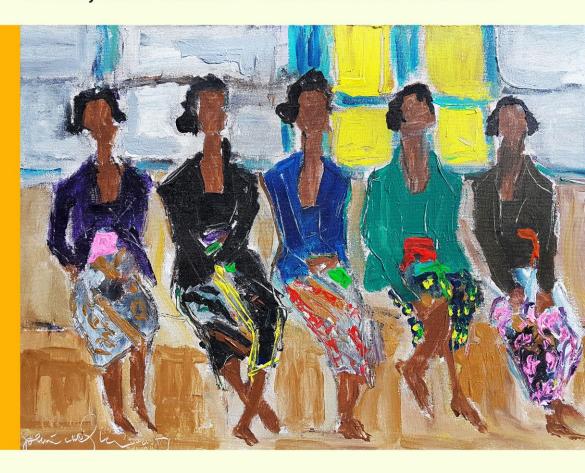
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Indigenisation of Global Norms: Norm Localization Analysis on LGBTQ+ Acceptance in Surabaya, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

In the era of globalization, norms can easily travel and transfer worldwide; they can also be adapted into certain local norms. Indonesian public acceptance of global norms is heavily affected by religious norms, which are deeply conservative. The acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community by the Indonesian public has been a hard case for that reason. However, in Surabaya, one of the biggest cities in Indonesia, religious norms have been utilized by GayA Nusantara (GN), a local NGO advocating for the acceptance of the LGBTQ+, as an effective tool to reconstruct public perception towards the LGBTQ+ community. This research explains how the GN approach helped the Surabayan accept the LGBTQ+ community. This research highlights the importance of the history of local culture and local wisdom that proves that Indonesian society - to certain degrees - has long been relatively accepting of gender diversity as part of their day-to-day life. However, when it comes to accepting LGBTQ+ as part of global norms, Indonesian still seems reluctant to be open to it. Within this unique context, this research aims to explain the localization process of the global norms on LGBTQ+ as part of the advocacy strategy conducted by GN. Applying the interpretative research method allows the researcher to interpret the result based on the data without letting the theory and/or indicators shape the research outcome.

KEYWORDS: norms indigenization, LGBTQ+, Indonesia, gender

INTRODUCTION

Globalisation is a phenomenon that creates an environment for transnational borders to be blurred and transactions to be fastened and widened. There are two kinds of globalisation, i.e., hard and soft globalisation. Hard globalisation is the openness for goods, capitals, people, and services to be transferred across transnational borders (Sander 2015), while soft globalisation is a phenomenon where norms, values, and cultures are vastly transferred all over the globe (Sander 2015).

As it cannot be avoided, norms are vastly transferred, exchanged, and

internalised by societies worldwide. The localisation of norms happens to adapt the global norms into the local ones. Sundrijo (2021) argued that global norms are not always aligned and applicable in a local setting. When there is a lack of applicability of a global norm that creates resistance towards that norm, a norm localisation is needed. Thus, norm localisation is defined a means taken by the norm localisation actors to ensure the applicability of a global norm (Sundrijo, 2021). In the end, the localisation of norms creates hybrid norms that can be accepted by local society (Merry, 2013). There are several concepts of norms localisation: one of them is norms vernacularisation. vernacularisation explains how an actor translate global norms to a certain local norm that has been identified (Merry, 2013). It explains how the translation process, defined as indigenisation, will increase the degree of acceptance of the global norms.

In general, acceptance is defined as a public decision to include an external entity into their social interaction (Leary, 2010). On the other hand, rejection is defined as the public decision to exclude an external entity from their social interaction (Leary, 2010). concept of acceptance and rejection are not absolute. Each of them is a concept that comes with a degree. degree of acceptance and The rejection can be translated from the people's behaviour (Dewall et al., 2011). In the case of norms localisation. the degree acceptance and rejection may vary. It can be identified by the reaction locals give towards the external norms introduced to them.

As one of the most religious countries in the world, Indonesian lean heavily toward religious norms for their day-to-day life. Indonesia's religiosity is shown by the survey conducted by Pew Research that suggests 96% of Indonesian believe that to be moral and have good values is to believe in God (Tamir et al., 2020). With that in mind, Indonesian tend to decide what is good or bad based on their religious Indonesian norms. including attitudes towards the LGBTO+ community. LGBTO+ acceptance has been institutionalised as global norms by United Nations as part of their human rights campaign. UN has several resolutions regarding the LGBTQ+ of acceptance. the acceptance However, LGBTQ+ in Indonesia has been going on in such a dynamic depending on the strength religious norms influence within the The conversation society. surrounding LGBTQ+ acceptance has been facilitated by some local actors' active and significant roles. Among them is GayA Nusantara (GN), whose movements are unique as they used a religious approach to localising LGBTQ+ acceptance as global norms in Indonesian society, especially Surabayan. GN aims for the LGBTQ+ community to be accepted as part of society and protected from any form discrimination by the law (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). GN understand that religion is essential to the locals and that they use religious norms to advocate the rights of the LGBTO+ community. This article aims to answer a research question "How could LGBTQ+ acceptance as part of global norms be accepted in Surabaya, Indonesia?" Throughout this article,

the term "community" will refer to the local group of LGBTQ+ and "society" to Indonesian at large.

METHODS

The article is the written output of a research process conducted following the principles of the qualitative research method. The nature of the method is inductive, where the researcher is forming a new concept or theory based on the findings they have encountered during the research (Bryman, 2012). The authors ought to interpret, analyse, and connect the between the collected information and data using various data collection methods.

First, the authors collected data using the literature review method by collecting data from books, journals, and several grey literatures like reports and news articles that surrounds the issue of LGBTQ+ world acceptance in the Indonesia. Then, the data collected is analysed by using qualitative history analysis to understand the history of how LGBTO+ acceptance became a important conversation verv globally, hence becoming a major part of global norms on human rights. The authors were focusing on the era of the rise of Christianity and same-sex relations perceived in the modern-day LGBTQ+ advocacy in the world. Furthermore, the focus on the Indonesia's acceptance of LGBTQ+ community since the beginning of Indonesia's independence to the status quo of LGBTO+ acceptance the archipelago. The method helps authors understand the dynamic of LGBTQ+ acceptance in the world and in Indonesia and what shaped the status quo. The qualitative history analysis allows the authors to interpret certain historical events such as the past law, movements, and coverage of the LGBTQ+ community to the acceptance rate of the LGBTQ+ community (Thies, 2002).

The authors also used qualitative interviews as a data collecting method. The authors conducted a thorough qualitative interview with the GN elite to get as many explanations as possible about how been advocating GN has LGBTO+ community acceptance. Based on the information collected, the authors constructed a norms localisation model that explains how global norms are framed localised within the context challenges from pre-existing religious norms in Surabaya. In addition to the interview, data and information were also collected through texts and documents of various academic literature, such as books and journal articles.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To explain the norms localisation strategies used by GN, the authors refer to the concept of norms vernacularisation mentioned Merry's 2013 article. Vernacularisation was first introduced in 1983 by Benedict Anderson to explain how European countries formed their national combining languages by medieval Latin roots and their very own differentiation (Merry, 2013). In short. vernacularisation is localisation or adaptation of external entities to the local ones. Norms vernacularisation is defined as a

process in which global norms are localised by adapting them into certain local norms, or, according to Merry, 'indigenisation' (Merry, 2013). Indigenisation is when new ideas, or norms, are framed and presented in terms of existing norms (Merry 2013). This concept acknowledges the significant role of local actors as the "translator" of global norms as they are the ones who will connect the dots between the global norms and the pre-existing local norms within a society. Translators also play a big role as they are deemed to understand norms, they are trying to merge (Merry, 2013). The translator is usually an NGO advocating for certain norms to be more acceptable in society. As the nature of NGOs is partiality, somewhat prone depending on who is behind them, it is also important to understand that what is being advocated might also be affected by an external cause (Merry, 2013). The outcome of their advocacy is not always successful.

The new indigenised norms might be ignored, rejected, or it will create a hybrid discourse and form an acceptable norm.

The concept differs from other norms localisation concepts as it focuses on local norms identification. That is because the norm vernacularisation highlights the importance of identifying a local norm that will be used by the translator. This step of the norm vernacularisation is critical because the translator needs to understand which local norm is impactful enough to frame the global norm (Merry, 2006). It is important to choose the correct local norm to frame the global norm as the success norm vernacularisation process depends on the process or norm identification. local translator will then mould a new hybrid norm that will serve global agenda and the local norms on their terms.

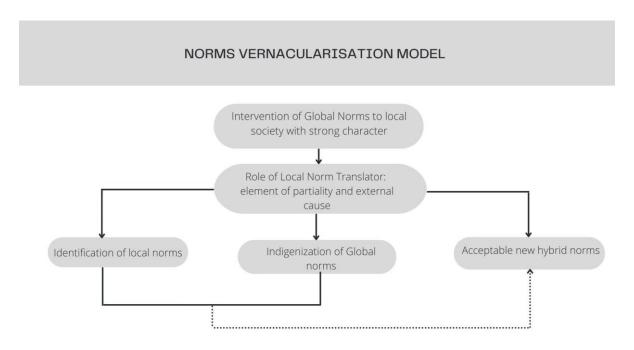


Figure 1. Norms Vernacularisation Model Source: Transnational Human Rights and Local Activism: Mapping the Middle, 2013

The norm vernacularisation is a concept chosen by the authors to be the ground concept of this research for its focus on both the translator and local norm identifying process. The case of the LGBTQ+ acceptance in Surabaya is also highlighting the role of GN as a translator and how they identify religion as the local norm to frame the acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community. Although the case of Surabaya shows different than points vernacularisation (further discussed in the next part of the article), the concept is the closest to the norm localisation process happened in Surabaya.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

LGBTQ+ Acceptance as Global Norms

LGBTO+ movement started from a wave of rejection towards same-sex practice all over Europe upon the rise of Christianity. The rejection and criminalisation first happened in the 16th century. In Britain, homosexual behaviour was labelled crime (Schwartz, 2014). rejection did not stay only in Britain. In 1870 German penal code also included same-sex male relations as punishable one of the (Schwartz, 2014). The rejection in the of criminalisation widespread outside Europe with the wave of colonisation that brought the influence of Christianity.

LGBTQ+ movements started with the gay rights movement. Before the proper movements were ever formed, poets and writers produced several pieces of literature explaining same-sex relations to give the community a little voice (Schwartz, 2014). the first proper movement. called Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. only appeared in 1897 in Berlin. The committee was founded by Magnus Hirschfeld, an important figure in understanding sexuality and the many possibility sexual of orientations and interactions between genders (Djajic-Horváth, 2010). Magnus's findings become an important part of educating the public on why same-sex relations should not be criminalised as it is deemed natural. He also founded his first sexology institute, Institute for Sexual Science, which was meant to educate Germans about sexuality and same-sex relations. Nazi demonstrators destroyed institute in 1933 as part of the ethnic cleansing (Djajic-Horváth, 2010).

As the Nazis gained power in Germany, their mission to purify Germany to become a strong nation led by pure German blood began. Other than attacking Jews, they also targeted LGBTO+ individuals; most gay men (Mullen, 2019). LGBTQ+ individuals were arrested and sent to the concentration camp with the pink triangle patched onto their striped pyjamas. That symbol dehumanised them. In camps, they were put in the lowest caste of prisoners where they needed to survive both the guards and the other inmates (Mullen, 2019). 65% of them died, and even after World War II, they did not get to breathe easy as Germany outlawed gay relations until the '70s (Mullen, 2019). The history of using the pink triangle by Nazi is very important to tell as it is now the symbol of gay community empowerment.

The LGBTQ+ movement did not gain more power and voice until the

'60s. Stonewall riots in New York, USA, started the movement of the LGBTQ+ community demanding equality. At that point, they were removed from professional sectors in the light of looking for the influence of colonialism post-world war (Notaro, 2017). They were also discriminated against in social settings by being arrested from beaches, parks, and public spaces. The discrimination came to the point where gay people were not allowed to drink and have their own space in bars, even gay bars (Notaro, 2017). These forms of discrimination then triggered the riots.

The police raid at Stonewall Inn happened on 28 June 1969. The police arrested several workers and charged the club with illegally selling (Notaro, 2017). The riots alcohol began when patrons outside the bar decided to fight back as they got tired of constant discrimination by being a target of raids and arrests. Hundreds of patrons and neighbours refused to leave the spot and later came in physical contact with the police for six nights (Notaro, 2017). After those nights, the community has stopped shying away from demanding respect and their rights; many of them have come out as they decided to be seen. Since then also, the public of the USA and the world have become more open to the idea of accepting gays into their community (Notaro, 2017).

The riots have a domino effect in the US, resulting in several bills being passed to ensure that LGBTQ+ rights are not ignored. In Britain, a charity named Stonewall Inn, Stonewall Equity Limited, was founded in 1989. One of the turning points was in 1970 when gay pride parades were first celebrated in the US, and today LGBTQ+ community worldwide celebrate it annually (Notaro, 2017). The conversation surrounding LGBTQ+ rights did not stop within the US, and it also created a global conversation about LGBTQ+ rights and acceptance.

The fights protesting advocating for equality and justice performed by the LGBTO+ movements have placed LGBTQ+ acceptance as a strategic human rights issue recognised under several UN resolutions. United Nations has resolutions regarding LGBTQ+ rights. protection of Three of them are under the Human Rights Council, and the rest are under the General Assembly. Those resolutions cover several key issues surrounding LGBTQ+ rights and LGBTQ+ the community protected from form any discrimination.

LGBTQ+ in Indonesia

The acceptance of LGBTQ+ as part of global norms in Indonesia is one of the most strategic politicised issues in Indonesia. Since the fall of Suharto reign in 1989, Indonesia has met its new and current atmosphere of democracy where everyone could form an organisation (Wijaya, 2020). These organisations could be based on anything, including religions. Several religious communities decided to form an organisation to gain more impact and power. As those religious-based organisations own their stage within Indonesia's society, Indonesia's politics social norms become very centred towards religious norms (Wijaya, 2020). For example, back in October 2021, the Islamic party in Indonesia called PPP or United Development Party urged to boycott DC comics after it was revealed that Superman is bisexual (Swaragita, 2021). The narration of the LGBTQ+community as a threat to Indonesia's morality is also shown by raids that are usually involving both police and Islamic group. In 2020, a gay party was raided by the police, and several members were arrested (MCdonald, 2020).

Although the status quo shows that Indonesia's public degree of acceptance towards the LGBTQ+ community is relatively Indonesia was once open to gender diversity and same-sex practice (Polymenopoulou, 2018). The Bugis tribe, which resides and corresponds to 45% of Indonesia's Southern Sulawesi, is known as one of the indigenous communities open to the idea and practice of gender diversity. Apart from male and female, they recognise at least three other genders, i.e. calalai (female-bodied individuals who prefer to live as calabai (male-bodied individuals who prefer to live as and women): bissu ('gender transcendent') (Polymenopoulou, 2018). The fact that bissu represented either woman or man (Khanis, 2013) makes them perfect and pure (Boellstorff, 2005b), which allows them some spiritual attributes or priests in the Bugis society *Bissu* was very important to the indigenous people of Bugis and was part of sacred ceremonies like several ceremonies within blessing the Nevertheless, community. since religious teaching and colonialism hit Indonesia, the practice of bissu has been banned (Boellstorff. 2005b).

Besides the gender diversity in Bugis culture, same-sex practice in Javanese culture is also widely known. It is part of Ponorogo culture in East Java, reog. Reog is a folk dance whose two main characters, warok and gemblak, are male. Warok are the master of gemblak. Warok is also framed as a spiritually connected character with the mystical ability (sakti). To maintain their ability, warok is prohibited from having sex with women (Boellstorff, 2005b). With that, warok had sexual relations with gemblak, but the practice was denied by warok (Boellstorff. 2005b). However, during the Dutch colonisation, the practice of bissu and *reog* as they were seen to be immoral (Boellstorff, 2005b).

The banning of cultural activities that shows gender diversity and relations continued same-sex throughout the stay of the Dutch and the influence of religious teaching in Indonesia. After getting their independence, Suharto's reign, which came second to presidency in 1968, played a bigger role in deciding the dynamic of the LGBTO+ community existence in Indonesia. During his presidency, framed Suharto a group politically active women in same-sex relations as part of the murder of military generals that triggered the (Wijaya, coup of 1965 2020). However, during his reign, there seemed to be certain degrees of acceptance with the establishment of HIWAD Himpunan Wadam or HIWAD, Djakarta. representing 'wadam' or wanita adam (transvestite or feminine male homosexual), was founded in 1969. What makes the founding of association this important to the LGBTO+ history in Indonesia is that it was facilitated by Ali Sadikin, the Governor of DKI Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia

(Muthmainnah, 2016). The involvement of a high-profile politician surely showed that the nation was open to the idea of transvestite or feminine homosexual. The establishment of HIWAD is certainly important to mark the awakening of LGBTO+ advocacy in Indonesia, as it aims to change the stigma close to the trans community in Indonesia (Udasmoro, 2017).

Although in Indonesia today LGBTQ+ community seems to have little to no place in Indonesia's society, there is, in fact, a constant acceptance and public knowledge for trans community.1 especially acceptance is open towards warias and bancis effeminate transsetive men. They are both visible in urban and rural Indonesia settings in (Polymenopoulou, 2018). Some of them are very open and accepted to be part of the society to build a life as a binary people would. For example, Udasmoro (2017) explained how people in Yogyakarta are open to the fact that a transman runs a big business. People widely accept that they also serve a role in public (Polymenopoulou, entertainment and public celebration 2018) (Udasmoro 2017).

Based on what has been explained above, we understand a certain dynamic in accepting the LGBTQ+community in Indonesia. First, many parts of Indonesia are culturally open to gender diversity. Second, the LGBTQ+ issue has been

politicised as part of the religious norms and morality of the nation. Third, there is a different reaction towards LGBTQ+ as the community and trans community known as warias and bancis.

GayA Nusantara and LGBTQ+ Advocacy in Surabaya

As discussed before, HIWAD is first publicly the announced organisation that advocates for nonbinary people. After HIWAD, several organisations stand up for LGBTQ+ rights, Lamda Indonesia i.e., (Muthmainnah, 2016), and IWAYO or Ikatan Waria Yogyakarta was found in 1982. KKLGN or Kelompok Kerja Lesbian dan Gay Nusantara was founded in 1986. The latter was then changed their name to GavA Nusantara (GN) (Muthmainnah, 2016). GN is an organisation that advocates for the acceptance and the rights of the LGBTQ+ community.

Although most of the purposes of those LGBTQ+ organisations are similar to one another, GN is especially unique. They are the first to advocate for the openness of LGBTQ+ identity without being threatened by any background, their religious including views (Muthmainnah, 2016). Their programs supported bv are networking with local and international LGBTQ+ organisations and allies. GN works with Arus Pelangi, progressive local religious leaders like Imam Nakhai Stephen Sulaiman, UNSAID, The Global Alliance for LGBT Education, and Human Rights Watch (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). Networking is particularly important for GN movements for two reasons (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June

¹ Trans community is part of LGBTQ+ community. However, as the public of Indonesia perceived them as waria and banci who have been socially involved in Indonesia, people are more accepted towards them than LGBTQ+ as a whole

2021). First, as an organisation, GN can learn from other organisations about issues and strategies advocate for LGBTQ+ acceptance. However, when it comes to applying thev learn from organisations, GN does not take it as it is. For example, when they learn how advocacy is being about conducted in other countries, they would adapt it into what they think fits into the nature of Indonesia's society (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). Sigit also explained that GN does not necessarily follow the trend of advocacy through GN's networking. He explained that when most LGBTQ+ movements advocate for the legalisation of same-sex marriage, GN does not just follow along. GN remain with their goal to make the LGBTO+ community accepted by society despite their religious background or gender (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021).

Second, as a member of LGBTQ+, there is a sense of togetherness and belonging, which are important for self-acceptance within community. Self-acceptance is very important as it will make members of LGBTO+ understand that they should not hideaway. GN also opens their door for those outside the community who are eager to learn get involved in LGBTO+ and advocacy through the internship program they offer (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021).

GN regularly holds workshops involving religious leaders, academics, and LGBTQ+ allies as part of its advocacy strategy. One of those was on Developing Progressive Interpretations of Religious Texts in 2018. The workshop's outcome is a book called "Christian-Islam

Progressive Interpretations of Gender Diversity and Sexuality: A Guideline to Understand the Human Body and God" (GayA Nusantara, 2020). The workshop and book were meant to educate both the public and the LGBTQ+ community about the religious ways of accepting LGBTQ+. Sigit claims that through their workshops and the book, in the name of human rights, the general public's acceptance in Surabaya towards the LGBTQ+ as part of their society is getting better (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). Society is more open to the idea of letting the LGBTQ+ community live their life without any discrimination in a social setting. Sigit highlighted that many LGBTQ+ individuals become apart from their religious beliefs because society refuses to accept them as part of them. Labels as sinners and unnatural creatures pushed the LGBTQ+ individuals away from their religious beliefs. This is why the book is important to the understand inclusivity religions (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021).

The demonisation of the LGBTO+ community has been widely done and acknowledged by the Indonesian public based on religious teachings and manuscripts (Boellstorff, 2005a). It is usually connected to the tale of Sodom told to be people that are for condemned their sexual identified behaviour as gay (Boellstorff, 2005a). The Tale of Sodom is told in Qur'an and Bible. It is about a town that was cursed and banished by God (Boellstorff, 2005a) because of the sin of its people. It is said that the people of Sodom are gays, lesbians, and transvestite. One day, God sent an angel to come to Sodom as a handsome man. Males of Sodom then tried to force themselves into the angel showing their homosexuality, causing the town of being destroyed (Boellstorff, 2005a).

To stop the demonisation of the LGBTO+ community, GN tried to reinterpret the tale of Sodom. It is important as they reframed it so that it tells that gay is not the problem and the cause of the curse to Sodom, but rather it was because of the rape or non-consent sexual intercourse done by the Sodom people to the male angel (GayA Nusantara, 2020). Such interpretation becomes very important to educate both the general public and the members of the LGBTQ+ community that there is no need for demonisation towards the LGBTQ+ community (S. Sigit, personal interview, 8 December 2021). **Apart** from the reinterpretation of the tale of Sodom that changed the "sinner" label, the book also talks about many more basic contestations such as the creation of more than two genders, gender expression, and purification, that is related to the religious manuscript, especially in Christianity and Islam.

There is also a chapter in the book that touches on God's creation that is not all binary. It explains how God has created several other genders that are non-binary and that all God's creations are loved and perfect (GayA Nusantara, 2020). The book quoted a verse from the Quran in Surah Al-Hajj:5 saying that God created people who are defined as *mukhallaqah* form (common/fair) and *ghoiru mukhallaqah* (not normal/uncommon) (GayA Nusantara,

2020).² The verse was reinterpreted to show that God created people who fit into the normality of binary ideas and the uncommon ones that do not fit into the binary standard.3 The book also quoted several verses on Christianity teaching, including Isaiah 56:7 (ASV), saying churches are the "house of prayer for all people". The verse becomes very important to explain that Christianity does not discriminate and is open to anyone and everyone, including the LGBTQ+ community (GavA Nusantara, 2020). Based on the verses quoted in the book, it is clear that the book is not only trying to educate the general public about the progressive interpretations of religious manuscripts. The book can also be interpreted as GN creating a space for the LGBTO+ community to seek God and that God accepts them that they were once believed to be merciful.

also work closely with progressive religious leaders public educate the about the acceptance of the LGBTO+ personal community (S. Sigit, interview, 17 June 2021). They are also working with one of the

² There are many versions of interpretation of *mukhallaqah* form and *ghoiru mukhallaqah*. The version used in this article is GN version of interpretation

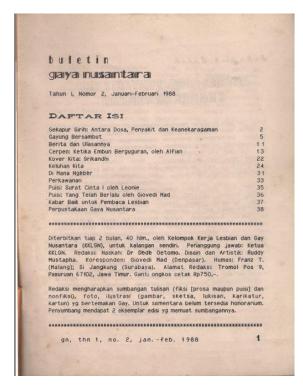
³ Interpreatation of normality in gender diversity explained in Christian-Islam Progressive Interpretations Of Gender Diversity And Sexuality: A Guideline to Understand The Human Body and God, "In Islamic context, the Qur'an mentions in surah Al-Hajj: 5 that mankind is created in mukhallaqah form (common/fair) and ghoiru mukhallaqah (not normal/uncommon). These two terms undoubtedly provide a broader picture of how God is very likely to create things that are not common among the very common creations" (GayA Nusantara, 2020).

schools in pesantren or Islamic Yogyakarta that is safe for LGBTO+, especially the warias (transwoman). GN and *the pesantren* work together is written in a book titled "Santri Waria: Kisah Kehidupan PondokPesantren Waria Al-Fatah Yogyakarta". The book is very important to highlight the life of warias and their belief system that was torn before they found their place in Islam. The book aims to educate the general public about the struggle of warias to claim their religious identity as it was taken away by conservative religions. It has always been an 'either-or': to be part of either the LGBTO+ community religious belief and closet in terms of truest identity (S. personal interview, 17 June 2021). In Islam, men and women pray with each gender group and there are certain differences when performing the prayer. The practices make it hard for warias to choose whether to pray as men or women. This book suggests that warias and other genders are welcome to praise God for their beliefs and how they perceive themselves (Sa'dan, 2020).

The impact of those two books can be seen in both the public and the community. The two books help the public understand that religious teachings are not exclusive to those in binary standards but also those outsides. The book also educates the public that it is the right of every human to perform their religious beliefs. This further impacts the public understanding from being enclosed to the idea of the LGBTQ+ performing community religious beliefs to being more open towards that idea (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). The books also understand the LGBTO+

community that they need to accept themselves and see themselves as worthy of peace and beliefs (S. Sigit, personal interview, 8 December 2021). This further helps minimise mental the pressure experienced LGBTO+ by the community that sometimes leads to the case of denying their truth or even suicide (S. Sigit, personal interview, 8 December 2021). The members of the LGBTO+ community need to accept themselves as it will make them understand their place in society. By claiming their place in society, they will be more open to talking about their story, which is important to keep the conversation developing (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021). Overall, empowering the community triggers a higher degree of acceptance of society.

Other than those two books. GN has managed to write several other books surrounding the issues of LGBTQ+ acceptance within the religious community. LGBTO+ rights, and equality. Besides books, GN also published around magazines from 1987 to 2014. The magazine targeted Indonesian society as their main readers and was distributed through their website and locally sold in Surabaya. Reviewing the magazine contents shows how the conversation has evolved for more than two decades. In the early prints of magazines, GN talked more about acceptance and religious teachings that are inclusive for the LGBTQ+ community. In 2014, the magazine highlighted personal stories about same-sex love and even created a profile story of LGBTQ+ members of the year. The change is reflected in the magazines' table of contents.





Picture 1. Difference of GN Magazine's Table of Contents; Source: GN Magazines, 1998 and 2014

GN makes sure that all of its printed publications are accessible for people from the general public and the LGBTQ+ community. It is made possible by the free access to download both the books and the their magazines on website (https://gayanusantara.or.id/). previously discussed, the magazine's edition highlighted more personal stories about the trans community. Other than that, the magazine is an important source of information about sexuality and health information. The magazine aims to explain the sexuality of the trans community that can be various things. It can be heterosexual, bisexual, or queer (GayA Nusantara, 2014). In their Health Corner section, the magazine also talks about the side effect of hormone therapy Nusantara, 2014). information aims to educate the

trans community on hormone therapy and what can be expected from the therapy. The magazine is especially important as a melting pot between telling the story of the community and a source of information for the community.

Besides the publications, GN is also active in voicing their cause on Twitter (@gayanusantara) and Instagram (@yayasangayanusantara). In total, both accounts got the attention of more than nine thousand followers. Both accounts are updated daily to continue the conversation surrounding LGBTQ+community acceptance, especially in a religious setting.

Norms Localisation of LGBTQ+ Acceptance in Surabaya

There are several ways that GN has advocated for LGBTO+ acceptance within society. We can that highlight emphasised GN creating an inclusive religious for the environment LGBTO+ community in almost all advocacy efforts. GN reframed the labels and status given by society to the LGBTQ+ community from sinners to groups who should not be taken away from their beliefs system and alienated. The reframing is made possible by reinterpreting religious norms as part of the local norms in Surabaya's society. Society then is more open to the idea of accepting the LGBTO+ community, and the members of the community itself have been provided with selfacceptance and understanding about their rights as a human.

Based on the strategy of advocacy localise by GN to LGBTO+ acceptance as part of global norms, it is important to highlight that the norms vernacularisation concept can explain the norms localisation in the case of GN. There is a process of norms translations done by GN as a translator. However, the difference lies in which norms are adjusted and reframed for global norms to be indigenised. Based on explanation of the norms vernacularisation model. the translator identifies certain local norms as basic to adjust the global norms. However, in the GN model, identify we can that beyond identifying local norms, GN has been adjusting the local norms in a way to localise the global norms. The output is the formation of a new hybrid norms that are more acceptable to the public.

Other than that, there is a limitation in the concept of norms

vernacularisation in explaining the localisation process norms conducted by GN. Norms vernacularisation does not clarify whom the global norms were meant to be localised and whom it affects. In an article about vernacularisation of the global discourses of social and economic rights in Africa, Seekings (2021) has identified this issue. Seekings highlighted how the definition of those who need to be the object of social and economic rights are constructed based on the West's point of view and cannot be applied to the case of Africa. In the case of vernacularisation of LGBTQ+ norms in Surabaya, we argue that to be accepted, the norms need to be reframed and reinterpreted not only for the community itself but, most importantly, also for the public and society at large - in which the community is part of.

Based on the global history of the LGBTQ+ movement, we can analyse that LGBTQ+ acceptance as a norm needs to be localised to have those outside the community accepting the norms. We can draw this conclusion based on the movement done by the LGBTQ+ community owning their voice and empowered to have others see them as equal. However, in the case of norms localisation in Surabaya, we can analyse that the object of norms localisation is not only the general The object of public. localisation of LGBTO+ acceptance also Surabaya is for community of LGBTQ+ to accept themselves.

In the case of GN advocacy for LGBTQ+ acceptance, we can see that they are not affected by external factors like the global advocacy trend. Even though GN has quite a networking with local and international organisations, GN always adapt the trend in the world into what they need and is applicable for their movements, very much according to the character of the community and the society. For example, in the light of same-sex marriage advocacy, GN decided to advocate for acceptance within the

society and the health rights. Sigit also explained that GN chose to fight for the right to live and believe because that is more important for the LGBTQ+ community in Indonesia (S. Sigit, personal interview, 17 June 2021).

Based on this, the author proposed the new revised model of norm vernacularisation, as below:

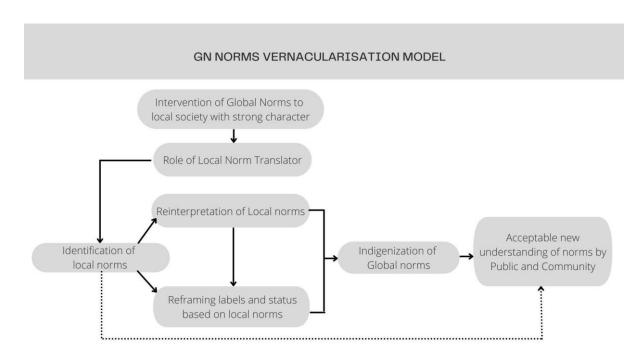


Figure 2. GN Norms Vernacularisation Model; Source: Author's Document. 2021

CONCLUSION

The acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community has been fought for since it has been labelled as unlawful and sinful as the rise of Christianity. The fight for acceptance was first triggered by the Stonewall riots that had its domino effect in creating LGBTO+ advocacy organisations worldwide and the several mark resolutions LGBTO+ to acceptance as part of global norms. Indonesia. advocating LGBTQ+ acceptance would mean going against the religious norms that the people dearly hold onto. Interestingly, instead of fighting it, GayA Nusantara – one of the LGBTQ+ advocacy NGOs in Indonesia, strategically use the religious norms as a tool for advocating their cause.

Using Interpretative Research Method focusing on qualitative history analysis, this article analysed the applicability of Merry's 2013 concept of norms vernacularisation in explaining the process of GN advocacy. While doing so, this article identified some limitations of the

concept that disenabled it to explain the advocacy processes properly and thoroughly. In agreement with Merry, the significant role of norms translator - in this case GN - in localising global norms – in this case, the LGBTQ+ acceptance - to be accepted by the local society - in this case the people of Surabaya – is at the centre of the story. It is shown how for the global norms to be accepted (or, in terms of Merry, indigenised), one of the strategies would be adjusting the local norms (in this case, the local religious norms) to be more open towards the global norms. Indigenisation can be done by reframing certain labels that - from perspective of GN, rather inaccurately attached to the global norms, that the community have submissively believed. reframe those labels is to reinterpret the religious norms or the essence of the local norms to be more compatible to the global norms.

This article also highlighted the limitation of norm vernacularisation in defining their object of norms localisation. To compliment Merry's norms vernacularisation analysis, this article shows that in the case of LGBTQ+ acceptance advocacy by GN, there are two localisation objects. Those are the Surabayan society, and the LGBTQ+ community. Lastly, this article

revealed that the external factor, the global advocacy trend, does not have any significant impact to the translator's process. That is because the translator would rather filter and adjust any external influence into their advocacy needs, in accordance to the character of their subject of advocacy, and the context of the advocacy movement..

With all the findings discussed above, the authors understand that further research will be necessary in at least two areas. First, it will be interesting, and indeed important, to know the reason behind norms translator's decision in choosing which local norms to be reframed and reinterpreted. Is the reason about personal organizational preferences, or more influenced by consideration related to the character of the community and/or the society, or any other reasons?

Second, the authors consider it as necessary to replicate our research model in other parts of Indonesia, be it at the big cities like Surabaya, or smaller towns or villages where local norms play stronger roles in people's day-to-day life. This way, the authors wish to contribute more significantly in the development of concept/theory on localisation of global norms in the study of International Relations.

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ABOUT

SALASIKA etymologically derived from Javanese language meaning 'brave woman'. SALASIKA JOURNAL (SJ) is founded in July 2019 as an international open access, scholarly, peerreviewed, interdisciplinary journal publishing theoretically innovative and methodologically diverse research in the fields of gender studies, sexualities and feminism. Our conception of both theory and method is broad and encompassing, and we welcome contributions from scholars around the world.

SJ is inspired by the need to put into visibility the Indonesian and South East Asian women to ensure a dissemination of knowledge to a wider general audience.

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