invisibility of these populations in discursive strategies evident in policies and laws. Further, if discriminatory language is encoded into policies and laws this may be reflected in social practices and norms. In the research studies, institutions and private social spaces such as educational institutes, communities, and households (families) emerged as key junctures where sexuality and gender norms are policed, regulated and reinforced. This has important implications for all levels of work, from national policymaking to the programming efforts of international NGOs, national NGOs and civil society. Embedded heteronormative framings must thus broadly be addressed across legal spheres, policymaking spheres, and private social spheres, to ensure that all persons, regardless of SOGIE, may access the benefits of development.

Moreover, gaps in states' service delivery also emerged from the SPLP studies as an issue that went hand-in-hand with heteronormative laws and policies. If state actors and public officials continuously negate policies that more inclusively incorporate broad conceptualisations of SOGIE, even progressive policies may not be adequately implemented. This was exemplified in the South African context where the conservatism of health workers curtailed women living with HIV from accessing contraception and abortion services (Muller and MacGregor 2013).

Box 3.2　　Linking with the SDGs – Goal 10

The countries that sign up to the SDGs commit to pursuing the SDGs' 17 goals and 169 targets, as measured by a set of indicators. The following information is based on the SDG outcome document, and illustrates the dialogue between the empirics emerging from the SPLP and the SDGs.

The empirical data of the SPLP studies bring to the fore discriminatory, heteronormative assumptions that are often deeply entrenched within the language of the law and policies in specific contexts. This speaks especially to SDG 10 through Target 10.3 as seen below.

Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries
Target 10.3: Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard.

SPLP case study example:
The SPLP case study from the Philippines highlights how the heteronormative legal definition of 'family, household, and head of the family' within social protection policies resulted in beneficiaries and dependents only being recognised if they were perceived as family members, classified through traditional, heteronormative marriage or blood relations (GALANG Philippines 2013: 7).

The SPLP empirics therefore further highlight the continued need for countries to eradicate heteronormative laws, policies and practices that discriminate against SOGIE non-conforming persons, and their families. If social protection policies fail to encompass gender and sexually non-conforming individuals, such persons may be rendered more susceptible to poverty through unequal access to opportunities – thereby impeding the full achievement of SDG 10.

3.1.3 Education and livelihood opportunities

In order to fully understand the economic lives of gender and sexually non-conforming individuals, their experiences within education systems and labour markets must also be analysed. The SPLP reports cited cases of SOGIE non-conforming persons being forced to abandon their education due to homophobic educational environments, and how this educational exclusion adversely affected their ability to enter the labour force. In addition, the studies highlighted the fact that for those who do secure some form of employment, discrimination may still be an issue within the workplace (GALANG Philippines 2015).

Consequently, sexually and gender non-conforming persons often resort to employment in civil society organisations (CSOs) or the informal sector, at times doing work which is affirming of their desired gender identity or sexual orientation (GALANG Philippines 2013; Overs 2013; Coyle and Boyce 2015). As a livelihood strategy, many may also take part in economic subcultures that involve higher risks, such as sex work, or join community-based income generating projects to supplement their incomes.

The SPLP reports also illustrate the extent to which laws criminalising sexually and gender non-conforming behaviours (and the resultant social stigma and discrimination) discourage social services professionals from assisting gender and sexually non-conforming persons and sex workers, out of fear of prosecution (Jjuuko and Tumwesige 2013). Gender and sexually non-conforming persons thus become further marginalised from access to public welfare services, such as health and social protection services.

Box 3.3   Linking with the SDGs – Goals 1 and 4

The countries that sign up to the SDGs commit to pursuing the SDGs' 17 goals and 169 targets, as measured by a set of indicators. The following information is based on the SDG outcome document, and illustrates the dialogue between the empirics emerging from the SPLP and the SDGs.

As discussed in this section, exclusion from access to educational opportunities and institutions can exacerbate the precarious economic situation of gender and sexually non-conforming individuals. In line with this theme, the findings of the SPLP studies may therefore also map to Sustainable Development Goals 1 and 4, as SPLP research indicates that a focus on ending all forms of poverty, and a vision of ensuring equitable education opportunities for all, are intrinsically linked; if an individual is excluded from fully accessing one of these dimensions, this has knock-on effects regarding that person's experiences in all other social dimensions of their lives.

Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere

Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all

SPLP case study example:
In the SPLP case study from Brazil, Mountian (2014) highlights that 'research has shown that many LGBT people stopped attending their school after suffering violence there. As a result, access to employment for LGBT people with low levels of schooling is severely limited' (2014: 10).

This example not only signifies how persons with non-conforming SOGIE suffer issues of violence which curtails their access to education but also brings to the fore how this lack of access can have deep implications for a person's ability to later access livelihood options. Therefore, intersectional considerations are also seen to have traction here: if SDG 1 is to be achieved, the experiences of persons with non-conforming SOGIE must be considered in a holistic, intersectional manner across SDG 4 (in addition to all other SDGs).

3.1.4 Migration

Gender and sexually non-conforming individuals are often forced to migrate or strategically leave their homes in order to escape family shame, stigma, discrimination and homophobic violence (Overs 2015). This theme therefore relates to the economic lives of gender and sexually non-conforming persons: many of the SPLP reports cited barriers faced by non-conforming individuals in securing employment, even if tertiary education has been obtained. Consequently, the findings of the SPLP studies indicate that gender and sexually non-conforming persons opt to migrate for either educational- and/or employment-related reasons; migration may thus serve as a means of fleeing socioeconomic discrimination (Coyle and Boyce 2015).

Lack of family support was also cited as a factor contributing to an individual's decision to migrate (GALANG Philippines 2015). Living and working away from one's immediate community allows gender and sexually non-conforming persons to explore their desired/authentic orientation, without the fear of being 'outed' or of embarrassing their families. Being 'outed' may be synonymous with economic shock for gender and sexually non-conforming people, as they may lose social capital due to being cut-off from family and their wider community, and may also result in the loss of employment. In either scenario, financial stability and livelihoods come under threat.

People most commonly migrate from rural to urban areas because financial prospects are often better in cities. However, the SPLP reports indicate that gender and sexually non-conforming persons might also choose to migrate from urban to rural areas in order to be able to live authentically, away from family and community norms, scrutiny and shame. Sexually and gender non-conforming individuals often face compounded barriers and challenges when migrating (Coyle and Boyce 2015); their gender identity and/or sexuality may make it difficult for them to obtain travel documents or to secure employment once they have reached their destination. Thus migration can also result in more deeply compromised livelihoods and further marginalisation, particularly if migrants also face barriers in accessing social security benefits on arrival.

Box 3.4　　Linking with the SDGs – Goals 1 and 10

The countries that sign up to the SDGs commit to pursuing the SDGs' 17 goals and 169 targets, as measured by a set of indicators. The following information is based on the SDG outcome document, and illustrates the dialogue between the empirics emerging from the SPLP and the SDGs.

As the migration patterns of gender and sexually non-conforming individuals are linked not only to their ability to live an 'authentic life' but also to their ability to lead stable economic lives, the findings of the SPLP studies broadly speak to SDG 1. These reports indicate that impoverishment can be exacerbated if opportunities within the immediate community are limited.

Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere

Moreover, this SPLP report theme also speaks to Goal 10, and specifically to Target 10.7.

Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries
Target 10.7: Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies.

(Cont'd).

Box 3.4 (Cont'd).

SPLP case study examples:

The SPLP studies show that migration policies are essential to ensure that gender and sexually non-conforming individuals are protected when migrating in national and transnational contexts. The poverty case study emerging from the Philippines (GALANG Philippines 2015) highlights that the law on migrant workers remains silent on the topic of gender and sexuality, resulting in a 'narrow interpretation of labour and social laws, multilateral conventions, declarations and bilateral agreements pertaining to the rights of migrant workers' (2015: 11–12). The study moves on to highlight that one of the repercussions of such a constricted view is that it renders the provision silent on countries where there may be discriminatory or criminalising laws in relation to sexuality and gender. Moving on it states that such a negation 'poses a danger when deploying migrant workers of diverse SOGIE to countries where they have a greater chance of being discriminated against, exploited and criminalised' (*ibid.*). At the same time, migrants may also be particularly vulnerable to exclusion from social security benefits upon arrival in host countries. Therefore, the outcomes of SPLP research indicate that migration policies and social protection policies should further integrate to comprehensively protect migrants against income shocks – linking the intentions and targets of SDGs 1 and 10.

3.1.5 Reforming societal attitudes

Many of the SPLP case studies expressed the need to address the societal attitudes and social practices responsible for perpetuating heteronormativity and negative gender and sexual stereotypes of non-conforming populations at the community level. To ensure that policies do not fail on the ground, many of the SPLP studies recommend that advocating for progressive, inclusive regulation that counters heteronormative ideologies goes hand-in-hand with countering heteronormative social practices. In this respect, law and policy implementation issues were also highlighted in many of the case studies.

When current laws use vague language and are difficult to implement, or leave out sexual and gender minorities completely (as we have seen above), this can leave room for selective enforcement. When this occurs, harmful social norms around gender, sexual orientation and other social dimensions such as disability or HIV/AIDS status may generate societal discrimination toward gender and sexually non-conforming people. Authority figures, such as the police, may also exacerbate the situation by engaging in discriminatory conduct against these populations.

Box 3.5 Linking with the SDGs – Goals 1 to 17

The countries that sign up to the SDGs commit to pursuing the SDGs' 17 goals and 169 targets, as measured by a set of indicators. The following information is based on the SDG outcome document, and illustrates the dialogue between the empirics emerging from the SPLP and the SDGs.

Reforming societal attitudes as a thematic area evidenced by the SPLP studies ties to the SDG framework as a whole, as pervasive discriminatory social attitudes tend to be embedded in various economic, social and political structures – all of which prove to be a hindrance to inclusive development. In order for the SDG framework to encompass the needs of gender and sexually non-conforming individuals, it is not only essential for the framework itself to recognise SOGIE diversity, but to also ensure that the language of the SDGs themselves challenge heteronormative social prescriptions.

(Cont'd).

Box 3.5   (Cont'd).

SPLP case study examples:
Although examples of the need to break down and reform societal attitudes towards SOGIE non-conforming persons are present in many of the studies, the regulatory environment differed. In Nepal and South Africa, for instance, LGBT persons have legal recognition and rights, yet discrimination against sexually and gender non-conforming individuals is still quite common due to deeply embedded social practices and norms (Boyce and Coyle 2013; Lewin, Williams and Thomas 2013).

In Ethiopia, on the other hand, although homosexuality is illegal on paper this is not enforced in practice; yet same-sex attraction is still criminalised and policed by social norms (Overs 2015).

In regard to solutions, the SPLP studies varied quite significantly by context – providing another lesson on the necessity of considering the wider political economy of a given context in order to advance a human/sexual rights agenda. For example, an SPLP case study from Uganda highlighted international support as a key mechanism to fight against the Anti-Homosexuality Bill (Jjuuko and Tumwesige 2013); however, in Rwanda, Haste and Gatete (2015) suggest that international donors move away from typical human rights frameworks and lexicons, and couch issues of LGBT exclusion and socioeconomic marginalisation in government priority areas. Government initiatives to address employment discrimination and provide equal access to social protection were highlighted as key areas for this synchronisation of LGBT rights initiatives. Due to local perceptions of Western-formulated human rights agendas as a new form of neo-colonialism, incorporating LGBT exclusion under existing governance focal areas provided a more tractable avenue through which to advance an LGBT rights agenda in Rwanda.

3.1.6 Missing data

The lack of disaggregated data on gender and sexually non-conforming populations was featured to some extent in a substantial number of the SPLP reports. From beneficiary targeting issues, to lacking appropriate monitoring and measurement indicators, to hosting inadequate operational systems for collecting data on sexual and gender minority populations, accurate, current data on people with diverse sexualities and gender identities was consistently highlighted as a policy, research and programming issue. The lack of inclusive data on gender and sexual minority populations affects social protection policies, for example. Better data on such populations could drive more informed, and thus more equitable, policymaking by providing disaggregated information on the number of sexual and gender minorities in an overall population, and how they experience discrimination, violence and exclusion.

Box 3.6 Linking with the SDGs – Goal 17

The countries that sign up to the SDGs commit to pursuing the SDGs' 17 goals and 169 targets, as measured by a set of indicators. The following information is based on the SDG outcome document, and illustrates the dialogue between the empirics emerging from the SPLP and the SDGs.

The need to gather more substantial, accurate data on SOGIE non-conforming populations, identified by many of the SPLP reports, directly links to SDG 17 and specifically to Target 17.18 as seen below.

Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development
Target 17.18: By 2020, enhance capacity-building support to developing countries, including for least developed countries and small island developing states, to increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts.

SPLP case study examples:
The need for more data is showcased through many of the SPLP reports, although the framing of the issue varies: in Rwanda, a lack of data obscures the economic dimensions of gender and sexual nonconformity by concealing the links to sexual and gender minority experiences of poverty (Haste and Gatete 2015), while in India '*panthi*'[3] and upper-class gay males were not identified and reached by the national HIV programme (Dhall and Boyce 2015).

Without complete data pertaining to the lives of gender and sexually non-conforming individuals, such populations are not only left out of government and NGO data banks, but are also omitted from subsequent policies and development initiatives based on those data banks. Thus, up-to-date, disaggregated data on gender and sexual minorities is essential to achieving the stated aims and targets of SDG 17.

3.1.7 International donors – be mindful!

Lastly, the SPLP case studies called attention to the need for donors to view gender identity and sexuality as embedded in local realities and locally-driven processes. In many cases, the case studies showed that outside perspectives, whether via international organisations or donors, may not adequately be able to navigate local realities to get real work done, and work that does not cause unintended negative consequences.

Box 3.7 Linking with the SDGs – Goals 1 to 17

The countries that sign up to the SDGs commit to pursuing the SDGs' 17 goals and 169 targets, as measured by a set of indicators. The following information is based on the SDG outcome document, and illustrates the dialogue between the empirics emerging from the SPLP and the SDGs.

This SPLP empirical theme broadly speaks to the entire framework of SDGs and the funding that will arise from it. International donor-level decisions and agendas impact the way issues around gender and sexuality are conceived and dealt with at all levels of development work.

(Cont'd).

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[3] Masculine counterparts of female-identified men who have sex with men (MSM).

Box 3.7   (Cont'd).

SPLP case study examples:
Western donors may aim to drive LGBT rights agendas in the global South by employing conventional human rights frameworks and Westernised LGBT social movement frameworks. However, terminology for 'LGBT' may not adequately or inclusively encompass local understandings of sexuality and gender identity, may leave out some groups of people, and may also be seen as an invasion of Western ideology in local contexts. This was highlighted in the Rwandan (Haste and Gatete 2015), Ethiopian (Overs 2014, 2015) and Indian (Dhall and Boyce 2015; Nirantar 2013) SPLP case studies; however, in the same Rwandan case study and in Nepal (Boyce and Coyle 2013), activists adopted the LGBT label and identities to enable political action or to supersede negative, localised stereotypes of sexual and gender minorities.

Additionally, donors should remain aware of their influence; the values, norms, and language that donor organisations bring into funding requirements may not be the best fit for local contexts and might force foreign norms into the local, leading to ineffective programming. Context is key, and this is an important point for donors to consider even when committed to driving more inclusive policies, programming and initiatives.

Taking the example of SDG 5, the language of this goal and its targets equates gender with women (and girls) and leaves out the experience of gender and sexually non-conforming individuals identifying beyond this. Therefore, by critically analysing the SDGs as a highly influential agenda-setter in international development policymaking, the exclusion of language pertaining to gender and sexually non-conforming individuals within the framework may lead to the exclusion of such individuals from subsequent development benefits.

4 Conclusion

Over the last decade, development policymakers and practitioners have come to endorse a multi-dimensional approach to poverty, one that pays closer attention to the social and cultural dimensions of poverty. Growing attention has come to be placed on achieving greater freedom, wellbeing and human rights for all as an integral part of what 'development' has now come to mean. It is no longer possible to ignore discrimination, inequality and social exclusion and their developmental consequences. Yet when it comes to the economic, social, political and human rights implications of sex and sexuality, there is a silence at the heart of mainstream development. Consigned to being treated as a health issue, or disregarded altogether as a 'luxury', sexuality barely features in development debates (Cornwall and Jolly 2006: 1).

When considered together, the overarching thematic findings from the SPLP meta-analysis articulate dynamic policy processes through which people, on the basis of SOGIE, are excluded from development policies and 'left behind' in the implementation of development programmes. The SPLP refers to these processes as 'mechanisms of exclusion' and in this section, we explore how these mechanisms can be transformed to foster new forms of inclusive 'SOGIE-sensitive' development in the post-2015 development era.

While multiple dynamics intersect to create conditions of social, political and economic exclusion of SOGIE populations, we detail two main mechanisms in this report as they relate to policy processes at an international level (with respect to the post-2015 framework) and at a national level (with respect to the integration, or not, of this framework into national policy and implementation). First, the SPLP studies point to the economic and social costs of national laws and policies that either actively discriminate against, or do not effectively protect, people on the basis of their SOGIE. This mechanism of discrimination, often reinforced by a dynamic interplay between state and social institutions, means that the benefits of essential development resources – like education, housing, sanitation and health care – frequently do not reach SOGIE populations. When measured in macroeconomic terms, the impact of discriminatory or insensitive laws and policies also has an economic impact on the overall performance of the country's national outcomes (Bailey 2013; Badgett 2009).

In addition to government policymakers, the SPLP studies reveal that CSOs and NGOs are critical actors in this mechanism, as they mediate – to an important extent – the relationship between citizens, non-citizens and the state. As the SPLP and other studies explore, these more inclusive development practices have been achieved in part by civil society actions that challenge discriminatory laws and policies and that enable access to resources that flow from development policies and programmes (see Browne and Bakshi 2013; Lewis 2010). In part, this has been accomplished by harnessing opportunities wrought through political transition and attendant legal transformations (Louw 2005; Seidman 1999); strategic litigation (Andersen 2009; Keck 2009); macroeconomic modelling to show the impact of homophobia and transphobia (Badgett 2014); and through developing best practice models with the military (Eliason and Schope 2001), health practitioners (Muller 2013) and employers (Lester 2004; Badgett 2009), to name a few approaches.

Generating inclusive strategies to address inequality for all population groups, including people who identify as queer, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender, is not only about taking human rights seriously, but very much about recognising that this has positive social and economic outcomes for countries that take poverty alleviation seriously. This presents a series of challenges to national governments' work with civil society to ensure that SOGIE

populations are effectively integrated into the country's national development agenda, a framework that will benefit from amending discriminatory laws and policies.

The second mechanism relates to exclusionary development interventions, understood as those processes through which discriminatory attitudes and practices are (inadvertently) reinforced. These interventions may be driven by global policy agendas, such as the SDG framework, and implemented at a national level, often through donor-state or donor-civil society funding agreements. This mechanism, then, includes those actors engaged in extending the reach of global development agendas and resources (Haste, Overs and Mills 2016). While these actors include national governments and CSOs as partners, linked to the first mechanism above, the dynamics of this particular mechanism point to the role of multilateral and bilateral donors that fund and implement programmes at a country level in line with the prevailing global development framework.

Critically, these development actors not only play a role in ensuring that development frameworks integrate all marginalised groups, but they are also in a position to reconfigure damaging approaches to development interventions that, for example, exclude transgender people from accessing essential health services (Sellers 2014; Shields *et al.* 2012), or fail to provide information on diverse sexualities, pleasure and related sexual health resources through education programmes for youth (Oduro 2012; Dunne 2007).

Together, these mechanisms draw into focus a set of development policies, programmes and actors. The first mechanism centres on state and civil society actors, and calls into focus the importance of designing and implementing national policies that effectively and constructively address multiple forms of inequality experienced by all citizens but especially those experiencing socio-legal and economic discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity and expression. The second mechanism moves out in scale to focus on bilateral and multilateral donors, and other international actors, who work with national governments and civil societies to implement development frameworks. National poverty-reduction frameworks are guided, to some extent, by global development frameworks; if the SDG framework 'leaves out' SOGIE populations, then state actors are effectively disincentivised from implementing SOGIE-sensitive policies in-country.

To work towards inclusive development, findings from the SPLP suggest that laws and policies need to ensure that: (i) all people irrespective of their SOGIE are actively protected against social, economic and political forms of discrimination; and that (ii) health, education, and social protection resources that contribute towards individual wellbeing and overall socioeconomic development are made available to all those in need, leaving no one behind.

National laws and policies on education, health care, employment and so on are, in turn, influenced by regional and global processes, just as they work to inform them. This dynamic points to the interplay of the two mechanisms, and the role of the SDG framework for (i) guiding development priorities at a national level, and (ii) implementing these programmes at local level. The second mechanism of inclusive development therefore centres on policies and programmes as they relate to development actors, including multilateral and bilateral donors as well as civil society actors that shape and implement development programmes.

In line with the first mechanism discussed above, if national governments have policies and laws in place that discriminate against, or even criminalise, LGBT people, and if international development frameworks continue to make these groups invisible, then national governments are even less likely to integrate SOGIE into their own development policies (Haghiri-Vijeh 2013). With respect to the second mechanism, however, if international actors draw on empirical evidence that calls for sensitive integration of SOGIE into programmes around education, health care, equitable employment, then donors and civil society will have greater leverage to encourage governments to generate disaggregated data against these

variables. This, in turn, will further generate a critical body of empirical data that can effectively demonstrate the positive social and economic impact of SOGIE-sensitive development programming, and conversely, the negative ramifications for countries and individuals when leaving marginalised population groups behind.

Annexe   The Sustainable Development Goals

Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere

Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages

Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all

Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all

Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all

Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all

Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation

Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries

Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns

Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts

Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development

Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss

Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development

For more information, visit: www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/

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