

## THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION FOR GAY YOUNG ADULTS (A CASE STUDY ON LEGISLATIVE ELECTION IN YOGYAKARTA)

**Wulan Widayari**  
**Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta**  
wulan\_widayari@yahoo.com

**Susilastuti Dwi N**  
**Universitas Pembangunan “Veteran” Yogyakarta**  
susilastuti\_dn@yahoo.com

### Abstract

Political socialization, actually, is an investment of political values from one generation to the next generations. The purpose is to increase the political participation. Political socialization must take place continuously to all groups of societies. Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender (LGBT) group is a one of minority groups in our society, usually they are not accepted by the society, and they used to be forgotten in political socialization. However, in 2014 legislative election in Yogyakarta City of Indonesia, that elects Local Parliament (DPRD), House of Representatives (DPR) and Regional Councils (DPD) members; the LGBT people becomes a spotlight for the general election commissions (KPU) in Yogyakarta City. KPU has many methods to attract them in legislative election. One of their methods is doing political socialization. So, in this research we want to see how LGBT people think about the political socialization. The research method is focus group discussion to gay young adults as part of LGBT group. We pick those gay young adults as our informant because of their participation in general election and their knowledge about politics. Based on the research using descriptive analysis, it found that political socialization to LGBT group by KPU is not optimal; KPU cannot optimize the participation of LGBT group to become voter in legislative election. The reasons are: (1) LGBT group is unorganized group, because there is no data about them; (2) The socialization is not maximal because the political message is limited to call of their suffrage not to enlarge the political participation; (3) The candidates have no intention to create a program dedicated to the LGBT group. Based on the results, this political socialization method cannot be applied. The FGD results show that political socialization must start from political education to open the frame of view about LGBT group because their presence is needed for the sustainability of the nation.

**Keywords:** minority group, LGBT, political socialization, political communication

## **Backgrounds**

General election, empirically, is an indicator of democratic country. Periodization of the electoral system in each country is different. However, substantially, the general election is the tool of leadership change constitutionally, so the effort to raise general election awareness in a country must continue to be done. Indonesia is one of the countries that carry out the general election on a regular basis as tool to change the leadership. General election in Indonesia is defined as an event or democracy party.

General election is a screening mechanism and assignment or a delegation of sovereignty to other person or party who believed (Ramlan, 1992: 181). In a democracy country, general election is considered as the epitome and as benchmarks of democracy. The result of the general election is held in an atmosphere of the openness to freedom of speech, freedom of association is considered as reflection of a little inaccurate political participation (Budiarjo, 2008: 461).

General election also be interpreted as a suggestion of peaceful change of leadership constitutionally. General election is the tool of implementation of popular sovereignty among the people. It is held directly, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair in Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution of Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 (Act 8 Year 2012 about general election).

Through general election, people who are elected to be the legislature or the government leader have the responsibility to objectively his promise for the constituents because they are representation of the people's representatives. If in the reality once they are elected forget their promise to the people, this affects public trust in a general election mechanism.

Post-New Order, the main problematic associated with the general elections is the low level of participation, there is a group of people who do not use their voting rights, known as the white group (abstention) for various reasons. For example, the percentage of non-voters in the direct presidential election since 2004 and 2009 is experienced a significant increase, in 2004 round 1 abstention figure is 21, 77%, the second round is 23, 37% and in the 2009 election, the abstention figure reached 27.40 % ([www.rumahpemilu.org](http://www.rumahpemilu.org), accessed in May 5th, 2015). In 2014 election, abstention figures reached 24.89%. This number is a significantly decreased when compared to previous years ([www.vivanews.com](http://www.vivanews.com), accessed in May 5th 2015).

Those conditions encourage the institution, which is authorized to hold the general election, namely the General Elections Commission (KPU), conduct the political socialization programs to all segments of society in order to encourage voter participation. The KPU effort is success, because the 2014 election in Indonesia conducted twice. The first election chooses the members of the legislature or the House of Representatives (DPR) of central, provincial, city, county as well as members of the Regional Representatives Council (DPD). The second chooses both the president and vice president. The voter participations are exceeded the target of 75 percent of voters levels. In fact, in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY), as an educational city, the voter participations are exceeded the national rates. The table below shows that.

Table 1  
Voter Participation Rate in Special Region of Yogyakarta

No.	District/City	Legislative Election		Presidential Election	
		2009	2014	2009	2014
1	Yogyakarta City	66,54%	75,88%	69,21 %	77,66%
2	Bantul	74,08%	81,20 %	79,11 %	81,31%
3	Kulon Progo	73,37 %	80,66 %	73,46%	79,32%
4	Sleman	72,68%	81,40%	77,61%	81,72 %
5	Gunungkidul	75,14 %	78,53%	75,36%	76,89%
6	Special Region of Yogyakarta	72,94%	80,2%	75,97%	79,84%
	National	70,96%	72,97%	72,55%	70,91%

Source: 2004 election results data in Special Region of Yogyakarta

Although the data, quantitatively, is a success, but there are still exist a group of people who do not use their voting rights due to a variety of factors. They need to be studied in depth. Improved voter participation rate is also one of the indicators of KPU triumph to disseminate the people participation in the general election.

Socialization is the process of learning outcomes, learning from experience or patterns of action. Socialization of the individual learning outcomes is related to knowledge, information, motives or values and attitudes from one generation to the next generations. Socialization is also a necessary pre-condition for social activities, implicitly or explicitly. It provides knowledge about social behavior (Michael Rush and Philip Althoft, 1997: 34-36).

In Indonesia, the national concept of political socialization is compiled by KPU Central. The implementation is carried out by the KPU Province, City and County. And the form of political socialization in the provincial level is different from the city and county levels. The differences of political socialization program is based on the ability of these institutions to reach the voters.

In 2014, for the first time, KPU formed the Democracy Volunteers under the coordination of KPU city and county. Democracy Volunteers is derived from the five segments of strategic voters, religious groups, women's groups, people with disabilities and marginalized groups. The fifth segment is assumed by KPU as an unreached group in political education, electoral information, registration mechanism, voting system, etc etc.

The marginalized groups that get attention as the target of political socialization program, are a group of street children, disable people, Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgendered (LGBT) group. These marginalized groups have a tendency to cover themselves from society. Automatically, it is effected to the political socialization.

In this study, researchers focused on the political socialization for LGBT group, especially gay people, in legislative election in Yogyakarta City. LGBT, although there are no quantitative data, have not openly known to the public, although there are some of them have community such as PLU Satu Hati and a group that has been advocated by NGOs such as PKBI.

Based on Aprilia Dwi Utami research (2012), in Yogyakarta City, gays divided into two groups, namely open groups and closed groups. Open groups are easier to communicate and to interact within society than the close groups. When communicating and interacting, gay people in Yogyakarta City cannot be blunt. Pros and cons make gay people feel difficult to communicate and to interact in society. This makes gay people are not being themselves. When they communicate to heterosexual in the public, they will behave and run the existing norms and follow the rules that exist in society. The absence of a firm law makes religion as a legal basis when talking about homosexual phenomenon. So there are still many people do violence thing against gay people in the name of religion.

Based on the pre-survey, KPU involved transgender people (PKBI) as one of the participants in political socialization. Given this is a very closed group, KPU also use social media such as facebook. Hopefully, they still get information about the general election and it can encourage them to use their voting rights.

*"We are trying to reach LGBT group by working with PKBI. The cooperation is to find the gathering place of LGBT groups. After we get in charge with them, we try to utilize the use of social media, as well as SMS to invite them to participate in the general election. We also ask the problems they face related to the elections."*  
(Interview with Rani, KPU commissioner)

Considering gay people is one of the strategic voters, it is important to examine them about the political socialization about legislative election for LGBT group in Yogyakarta in the year of 2014. The problem of this research is how the political socialization for LGBT group, especially gay people, is carried by KPU, in Yogyakarta?

## **Research Method**

This is a descriptive qualitative research. This research describes the determination and formulation of the political socialization for LGBT group, especially gay people. As a descriptive study, this research aims to describe or depict social realities that exist in the community (Mantra, 2004). According to Sukardi (2010) descriptive qualitative research only seeks the illustration clearly and sequentially about the research questions that had been prepared previously. We do not use hypotheses as directions in this research.

This research is focused on the political socialization for gay people. We want to explore in-depth information about the political socialization that is held by KPU for LGBT group in Yogyakarta. Informants of this study are gay young adult who lives in Yogyakarta. The informants selection is based on their participation in general elections and their understanding of politics. Our informants are Aan (29 years old), Raihan (23 years old), Firman (26 years old) and Ivan (29 years old).

The data is obtained through observation, in depth interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The FGD is used to obtain focused and interactive information about the research topic involving the target group and related parties. The secondary data in this study are regulations related to the election, documents and publications related to the legislative elections in Yogyakarta.

Data analyses in qualitative research are carried out at the time of data collection or after the data are completed. Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that the activity in

qualitative data analysis is done in an interactive and continuous way until it completes, so the data is already saturated. Reduction of data (data reduction) is done by summarizing the data on how gay young adult understand politics and political socialization. Then, we precede the data with the study about the aspects of political socialization.

Penyajian data (*data display*) yang dilakukan dengan cara menarasi hasil FGD dan mengkaitkan dengan konsep komunikasi politik dan partisipasi politik yang berasal dari data sekunder. Kesimpulan /verifikasi yang dilakukan berdasarkan atas hasil reduksi dan penyajian data dengan cara mencocokkan data yang diiperoleh selama proses pengumpulan data, penyajian data dan reduksi data.

Presentation of data (*data display*) is done by narrating the FGD data and relate it to the concept of political communication, political socialization and political participation coming from secondary data. The conclusion and verification are based on the results of the data reduction and data presentation by matching the data from the process of data collection, data presentation and data reduction.

### **Gay and Politics**

Homosexuality in this culture is a stigma label. To be called a 'homosexual' is to be degraded, denounced, devalued or treated as different. It may well mean shame, ostracism, discrimination, exclusion or physical attack. It may simply mean that one becomes an 'interesting curiosity of permissiveness' (Plummer dalam Edwards, 1994: 15). It is true. In many ways, particularly in the fields of politics, LGBT people are often discriminated. Finally, people often assume that LGBT people do not want to get involved in the political process.

In America, under the implicit assumption that sexual orientation and activity have little or no bearing on the political process and structures, homosexual was practically absent from political science until the 1970s ( Krouwel dan Duyvendak, 2000: 115). While in Indonesia, until now there are many who say that gay people do not know and do not want to give attention to political issues. However, based on the results of focus group discussions conducted against gay young adults, it turns out that the assumption is not always true, the result shows that they are very concerned with the political world.

*“Politics in Indonesia are cool to be seen, to be followed. Politics in Indonesia is more alive than in other countries like Malaysia or Singapore, especially about the pros and cons of political policy. Most policies were not supported by the society because it did not meet the wishes of the society.”* (Interview with Raihan, a 23-year-old gay)

Those answers show that gay people are also interested in political issues especially on political policy. Even, gay people feel quite familiar with the political condition in Indonesia and other country. They can compare the political environment in Indonesia and neighboring countries. They also understand the political system prevailing in these countries which lead to differences in political decision-making. Although gay people see that politics in Indonesia is more alive than the other ASEAN countries, gay people still considers cynical thinking of political policy in Indonesia.

*“There are two things about politics in Indonesia. It can be seen from the elite and from the public participation. From the elite, frankly, I think it was sickening because of the political system in top level was only concerned with personal or group interests. But judging from the bottom, or from public participation, is actually quite living, people participation is quite nice and quiet free.”* (Interview with Aan, a 29-year-old gay)

Opinion above shows that gay people see that the biggest problem in the policy in Indonesia is the personal interest in the policy makers. In this time, political policy perspectives usually is a reflection of policy makers. This is certainly discriminating gay people as a minority because they never had the opportunity to be actively involved in politics as a policy maker.

*“At least give a chance to LGBT people to be candidates and to be selected by the society. So there is room For LGBT in politics, not only to vote.”* (Interview with Raihan, a 23-year-old gay)

If we see the history of LGBT movements, the actual participation of gay people in politics is going on long enough. Starting in the 1970s gays and lesbians 'openly' gained a foothold in political parties and local councils, mostly in West European countries ( Krouwel dan Duyvendak, 2000: 114). In Indonesia, LGBT groups such as Arus Pelangi often participate in political activities, although it is limited to voice their opinions about policy. For example, recently, Arus Pelangi becomes informant in one of the private television in a debate about the impact of legalized same-sex marriage in the United States under the laws and policies in Indonesia. Provision of opportunity for LGBT people to become informants shows that LGBT people in Indonesia get their right to participate in politics, though not to be the active participant as a political actor.

It shows the difference of the political situation between Indonesia and Western countries. While the politico-historical analyses of gays and lesbians in the Western world are developing, the political history of lesbian women and gay men in other parts of the world, such as Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, Central and South America and the Middle East, as yet remains largely unwritten ( Krouwel dan Duyvendak, 2000: 122). Indeed, until now, there is not much was found of political participation of gay people in Indonesia. It proves the opinion of Rachel Kranz and Tim Cusick, homosexuality once a taboo subject that could barely be mentioned in public, has become a common topic of debate among politicians, voters, and the media (Kranz and Cusick, 2005: 3). Presumably, seeing LGBT as a taboo restricts to LGBT people to be actively involved in politics.

*“If we see the legal law, political, policy and various things in our society, ther is no support for LGBT. In fact, it cornered us and harm us.”* (Interview with Firman, a 26-year-old gay)

Those opinion is confirmed the assumption of LGBT taboo in the public. So far, society has less understanding about the LGBT community. LGBT people often being assumed as something that should be excluded, they do not want to empathize with LGBT.

Policymakers consider policies related to gays and lesbians in the context of specific questions, such as whether to permit gays to marry, allow them to serve openly in the military, or include them under hate crime statutes (Mucciaroni, 2008: 2)

*“Actually, before we accommodate the interests of LGBT people in politics, society should be given an understanding of what is LGBT .”* (Interview with Raihan, a 23-year-old gay)

Based on opinion above, it seems that gay people need an understanding from society before voicing their interests. Lets say, if society do not know about LGBT and they only know through media like same-sex marriage issues in the US or Mardi Gras celebration in Australia, of course, they will assume that LGBT is only about sex and party. According to Gutmann (1992), there are two principal pathways to equal citizenship. The predominant approach, favored by contemporary liberalism, seeks to separate conceptions of citizenship from conceptions of national identity and culture in order to make room for citizens to pursue different values and ways of life and not to privilege any of them. By contrast, the other and more recent approach, introduced by cultural pluralism, seeks to achieve equal citizenship while retaining the concept’s cultural connotations. It proposes to do this by valorizing minority cultures and assuring them equal standing alongside the majority culture (Conover et. al., 2004: 1036-1037).

*“In the future, politics should appreciate and respect whatever decision the decision makers make, as long as it is not harm and do not break the law ”.* (Interview with Firman, a 26-year-old gay)

Pendapat di atas semakin menegaskan bahwa keinginan kaum gay adalah untuk mendapatkan penerimaan dari masyarakat. Penerimaan tersebut tentunya akan mengarah pada perilaku saling menghargai dan mendapatkan hak politik yang sama, tanpa melihat seksualitas mereka.

Further, the opinion confirms that gay’s desire is to gain acceptance from the society. The acceptance, naturally, will lead to the behavior of mutual respect and getting the same political rights, regardless of their sexuality. Male homosexuality has, however, never received an acceptance, parity, or an equality with heterosexuality. The irony of identity politics is that in creating an opposition to state oppression, the state’s power to define and regulate sexuality is inadvertently increased; yet not to have an identity is to retreat into defeat, retire into obscurity, or even vanish into invisibility. (Edwards, 1994: 15)

### **Gay and Freedom of Speech**

The growth in the lesbian and gay rights movement has generated more speech about sexuality. Lesbian and gay rights lawyers are fighting a battle in both judicial and legislative arenas over the fundamental question of the scope of public discourse. Our claims set forth the first serious demand that speech about sexuality be treated as core political speech (Hunter, 2006: 119). While decriminalizing homosexual sex is an

important step, the struggle for gay rights is founded upon a larger struggle for social equity. In 1969, the Stonewall Riots launched the current movement for gay rights in the United States. The first Gay Pride Day and parade was held on its first anniversary. Pride events marked a significant turn in the gay rights movement (Lerner, et. al., 2007: 111).

In Indonesia, gay and lesbian organizations have sprung up rapidly in 1992, following a number of transgender organization that has existed since the late of 1960s. The rapid development leads to the Congress of Lesbian & Gay Indonesia in Kaliurang, Yogyakarta, in December 1993 (Oetomo, 2001: 129). Besides, in 2006, in response to well documented pattern of abuse, a distinguished group of international human rights experts met in Yogyakarta to outline a set of international principles relating to sexual orientation and gender identity. The result was Yogyakarta Principles, a universal guide to human rights which affirm binding international legal standards with which all states must comply ([www.yogyakartaprinciples.org](http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org) accessed in August 20th 2015). It shows that the LGBT group has a considerable presence in the political sphere. They are aware of how politics and law in Indonesia and in the world. They also know how these laws and political policies are related to their group.

However, gay rights are hotly debated in many spheres and many contexts (Kranz and Cusick, 2005: 5). Research concerning the legal protection of lesbians and gays shows that antidiscrimination laws differ substantially from country to country. More often, rather than taking a positive stance, public authorities have attempted to repress explicit visibility of gay and lesbian lifestyles (Krouwel dan Duyvendak, 2000: 118)

*"We should have law enforcement, if there are cases it must see in accordance with the law, not by people sentiments. Now the majority of the case is seen by sentiment. For example, when LGBT people say something against nature, there's sentiments and getting banned. Yet, in our regulation, there is no anti-LGBT law."* (Interview with Aan, a 29-year-old gay)

Aan's opinion reflects that gay people have an understanding of the politics and law in Indonesia. LGBT groups as members of society and citizen of Indonesia is certainly entitled to the same legal protection. Even, the legal protection statement contained in Amendment 4 of the Constitution (UUD) of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 on article 28 D, which reads: "Everyone has the right of recognition, security, protection and legal certainty that is fair and equal treatment before the law."

In addition to the political and legal issues, the problem for LGBT groups is freedom of speech. One principle in Yogyakarta Principles, principle 19, is about the right to freedom of opinion and expression. That is, everyone, including LGBT people is free to voice their opinions. Actually, in Amendment 4 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, the freedom of speech has been regulated in Article 28F, which reads: "Everyone has the right to communicate and obtain information to develop personal and social environment, and the right to seek, obtain, possess, store, process and convey information by using all available channels."

In addition, freedom of speech is also regulated by Article 23, paragraph 2 of Act 39 year 1999 which reads: "Everyone has the right to have, remark and disseminate opinion in accordance to their conscience, orally or in writing through the print and electronic media



in accordance to the values of religion, morality, public order, public interest and integrity of the nation." This shows that there is no discrimination against anyone in their aspirations. However, in practice, minority groups, one of which is the LGBT groups, are often treated unfairly especially in politics. Based on the results of focus group discussions conducted against gays, they all say that their voices are never been heard.

*"We're a democratic country, we have the right to speak in public, but the appreciation of the LGBT in our society is not much. I take the example of the implementation of Qfest, Queer Festival, which was discontinued in 2010."* (Interview with Ivan, a 29-year-old gay)

Berdasarkan hasil wawancara tersebut terlihat bahwa kaum gay melihat akses LGBT di ruang publik itu diopresi. Menurut mereka, pemerintah seharusnya memberi ruang publik bagi kelompok LGBT untuk berkreasi dan berpolitik. Di kancah politik saat ini, satu-satunya partai yang secara konsisten mencantumkan hak-hak gay, lesbian dan waria, serta hak-hak pekerja seks dan pengguna narkotik, sebagai hak-hak sosialbudaya yang sepenuhnya patut diperjuangkan, adalah Partai Rakyat Demokratik (PRD). Partai ini memperjuangkan hak-hak kita secara eskplisit, karena PRD mempunyai ideologi yang mementingkan perjuangan kaum-kaum marginal (Oetomo, 2001: 130). PRD terbentuk tahun 1999 dan pada tahun 2004 partai tersebut tidak lolos electoral threshold sehingga tidak bisa ikut dalam pemilu. Meskipun demikian PRD masih ada sampai sekarang. Namun, ketidakberhasilan PRD dalam pemilu tahun 2004 menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat masih belum bisa menerima kelompok LGBT untuk menyuarakan kepentingan mereka di kancah politik.

Based on the results of the interview, it can be seen that gay people see the LGBT access in public spaces is being oppresed. According to them, the government should provide public space for LGBT people to be creative and to get involve politics. Nowadays, in the political arena, the only party that consistently includes the gay, lesbian and transgender rights, as well as the rights of prostitutes and drug users, as the rights of the social cultural rights, is the Partai Demokratik Indonesia (PRD). The party fights for the LGBT rights explicitly, because PRD have an ideology that emphasizes the struggle of marginal clans (Oetomo, 2001: 130). PRD was formed in 1999 and in 2004 the party did not pass the electoral threshold so PRD could not participate in the general election. Nevertheless, PRD still exists today. However, the failure of the PRD in the elections of 2004 showed that people still cannot accept LGBT groups to voice their interests in the political arena. Most importantly, they point to the dominance of heterosexual, procreative or monogamous sexuality over homosexual, fetishistic or promiscuous sexuality. Consequently, gay male sexuality is seen more sympathetically as part of a political structuring of deviant sexualities and erotic minorities, whilst the gender oriented or sexual political perspective is fiercely denounced as morally conservative and an antisex discourse. (Edwards, 1994: 38)

*"LGBT is normal thing for me, so I do not need to fight for my political interests. Everyone is equal ."* (Interview with Firman, a 26-year-old gay)

Firman's statement shows that LGBT groups in general and gay people in particular do not want to be seen as a distinct group. Gay men and the gay male community occupy a complex political position in terms of sexual politics and the politics of sexuality, and a similar set of paradigmatic problems to lesbians beset gay men and the gay male community. For some gay men, their gayness is a way to challenge masculinity, personally, through nonconformity to certain roles and identities and, politically, in an adoption of a different socialstructural position, particularly in relation to women; whilst for other gay men, their gayness is simply sexual, having sex with other men whilst in all other respects retaining a traditional masculine identity, set of activities and socio-structural position in society (Edwards, 1994: 45).

### **Political Socialization for Gay People**

Queer theory should be interrogated to reveal the contributions it can make to understanding political communication relating to legal and civic issues affecting sexual minorities. Such understanding is critical to public advocacy advancing protection of homosexual individuals and groups, both in private behavior and in associational relations and expression, thus helping to make possible our full citizenship (Smith dalam Yep et. al., 2003: 345). The struggle was taken to the streets, the media, and the public. The emphasis on pride sought to foster tolerance and combat stigma and shame, but in an uncompromising manner that encouraged gay individuals to be open and honest about their sexuality. (Lerner, et. al., 2007: 111).

*"Why I vote? Yes, finally, I realized that a single vote is important this nation."*  
(Interview with Firman, a 26-years-old gay)

The interview result shows that gay people had actually been aware of their voting rights. They understand how politics play in Indonesia and they know that one voice helped to give influence in political decisions that will be made. So, KPU, about LGBT group would not want to participate in general election is wrong. It means political socialization needs to be expanded to provide information of the decision makers and the public about the problems faced by LGBT groups. LGBT issues are expected to appear in forming public policy. This is due to the LGBT group already has a political consciousness and political literacy.

*"Actually, I vote because it is my right as a citizen and in that rights there is an obligation as well. If we do not vote it means there is something wrong. I mean, we have role to vote the candidate who fullfil our needs."* (Interview with Aan, a 29-year-old gay)

Aan's statement is reinforced by Ivan who reminiscent of the political awareness of LGBT groups is very good.

*"If we talk about we use our rights to vote, it is regardless of our sexual orientation or LGBT or whatever. In general election, we run our personal rights respectively. And it is as awareness of me as a citizen."* (Interview with Ivan, a 29-year-old gay)

Both opinions agree that gays have been aware to use their voting rights. Even, the interview with Aan shows that gays understand their rights and responsibilities as voters. Aan saw that he had a role when he vote and even do not agree with the abstention because voters are very influential in general election. Furthermore, according to Ivan, he saw that the voting rights regardless of sexual orientation. Suffrage is the absolute right as a citizen, no matter what their sexual orientation.

However, different opinions are emerged by Raihan. He saw that become voters is euphoria and only for his existence in society. Although Raihan is quite critical about the issue of political interest of LGBT group, but he was less understand the significance of voting rights as a citizen. Actually, people like Raihan is the one who should be the target of political socialization related to the general election.

*"I had to vote twice. The first was because my first experience so I get the euphoria. The second was because I wanted to support one of the candidates. But the main reason is I want the ink in my finger so I can take a photo of it. I'm serious, trust me."*(Interview with Raihan, a 23-year-old gay)

This socialization issues are also is the result of an interesting discussion with our informants. During this time, they were receiving political socialization held by KPU was less effective and did not directly touch the issues of LGBT groups directly.

*"KPU shoul target the sacred LGBT issues such as public acceptance of LGBT. And there should be a space for LGBT politics, not only to vote."* (Interview with Ivan, a 29-year-old gay)

Ivan's statement shows that political socialization; once again, have to pay more attention to LGBT issues in society, namely acceptance. Society must be able to understand and accept the fact that there are LGBT groups and become members of the community so that people no longer regard them as a minority. And Ivan also re-emphasized the provision of space for LGBT for politics, not only as voters but also as someone chosen and as a policy makers.

*"I think, exclusive political socialization for LGBT groups is somewhat forced because voting is the same problem of all voters. In political terms, it should be from above, from the elite, the elite should be prosecuted in understanding of LGBT issues so the elite is no longer say a statement which then leads to hate LGBT groups."* (Interview with Aan, a 29-year-old gay)

Interesting points of the statement is that gay people see political socialization regarding to the general election for LGBT groups is need to be expanded to give an understanding of LGBT issues to the public by the elite or by the candidate. Precisely, gay people see that political socialization is better done to the policy makers. Political elite should be given an understanding of LGBT issues and problems because during this time gay people, as mentioned by Aan, often receive unfair treatment because of the statement

said by the political elite. The statement is heavily biased against LGBT. As a result, the society hate LGBT groups because of that.

*“It’s better if the elite do the socialization so they know about their voter, they know what will they do to gain the vote.”* (Interview with Raihan, a 23-year-old gay)

Raihan’s statement supports Aan’s statement regarding to the political elite. Gay people see that the role of political socialization is important for the political elite; of course, in assumption that the political elite are already knowledgeable about LGBT issues. We can see in Obama's campaign, for example. One of the issues in Obama campaign conducted on gay rights is helping to ensure that gays and lesbians have the right to visit the person they love in the hospital and to live lives free of discrimination (<http://edition.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/08/29/obama.promises/index.html?iref=mpstoryview>, accessed in August 20th 2015). The statement makes Obama won the vote of the LGBT groups. Although initially Obama had disappointing LGBT groups who chose to defend the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), but Obama fix it by paying attention to LGBT issues in the United States.

In addition to understanding the issue of LGBT, gay people still perceive the quality of information received through political socialization is still very shallow. They see that political socialization is not enough if it is only about the time of the election. And also, gay people still regard political information is biased and only supports a particular candidate and still focus on electoral administration.

*“The political socialization I ever received normally focus on certain fanaticism that does not educate the audience. It should present the facts objectively so that the audience can decide for themselves.”* (Interview with Aan, a 29-year-old gay)

Political socialization should be free from certain political interests. Good political education for the people must be emphasized in political socialization. When people get a good political education, for sure, they are no longer need to hesitate to use their right to vote, and of course, regardless of their sexual orientation.

*“I usually get political information from various sources. I search it independently. Because the information received from socialization does not include the criteria of a good candidate.”* (Interview with Ivan, a 29-year-old gay)

That opinion confirms the lack of information in political socialization, whereas political concerns broader issues. Someone like Ivan, who wants to find information, will get good information that could be a consideration in voting. However, for people who are not actively seeking information will certainly get limited information.

*“Society should be invited to think more deeply about politics. Society should have opinions and can discuss about the candidates.”* (Interview with Firman, a 26-year-old gay)

Firman's statement is helped to justify Ivan's statement. Gay people see that people need be educated in politics through political socialization. So, political socialization should not be specific to LGBT groups, but rather to the public in general so as good citizens they can be smart voters. In addition, development of the Internet can also be used for political socialization to the society, using social media for example.

*"We should have social media accounts that can provide information to the public and answer questions from society so the political socialization can reach all people."* (Interview with Ivan, a 29-year-old gay)

With the social media, society can get information easier, whenever and wherever they are. And gay people often rely on social media as a channel of aspirations. Sometimes, they make a post calling for their opinion on LGBT issues. Social media is regarded as a neutral institution that is freely used by anyone. If KPU would take notice of posts in social media on LGBT issues, political socialization is done will be more effective.

*"I distribute the LGBT interests through social media and social events such as movie screenings."* (Interviews with Aan, a 29-year-old gay)

*"Political interests of LGBT can be distributed via social media."* (Interview with Raihan, a 23-year-old gay)

Both statements show the importance of social media as a place for gay people to distribute their interests. They did not hesitate to use social media because it is flexible and tend not to discriminate against them. Gay people have frequent discussions with their peers regarding to LGBT issues in social media. In addition to social media, events such as the LGBT-themed film screenings or social activities undertaken by the NGO that carries LGBT issues is also a tool to distribute political interests.

So, based on the data from the FGD is seen that the need of exclusive socialization regarding LGBT issues is more important than political socialization about general election. Furthermore, the interests of LGBT people should also be considered when analyzing the impact of political socialization. The analysis of the impacts of different political systems, different electoral processes (majoritarian versus proportional representation), various voting procedures in parliaments, and other political institutions on the aggregation and mediation of the interests of gays and lesbians is still almost completely ignored by political scientists (Krouwel dan Duyvendak, 2000: 117). If the interests of LGBT groups have been accommodated through political socialization, their political participation certainly is better.

## **Conclusion**

The problems of political socialization for LGBT groups, particularly on gay people, are not really a problem of voting, but rather to the issue of discrimination against gay people as a minority group. Gay people still considers that the political interests of LGBT groups have not been distributed because society is still thing of taboo regarding to LGBT issues. Actually, the society has not accepted LGBT groups due to their ignorance of

LGBT, so socialization should have specific approach. It must have an intervention to gain trust.

Finally, gay people only vote but never touched by KPU program. They never get information from KPU. Gay people should have political participation, not only voting but also using the rights and obligations as citizen of Indonesia. Because the actual political participation is not only measured from someone coming to voting area (TPS) and using only his vote, but it is more on how the political participation of every citizen of Indonesia, including the LGBT group, willing to participate in making public policy.

For further research, it's good to see how public opinion about the political participation of LGBT groups. If people do not understand LGBT issues it is better if the KPU do the socialization about LGBT issues to society before do political socialization to LGBT groups.

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