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### Cover Page Footnote

This paper can be well-publicized because of the cooperation with various parties that cooperate with the author, as well as various parties including Gaya Nusantara foundation, Ms. Siti Habibah, Ramaditya who have allowed the author to conduct research on Gay Groups in striving their rights for the SOGIE: Policy Advocacy bill draft on ESV by the Gaya Nusantara foundation. The authors are very grateful to all parties involved and very cooperative in providing information on some of the interview sessions and provide documentation of the data that related to the topic of the research problem that the author did to research on this article was completed.

# Gay Group Fighting For SOGIE: Policy Advocacy of The Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill by Gaya Nusantara Organization

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**Abstract.** The aim of the research was to discover the importance of the agenda of the gay group in fighting for SOGIE towards the bill draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (ESV) through policy advocacy. In Indonesia, LGBTIQ groups remain getting violence and discrimination based on SOGIE. The problem was regarded as fight of the actors in a policy framework from the integrated advocacy theory which said by Roem Topatimasang. Integrated policy advocacy provides an important device for practitioner to make a policy change that was helped by an interested group. This research used a qualitative research method with a descriptive approach. Research location was the Gaya Nusantara foundation. The informant consisted of four informants involved in the advocacy struggles. The result of the research showed that the Gay group incorporated in the Gaya Nusantara foundation in fighting for SOGIE to be included in the specific bill had not produced positive result in favor of them who insisted on the importance they brought.

**Keywords:** Policy advocacy, SOGIE, Bill PKS

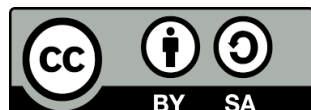
## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a democratic state that upholds freedom of expression stipulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia article 1, Paragraph (2). It states that, "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and executed according to the constitution. Democracy is the fundamentals of our social, political, and national life, which means that the people helped contribute to assessing the policies that will determine the lives of the people in the future. Democracy is the power of the people or government by the people (Budiarjo, 2013). The concept of human rights in any constitution of any democratic state is influenced by the view of life, communal experiences, and interests of the community. The recognition of human rights as written in Act No. 39 the Year 1999 on Human Rights.

Human rights can be classified into 2 (two) criteria. First, the rights can be restricted (derogable rights) which its implementation should be postponed. The rights belong to this category among others, consist of the right to assemble, and the right to speak. Second, the rights which cannot be classified into non-derogable rights as their implementation should not be delayed. The rights belong to this category among others, are the rights to life, the rights to not be

persecuted, the rights to not be enslaved and servitude, the rights not to be imprisoned for nonpayment of debts, the rights to equality before the law, the rights to freedom of thought and religion (Sujatmoko, 2015).

The problems of human rights in Indonesia frequently occur in a minority group such as in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender, Intersexual, Queer (LGBTIQ). Homosexuality is a race of romantic attraction and/or behavior between the individual's gender or similar gender. It is called Gay for male individual and Lesbians for woman. The interest in this question is a sexual orientation, which is, the tendency of a person to perform sexual behavior with male or female (Nietzel, et al.1998:489). Homosexuals are considered as a criminal act which cannot be received by the social and community. Traditional customs and traditions in Indonesia derogate the existence of homosexuality and cross-dressing community, which consequently affects on legal protection and public policy towards same-sex couples or even in a same-sex couples' household. They would not likely be eligible to attain legal protection customarily provided to those married couples. Indonesian law does not protect the LGBTIQ community against discrimination and hate crimes. Until recently, the law does not criminalize personal and non-commercial homosexual



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behavior among adults. Religious norms oppose the existence of LGBTIQ, thus, the emphasis on human rights is relatively fragile. However, the LGBTIQ community has been increasingly politically active (Habibah, 2020).

Currently, there have been remaining acts of discrimination, bullying and violence on LGBTIQ minority groups. As reported by CNN, the results of the survey agency Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) showed that 88% of Indonesian citizens feel threatened by the existence of LGBTIQ. As a minority group, LGBTIQ communities unite in one group because it has the same experiences, which becomes the target of discrimination by the group of heterosexuals with homophobic characters. (Anti-Defamation, 2015). The discrimination experienced by groups of LGBTIQ, frequently culminates in violence. Among 89.3% of LGBTIQ groups in Indonesia, most has experienced violence because of their sexual identity. As much as 79,1% stated that they experienced psychological violences. 46.3% of the respondents said that they have experienced physical violences. As much as 26,3% endured economic violence. 45,1% of them suffered from sexual violence. Of 63.3% underwent cultural violence (the Flow of the Rainbow, 2014). Other forms of discrimination experienced by LGBTIQ is the persecution (16%), a forced attempt & punishment (15%), the banning of education (2%), the dismissal of their public events (6%), and a violation of human rights as well as other violence (30%) (LBH Society, 2018).

Gaya Nusantara is an organization that is located in Surabaya, which strives for equality and the welfare of the LGBTIQ, and people with diverse sexual orientations, identities, and gender expressions. The rights of LGBTQ are contested in the community so that they attain recognition, equality, and justice in accordance with human rights. Their efforts have been covering through networking with some agencies to reduce the negative stigma against the LGBTIQ from any perspectives. In accordance with the facts in the field in Surabaya, gay has become the target of a raid by the Satpol PP since 2014. In early 2016, the LGBTIQ people and activists in Indonesia endured fierce resistance, homophobia attack, and hate speech, even were issued by the government of Indonesia (Rafael, 2020).

Minority groups of LGBTIQ under the auspices of the Gaya Nusantara foundation suffered from condemnation in 2016. It occurred at the time when the foundation conducted a One Day One Struggle 2016 and played a movie produced by the Framework of Islam Nusantara. The cancellation is due to intolerant group hardliners who acknowledged the event, so that the organizer decided to cancel. The freedom of expression, the freedom of assembly, and the freedom of obtaining education are not protected.

One of the other cases that occurred in Indonesia about LGBTIQ in February 2016 was Human Rights Watch urged the Indonesian Government to defend the rights of the people of LGBTIQ and openly

condemned the comments of officials that are considered discriminatory. In 2017, two young gay men (ages 20 and 23) were sentenced to be whipped in front of the public in the province of Aceh. Still, in the same year, police launched multiple attacks against a sauna for gay under the pretext of violation of the law on pornography. In May 2017, 141 people were arrested for "orgy gay" in the capital city Jakarta. Another attack occurred in October 2017, when police raided a sauna in Central Jakarta which was popular within the gay community, and they arrested 51 people. The extensive interpretation of the Law of Pornography, coupled with the inaction of the government, has become a weapon for the police to persecute people with LGBTIQ. A Lesbian couple, arrested because of their inappropriate pose in the social media, stated that they were treated unfairly by municipal police in March 2019. Another different case occurred on the Rector of the University of North Sumatra, Professor Runtung Sitepu, who dismissed the board of Suara of the University of North Sumatra (USU) 2019. This was because the organization published a short story about a lesbian. It was also threatened to be prosecuted under the Act of Information and Electronic Transaction (UU ITE). In April 2019, in the city of Pontianak at the time of celebrating the World's Day of Dancing in the Taman Digulis, the event was dismissed by the local social organization due to a misunderstanding of some irresponsible parties who spread hoax that the show was initiated by the LGBTIQ groups; so that the dance should not be played again in Pontianak. The other event was a movie, entitled Memories of My Body (Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku), which had passed the sensor by the Board of Film Censor of Indonesia (Lembaga Sensor Film) and declared eligible to appear in the country. Although it has passed the censor screening, the film received some rejection in Depok, West Kalimantan, with a reason to keep the public from sexual perversion. Another discrimination case was a police officer in the city of Semarang who was expelled due to sexual orientation.

One of the agenda strived by the Gaya Nusantara foundation is a notion about Sex, Gender, Sexual Orientation, Sexual Preference, Gender Identity, Gender Expression (SOGIE) that underlines an interest in the ratification of the VFD bill. VFD bill is a on the Elimination of Sexual Violence. This bill was proposed on January 26, 2016 which covers everything from prevention, fulfillment of victims' rights, victim recovery to handling arrangements during the legal process. The few verses of the Bill Draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence are proven profitable for minority groups LGBTIQ; namely, the existence of protection for minority groups who have always got violent. However, some parties that are not in favor of the legalization of the bill draft mentioned that it weakened the legal protection and potentially legalized LGBTIQ; so that the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) reject the bill draft for approval (detik-com, 2019). Government officials should make a

public policy to protect the whole Indonesians from violence and discrimination. The decisions of the state commission are taken based on the information that is not necessarily accurate; hence, that information should be canceled. The government must also be committed to protect the meeting of activists for LGBTIQ human rights, including asking for accountability of the security forces at a time when they neglected their duties when faced with the threat of a group of Islamist militants (Dede, 2016).

A coalition of LGBTIQ minority groups is eager to conduct policy advocacy, which aims to push the government to provide protection and recognition towards the presence of LGBTIQ minority groups. Consideration of the problems drives the groups to strive for an interest in the bill draft of ESV ratification and to fight for the rights of SOGIE. Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is used to discern the interests of minority groups LGBTIQ, Gaya Nusantara; hence it becomes an interesting research topic. The position of the LGBTIQ minority groups is being the focus of the problem, whether it is the cause of the protest, support or even the rejection of the bill draft on ESV.

This study is a review of the policy by taking gender issues against discrimination of minorities. The study is said to be the study of political science because it reviewed the efforts of the LGBTIQ minority groups' role, struggling for the SOGIE in response to a bill draft on ESV from a variety of advocacy strategies. These issues are studied as the struggle of the actor in a policy framework, and a thinking framework which meets these criteria is the ACF provided by Roem Topatimasang. Integrated advocacy provides the tools for practitioners to perform the analysis of policy advocacy.

The study of the ACF application has been undergone by some researchers, for example, Husni (2017) described the phenomenon of the interaction of the actors of the policy involved in the development of the community within Under-Bridge Suramadu Area in Surabaya Side (Kawasan Kaki Jembatan Suramadu sisi Surabaya - KKJSS) as well as the factors that affect the change of policy in the KKJSS development with a few things into variables and indicators in the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). The second study is Pierce (2016), who discusses the strength of the source of power and strategy in the coalition advocacy in Colorado. The third study was conducted by Darmawan et al (2019) who says children, as the victims of social violence, need to obtain the social advocacy. The fourth study by Iblackw. et. al (2016) stated that a similar case regarding the advocacy undertaken by parents who have children identified as LGBT precisely in America was caused by the shift of social movements. So that parents use social media as a tool to monitor the pro and cons about LGBT. In the end, the parents provide support through advocacy posting on social media. Recent research conducted by Pertiwi et. al., (2018) about the strategy of advocacy carried out by the Arus Pelangi in the fight for

basic rights and SOGIE through the handling of cases of national and international level advocacy towards violence; education; campaign, strengthening, and capacity development of the organization.

Democracies often ignore many aspects of society in every decision-making on public policy. The role of government as makers and implementers of public policy is not always a supportive response from the community. People who disagree will certainly do the rejection of and opposition to policies that have been created (Rahardian & Haryanti, 2018). Refusing and struggling for the common interest is part of policy advocacy, which refers to the understanding of policy advocacy as an effort to influence or change public policy to follow the wishes and desires of the community or group that press them (Topatimasang, 2016). Another opinion on policy advocacy is a series of processes involving political action and performed by the citizens of the state which are organized in groups to perform the transformation of power relations. The purpose of advocacy is to achieve policy changes that is beneficial to the community to be involved (Suharto, 2014, h. 124).

One approach in the theory of policy change is the Advocacy Coalition Framework. Dunn (2003, h.78) stated that a coalition of advocacy is a coalition of using information that was built properly with the arguments of the policy that will be used in influencing the policy agenda written by the government.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework helps to explain how the ideas to change the policy emerged from a group of people who unite in solving a problem and trying to make sure that the policy evolved towards the right direction (Howlett & Mujherkee, 2017, pp. 277). It is also supported by a statement (Hoppe & Parsle, 1993) which suggests that the lens of the Advocacy Coalition Framework is appropriate to be used to understand and explain a belief and policy changes when goal and disagreement of the various parties actors of public policy are presented.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework has at least four main premises, including (1) to understand the process of the policy change and the role of learning in it, which takes the perspective of a decade or more; (2) policy changes in the period of time associated with a subsystem of the policy, namely the interaction between actors from various organizations that participate in influencing policy; (3) the subsystem includes the dimension between the existing government; and (4) the public policy can be conceptualized with the belief system, i.e. as a set of value priorities and assumptions of causal about how to make it happen (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994).

One of the frameworks provided by policy experts, Paul A. Sabatier, is the analysis model of the working process of policymaking to resolve the issue of the public that involves a lot of actors and a lot of interest in it. This model is intended to explain the confidence and the change of policy if there is disagreement and technical debate involving many actors. The actors such as the government, interest groups, research

institutes, and private parties are described into involvement in the process of formulation and policy change. ACF is described as “the structure of policy-making” which consists of several components, among others: the parameter is relatively stable, the subsystem of policy (in which the policy-making process occurs), and external events outside the system. Subsystem policy has several components such as a belief system, a coalition of advocacy, an intermediate policy, resources, places, and mechanisms of policy change. It is part of a large system of policymaking which is formed of understanding about the parameters of a relatively stable by various actors. This subsystem involves various levels of government, contested issues (such as the group of supporters of the ratification of the bill draft on *ESV* and its counterparts), and hundreds of policy actors from various backgrounds and positions ranging from central government, local government, businesses, researchers, interest groups, and the media (Fischer, 2007, p.123-131). The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) illustrates the individual or group using a variety of resources they have to develop strategies to influence or change public policy in a variety of places. Resources in the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) include (1) the legal authority of the formal to take a decision, (2) develop a public opinion, (3) information and data obtained, (4) exerting force to pressure the mass, (5) finance in the coalition, (6) the art of coalition leadership (Sabatier & Weible., 2007, p. 201-203).

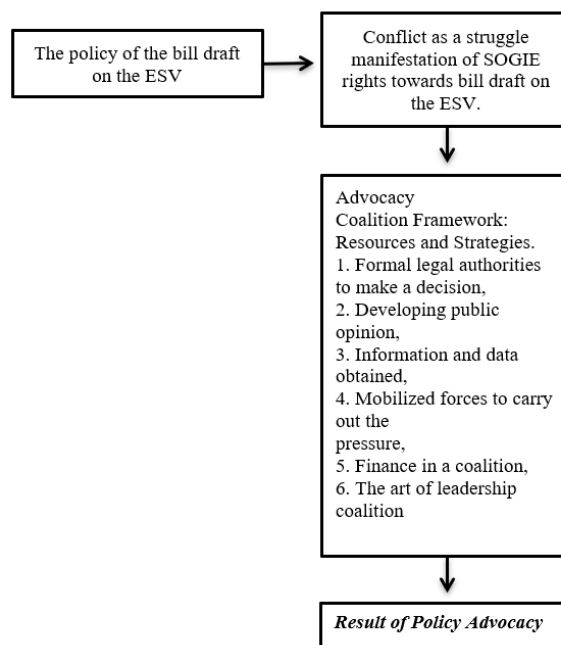
The stable parameters are a set of parameters that tend to be fixed, usually aged more than 100 years, and affect the policy. This parameter consists of four aspects, namely the basic characteristics of the area of interest, distribution of natural resources in the region, social and cultural values, and the social structure of the region, as well as the laws and regulations of the basic region. These aspects become the basis for understanding issues such as the condition of an area where the policy will be made (Sabatier & Weible., 2007, p.199). Meanwhile, the last component is the events outside the system. Sometimes in the process of policymaking, some of the events outside the process can affect the change of beliefs and policies. Sabatier and Weible (2007) state that four substances that can affect them, among others, are socio-economic changes, large-scale changes in public opinion, the change of the coalition in government, and policy options as well as the influence of the subsystem outside the system of policymaking (Sabatier & Weible., 2007, pp. 199).

Usage of Advocacy Coalition Framework in a conflict policy equals to identify the subsystems of the policy which consists of a variety of actors members of the coalition of advocacy which have the confidence of the same policy and act together (Sabatier, 1987). ACF was construed to identify the theory of cause and effect in the policy-making process as an alternative to the heuristic steps with its limitations (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994). ACF model of

the Sabatier discusses the existing approaches in the heuristic dominant, which is applied in the making of public policy (Howlett, et. All,2009). A coalition of advocacy that is formed will interact and try to produce a policy program following the urge from the advocacy group. The concept of the advocacy coalition framework has indeed been proven to be one of the most useful frameworks of public policy (Schalger, 1995), although in his criticism to the Marten A Hajer, it is considered too weak analytically to adequately analyze the dynamics of the interactive policy changes. Further, Marten A Hajer admitted that the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) identifies and explains important aspects of the policy change. However, Hajer believed that the main problem from the perspective of discourse is the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) could not explain why and how changes in public policy occur (Fischer, 2003, p.101).

This study seeks to look how far the strategy of group and community within Gaya Nusantara foundation to continue to fight for the rights of SOGIE by supporting the bill ratification. Differences with previous research is conflicts that the author use the

Figure 1. Flowchart of the logical framework



lens of the Advocacy Coalition Framework in this study as a tool of analysis. To facilitate the reader, a flowchart of the logical framework in this study is shown as follows:

**RESEARCH METHOD**

In this study, the authors use qualitative research methods through a descriptive review of a series of the process of policy advocacy which is conducted by the society and the Gaya Nusantara foundation. Qualitative methods are used to identify the implementation of the resources and strategies in policy advocacy by the Gaya Nusantara foundation.

**Table 1. the Research Informants**

No.	Informant	Role
1	Rafael	Chairman of the Gaya Nusantara Foundation
2	Siti Habibah	Legal Aid Agency of Surabaya Pos of Malang
3	Line Zurlija	ASEAN SOGIE Caucus
4	Slamet	Member of Gaya Nusantara

Reasons for using qualitative research with descriptive approach is that the authors can understand all the phenomena that occur related problems that occur in the Gaya Nusantara foundation in the fight for the SOGIE against the policy advocacy of the bill draft on the ESV.

The final result of this paper provides recommendations and suggestions related to the advocacy policy made by the community under Gaya Nusantara foundation. Qualitative research also provides opportunities for researchers to learn more about the information and available, accurate data in the field. All data obtained by the author conveys directly to unveil the results of in-depth research. The location of this research was in the Gaya Nusantara foundation, Surabaya. The authors conducted lessons for three months starting from June to August with some time visiting informants to collect data and obtain accurate, liable information for the validity of the research.

The selection of informants using the technique of purposive sampling, followed by in-depth interviews with various informants involved in a series of policy advocacy. Researchers ask directly to the informants about how the strategies for the SOGIE endeavor against the policy of the bill draft on ESV. As for the informants who were interviewed, among others: (table 1).

To examine the analysis of the data, triangulation techniques (source) and the analysis of the guidelines for interactive data of the theory were utilized (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014), such as: the collection of data obtained through a series of interviews, documents, and recordings processed into a transcript. Data in the form of documents, photos, and records of the interview results with informants. At the next stage, the authors perform data collection to simplify and clarify the results of the data to be more easily understood by the reader. The authors reduced the data to form interconnected and accurate explanation. The third stage in data presentation is in the form of images that are easily understood by the reader. Data presentation is the arrangement of the obtained data, and further processed and written to be presented into a readable form. Thus, in drawing conclusions of this study, the authors concluded the results obtained in the field.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Cases of sexual violence are on the rise in Indonesia. In the year of 2019, it reached 4. 898 cases. The cases were divided into two cases of sexual violence based on its area: 2.807 cases in personal space and 2.901 cases within the community (Aminah, 2020). In East Java, cases of violence against children and

women have been remaining at times. Ten of the 38 Districts/Cities (where the cases occur) in East Java are Surabaya with a total of 132 cases, Mojokerto with 25 cases, Jombang with 20 cases, Gresik with 20 cases, and Malang with 17 cases. The other cities are Blitar with 12 cases, Sidoarjo with 12 cases, Pasuruan with 11 cases, Bangkalan with 8 cases, and Lamongan with 8 cases (Ansori of Ippa, 2020).

If the discussion of the ratification of the bill draft on the Elimination of Sexual Violence was postponed continuously, the cases of sexual violence would likely to increase in Indonesia. During this time, the law enforcement in Indonesia is inadequate in dealing with cases of sexual violence; so that sexual violence continues to occur. The criminal code which is used as a basic reference sexual violence merely set two kinds of abuse and rape cases. The bill draft on the ESV was designed with community participation, community victim, a group of academic, religious, as well as the National Commission for Women. There are nine types of sexual violence that proposed in the bill draft of ESV, they are:

a)Sexual harassment, b)Sexual exploitation, c) Rape, d)Coercion contraception, e)Coercion marriage, f)Coercion of prostitution, g)Coercion abortion, h)Sexual slavery, i)Sexual torture

Until recently, the victims of sexual violence do not acquire justice because the perpetrators has been snared by the law on domestic violence and the child protection act. In practice, these regulations have not been substantial and there is a void of law. Thus, the bill draft on ESV could fulfill the gap.

The Gaya Nusantara foundation has conducted several actions below, regarding the resources and strategies in policy advocacy, to support the ratification of the bill draft on ESV:

### The Authority of the Formal Law to Make a Decision

The Gaya Nusantara organization used access to some of the resources in its endeavor of bill draft ratification. Access empowered a coalition with the use of networking communities to disseminate in order to reduce the negative stigma against LGBTIQ and to immediately ratify the bill draft on the ESV, so that cases of sexual violence was not more widespread. In addition, the Gaya Nusantara organization asked for support and urged the parliament of East Java to support the ratification of the bill draft.

The Gaya Nusantara foundation used the network and was in collaboration with the National Human Rights Commission (KOMNASHAM) because it was considered essential, and it had access to quite a lot of opportunities in reaching the ways and means that had to be prepared in support of the ratification of the bill. Various issues in the case of sexual harassment occur in either verbal, physical or visual. Because during this time, the victim is always blamed and cornered. This causes Gaya Nusantara to observe from the side of sexual violence; that violence is not only experienced by women. LGBTIQ community was part of

it too. Although they were not genetically, biologically, and socially, women. LGBTIQ currently can be referred to by the term trans-woman (transpuan).

The impacts of sexual abuse may make victims feel less confident, invaluable, closed-off, over-thinking on themselves, and lost self-confidence. One of the serious impacts due to sexual abuse is suicide. The effect of sexual abuse could be fatal. These impacts are expected to obtain clear information which will be used as a reason to sue the government for the immediate ratification of the bill draft on ESV.

The efforts of Gaya Nusantara are to conduct a discussion with several non-Governmental organizations (NGOS) and several of its networks, such as Fatayat Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the Indonesian Women's Coalition (KPI), Gusdurian, a study group of Gender Studies and Health Ubaya, the Legal Aid Society of Surabaya and the Association of Family Planning of Indonesia (PKBI) to policy support bill draft on the ESV. This network gave access to the Gaya Nusantara foundation to meet with some of the stakeholders who were responsible for the ratification of the draft. Networking in policy advocacy is also an important component of social capital for the Gaya Nusantara foundation in running series of advocacy. With social capital, it can build social networks that are geographically more widespread than the location of its place of residence (Supraja, 2010).

**Information and Data Obtained**

Some of the results and discussion of a study conducted by the Gaya Nusantara foundation in the fight for the ratification of the bill identified a problem in its journey. The bill draft on the ESV which was registered into the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) was suddenly delayed for its ratification because the title on the draft had yet to find an agreeable title and there was shorter service tenure of the parliament members.

In processing information, the Gaya Nusantara foundation had already worked with several non-Governmental organizations (NGOS) and obtained the information on the review and discussions with various actors and other NGOs. Information is a key component in policy advocacy because this is a benchmark to fight for the rights of SOGIE towards the bil draft on ESV. ACF assumes that information is a resource used by policy actors to win the political battle against public policy issues. The information used includes strategies that support the negotiations, opponents of the opinion, opponents, court decisions, and public opinion (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, pg. 203)

**Developing public opinion**

Various ways have been taken so that the problem of sexual abuse in Indonesia can be resolved immediately and thus, reduce the perpetrators of sexual harassment and discriminatory towards minorities. Meanwhile, the community and the NGO support to process the ratification of the bill draft on the ESV using the method of social media, print media, and

Figure 2. Statements Support for the bill draft on the ESV



Source: Gaya Nusantara, 2020

electronic media are also used. This is demonstrated in creating the injustice perceived by LGBTIQ minorities. The documentation of the petition was made by Ms. Sara, a lecturer of the Faculty of Economics and Business University of Indonesia, and Ms. Ina, a lecturer of the Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia and supported by the students. This was nationally conducted in simultaneous manner. This petition is constructed to form the collective consciousness of society about the importance of the ratification of the bill draft on ESV.

This petition is already widely followed by various organizations that have support for immediate ratification of bill draft on ESV; one of them is the Gaya Nusantara.

Gaya Nusantara often followed the alliance held by other agencies on the basis of the support of the ratification of the bill draft as a form of their advocacy. In addition, the problem is also used as the media in shaping the framing of injustice conducted by the Government to minority groups (LGBTIQ). Public opinion is used to support the position of the coalition as the main source of policy actors. The supportive public are more likely to support to help influence the decision makers of the policy (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 203).

**Mobilizing the Power to Carry out Pressure**

In mobilizing the people, the Gaya Nusantara does not move on their own but rather utilize a variety of community groups such as Fatayat Nahdlatul Ulama, IPPA, Women Coalition, a lecturer of the Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Indonesia, and a lecturer of Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia. Before creating mobilization by writing a petition, mobilization was first performed by the demonstration addressed to the regional parliament members of East Java, then it was proceeded by making the petition statement supporting the bill draft on ESV.

The campaign waged by the people of Indonesia is



Figure 3. Action to voice the bill draft on ESV through social media.



Source: Gaya Nusantara Instagram account, 2020

increasingly active due to the recent bill draft of ESV was excluded from National Legislation Program (Prolegnas), so it got a lot of criticism from the community. Considering the case of sexual harassment is on the rise today, many citizens support in groups and through social media. In addition, the mobilization of troops is also used in a variety of action to threaten offenders of sexual abuse and to provide support to victims.

The use of mass mobilization to perform a demonstration is utilized by some of the party or group which advocates the policy. It is also shown in a study conducted by Rahardian & Haryanti (2018). The research results revealed the presence of a demonstration of some groups of workers in Surakarta in rejecting the wage policy. Reflecting on the research and previous theory, it is also confirmed that policy advocacy is identical to a social movement or mobilization of a period. To achieve expected policy changes, mass mobilization or protesters are important in a series of advocacy. To acquire the attention of policymakers and implementers, an appointment of a problem is required, particularly starting from the lower level.

Action through social media is very effective and

Figure 4. Webinar of Gaya Nusantara



Source: Gaya Nusantara Instagram account, 2020

Figure 5. The stigma of the acceptance of homosexuality



Source: Gaya Nusantara Instagram account, 2020

efficient given the millennials currently use social media as materials to obtain information quickly. Hence, the bill draft could trigger fast response to push its legalization.

Other activities such as campaigns are also conducted by the parties that support the top of the ratification of the bill draft through various events. For instance, it occurred at the time of Institution of Legal Entities Surabaya organized the event which was held in Surabaya Grand Mosque (Masjid Agung). The meeting discussed the importance of acts that specifically ruled sexual violence cases in Indonesia; one of them was a bill draft on the ESV. Other events held by Fatayat NU and Gusdurian also taught a notion of tolerance towards gender diversity and the importance of the bill draft on the ESV for ratification.

The Gaya Nusantara foundation also frequently holds seminars and webinars on the issue of the diversity of sexuality and gender, the Inclusion of Gender, the Basis of Democracy and Social Justice as well as many other seminars. This is conducted solely to fight for the Rights of SOGIE.

### Leadership

The chairman of Gaya Nusantara foundation conducted multiple methodologies that substantiate the characteristics of leadership aspects. For example, Mr. Rafael as chairman of the Gaya Nusantara, has always

Table 2. Data on Sexual Violence in Surabaya

Year 2019	Year 2020	Year 2021
65-70 Cases	100 Cases	105 Cases

Source: Kompas.com

been administering intense and regular discussions to strategize and evaluate policy advocacy in reducing the negative stigma in the community to fight for their sexuality narratives. This activity was carried out in the base camp of Gaya Nusantara foundation. The chairman of the Gaya Nusantara Foundation always actively participated in the fight for the SOGIE and support the ratification of the bill draft of ESV with multiple stakeholders. Leadership aspects are considerably significant for that should not be ignored in policy advocacy. As indicated by the research findings by Pierce (2016) who stated that among the members of the winning coalition of the Political Fracture Hydraulic Colorado, leadership is a great resource to their strategy. Based on the explanation, one of the aspects of leadership in strategy and resource in the advocacy coalition framework has been done. Thus, aspects of leadership are important in the series of policy advocacy.

### **Policy Advocacy Result**

From the utilization of resources and strategies in the policy advocacy of the bill draft, there are some successes and failures in a variety of policy advocacy. First, the Gaya Nusantara foundation managed to lose the negative stigma against LGBTIQ although not everyone accepts its existence. This is demonstrated by the data posted on the instagram page of Gaya Nusantara Foundation as below:

In addition, the Gaya Nusantara is always active in the endeavor of SOGIE rights against the ratification of the bill draft on ESV, by participating in the activities of the campaign in front of the local parliament building of East Java. It is also actively collaborating with the alliance formed by other agencies. A negative result obtained is more sexual violence occurred in Indonesia nevertheless the ratification of the bill draft had been postponed by less logical reasons. However, this did not break the spirit of the community that supports the draft bill, in particular the Gaya Nusantara Foundation. It has been considerably unfinished because people and communities continue to urge the government and promote early legalization through social media and advocacy policy continues. Until the year 2021, the bill draft on ESV has officially entered the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas).

Cases of sexual violence in Surabaya are increasing, this is confirmed by the Head of the Women and Children Protection Unit in an interview with kompas.com as follows:(table 2)

Other data are also supported by National Commission for Women in 2020 as many as 4.849 people experience sexual violence. Additionally, in regard to the conditions of the Covid-19, more numbers accounted for sexual violence are increasing. Despite the increased violence in the past year, the ratification of the bill draft on ESV has not been done. This is due to diverse understanding within the society who does not have proper concepts of sexual violence; even the majority of people consider the bill draft on ESV negative.

## **CONCLUSION**

This paper discusses the strategy and policy advocacy resource conducted by the Gaya Nusantara Foundation in the fight for the rights of SOGIE policy advocacy within the bill draft on ESV by using the Framework of the Coalition of Advocacy theory. A resource used as a strategy to conduct policy advocacy is very significant because Gaya Nusantara Foundation worked on the resource to collaborate with various institutions supporting the ratification of the bill draft on ESV.

In doing policy advocacy, the Gaya Nusantara Foundation utilizes six sources of power as a strategy, which include: the authority of the formal law to make decisions, develop public opinion, obtain information and data, exert a force to carry out the emphasis and the art of leadership. The results of the policy advocacy that has been done have not been impartial in the group which urged it. To acknowledge the dangerous side, sexual violence is increasingly rife at the time of the pandemic Covid-19 as the current cases of sexual violence increases. This study certainly has limitations. First, because the study of the Framework of a Coalition of Advocacy takes quite a long time, such research has not been able to present the optimal result. Second, the struggle of the Gaya Nusantara foundation and the society to fight for their interests will still continue although, in 2021, the bill draft on ESV has already entered in the national legislation program. The diverse understanding of society about the concept of sexual violence causes that; so, the need for community outreach about the advantages and benefits of the bill draft on ESV legalization should be considered.

Research gap with previous ones focused on handling cases of violence, advocacy, national and international, education, campaign as well as strengthening and capacity development of the organization. The Gaya Nusantara foundation, in addition to fighting for the rights of LGBTIQ, it also reduces negative stigma against minority groups and fights for the ratification of the bill draft on ESV through policy advocacy. Future research can also be followed by other researchers who want to scrutinize about policy advocacy to demand for the rights of SOGIE towards bill draft on ESV.

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