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THEIR STORY

RESEARCH: HOW INDONESIAN MEDIA VIEWS
NON-NORMATIVE SEXUALITY AND GENDERS
("LGBT")

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Their Story

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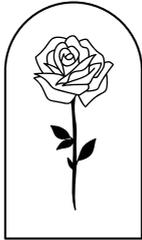
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To Mira, and the struggle for equality for every person with diverse gender and non-normative sexuality.



Foreword from the researcher

In early 2016, two state institutions in Indonesia issued regulations on the existence of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT). The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) on February 12, 2016 issued a regulation that essentially forbids television and radio from broadcasting programs featuring lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. In the same year, the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kemenkominfo) also blocked the applications Grindr, Blued and BoyAhoy. This marked the beginning of hostility towards individuals or groups characterized by diverse gender expression and non-heteronormative sexuality in the media. The media lump them all together under the label “LGBT”. KPI regulation of February 2016 had served as an effective campaign for the media to disseminate hostility and discrimination against the LGBT community.

Throughout the pandemic in 2020 and 2021, there was no shortage of news on “LGBT”, with contents that cast unfavorable light and stigma that subordinate and discriminate groups and communities of individuals with gender and sexual diversity. This goes against the functions of the media, which are to constructively criticize government policy and give voice to the public, particularly the marginalized, while deconstructing the society by pushing toward change. State institutions like KPI, meanwhile, continue to target communities with diverse gender expression and non-normative sexuality, through Circular No. 2 of 2021, issued on March 17, 2021, which specifically governs broadcasting of LGBT programs during the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan. The memo has been considered an incitement to spread hate against “LGBT” in the media.

In view of this situation, Konde.co felt the need to examine if there have been changes in the way diverse gender and non-normative sexuality groups are reported in the news. Konde.co also seeks to follow up on the previous four studies which looked into media representation of these communities, but have yet to specifically analyze newsroom policies in reporting “LGBT” issues in print, online and broadcasting media. In addition, Konde.co felt it necessary to find out how journalists view the issue, particularly those who identify as non-heterosexual or non-binary, to identify policies that influence the newsroom.

It is hoped that this study would provide a comprehensive picture of newsroom policies and parties that influence newsroom policies on gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals or communities/groups, which are generally referred to as “LGBT” by the Indonesian media.

We would like to express our gratitude to the parties that have assisted us and participated in this study. We also thank the USAID and Internews for supporting us throughout the entire process of this study.

Best regards,

Widia Primastika
Konde.co research coordinator

Foreword

The media and the LGBTIQ community are two different entities that nevertheless need one another. The media use a certain frame in their coverage of LGBTIQ issues for specific purposes. The narratives offered by a number of media in telling the story of LGBTIQ community often depict them as immoral, deviant, even dangerous. Media coverage of these issues are filled with the opinion of influential figures such as state officials, religious authorities and public figures with no substantial understanding of diversity in gender expression and sexuality.

The media featured in this study offer another narrative (one that should have been more prevalent) in the way the media view the LGBTIQ community. As a narrative, *A Study on Media Views on Gender Diversity and Non-normative Sexuality ("LGBT")* by Konde.co deserves both appreciation and criticism. The study merits appreciation since very few studies have been conducted with the involvement of the LGBTIQ community. However, it might draw criticism for not disclosing facts about the LGBTIQ community that have always been a considered a taboo.

The media have their own system which involves journalists, news content, editorial meeting, and the entire industry itself, each with their own specific interest. Consequently, it is common for LGBTIQ issues to end up as sensational news as the media scramble to be the first to score a viral story. This study looked into how certain incidents were reported in a way that cast an unfavorable light on LGBTIQ community: a transwoman who was burned alive; a prank on transwomen by Ferdian Paleka; the gay party in an apartment in Kuningan.

Journalists should endeavor to emphasize fairness in their reporting. There are strict governing laws on this aspect, from the Press Law, Journalism Code of Ethics, Guideline for Broadcasting Conduct, to Standards of Broadcasting Programs, but they are often violated. So how should LGBTIQ issues be treated in media reporting? The main rule is to report with fairness. The full set of rules may be read in this report.

In conclusion, it would not have been necessary for us to identify as LGBTIQ individual to know the bitterness experienced by this group of people in Indonesia. Just read this report by Konde.co. I hope that it may open your eyes.

Yours in diversity,

Yudi
Director of Perkumpulan Suara Kita

Executive Summary

Studies on how the media view the issues of individuals or group/community with diverse gender expression and non-normative sexuality—including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT)—have been conducted before. However, these studies have not looked extensively into the editorial policies on media reports of LGBT issues.

This study by Konde.co with the support of Internews was conducted with the objective of uncovering Indonesian media newsroom policies with regards to issues related to individuals or groups with diverse gender expression and non-normative sexuality, which are collectively labeled as “LGBT”. In this program, Konde.co study revealed how the media write about individuals or groups with diverse gender expression and non-normative sexuality, and what policies are implemented by the media newsroom on this issue.

For this program, Konde.co had conducted the following three studies on media policies with regard to individuals or groups/communities with diverse gender expression and non-normative sexuality (“LGBT”):

1. Study on media framing on “LGBT” issues on ten online media (March 2020-February 2021).
2. Critical analysis of newsroom policies by conducting in-depth interview about editorial policies (in four online media and two televisions) with regard to “LGBT” issues.
3. Analysis of in-depth interview with five journalists who identify as gender diverse and sexually non-normative to uncover newsroom dynamics on or treatment of issues concerning individuals or group/community with diverse gender expression and non-normative sexuality and identify the impact of reporting of such issues on them.

In general, the three studies revealed a number of findings:

1. The first study analyzed the way ten online media with the largest readership based on Alexa.com as of July 1, 2021--namely Okezone.com, Tribunnews.com, Kompas.com, Detik.com, Liputan6.com, Merdeka.com, Grid.id, Suara.com, Kumparan.com, Pikiran-rakyat.com framed “LGBT” issues. The researchers selected three stories (all three happened to be crime stories) which were considered representative of incidents involving “LGBT” community due to the

relatively massive public attention that they garnered: the story about Mira, a transwoman in Cilincing who was accused of stealing and then was set on fire; the story about the prank on transwomen in Bandung by Youtuber Ferdian Paleka; the story about a “party” in an apartment in Kuningan which was organized by the “gay” community. In general, the study found that the majority of media treated these incidents involving “LGBT” as nothing more than a crime and did not yet see them as discriminatory treatment against the “LGBT” minority. The media also still engage in marginalization of communities with non-normative gender expression and sexuality. The same patterns of marginalization were adopted in writing about “LGBT” community, from word choice which leans toward those with negative connotations to limiting their sources to official authority.

2. The second study involved interviews with individuals with the power or authority to control reporting policies, particularly those concerning “LGBT” issues. Previous studies showed that the media had been engaged in the marginalization and discrimination of “LGBT” communities, especially since 2016. Such practice includes publishing statements from state officials which contain hate speech against individuals or groups with diverse gender expression and non-normative sexuality, which are commonly labeled as “LGBT”. This gives the impression that hostility towards “LGBT” community is increasingly becoming institutionalized. Media stakeholders still put the police as primary sources in crime stories involving “LGBT” community, giving the police, the primary persecutors of this community, greater power in public narratives related to gender and sexually non-normative communities.
3. The third study involved journalists who identified as gender diverse and sexually non-normative. The researchers found that while media policy makers claimed that they understood and implemented gender inclusiveness, the journalists said that cultural homophobia and transphobia persists in the newsroom. This culture is felt in the social interaction of the newsroom and has an impact on the reporting. The condition distresses journalists who identify as gender and sexually non-normative. The researchers also found that in addition to the internal distress, these journalists are also experiencing external mistreatment, from misgendering to doxing based on their ethnicity, religion and race.

It is hoped that the findings of this study may be of use in policy advocacy to create fair and gender-sensitive newsroom policy in the media. It is also hoped that the study may offer references for civil society advocacy and campaign strategies. The researchers hope that the study may raise the government awareness of the need to abolish all kinds of discrimination for the gender diverse and sexually non-normative communities.

Glosarium

Binary

Gender construction only recognizes two forms of gender, namely masculine and feminine. Binary gender construction results in a person potentially being discriminated against or considered “deviant” when having an appearance that does not match the gender given at birth. For example, when a person is given a male gender at birth, he is required to look and behave masculinely.

Gender and non-normative sex

Identity outside the normalized forms of gender and sexuality that are framed by gender and sexual dominance or who have greater political and social power.

Heteronormativity

A construction that is discriminatory because it opposes relations outside of men and women. This construction also places men as the dominant power owners.

Homophobia

Unfounded hatred and fear towards people who have a gender and sexual identity other than heterosexual.

Misgendering

Misgender is the calling of someone who does not match the gender chosen or identified by the individual. Misgendering experiences are common in the transgender community. For example, a person at birth is assigned a female gender by medical personnel/parents, but based on personal body experiences while growing up, they feel that they are a man. He then transitioned into a man and asked others to call him a man. Misgendering occurs when other people insist on calling the person a girl.

SOGIE SC

SOGIE SC is an acronym for Sexual Orientation, Gender Identification and Expression, and Sex Characteristics. SOGIE SC is a concept of understanding the personal experience of one’s body. Sexual orientation is a person’s physical, emotional, or sexual attraction to a particular gender. Gender Identification is how someone identifies or chooses their gender based on their personal experiences, without any coercion from anyone. Expression is a person’s expression of himself. Sex Characteristics are a person’s sexual character based on biological conditions.

Subordination

Lower roles and positions based on gender and sexuality within the framework of heteronormativity. This causes people who have non-normative gender and sexuality to have roles that are “restricted” by their social environment.

CHAPTER 1

WHO STARTED THE HOSTILITY TOWARDS “LGBT”?

1.1. Background

Who started the hostility towards people of diverse gender and non-normative sexuality in Indonesia? The government, the public or the media? Hostility towards groups or communities of gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals was sparked by an administrative case in a gender and sexuality studies group in Universitas Indonesia. Following the incident, the communities of individuals referred to by the media as “LGBT” began to live under oppression and threat (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

The media engaged in a severe backlash by citing statements from the government, followed by quotes from cabinet ministers and state institutions and Islam-based political parties and right wing Islam organizations such as MUI, NU, and Muhammadiyah (Davies, 2016), as well as academicians (Davies, 2016, Human Rights Watch, 2016, Zakiah and Az Zahra, 2016). To understand this, a number of studies had looked into the way the media constructed the idea of “LGBT” in Indonesia in the past five years. These studies include:

- a. The 2016 study by Konde.co editor-in-chief Luviana on how the media write about “LGBT”. The study concluded that the media write about “LGBT” from four different perspectives: religious perspective, normative perspective, constructive perspective and critical perspective. The study revealed that many media are still writing “LGBT” issues from religious and normative perspectives. From the religious perspective, the media

published the hatred expressed by religious figures against “LGBT” communities. The media also turn to religious leaders as their primary source, establishing them as the authority on “LGBT” issues and are at liberty to regulate the life of “LGBT” individuals by always stating that “LGBT” is against the teachings of religions in Indonesia. From the normative perspective, the media write that “LGBT” goes against the Indonesian norms. Members of this community are considered deviant and abnormal and essentially unfit to live in Indonesia. This leaves the other two perspectives from which to write about “LGBT” issues: the constructive perspective and critical perspective. Using the constructive perspective, the media report on involvement of gender and sexually diverse communities in various social activities. Using the critical perspective, the media endeavor to deconstruct the norms and religious tenets that have been used in the discrimination of “LGBT”. Unfortunately, stories written from this critical perspective are very few and in general published only by alternative media.

- b. Monitoring study by Zakiah and Az Zahra (2016) from the Jakarta Public Legal Aid Agency (LBHM) titled *LGBT=Nuklir? Indonesia Darurat Fobia* (LGBT = nuclear power? Indonesia in [Homo- and Trans-] Phobia Emergency). The study found that the media attached eleven stigmas on “LGBT” community, namely: threat to the nation; liberals, feminist and human rights activists propaganda; aberrant behavior; sexual crime; cause of HIV; promiscuous behavior; a violation of religion and the norms; mental illness; an infringement of the law and of Pancasila; contagious and disgusting. The eleven stigmas were then compressed into five, including stigma from the media. According to LBHM (2017), negative media portrayal of “LGBT” results in discrimination and discriminatory efforts made throughout 2016 by the state and various public entities (the LBHM noted eleven

such entities: religious organization; politician/parliamentary member; educational institution and educator; religious figure; cabinet minister/ministry; psychologist/doctor; local government/head of government; public figures; the police; a commissioner of the National Commission of Child Protection (KPAI), and a justice in the Constitutional Court.

- c. A study titled *Moral Panics on LGBT Issues: Evidence from Indonesian TV Programme* by Dina Listiorini, et al (2020). The study conducted a Robert Entman frame analysis on the transcript of two episodes of Indonesia Lawyers Club (ILC) talkshow program on TVOne aired in 2016, using Robert Entman's framing methodology. The study showed that the statements made by the speakers on the TV talkshow program not only promoted anti-"LGBT" acts but also homophobia. The study concluded that the "LGBT"-induced moral panic framed by the ILC talkshow showed that, first, the state has never tolerated the existence of "LGBT" and considers groups with gender and sexual diversity to be dangerous, while acknowledging that state rejection of the community must be supported with applicable laws. Secondly, the 2016 ILC episodes also showed that the emergence and amplification of the issue with "LGBT" was linked to the strengthening of influence of right wing Islamist politics. Thirdly, the two episodes showed that the state endorses excessive fear of "LGBT" community, in other words homophobia.
- d. Dina Listiorini's dissertation titled *The Truth Regime of the Media in the Moral Panic: Foucauldian Discourse on "LGBT" in television talkshow and online media 2016-2018*. In her dissertation Dina Listiorini (2020) sought to explain how a truth regime has been established by the media through the systematic power and truth practices by the media industry that is driven by moral

panic. Her study found that “LGBT” is portrayed by the media as folk devils that are not only rejected but criminalized for their very existence, which is deemed a violation against the religious norms and social values in Indonesia. The dissertation argued that in 2016-2018 Indonesia, the media established a truth regime that was homophobic in nature in their reporting of “LGBT” issues. Throughout 2016-2018, conventional and online media bombarded groups of individuals with diverse gender and non-normative sexuality with news filled with stigma, marginalization and attempts at criminalization. In this case, the media had invoked fear and asserted their dominance by referring to a heteronormative and religious moral regime.

The four studies mostly revealed the elements behind the media script, while leaving the reason for the newsroom policies that lead to such a product undisclosed. The studies had not identified whether the newsroom policies are based on state regulations, state agency regulations prohibiting the inclusion of “LGBT” in broadcasting, or a set of rules based on the social and religious norms that are adopted by the ecosystem. Also absent was insight into the impact of the “LGBT”-induced moral panic of 2016-2018 on journalists who identified as non-heterosexual or non-binary.

Following the media backlash on “LGBT” issues in early 2016, at least two state institutions had issued regulations governing their existence. On February 12, 2016, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) issued a regulation that essentially prohibited television and radio from broadcasting programs that endorse lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. The justification for passing the regulation was protection of children and adolescents who are prone to mimicking the deviant behavior of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals, who are collectively referred to as “LGBT” (cnnindonesia.com, 2016). In the same year, the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kemenkominfo) also moved to block the applications Grindr, Blued and BoyAhoy. This was regrettable since the three applications were also used

by various organizations in HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns (Listiorini and Davies, 2017). The Kemenkominfo policy was repeated in 2018 with the blocking of Blued, Grindr and BoyAhoy (cnnindonesia.com, 2018).

It appeared that the February 2016 KPI regulation had heralded the hatred against communities or groups of individuals with non-normative gender and sexuality. After the regulation was passed, the House of Representatives (DPR RI) also used hate speech against “LGBT” in statements that were widely published in the media. The discrimination and stigmatization that came with the KPI regulation also influenced the actions taken by people who believe that gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals should be rejected. One such actions was an online petition against the discourse on legalization of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT). The petition, titled *Dear the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) and House of Representatives, we are against legalization of LGBT in Indonesia* was posted on the website Petisionline.net (tempo.co, 2016).

Throughout the pandemic in 2020 to 2021, there had been no shortage of “LGBT” news characterized with unfavorable depiction, stigmatization, subordination and discrimination of gender diverse and non-normative groups or communities. This runs counter to the essence of the media’s constructive function to criticize government regulation and give voice to the public—particularly members of the marginalized groups—as well as their deconstructive function to push for change in society.

State institution like KPI continues to target these communities with their Circular No. 2 of 2021 dated March 17, 2021, concerning the broadcasting of “LGBT” content in the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan. The circular encourages broadcasting media to refrain from presenting programs with specific content, including portrayal of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (“LGBT”), talkshow on sex, as well as other content that violates norms of propriety and decency. Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) was of the opinion that the regulation had again sown hatred of “LGBT” in the media.

Based on this exposition, Konde.co felt it necessary to see if there have been changes in the way groups of gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals are treated in the news during the pandemic. Konde.co also sought to follow up on the four previous studies which had looked into “LGBT” representation in the media, but have yet to capture the newsroom policies on reporting this community in online and broadcasting media. In addition, Konde.co also felt it necessary to find out how journalists view the issue, particularly those who identify as non-heterosexual or non-binary.

For this purpose Konde.co sought to conduct:

1. A framing research on ten online media for the period between March 2020 until February 2021. The period was chosen based on the preliminary research that showed that a large number of “LGBT”-related news had been published on online media. This type of media was chosen because of the shifting media consumption pattern of the audience, who now prefer to consume news or other reading material online. Framing analysis on media content was conducted on ten mainstream media Indonesia that topped the Alexa.com ranking. To narrow down the analysis on how the media frame the issues surrounding individuals or groups of diverse gender and non-normative sexuality, Konde.co researchers had selected three crime-related topics: Mira, who was set on fire; the case involving Ferdian Paleka in Bandung, and the case of the “gay party” in Kuningan.
2. Critical analysis on media (five online media and two televisions) policies concerning perspectives on “LGBT” issues. The two televisions were chosen due to the KPI regulation prohibiting the broadcasting of programs with “LGBT” content. The research sought to look at newsroom policies on broadcasting program with “LGBT” content following KPI’s 2016 warning;

3. Research on journalists who identify as non-heterosexual and non-binary, to see if they bear the impact of any “LGBT”-related policies from the newsroom or their media corporation. The finding would be presented before press associations and state institutions in charge of “LGBT” advocacy in the media including the Press Council, KPI, the National Commission on Human Rights, and the National Commission on Women.

1.2. Problems

The research presented in this book sought to answer the following questions:

1. How are the media framing the news on gender diverse and sexually non-normative group or community (“LGBT”)?
2. What are newsroom policies on reporting gender diverse and sexually non-normative group or community?
3. Do newsroom and media corporation policies on gender diverse and sexually non-normative groups have any impact on journalists who identify as non-heterosexual or non-binary?

1.3. Research objectives

This research sought to discover:

1. Media framing of gender diverse and sexually non-normative groups or communities (“LGBT”), specifically to learn to what extent news content in the media takes the side of the gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals or communities.

2. Newsroom and media management policies on how to report issues involving gender diverse and sexually non-normative groups or communities, to identify editorial policies on “LGBT” issues.
3. If journalists who identify as non-heterosexual or non-binary experienced any impact from the newsroom or media management policies.

1.4. Frame of reference

A. Sexuality and the media

Before launching into an exposition on how sexuality has become the focus of media attention, it is necessary to first explain the definition of sexuality. World Health Organization on their website who.int gives sexuality the working definition of being the key aspect of a human’s life, encompassing sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. It is, however, not as simple as that as sexuality is manifested in various ways and are influenced by a variety of factors:

““Sexuality is a central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors, practices, roles and relationships. While sexuality can include all of these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors.”
(WHO, 2006)

Based on WHO working definition of sexuality, we may say that in understanding sexuality it is necessary to consider a variety of contexts. By putting sexuality in context, we are also looking into its interconnectedness and relations with other elements. Not only looking into the owned interrelations or experience, but also to give significance to and interpret the experience.

Sexuality plays a paradoxical roles in the life of Indonesians, straddling the domains of both the the sacred and profane, since the concept is socially conceived and constructed by the society with clear distinction (Hatib Abdul Kadir, 2007):

In general, sexuality would be viewed as sacred if it is kept at a distance from violation, disorder, and profanation. Sex would be sacred when it is not defiled, and instead ennobled and respected. To achieve this, sexuality is restricted by physical behavior (read: discipline). That there are conditions as to where sex acts could be performed, time restriction, and religious rules show that sexuality has become a sacred act to perform.

In contrast, sexuality would be viewed as profane when it is characterized as common, instead of hallowed. In other words, profane sexuality is any behavior that is far from religious. Profane sexual activities are performed without the rituals that characterized sacred sexuality.

The distinction between sacred and profane are evident in the sexual practices that involved institutions such as the state and the religion (Hatib Abdul Kadir, 2007):

...simply put, the society viewed sacred sexuality as something that falls under the objective of giving birth (procreation), to shape and create the various social relations within it. The two parties that wish to have sexual relations must go through official institution that construct the institution of matrimony, for example the state and religion. The dominant discourse on sacred sexuality is patriarchy, morality that traces its primary source of values to a religion. In contrast, extramarital sexuality without the purpose of procreation and characterized by multiple partners and lack of permanence and loyalty, would be underestimated. Take for example prostitution, homosexuality, affairs, and other sexual acts that are performed not with the purpose of procreation.

Based on the above exposition on the social construct of sexuality, it may be said that homosexuality falls under the definition of profane sexuality. Profane sexuality becomes a “taboo” topic in public discussions as it goes against the sacrosanct aspects upheld by the moral values, particularly religious values. In conversations on profane sexuality, it is common to focus on widely accepted social values such as religious mores.

The media finds sexuality interesting, particularly in the context of the profane, rather than the sacred. Media portrayal of sexuality always puts an emphasis on moral controversy, particularly when it involves a woman’s physicality or the morality of human physicality. The media play an important role in reporting about minority groups which have historically been marginalized (Castañeda and Campbell, 2006).

Sexuality in the media is but another content commodity, that vies with other commodities such as crime, economy and politics. Often a combination of these commodities emerged, such as a mix of sexuality and politics. Take for example the 2003 scandal involving then president Abdurrahman Wahid,

who was better known as Gus Dur, and a woman named Aryanti. The photo had scandalized the public since Gus Dur was a prominent leader of the Muslim organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in addition to holding the office of President of the Republic of Indonesia. Other types of content may also combine sexuality and crime (rape, abortion, murder), sexuality and economy (prostitution in red districts area or news about “gay sex party”).

Things that are considered “deviant” in the domain of sexuality, according to Bancroft (2009) are behaviors that go against the norms of the society. These norms combine institutionalized laws and internalized and shared customs. According to Bancroft there are three types of sexual “deviance”, namely normal deviance, sub-cultural deviance and individual deviance, which falls under a different category (2009:280):

Firstly, normal deviance, which encompasses behavior such as masturbation, premarital intercourse and oral sex, which, whilst frowned upon and even in some parts of the world still legally proscribed, is nevertheless carried out by large numbers of people. It is in this area that we are seeing the most obvious de-stigmatization. Secondly, subcultural deviance, which covers the more obvious sexual minorities, such as the homosexual and transgender subcultures. Thirdly, individual deviance, which includes sexual behaviors that are not clearly organized into subcultures or minority groups, exhibitionism being an example.

Social reality in the context of human sexuality indicates that sexual orientation is more than a matter of the sex of the individual we are attracted to. More than that, sexual orientation indicates dominance over other sexual orientation. Heterosexuality is more than a matter of orientation. For instance, homosexual individuals are marginalized due to the dominance of heterosexuality. Yep (2003:18) argues that heteronormativity exists in a social space and context that refers to an institution, frame of understanding,

and orientation practices which makes heterosexuality not only logical, but also privileged.

Heteronormativity consists of norms that make up a doctrine on a person's body which is institutionalized and approved by society. In defining normalcy based on heteronormativity, power over what constitutes the "right" sexual orientation begins to take shape. A person's sexuality is often attached to their identity. Due to the dominance of heterosexuality in the society, other sexual orientation are considered taboo, other, strange and deviant. This heteronormativity-based power is exercised in the use of language and communication practices. In the process of communication, symbols are exchanged which serve to marginalize gender and sexually diverse groups that are not part of the heterosexual community.

B. The media and framing of the reality of gender diversity and non-normative sexuality

The media often use certain frames in their production of news. Framing refers to the character of a frame in the context of news production and interpretation, to give it a more particular meaning. In addition, it combines the interconnection between framing in news production and framing on the recipient's side (van Gorp, 2007, p. 61).

Hall (1997) viewed culture as the primary basis for the establishment of knowledge, meaning and understanding of the outside world (Hall, 1997). Therefore, van Gorp argued that a joint repertoire of cultural frames offers a link between news production and news consumption. On the one hand, framing refers to a specific way journalists create a content within a familiar framework of references and in accordance with several latent structures of meaning, while on the on the other hand, it is a way for the audience who adopt the frame to see the world in the same way as the journalists (McQuail, 2005).

Issues about groups or community of gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals are considered newsworthy because they are perceived as “different” from what in general is publicly perceived as “normal”. In essence, the media like to publish “deviant” content based on existing and happening incidents in society, presenting it as information that has been processed and defined in accordance to the production modes of the media in question (Cohen, 2002:9):

Each society possesses a set of ideas about what causes deviation—is it due, say, to sickness or to wilful perversity?—and a set of images of who constitutes the typical deviant—is he an innocent lad being led astray, or is he a psychopathic thug?—and these conceptions shape what is done about the behaviour. In industrial societies, the body of information from which such ideas are built, is invariably received at second hand. That is, it arrives already processed by the mass media and this means that the information has been subject to alternative definitions of what constitutes ‘news’ and how it should be gathered and presented. The information is further structured by the various commercial and political constraints in which newspapers, radio and televisión operate.

Cohen’s statement shows that social reality would be converted into media reality by the production process, with its own definition that fits what is desired or shaped by the media.

One of the justifications for this is the media role in contributing to the creation of a “social reality” that reflects existing social reality. Of course, what is labeled “social reality” in this case is “media reality” that is constructed within the media’s production mode. This construction of reality is always protected by the shield of “professionalism”. In general, journalists working within the standards of professionalism in a media institution production

process may potentially create a reality that is different from the actual reality (Norris, Kern and Just, 2003).

In reporting gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals and groups, the media play a crucial role in defining and marginalizing these communities (Castañeda and Campbell, 2006: 38). One of the ways the Indonesia media are involved in the marginalization of gender diverse and sexually non-normative communities is by putting them in the frame of right or wrong dichotomy justified by religious (particularly Islam) perspectives. In framing crime stories involving members of the community that they refer to as “LGBT”, the media focus more on morality and religions that are perceived to be “right” (Castañeda and Campbell, 2006, Luviana, 2016, Listorini, 2020).

C. Hierarchy in media institution

Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese (1996) define news as the construction of reality with the influence of a number of factors, categorized as follows:

- a. *Individual Level*: the level that pertains to the media manager background. This level looks into how the personal aspects of a media manager influence the news that they present to the public. Individual background such as sex, age, education, and religious affiliation plays a role in what the media display to the public. Journalists are often called the spear head of news reporting due to their role in determining the angle of the news. The journalist’s values, personal background, educational background, political views and position contribute to the choice of angle for a particular report.
- b. *Media Routine Level*: the level that pertains to the mechanism and process on news selection and the mechanism by which the news are shaped. News selection begins with editorial

meetings (deciding on what issue to cover), assignment, writing, and editing, ending with a publishable content. Every media outlet has their own parameters on what makes an issue newsworthy. Thus, media routines always take into consideration what their consumers will find acceptable, the media outlets production capacity, and what resources are available. News value plays an important part on this level.

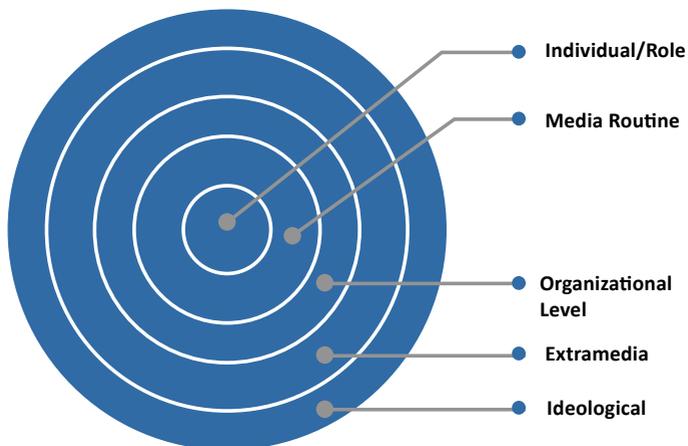
- c. *Organizational Level*: the level that pertains to the organization structure and its influence on news reporting. Media organization consists not only of media managers and journalists, but is made up of various divisions from editorial, circulation, general affairs, etc. Each division comes with their own interest which sometimes will influence news reporting. Often, these parties are in conflict with one another, with the editorial team insisting on delivering professionally reported news, and the marketing division demanding more of the content that the market likes to see.
- d. *Extramedia Level*: the level that pertains to the ecosystem outside the media. The extramedia factors are brought on by various parties, including news sources with particular interests; the media's revenue sources (advertisers, buyers, etc.); the government and business ecosystem.
- e. *Ideological Level*: the level that pertains to a person's perception and position contributes to their interpretation of reality. This is often implied in newsroom policies; the media organization vision and mission; economic and political interests: journalistic guidelines, and others.

Following the 1998 reform, online media began to emerge in Indonesia, starting with Detik.com. Tapsell, R. (2017) noticed a change in the way news is delivered following the rise of online media. While journalism should

answer all of the 5H + 1H questions, online media only focus on who, when, and where. Consequently, the emergence of online media brought with it a change in reporting culture. The media are vying for online advertisements and become click-oriented. As a result, news production leans towards topics that the readers find interesting, with as much repetition as possible.

d. Critical theory on media

Critical theory on media is defined as media representation theory by Stuart Hall, complimented by critical theory on power that is intertwined with sexuality, such as the one by Michel Foucault. Media representation theory refers to the important role played by the media in constructing human knowledge through media content of any shape or form. Anyone who accesses the media may gain at least two things: entirely new, hitherto unknown knowledge, or reinforcement to what they have already known or believed in. The media, using the power of its production (journalist, reporter, editor, and so forth) become an agency capable of producing “knowledge”.



Hierarki Media Shoemaker and Reese dalam McQuail (1992)

Representation of homosexuality in the media would draw from existing reality and the values of the society. If the predominant values perceive homosexuality as something that is wrong, then the media will not stray from that perception in constructing its representation. Criminalization of the homosexual community is done not only by the Indonesian media, but started in the United States in the 1940s, when Newsweek in an article titled "Queer People" wrote "...a homosexual, an exhibitionist, or even a dangerous sadist, is too often regarded merely as a 'queer' person who never hurts anyone but himself". Furthermore the journalist declared that homosexuals are a danger to the society (Castañeda and Campbell, 2006:43). The same incident happened in Indonesia, especially in 2016, with the media backlash on gender diverse and sexually non-normative groups using hate speech from state officials, members of the House of Representatives, and state commissions (Davies, 2016, Suryakusuma, 2016, Listiorini, 2020b).

Critical theory on media analyzes the media through the lens of power and ideology. In the context of the media, power is associated with the giving of meaning. Fiske had described two types of social power (Fiske in Storey, 1994:502): first the power of semiotics, which is the power to construct meaning, pleasure and social identity; and secondly, the social power to construct a socio-economic system. Both powers are interconnected while also relatively independent of each other. The power that has the most sway over popular culture is the power of semiotics, with its capacity for articulating the clash between similarity and difference, or between consensus and conflict. As the power authority flows from top to bottom, it continues to produce a series of meanings and social identities that serve to maintain the status quo.

In discussing sexuality, there are two crucial issues that should never be overlooked: first, power, particularly in relation to the body, which gives rise to power relations, as parties in authority exert their powers onto others; and second, the ideology of power. Foucault theorized that the relation between sexuality and power is always brokered by power practices. He identified

four strategies that had been developed since the 18th centuries to create the specific mechanism of the power relations of knowledge (Haryatmoko, 2016:29):

...the first [strategy] is the hysterization of the women's body, the pathological body, saturated with the sexuality that must submit to the medical discourse while linked to the social body that is submissive to the norms; the second is the pedagogization of children's sex through the war against masturbation, which reflects the child surveillance mechanism; the third is socialization of procreative behavior which puts the social and medical (birth control) responsibilities on couples while denying other forms of sexuality outside of the procreative function; and the fourth, the psychiatrization of perverse pleasure, with the objective of diagnosing perversion and allowing for new orthopedics on sex.

Foucault argued that in this case power is not a subjective unilateral relation, but is diffused everywhere within the relations in society (Haryatmoko, 2016:15):

...Power is not a unilateral objective relation: the capacity for an individual or group to force its will onto others. Power is a complex strategy in a community, with specific tools, maneuvers, techniques and mechanisms. 'In general it must be admitted that power is enacted more than it is owned. Power is not a privilege that is gained and maintained by the dominant class, but the consequence of its entire strategic position, a consequence that puts the dominated in their

place.... Power, therefore, cannot be localized to a specific loci: owned by a person, in a certain institution, or attached to a state official.

Foucault's description of power is more a reflection of the disciplinary framework that is interconnected within a number of networks (Haryatmoko, 2016:15-16):

Discipline cannot be associated with a certain institution or official; it is a type of power, a modality in the exercise of authority to run the power, a modality for the exercise of power, consisting of the entire infrastructure, techniques, procedures, levels of application, and targets; it is the physique or the anatomy of power, a technology. And it may be endorsed by specialized institutions (jails or 19th century correctional facilities) and institutions with specific purposes (school, hospital).

According to Foucault the two key words to understand the technique of power are discipline and norm. Discipline is analytically understood as one of the power technologies of modern society, as a "power over norm". Meanwhile, norm is understood as a rule that reflects a collective value that results from self- and group-reference mechanisms. While norms allow for comparison and individualization, the target of discipline is the body (Haryatmoko, 2016:20-21).

On the other hand, the theory of ideology (Payne, ed., 1996:252-253) emphasizes that every communication and its entire meaning possess socio-political dimensions and may not be understood outside of this social context. Ideology will always work to serve the status quo of the class in

power, which dominates not only physical objects but also ideas and meaning (Fiske, 2011:163).

1.5. Research methodology

A. Research paradigm

The study uses the critical constructivist paradigm, which lies midway between constructivist paradigm and critical paradigm, in what is termed critical constructionism (Dedy N. Hidayat, 2008:86):

This paradigm is different from the mainstream constructionism paradigm (which tends to be relativistic) in that it employs a normative theoretical framework which allows the researcher to make the kind of value judgment attributed to the critical theory paradigm. In this way, a critical constructionist makes use of goodness or quality criteria that parallels those used in the critical theory paradigm. These include a catalytic authenticity criterion that parallels empowerment in the critical theory paradigm, which measures the extent to which the study that is undertaken may be able to empower the research subjects. Then there is the ontological authenticity criterion that parallels enlightenment, which refers to whether the outcome of the study may raise awareness or enlighten the research subjects.

Critical constructionist paradigm combines the constructivist approach with critical thinking. With the constructionist approach, like the queer approach, cultural studies and feminist researchers probe into stereotypes, prejudices and injustices based on nationality, race, ethnicity and gender, while

endeavoring to deconstruct hidden meaning (Crotty, 1998, pp. 44-45, 58). On the other hand, the critical approach analyzes material condition and ideological system that reproduce class and economic structures. In short, critical constructionism emphasizes that nothing is neutral or value-free in a qualitative study of social phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln, 2017, p. 548).

B. Type of research

The three studies would basically employ qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research uses a range of empirical material, from case studies and an individual's personal experience, to cultural text and text production that are meaningful to an individual's life (Denzin and Lincoln, 2017, p. 43). Denzin and Lincoln argued that this makes qualitative research a range of interpretive actions rather than a single methodological practice. Qualitative research, therefore, has the "privilege" of conducting several steps of text-based qualitative methods including semiotics and discourse, as well as quantitative methods such as statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers (h. 46), including framing method.

C. Type of data

This study gathered its first type of primary data from the text published by ten online media collected from March 2020 until February 2021. The online media are Okezone.com, Tribunnews.com, Kompas.com, Detik.com, Liputan6.com, Merdeka.com, Grid.id, Suara.com, Kumparan.com, and Pikiran-rakyat.com with the following distribution:

[distribution data?]

The second primary data consist of transcripts from interviews conducted with five media workers. The subjects are journalists who identify as non-heterosexual and non-binary, both who have written stories on gender diverse and sexually non-normative communities, and those who have not.

Additional data are collected from transcripts of interviews with media workers on editorial or management levels.

Secondary data are gathered from various research papers, monitoring reports, online news and television reports on “LGBT” issues outside the selected references and scientific journals.zz

D. Data collection

This study employs two data collection methods. Collection of text was conducted by listing ten online media stories published in the period between March 2020 and February 2021, using the keywords: LGBT, lesbian, gay, transgender, queer, waria (colloquial, transwoman), transpuan (formal, transwoman), transpria (transman), transman, translaki-laki (transman), homo, homosexual, sesama jenis (same-sex), bencong (slang, transvestite), LSL (laki-laki sama laki-laki, man with man), homofobik (homophobic), transfobik (transphobic), banci (colloquial, transvestite), lesbi (lesbian), bendera pelangi (rainbow flag), pelangi (rainbow), pesta seks sejenis (same-sex party), orientasi seksual (sexual orientation), pacar sejenis (same-sex lover), LGBTQ, operasi kelamin (sex reassignment surgery), panseksual (pansexual), pasangan sejenis (same-sex couple), pesta gay (gay party), hubungan intim sejenis (same-sex intercourse), and ladyboy.

The researchers then specifically explored and extracted three crime-related main issues: the burning of a transwoman named Mira; the prank on transwomen by Ferdian Paleka, and the persecution of gay individuals around an apartment in South Jakarta, which the media dubbed “a gay party during the pandemic”. To obtain the stories, the researchers searched for related articles on Google search engine, using key phrases that included Mira transgender; transgender dibakar (transwoman burned); Mira transpuan dibakar (Mira transwoman burned); Ferdian Paleka; prank waria Bandung (transwoman prank Bandung), and pesta gay Kuningan (gay party Kuningan).

Data from gender diverse and sexually non-normative journalists and representatives of media editorial and management team were gathered using in-depth interview techniques. This data collection technique involves one-to-one or one-to-two sessions where an interviewer and an interviewee have an in-depth discussion on a particular topic. In-depth interviews can also be described as purposeful conversation. Peneliti bertujuan menggali wawasan atau pikiran mendalam dengan menggunakan pedoman pertanyaan semi terstruktur (Hennink dkk, 2011).

Considering the sensitive nature of the study, the researchers took care to adhere to the principles of ethical interviews, including (Hennink, et al, 2011, p.63):

- a. *Informed consent*, Every informant was given a consent form to be signed and returned to the researcher. Informants, particularly those who identified as gender diverse and sexually non-normative, would remain anonymous and were only identified as Informant 1, Informant 2, Informant 3, Informant 4 and Informant 5.
- b. *Self-determination*, Individuals who consented to be interviewed reserved the right to determine the extent of their participation in the research, including the right to refuse to participate without risking any negative consequences. The sensitive nature of "LGBT: in the media made several journalist informants express their reluctance or refusal to participate in various ways, some in straightforward fashion while others did it in more subtle ways, for instance through avoidance and being difficult to contact.
- c. *Minimization of harm*, Researchers are forbidden from putting a respondent at risk or in certain danger while they participated in the research. To this end, the researchers are maintaining the privacy and confidentiality of the respondent

during and after the interview. This is done by changing the name and never mentioning the personal identity of the informants, such as their ethnicity, religion, or the name of the media outlet where they work.

E. Data analysis

Data analysis was conducted using a critical analysis method that looks into aspects of power, the dominant-subordinate structure observed both on the textual level or on the level of media worker, both journalists and representatives of media institution management, for instance editors and editor-in-chief.

F. Entman Framing Concept

Media framing is essentially another way to influence a phenomenon or issue. Framing allows every individual to have their own understanding of information, news, or other form of interpretation. However, on the flipside, media framing may also successfully convince the public as to what they should believe or disbelieve in, seemingly capable of leading the people to believe that a story happens as is told from the viewpoint of the media in question. Framing theory is used to reveal the potentially hidden message in an article. To understand the direction of a particular article, the researchers should also understand and discover the media background, to fully be able to comprehend the whole situation and why the process of building public opinion through media framing is entirely possible.

This research used the Robert Entman framing concept (1993). Entman saw that the primary dimension in framing is selection of issues based on their salience, or amplification through particular emphasis, interpretation, moral evaluation, and specific treatment to indicate the existence of a certain issue (Entman, 1993:52). Put simply, Entman framing highlights certain information on a subject of communication, elevating its significance.

Table 1. Entman Framing Concept

<p>Issue Selection</p>	<p>This aspect is concerned with fact selection. Out of the complex and diverse reality, some aspects are selected and highlighted. The selection process would raise certain aspects while omitting the others. In this way, a journalist will select to focus on certain aspects of an issue.</p>
<p>Amplification of a particular aspect of an issue</p>	<p>This aspect is concerned with how a journalist writes a fact. Once a particular fact has been selected, the journalist or editor will decide on how it will be written. Word choice, type of sentences to use in the writing, as well as selection of photographs and specific image contribute to the nuances of the writing.</p>

The Entman framing concepts used in this research are as follows (Entman, 1993, p. 52):

Table 2. Entman framing concepts

Define	Identify how a problem is viewed and explained. There is usually an explanation from the standpoint of the public moral.
Diagnose cause	Identify the root of the problem or who was considered responsible for causing the issue.
Make moral judgements	Identify the specific moral values that are offered to explain or legitimize an issue.
S u g g e s t remedies	Identify the solution that is offered to cover the problem being reported or an analysis as to whether or not the issue will have a broad impact on the society.

Framing research offers explanation on some emerging social phenomena, particularly on the basis of the concept adopted by a journalist, apart from their concepts on issue selection and aspect amplification. Study by Lestari Nurhajati and Xenia Angelica Wijayanto in *Jurnal Adhyasta Pemilu*, Vol. 4 No. 1 2018 (Bawaslu) found that in using the framing approach, it is evident that the Indonesian media, particularly their journalists and editors, tend to insert experiences and knowledge that have crystallized into schemata interpretation in their construction of reality. The schemata is described as a cognitive template or data structure that organizes information in a thought process, defined as an organized collection of knowledge that has gradually grown more complex and related to personal experience and feeling (van Gorp, 2007). This of course will influence journalists or members of the editorial team in deciding what policies to make regarding “LGBT” reporting.

G. Research limitation

The first limitation is the fact that the research was conducted during a pandemic which made face-to-face interviews impossible. Interviews could only be conducted over Zoom or telephone which relied on the quality of Internet connection. This had restricted the researchers’ ability to see the spontaneous reaction and gauge the emotional nuances of the informant’s response during the interview.

The second limitation is the highly sensitive nature of the research topic, leading the informants to become reluctant or refuse to discuss the reporting of “LGBT” issues. The strongest refusal came from informants that represented media management, the editors and editors-in-chief. Not even special connection with fellow journalists could resolve this issue.

The third limitation is the prevalent discrimination and persecution of members of “LGBT” community, which made journalists feel unsafe. This sense of lack of safety interfered with the interview, resulting in refusal of the researchers.

Chapter 2

Online Media Framing of LGBT

This framing research analyzed ten online media with the most readers ranked by Alexa.com on July 1, 2021. These media were: Okezone.com, Tribunnews.com, Kompas.com, Detik.com, Liputan6.com, Merdeka.com, Grid.id, Suara.com, Kumparan.com, and Pikiran-rakyat.com. Then, the researchers used the qualitative method with a framing approach by Robert N. Entman's theory. The researchers chose this theory because, according to Nurhajati and Wijayanto (2018), the framing approach can demonstrate how mass media in Indonesia tend to project their crystallized experience and knowledge into a schematic interpretation of their construction of reality.

To narrow down the data analysis, researchers selected three news stories that satisfy representation criteria on issues related to individuals or communities with gender diverse and non-normative sexuality (LGBT) that garnered significant public attention. These stories are:

1. The murder of Mira, a trans woman in Cilincing, North Jakarta. She was burned alive after being accused of stealing.
2. The prank by Youtuber Ferdian Paleka against transgender people in Bandung, West Java.
3. A "gay party" in an apartment in Kuningan, South Jakarta.

The following summarizes the quantification of news stories regarding individuals or communities/groups with gender diverse and non-normative sexuality (LGBT) in online media according to Alexa rank during the March 2020-February 2021 period.

Table 3. Number of news stories in online media

Media	Coverage throughout March 2020-February 2021	The immolation of a trans woman in Cilincing	Ferdian Paleka who targeted transgender people for his prank	Party in an apartment in Kuningan
Okezone.com	201	-	50	14
Tribunnews.com	307	16	20	43
Kompas.com	145	4	8	13
Detik.com	284	9	60	43
Liputan6.com	114	1	13	21
Merdeka.com	71	-	2	2
Grid.id	119	2	19	3
Suara.com	173	2	1	16
Kumparan.com	316	4	27	27
Pikiran-rakyat.com	84	-	17	14
Total	1.814	38	217	196

Source: data compiled from various online media

According to the table above, the total news stories published in the ten media throughout March 2020-February 2021 about an LGBT individual or community/group reached 1,814 news articles. Therefore, researchers had them narrowed down to three incidents: the story of Mira, a trans woman who was burnt to death in Cilincing (38 articles), Ferdian Paleka, who pranked transgender people (217 articles), and the party in a Kuningan apartment (196 articles).

Furthermore, the findings and analysis related to media framing, especially regarding the three pre-selected events, are presented below.

Table 4. News coverage on the immolation of Mira, a trans woman in Cilincing who was accused of stealing

Media	Date of publication	Article headline	Problem identification (peristiwa dilihat sebagai apa)	Causal interpretation (Who is the causal agent)	Moral evaluation (evaluation of causal agent)	Treatment recommendation (recommendation for the solution of the problem)
Detik.com https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4967891/polisi-tangkap-pelaku-pembakar-hidup-transgender-di-jakut?tag_from=wpm_nhl_6	April 7, 2020	Police Arrested Perpetrator of North Jakarta's Transgender Person Immolation	A transgender person with the initial "M" died after being burnt alive in Cilincing, North Jakarta.	The Police arrested the perpetrators who burnt "M."	This media portrayed the Police as successfully arresting the killers of M. The perpetrators accused M of stealing a wallet and a cell phone.	No recommendation for the solution of the problem.
Grid.id https://www.grid.id/read/042097434/jadi-korban-mainhakim-sendiri-transgender-pekerja-seks-di-cilincing-te-was-dibakar-hidup-hidup-oleh-6-sopir-truk-hingga-tewas	April 9, 2020	A Victim of Vigilantism, Transgender Sex Worker in Cilincing Died After Being Burnt Alive by 6 Truck Drivers to Death!	A transgender person named Mira (43) was reported to have died after being burned alive. She was a victim of six trailer truck drivers' anger, who beat her up before burning her to death.	Mira was accused of stealing a cell phone and wallet from one of the suspects.	This media portrayed the suspects as vigilantes, based on a quote from the Police.	No particular attitude or recommendation from this media.

<p>Kompas.com https://mega.politain.kompas.com/read/2020/04/06/20331781/dituduh-curh-pet-dan-hp-s-eorang-transgender-tewas-dibakar-di-cilincing?page=2</p>	<p>April 6, 2020</p>	<p>Accused of Stealing a Wallet and Cell Phone, a Transgender Person Immolated to Death in Cilincing</p>	<p>Mira, a transgender person in Cilincing, died after being assaulted and burnt by thugs who accused her of stealing.</p>	<p>A group of thugs.</p>	<p>The attack by the suspects against Mira was unlawful. She was beaten and forced to confess to something she did not do.</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>Kumparan.com https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/dituduh-men-curi-transgender-di-cilincing-dibakar-hidup-hidup-1tAp6ubtH66</p>	<p>April 7, 2020</p>	<p>Accused of Stealing, Transgender Person in Cilincing was Burnt Alive</p>	<p>A transgender person named Mira in Cilincing, North Jakarta died following severe burn injuries after being set ablaze by a group of people who had accused her of stealing.</p>	<p>Five thugs accused Mira of having taken a wallet and cell phone.</p>	<p>This media portrayed the suspects had been upset with Mira before dousing her in gasoline by quoting Cilincing Police's Crime Unit Chief as their news source when confirming the truth about this incident.</p>	<p>No recommendation for the solution of the problem.</p>

<p>Liputan6.com https://m.liputan6.com/news/read/4222528/nasib-waria-dicilincing-berawal-minta-rokok-berakhir-dibakar-3-pria</p>	<p>April 8, 2020</p>	<p>The End of A Transgender Person in Cilincing, When Asking for a Cigarette Meant Being Burnt Alive by 3 Men</p>	<p>A transgender person named Mira was being burnt alive by three men. They accused Mira of stealing the property of KM, a driver who lost his bag containing his wallet, driver's license, and a Samsung tablet computer.</p>	<p>The perpetrators who burnt and assaulted M hit her on the face, head, and the victim's torso with bare hands</p>	<p>This media portrayed the suspects who accused Mira committed vigilantism, which resulted in her death.</p>
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<p>Merdeka.com</p>	<p>No coverage on Mira</p>
<p>Okezonenews.com</p>	<p>No coverage on Mira</p>
<p>Pikiran-rakyat.com</p>	<p>No coverage on Mira</p>

<p>Suara.com https://www.suara.com/news/2020/04/10/155036/waria-dibakar-tim-advokasi-mira-minta-pemerintah-lebih-pedulinasib-lgbtiq?page=all</p>	<p>April 10, 2020</p>	<p>Transgender Person Burned Alive, Mira's Advocacy Team Demand More Government Attention to LGBTIQ People</p>	<p>A group of civil society organizations represented by the Advocacy Team for Mira's Case demanded the government to end hatred and criminalizing propaganda narratives against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer or LGBTIQ groups.</p>	<p>Incidents such as the assault and burning of Mira (43), a trans woman, in Cilincing, North Jakarta.</p>	<p>The Advocacy Team for Mira's Case also demanded the Indonesian public stop violence, stigma, and discrimination against LGBT groups for diversity and equality for all human beings.</p>	<p>This media article mentioned as a recommendation that for their crimes, the suspects should be charged with Article 170 paragraph 2 of the Criminal Code (KUHP) on physical violence that resulted in the death of the victim. They could face imprisonment of maximum 12 years.</p>
<p>Tribun-news.com https://www.tribunnews.com/metropolitan/2020/04/08/transgender-ini-dibakar-hidup-hidup-sebelumnya-ngaku-telah-mencuri-ponsel-lalu-menjualnya?page=2</p>	<p>April 8, 2020</p>	<p>This Transgender Person was Burnt Alive, Admitted of Stealing a Cell Phone and Sold It</p>	<p>Mira was set on fire because she stole a cell phone and sold it.</p>	<p>Mira</p>	<p>Mira deserved to be burned alive because she had admitted having stolen a cell phone belonging to a truck driver. However, Mira only confessed that she stole after being brutally beaten by the suspects. Therefore, there was a possibility that she confessed so that her abusers stopped.</p>	<p>None.</p>

Researchers at Konde.co did not find any coverage on Mira—the trans woman set ablaze in Cilincing, North Jakarta on three online media—Okezone.com, Merdeka.com, and Pikiran-rakyat.com. According to them, despite the incident had attracted a good deal of response from the public—especially advocacy groups on community issues regarding gender diverse and non-normative sexuality, the three media’s lack of publication showed that they had not yet viewed the immolation of Mira as an important event that needs attention.

The researchers found that, out of the ten analyzed media, the majority tend to see the incident (problem identification) as a crime story where a trans woman named Mira died after being burnt alive before receiving physical assault for stealing. This finding was evident from several titles, and headlines published by the media, such as Tribunnews.com in a story posted on April 8, 2020, titled “This Transgender Person was Burned Alive After Admitting to Have Stolen a Cell Phone and Selling It.” However, unlike many other media, the researcher found a different perspective in Suara.com. The editors at Suara.com mentioned the immolation of Mira in a title that was pro-advocacy, which was “Trans Woman Burned Alive, Mira Advocacy Team Demanded Government to Pay More Attention to LGBTIQ.” Suara.com posted this story on April 10, 2020. In its headline, Suara.com explicitly conveyed the demand of civil society organizations represented by the Advocacy Team for Mira’s Case for the government to end propaganda narrative that could incite hatred and criminalization against LGBT.

In a causal interpretation, this media positioned the perpetrators of Mira’s immolation as the root of the problem in this case. Almost all media agreed to position the perpetrators as someone without humanity. However, Tribunnews.com was the only exception by siding against Mira, blaming her for stealing the perpetrator’s wallet and cell phone, which eventually triggered them to set her on fire. Also, Kumparan.com, even though in its analysis piece framed the five thugs as the root of the problem, in another story titled “Police: Trans Woman Mira’s Assaulter Accidentally Lit His

Match,” this media interview with the Police used the point of view of the suspects’ statement.

The researcher found a difference in diction used by the media to describe the perpetrators in Mira’s case. Kompas.com and Kumparan.com used dictions that tend to justify the vigilantism behavior, Detik.com used “perpetrators burned the transgender person alive” diction, Grid.id used dictions that relate to the perpetrator’s profession “trailer truck drivers” and also “suspects.” Meanwhile, Kumparan.com used “a group of people” and “thugs.” Liputan6.com used the term “mob assaulted and burned a trans woman.” Like Grid.id, Suara.com used dictions related to the perpetrator’s profession “security officers” and “suspects.” Tribunnews.com also used the dictions “suspects,” “truck drivers,” “parties in charge of security.”

Furthermore, most analyzed media regarding moral evaluation (making moral judgments of the perpetrators) showed that the perpetrators who accused, abused, and burned Mira to death committed vigilantism and were unlawful. Moreover, Suara.com also explicitly, via a statement from the advocacy team for Mira’s case, delivered a call for the people of Indonesia to jointly put an end to the violence, stigma, and discrimination towards the LGBT group for diversity and human rights equality.

However, Tribunnews.com stood out like a sore thumb. A read into its title, headline, and content, paragraph by paragraph, the editors at Tribunnews.com tend to lead readers to accept the tragedy that Mira had suffered as a consequence of her action—which was stealing. Furthermore, that action was presumed to be the main triggering factor that caused the perpetrators to commit violence. Mira was assaulted by a mob and physically beaten and battered. She was said to admit stealing a cell phone belonging to a colleague of the suspects.

In this case, the researchers found that Tribunnews.com had been careless in portraying the whole incident without further verifying its exact details.

Because it was possible that Mira only admitted to the theft since she could no longer take the beatings from the perpetrators. There had been the possibility that she confessed to stop the physical abuses against her.

Nevertheless, above it all, the media should understand that there is no justifiable validation for murdering another human being. Therefore, the perpetrators who committed murder, abuse, and then burned Mira alive without reporting themselves to law enforcement should not be excused.

Regarding recommendation as a solution to the problem (treatment recommendation), only Suara.com mentioned that for their actions, the suspects should be charged with Article 170 Paragraph 2 of the Criminal Code (KUHP) on physical assault that caused the victim's death. Therefore, they could face a maximum sentence of 12 years. Meanwhile, the five other media did not recommend any solution.

In Tribunnews.com, their news story titled "This Transgender Person was Burned Alive, Previously Admitted to Have Stolen a Cell Phone and Sold It" on April 8, 2020, the primary framing that was evident from their problem identification was Mira's immolation incident happened because she had stolen a cell phone and sold it. Therefore, at the causal interpretation part, Tribunnews.com journalist presented that the troublemaker was Mira, the transgender person burned alive by the perpetrators. Furthermore, on moral evaluation, Tribunnews.com depicted that Mira had it coming when she was burned alive because she had admitted to stealing a cell phone belonging to a truck driver. However, Mira only admitted that she had stolen it because the suspects brutally beat her. Therefore, there was the possibility that she only confessed to stop her abuses. From the perspective of treatment recommendations, Tribunnews.com did not provide specific recommendations to help solve this problem.

Meanwhile, the news source interviewed was only North Jakarta Chief Police Sr. Comr. Budhi Herdi Susianto. There was no representation from LGBT groups as the most affected party in this story.

Of the ten online media that reported on the immolation of a trans woman named Mira in Cilincing, the news selection and highlights were presented as follows:

Category of Issue	Headline Selection	
News coverage on the immolation of Mira, a trans woman in Cilincing who was accused of stealing	Detik.com	Police arrested the perpetrators who set Mira, a transgender person, ablaze.
	Grid.id	A transgender person, Mira, was a victim of vigilantism.
	Kompas.com	Transgender person, Mira, accused of stealing and died after being set ablaze
	Kumparan.com	A transgender person, Mira, was accused of stealing and was burned alive.
	Liputan6.com	The fate of Mira burned by three men.
	Merdeka.com	No story
	Okezone.com	No story
	Pikiranrakyat.com	No story
	Suara.com	Mira Advocacy Team demanded that the government pay more attention to LGBTIQ lives.
	Tribunnews.com	A transgender person, Mira, is set ablaze after previously admitting to stealing a cell phone.
News Source and Partiality		
	Detik.com	North Jakarta Police’s Crime Unit Chief Comr. Wirdhanto Hadicaksono. The story did not interview representatives from gender-diverse and sexually non-normative communities.
	Grid.id	1)North Jakarta Police Chief Sr. Comr. Budhi Herdi Susianto (quoting Warta Kota), 2) Victim’s colleague “ON” (quoting Tribunjakarta).

	Kompas.com	1)Cilincing Police’s Crime Unit Chief Adj. Comr. Bryan Rio Wicaksono, 2) Mira’s friend Yuni Irawan.
	Kumparan.com	Cilincing Police’s Crime Unit Chief Bryan Rio Wicaksono. The story did not interview representatives from gender-diverse and sexually non-normative communities.
	Liputan6.com	North Jakarta Police Chief Sr. Comr. Budhi Herdi. The story did not interview representatives from gender-diverse and sexually non-normative communities.

	Merdeka.com	No story
	Okezone.com	No story
	Pikiranrakyat.com	No story
	Suara.com	1)Mira Advocacy Team 2) North Jakarta Police Chief Sr. Comr. Budhi Herdi Susianto.
	Tribunnews.com	North Jakarta Police Chief Sr. Comr. Budhi Herdi Susianto. The story did not interview representatives from gender-diverse and sexually non-normative communities.
	Representation of Individual/Community with Gender Diverse and Non-normative Sexuality Identity	
	Detik.com	A transgender person with the initial “M.”
	Grid.id	A transgender person named Mira, transgender sex worker, senior transvestite.
	Kompas.com	Someone named Mira a transgender person.
	Kumparan.com	A transgender person named Mira.
	Liputan6.com	Trans woman named Mira.
	Merdeka.com	No story
	Okezone.com	No story
	Pikiranrakyat.com	No story
	Suara.com	A trans woman named Mira.
	Tribunnews.com	Transgender person Mira.

Terms Related to Individual/Communities with Gender Diverse and Non-normative Sexuality	
Detik.com	A transgender person with the initial "M" was accused of stealing.
Grid.id	A transgender person named Mira, a victim of an angry mob, Cilincing resident, transgender sex worker, senior transvestite, a sex worker from Makassar (South Sulawesi), living by herself disowned by family after living as a transgender person.
Kompas.com	Someone named Mira, a transgender person, died after being burned alive, accused of stealing, thugs coercing Mira to admit that she stole.
Kumparan.com	A transgender person named Mira was set ablaze by a group of people who accused her of stealing; she lost her life; five thugs physically assaulted Mira, the fire burned Mira, the perpetrators assaulted Mira.
Liputan6.com	Trans woman named Mira, the victim.
Merdeka.com	No story
Okezone.com	No story
Pikiranrakyat.com	No story
Suara.com	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans woman, intersex, and queer group or LGBTIQ, a trans woman named Mira, lack of respect towards the protection and fulfillment of LGBT rights in Indonesia, violence against LGBT groups, persecution of LGBT people, criminalization against LGBTIQ communities.
Tribunnews.com	Transgender person Mira, suspect was convinced that Mira was a thief, associated with theft, victim.

The headlines demonstrated the media coverage of the tragedy that befell the trans woman Mira. The media portrayed the incident from different perspectives. Kompas.com and Kumparan.com highlighted how Mira had been accused of stealing before being burned alive.

See table 5

Meanwhile, Tribunnews.com opted for a headline that vindicated the perpetrators' actions against Mira because she had stolen previously. The headline framed Mira's action as the triggering factor for the violence she suffered.

See table 5

Some headlines implicitly condemned the perpetrators of the incident against Mira as inhumane and those pro-advocacy to the case management.

See table 5 Suara.com row.

Also, in the context of news sources selection, 4 out of 7 media that published the Mira incident only quoted statements from the Police, or in other words, the Police news source was the only source cited in the news. While according to Ward (1991), as quoted by Ayu Purnama Rizky in her essay "How Do Media Facilitate Police's Narrative on Anarcho?", one of the easiest ways to verify news was by not citing a statement from a single source. The media need to present two or three independent sources to check the claims and sensitivity of the information it receives.

Despite having the Mira case advocacy team as a news source to gain the victim's perspective and justice, police as a news source dominated reports in the media. In fact, in the Report on the Serious Danger of LGBT Persecution published by LBH Masyarakat (Legal Aid) (2018), law enforcement officials were the second most perpetrators of persecution after mass organizations. Listorini, D. (2020) found that media reports on LGBT on four mainstream online media preferred news sources that were unsympathetic towards LGBT. Media Inclusivity Index Report by Remotivi (2020) found that media tend to give more space to "non-marginal news sources" than "marginalized news sources" even though the reporting was related to marginalized groups' issues. In general, but especially gender diversity and sexuality, the

composition of “non-marginalized” news sources also reached 81.7 percent. In comparison, the “marginalized” groups were only 17.2 percent and unidentifiable 1.1 percent.

Kumparan.com even provided space for the perpetrator (using an interview with the Police). In his interview with VOA Indonesia, Ryan Korbarri from Arus Pelangi said media reportage is a two-edged sword for LGBT communities: media can help with case development involving LGBT communities, or they can get in the way. During that interview, Kobbarri said that media reporting often does not align with the ongoing advocacy. To that effect, the reporting by media hinders the case advocacy team.

Table 6. Reporting on pranks perpetrated by Youtuber Ferdian Paleka targeting trans women in Bandung

Media	Publication Date	Headline	Problem identification (how the event was perceived)	Causal Interpretation (what was the causal agent)	Moral evaluation (judgment over the causal agent)	Treatment recommendation (recommendation to solve the problem)
Detik.com https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-5002518/jek-ferdian-paleka-aksi-mesum-survei-psk-dan-makanan-sampah?tag_from=wp_mhl_19	May 5, 2020	Ferdian Paleka's "Saga": Lewd Acts, Sex Worker Survey, and Trash Food	Ferdian Paleska's controversial acts did not only limited to his pranks, giving out ration boxes filled with trash to a group of children and trans women in Bandung, but had been frequently repeated.	Ferdian Paleka.	The media depicted Ferdian Paleka as a Youtuber who often creates inappropriate content.	No recommendation to solve the problem.

<p>Grid.id https://www.grid.id/read/042181546/ferdian-palekabebas-komunitas-waria-sesalkan-keputusan-korban-yang-mencabut-laporan</p>	<p>June 5, 2020</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka Freed, Trans Women Communities Regretted Victims’ Decision to Retract Charges</p>	<p>Trans women communities have accepted the release of Ferdian Paleka and his two cohorts after his victims had retracted their police reports.</p>	<p>Victims of his prank retracted their police report.</p>	<p>This media only quoted a statement from Riri, a member of a trans women community in Bandung.</p>	<p>No specific stand or recommendation from this media</p>
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<p>Kompas.com https://www.kompas.com/hype/read/2020/05/08/173344866/ferdian-paleka-ungkap-alasan-sasaran-transpuan-buat-video-prank-sembak?page=1</p>	<p>May 8, 2020</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka Explained Why He Targeted Trans Women for Garbage Prank Video</p>	<p>Ferdian explained the reason behind his prank video—disguising garbage as food, then distributing them to trans women. He believed that by doing it, there would be no trans women loitering around during the month of Ramadan. However, Paleka regretted his action and apologized for his deeds.</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka and his two cohorts.</p>	<p>Paleka had committed a demeaning act against trans women</p>	<p>None.</p>
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<p>Kompas.com https://www.kompas.com/hipe/read/2020/05/08/173344866/ferdian-paleka-ungkap-alasan-sasar-tujuan-buat-video-prank-sembako?page=1</p>	<p>May 8, 2020</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka Explained Why He Targeted Trans Women for Garbage Prank Video</p>	<p>Ferdian explained the reason behind his prank video—disguising garbage as food, then distributing them to trans women. He believed that by doing it, there would be no trans women loitering around during the month of Ramadan. However, Paleka regretted his action and apologized for his deeds.</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka and his two cohorts.</p>	<p>Paleka had committed a demeaning act against trans women</p>	<p>None.</p>
<p>Kumparan.com https://kumparan.com/kumparannya/polisiburferdian-paleka-sembuat-video-prank-transpuan-di-bandung-1tLbKyB3tW4</p>	<p>May 4, 2020</p>	<p>Police Hunt Video Creator Ferdian Paleka for Pranking Trans Women in Bandung</p>	<p>Youtuber Ferdian Paleka tricked a trans woman by giving her a fake meal packet. Paleka's uploaded video triggered reactions from netizens.</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka is a Youtuber who pulled pranks on trans women.</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka's action was a form of discrimination against transgender communities.</p>	<p>Reporting Ferdian Paleka to the police shows support for the victims.</p>

<p>Kumparan.com https://kumparan.com/-kumparannya/polisiburuferdian-paleka-pembuat-video-prank-transpungan-di-bandung-1tLbKyB3tW4</p>	<p>May 8, 2020</p>	<p>Nikita Mirzani Furious at Ferdian Paleka "What is Wrong with Him?"</p>	<p>Youtuber Ferdian Paleka incited the general public following his prank against a trans women community. One of the public figures who were furious at Paleka was Nikita Mirzani.</p>	<p>Youtuber Ferdian Paleka.</p>	<p>Media portrayed Ferdian Paleka as a problematic Youtuber.</p>	<p>No recommendation to solve the problem.</p>
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<p>Okezone.com https://news.okezone.com/read/2020/05/08/525/2211105/motif-prank-ferdian-paleka-bukan-untuk-naikkan-subscriber</p>	<p>May 8, 2020</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka's Prank Video Motive: Not To Get New Subscribers</p>	<p>Youtuber Ferdian Paleka believed that trans women should not be working during the month of Ramadan, and he did not intend for his prank to attract new subscribers.</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka, the Youtuber who pranked trans women.</p>	<p>This media portrayed Ferdian Paleka as an innocent man because he only meant the prank as entertainment</p>	<p>No recommendation to solve the problem</p>
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<p>Pikiran-rakyat.com https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/bandung-raya/pr01379444/analisis-karakter-ferdian-paleka-pakarmikro-ekspresi-dia-mengenal-warid-dia-ditendahkan-baik</p>	<p>May 9, 2020</p>	<p>Ferdian Paleka's Character Analysis, Micro-expression Expert: He Knows the Trans Women in the Area Well</p>	<p>Micro-expression expert Poppy Amalya analyzed Ferdian Paleka's character using his garbage-filled 'aid' prank video.</p>	<p>According to the expert, Paleka felt guilt and was anxious.</p>	<p>According to the expert, Paleka's conscience is still intact.</p>	<p>No specific stand or recommendation from this media.</p>
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<p>Suara.com https://www.suaraweb.com/entertainment/2020/05/05/201837/heboh-ferdian-paleka-diduga-penyuka-sesama-jenis</p>	<p>May 5, 2020</p>	<p>Uproar Over Rumored Ferdian Paleka's Homosexuality</p>	<p>A rumor spread that Ferdian Paleka was a part of an LGBT community, and netizens stigmatized him because of it</p>	<p>Netizens found Ferdian Paleka's profile in an online dating app posing in front of a swimming pool.</p>	<p>An Instagram account claimed that Ferdian Paleka was a homosexual and made him a victim of bullying by netizens since he previously insulted and pranked several trans women.</p>	<p>No specific stand or recommendation from this media.</p>
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<p>Tribun-news.com https://www.tribun-news.com/regional/2020/05/04/heboh-kasus-youtuber-ferdian-paleka-persatuan-waria-setidaknya-terimalah-kami-sbagai-manusia</p>	<p>May 4, 2020</p>	<p>Uproar Over Youtuber Ferdian Paleka's Case, Trans Women Organization: At Least Accept Us as Human Beings</p>	<p>A garbage prank by Paleka targeting transgender people triggered various calls for humanity from many parties, especially transgender communities</p>	<p>Youtuber Ferdian Paleka and co.</p>	<p>Garbage prank targeting transgender people was inhumane.</p>	<p>People have to view and treat transgender people as equal human beings.</p>
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In general, all ten media under analysis identified the prank by Ferdian Paleka as the problem (problem identification). Paleka gave away trash disguised as food aid as a prank to transgender people and then commodified it for his Youtube content. His action triggered public reaction and angered society. Nevertheless, on the other hand, it also incited various calls for humanity from different parties, especially transgender groups. Furthermore, Paleka was also publicly shamed online by netizens, who put everything about him under a magnifying glass for scrutiny.

In *causal interpretation*, most media put Ferdian Paleka as the causal agent. Furthermore, *Pikiran-rakyat.com* used a statement from a micro-expression expert to display how Ferdian Paleka experienced guilt and anxiety for the trouble he caused.

Regarding *moral evaluation* (judgment over the causal agent), almost all media under analysis tend to frame Ferdian Paleka's prank against

trans women as inhumane. For example, Kumparan.com blatantly stated that Ferdian Paleka had committed a form of discrimination against the transgender community. On the other hand, Pikiran-rakyat.com—through a statement from a micro-expression expert, viewed that Ferdian Paleka still actually had a conscience. However, unlike other media, Okezone.com portrayed Paleka as an innocent man because he only meant the prank for entertainment content.

However, almost all media had no recommendation in solving the problem (*treatment recommendation*). Only Tribunnews.com, through a statement from the Chairperson of Trans Women Association (Perwaris) in Semarang, Central Java, stated that people need to see and treat transgender people as equal human beings.

Researchers also found that media had also failed to pursue one crucial angle. None of the ten media analyzed could determine the extent of the damage caused by SOGIESC-based violence (sexual orientation, gender identity, expression, sex characteristic) for LGBT groups, specifically trans women.

Kompas.com touched it lightly by reporting on the motive behind Paleka's prank. According to him, he did not want to see any trans women loitering around during the holy month of Ramadan. However, by further analyzing the news content, Kompas.com did not pursue why Paleka believed trans women should not be seen during Ramadan and whether Paleka was the only one out of many people with similar views. The media had failed to dig deeper into the SOGIESC-based violence construct and explained its effect on marginalized groups such as LGBT. In the Media Guideline for Covering LGBT module (2015), media, through its educational function, should be the beacon of knowledge for the public to know and understand how LGBT communities become one of the most marginalized and discriminated against in society. Media need to apply their reporting perspective based on a human rights approach in covering those groups.

Furthermore, no media doggedly analyze further how the law was enforced in SOGIESC-based violence. The Media Guide for Covering LGBT module (2015) also mentioned that law enforcement officials overlooked hate crime indications by anti-LGBT parties in several cases. The sensitivity and understanding of law enforcement officials towards LGBT are also very low and could affect active cases since they fail to investigate them properly. Media, with their essential role in determining law enforcement’s response towards SOGIESC-based violence, should provide fair, accurate, and inclusive news coverage so that the law enforcement process can be better and more transparent.

2.2. News Coverage Analysis of Garbage Prank by Youtuber Ferdian Paleka against Trans Women in Bandung

Table 7. News Selection and Highlight of the prank by Youtuber Ferdian Paleka against trans women in Bandung

Category of Issue	Headline Selection	
News report on the prank by Youtuber Ferdian Paleka against trans women in Bandung	Detik.com	Ferdian Paleka’s “Saga”: Lewd Acts, Sex Worker Survey, and Garbage Food
	Grid.id	Ferdian Paleka Freed, Trans Women Communities Regretted Victim’s Decision To Retract Charges
	Kompas.com	The Reason Behind Ferdian Paleka’s Trans Women-Targeted Garbage Food Aid Prank Video
	Kumparan.com	Police Hunt for Ferdian Paleka, Trans Women Prank Video Creator in Bandung
	Liputan6.com	Youtuber Ferdian Paleka Faces 4 Years Imprisonment for Aid Prank Targeting Trans Women
	Merdeka.com	Nikita Mirzani Furious at Ferdian Paleka: “What is Wrong with Him?”
	Okezone.com	Ferdian Paleka’s Motive for Prank: Not to Get New Subscribers

Pikiran-Rakyat.com	Ferdian Paleka's Character Analysis, Micro-Expression Expert: He Knew the Trans Women in the Area Well
Suara.com	Uproar Over Ferdian Paleka's Rumored Homosexuality
Tribunnews.com	Uproar Over Youtuber Ferdian Paleka, Trans Women Communities: At Least Accept Us Like Human Beings
News Sourcing and Partiality	
Detik.com	Bandung Police Crime Unit Chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Galih Indragiri
Grid.id	Riri, member of Trans Women Community in Bandung
Kompas.com	Ferdian Paleka
Kumparan.com	Sani (victim), Abel (Srikandi Pasundan), Supriyono (Bandung Police)
Liputan6.com	Bandung Police Crime Unit Chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Galih Indragiri.
Merdeka.com	Nikita Mirzani (celebrity) and Ferdian Paleka
Okezone.com	Ferdian Paleka
Pikiran-Rakyat.com	Aside from the interview with a micro-expression expert, they also cited Net TV.
Suara.com	Data and news source from an Instagram gossip account
Tribunnews.com	1) The Chairperson of Semarang Trans Women Association (Perwaris) Silvy 2) Bandung Police Crime Unit Chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Galih Indragiri
Trans Women Identity Representatives	
Detik.com	-
Grid.id	Riri (member of West Java trans women community)
Kompas.com	-
Kumparan.com	Sani (trans woman victim of the prank), Abel (Srikandi Pasundan)
Liputan6.com	-
Merdeka.com	-
Okezone.com	-
Pikiran-Rakyat.com	-
Suara.com	-
Tribunnews.com	Silvy (Chairperson Semarang Association of Trans Women)

Trans Women Identity Representatives	
Detik.com	-
Grid.id	Riri (member of West Java trans women community)
Kompas.com	-
Kumparan.com	Sani (trans woman victim of the prank), Abel (Srikandi Pasundan)
Liputan6.com	-
Merdeka.com	-
Okezone.com	-
Pikiran-Rakyat.com	-
Suara.com	-
Tribunnews.com	Silvy (Chairperson Semarang Association of Trans Women)
Terms Related To Gender Diverse/Non-Normative Sexuality Individuals/Communities	
Detik.com	Trans woman
Grid.id	Trans woman, minority group, West Java trans women community
Kompas.com	Trans women, a trans woman
Kumparan.com	Transgender person, trans woman, Srikandi Pasundan, trans women
Liputan6.com	Trans woman
Merdeka.com	Trans women, trans woman, transvestite, sissy
Okezone.com	Trans women, a trans woman
Pikiran-rakyat.com	Trans women, trans woman, transvestite
Suara.com	homosexual, gay, trans woman, attracted to the same sex, not straight
Tribunnews.com	Trans woman, Trans Woman Association (Pewaris), humanity

Regarding the news coverage of the prank by Ferdian Paleka, most news headlines at the ten online media described Paleka as a content creator (YouTuber). It was demonstrated by media headlines such as:

See table 7 for Detik.com, Kompas.com, Merdeka.com, Okezone.com, Pikiran-rakyat.com, and Suara.com

Most media also used fewer negative dictions when reporting Paleka's prank. Out of the ten online media that the researchers analyzed, only three media still employed negative terminologies. They were Merdeka.com, Pikiran-rakyat.com, and Suara.com. In their report, Merdeka.com and Pikiran-rakyat.com used the terms transvestite and sissy to describe the transgender communities. Meanwhile, Suara.com preferred the dictions homosexual, attracted to the same sex, and "not straight" to describe the word "gay." Even though in its reporting, Merdeka.com seemed to give space to individuals who support LGBT Community's rights, this media only functions to echo news sources who used negative dictions.

Furthermore, the choice of their news sources was irrelevant to the prank committed by Ferdian Paleka. Additionally, in a report by Suara.com, dictions with negative connotations were used to marginalize the LGBT communities further. They also signified that the LGBT communities were different from the normative gender and considered "deviants."

Regarding selecting their news sources, out of the ten online media researched by Konde.co, only three provide a space for the voices from transgender communities. Meanwhile, the other seven preferred to use other news sources such as Ferdian Paleka, the Police, Nikita Mirzani, and a micro-expression expert. In their reports, the media gave ample space for Paleka to explain why he did the prank in the first place: for religious reasons because it was during the month of Ramadan. The following is an excerpt from the news story regarding why Paleka pranked a group of trans women in Bandung.

Furthermore, his reason for targeting trans women was that trans women should not be working during the month of Ramadan. "I think this Ramadhan, trans women should not be allowed. That was why I did [the prank]," he said. (Okezone.com)

Ferdian Paleka and his two cohorts used the month of Ramadhan as an excuse to cause him to commit such a demeaning act against trans women. "Because I think in the month of Ramadhan, trans women should not be allowed. So that is why I did it. So that there are no more trans women in the holy month," said Ferdian Paleka, as quoted in a KompasTV video. (Kompas.com)

Luviana et al. (2013), in their research, said that the use of religious and normative framing was often used by the media when covering LGBT-related events. However, religious norms were also the root cause of discrimination against LGBT communities in the media. For example, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) issued a 2021 National circular no. 2 forbidding scenes containing LGBT elements and increasing solemnity during the fasting month as an excuse [1].

In Pikiran-rakyat.com's news coverages, using a micro-expression expert as their news source to analyze Paleka's facial expression was also deemed as irrelevant. Furthermore, the analysis by the micro-expression expert tends to exonerate Paleka. It was evident through Poppy Amalya's (micro-expression expert) statements. The following is a quote from the article in pikiran-rakyat.com:

When distributing the garbage-filled food aid to the trans women, Amalya mentioned that she could see anxiety in Paleka.

“So, when he said that [the trans women] were hungry, he flicked his tongue a bit, like he has got anxiety,” said Amalya in her YouTube account Poppy Amalya Official as quoted by Pikiran-Rakyat.com on Friday, May 8, 2020. According to her, Paleka had a guilty conscience when committing the prank.

“His conscience was knocking on his feelings, the way he did it, subconsciously, it manifested into his body language,” she continued.

Instead of providing a point of view from the transgender communities as victims of Paleka’s prank, Pikiran-rakyat.com continued to defend Paleka and used the pandemic as an excuse.

Amaliya added that inside the minds of Paleka and his associates at the time, there was fear of the coronavirus’s spread because many people still went outside against the government’s advice to stay at home.

“So, in their minds, who committed this [prank], the [trans women] were not supposed to be on the streets. They should have stayed at home and gone nowhere because that is what the Coronavirus [pandemic] does. So more people had to die because of the [trans women],” Amaliya explained.

Media	Tanggal publikasi	Judul berita	<i>Problem identification</i> (peristiwa dilihat sebagai apa)	<i>Causal interpretation</i> (siapa penyebab masalah)	<i>Moral evaluation</i> (penilaian atas penyebab masalah)	Treatment recommendation (rekomendasi atas penanggulang masalah)	Narasumber
Detik.com https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5156813/polisi-peserta-tak-boleh-pakai-pakaian-saat- pesta-gay-di-jakarta	September 2, 2020	Police: South Jakarta Gay Party Dresscode: Clothes Off	Police assumed that an "Independence Party" was a façade by a gay community to hold a sex party	Party organizer and goers at the Kuningan apartment.	This media depicted the party organizer and goers were to blame and explained the rules for partying in the Kuningan apartment complex.	This media did not provide any recommendations to solve the problem.	Jakarta Police Spokesperson.
Grid.id https://www.grid.id/read/042320890/fakta-baru-mengejutkan- pesta-gay-di-jakarta-terungkap-ada-banyak-alat-seks-ditemukan-termasuk-lakban	September 4, 2020	New Surprising Fact Revealed on Jakarta Gay Party! So Many Sex Toys Found, Including Duct Tape	New facts were being discovered regarding the gay party, including sex toys and duct tape	This media reported a gay "party" attended by 56 males.	This media did not further explain the sex toys' "facts" and duct tape. The article's title and headline were just clickbait	No specific stand or recommendation from this media	This article only interviewed Jakarta Police Crime Chief as their news source
Kompas.com https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2020/09/02/17211041/seorang-tersangka-penyelenggara-pesta-seks-sesama-jenis-di-apartemen?page=all	September 2, 2020	Gay Apartment Sex Party Organizer Suspect Tested Positive for HIV	The police had named nine party organizers as suspects. Also, it emphasized that one of them was tested positive for HIV. He was currently in a separate detention unit	Party organizer and goers	This media labeled the event with the "gay party" narrative	None	Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusril Yunus

<p>Kump-aran.com https://kumparan.com/kumparan.com/ku mparannews /pesta-gay-di -apartemen-di-kuningan-dimulai-dari-undangan-di -medsos-1u7 zCutsHRN</p>	<p>September 3, 2020</p>	<p>Kuningan Apartment Gay party Started with A Social Media Invite</p>	<p>Police held the reconstruction of the raid at the Kuningan apartment</p>	<p>Party goes at the Kuningan apartment</p>	<p>This media depicted the people responsible for the party with the role of planning the sex party and the actual process of the party</p>	<p>No recommendation to solve the problem</p>	<p>Jakarta Police Crime Unit Deputy Chief</p>
<p>Liputan6.com https://m.liputan6.com/news/read/4346207/9-orang-tersangka-dan-fakta-pesta-gay-yan g-digerebek-poli si</p>	<p>September 2, 2020</p>	<p>9 Suspects and Facts from Police Raid of Gay Party</p>	<p>Police assumed the gay party in Kuningan as lewd</p>	<p>Party organizers and goes at an apartment in Kuningan</p>	<p>This media portrayed the gay party organizers and goes as a crime and explained inviting party attendants</p>	<p>No recommendation to solve the problem</p>	<p>Jakarta Police Spokesperson</p>
<p>Merdeka.com https://m.merdeka.com/jabar/11-fakta-pesta-gay-di-apartemen-kuningan-jaksel-gunakan-kostum-masker-merah-putih.html</p>	<p>September 3, 2020</p>	<p>11 Gay Party Facts in Kuningan Apartment, South Jakarta: Red-White Mask Mandatory</p>	<p>Police viewed the gay party in Kuningan as lewd</p>	<p>Party organizer at a Kuningan apartment</p>	<p>This media portrayed gay party-goers and organizers as wrongful</p>	<p>No recommendation to solve the problem</p>	<p>Jakarta Police Spokesperson</p>
<p>Okezone.com https://megapolitan.okezone.com/read/2020/09/02/338/2271411/pesta-gay-9-pria-ditahan-polda-metro-jaya</p>	<p>September 2, 2020</p>	<p>Gay Party, Jakarta Police Arrested 9 Men</p>	<p>Police arrested members of the gay community who were having a party in Kuningan</p>	<p>Partygoers at the apartment in Kuningan</p>	<p>Police raided an apartment in Kuningan based on an anonymous tip from the public of a private gay party</p>	<p>No recommendation to solve the problem</p>	<p>Jakarta Police General Crime Unit</p>

<p>Pikiran-rakyat.com https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-01714608/polisi-bubar-kan-pest-a-gay-masker-merah-putih-di-kuningan-ini-arti-kode-dress-code-nya-new-normal</p>	<p>September 2, 2020</p>	<p>Police Shut Down a Red-White Masked Gay Party in Kuningan, the Meaning Behind 'New Normal' Dress Code</p>	<p>Jakarta's gay party in the Kuningan area turned a red-white sex party into attendants' "code." According to on-field information, partygoers wore a red/white mask dress code as a unique "code" aside from paying a fee</p>	<p>Police explained that the red mask dress code meant "TOP" or that the male party attendant wanted sex with their penis. While the white mask meant "BOTTOM," or the male attendant preferred to have anal sex</p>	<p>Police arrested and rounded up dozens of men from the homosexual community location Hot Space to their precinct. According to the police, the Hot Space gay community was established in February 2018. They communicated via Whatsapp group chat and Instagram</p>	<p>No specific stand or recommendation from this media</p>	<p>Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus</p>
<p>Suara.com https://www.suara.com/news/2020/09/03/071250/cerita-tersangka-pesta-gay-jaksel-jalani-rapid-test-hasilnya-positif-hiv?page=all</p>	<p>September 3, 2020</p>	<p>South Jakarta Gay Party Suspect Tested for Covid-19, Positive for HIV</p>	<p>One of the gay party organizers in an apartment in Kuningan, South Jakarta, was tested positive for the Human Immunodeficiency Virus or HIV</p>	<p>One out of the nine party organizers was tested positive for HIV, according to the Police</p>	<p>This media did not detail how they knew that one of the party organizers was tested positive for HIV. Instead, the article went on to describe a Covid-19 test</p>	<p>This media stated that for their actions, the nine suspects would be charged with Article 296 of the Crime Code (KUHP) and or Article 33 Jo. Article 7 of the 2008 Law No. 44 on Pornography. They could face a minimum of 1 year and a maximum of 10 years of imprisonment</p>	<p>Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus</p>

Tribunnews.com https://www.tribunnews.com/metropolitan/2020/09/02/1-dari-9tersangka-kasus-pesta-seks-gay-di-jakarta-positif-hiv-ancaman-hukuman-hingga-10-tahun?page=3	September 2, 2020	1 out of the 9 Jakarta Gay Party Suspects was Tested Positive for HIV, Could Face Imprisonment of Up To 10 Years	From the nine people who organized the party, one was positive for HIV	Party organizers	The party organizer suspects had committed an immoral act, so there was a big possibility that one of them was positive for HIV	None	Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus
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Out of the ten online media analyzed, all reported the gay community-organized “party” in an apartment in the Kuningan area. It proved that all ten online media viewed the incident as “important” and news-worthy. In which all media uploaded their stories simultaneously, most of them on September 2 (detik.com, kompas.com, liputan6.com, pikiran-rakyat.com, okezone.com, tribunnews.com), followed by the next day, September 3 (kumparan.com, merdeka.com, suara.com) and September 4 (grid.id). The following explains the media framing elements in the gay persecution issue by the police in an apartment in the Kuningan area, South Jakarta.

In general, all ten online media defined the problem regarding this gay persecution issue with the police raid and arrest of 56 gay individuals in an apartment in the Kuningan area, South Jakarta. Representation of police operation in the incident dominated all news reports, which media narrated using terminologies such as raid, arrest, investigation, reconstruction, and naming suspects. The choice of terminologies demonstrated the particular activity during the pandemic, namely “gay party” or “gay sex party,” was forbidden, illegal, and had to be shut down by law enforcement officers (in this instance, the Police). Furthermore, media explanation regarding why the police—based on a tip from residents at the apartment, raided

the apartment (according to the Police), without further verification with residents, had shown how media discursively gave a significant portion of power to the Police.

Regarding the causal agent (causal interpretation), all online media in this research agreed that more than 50 people (both party attendants and organizers) came to the private event organized by a gay community. All online media used the term “gay party” and “gay sex party” interchangeably, and they also came up with other terms such as “same-sex party” (Kumparan.com) or “same-sex sex party” (kompas.com and merdeka.com). Media also expanded the problem regarding the attendants at the private event by naming the identity of the partygoer who was not only gay but also tested positive for HIV (kompas.com, suara.com, Tribunnews.com).

The position of the HIV-positive participant became discriminatory because the media informed the public that the Police had detained him in a separate unit (kompas.com and suara.com). This statement proved how Police was discriminatory against HIV-positive people. Meanwhile, the media did not provide any affirmation regarding this matter with other sources outside the Police. In this case, the media had upheld and sanctioned the discriminatory action by the police against the gay communities. The inclusion of additional statements by the Police regarding leisurely terms within the gay community by mentioning “top,” “bottom,” or “vers” or claiming that partygoers were “not allowed to come clothed” further reinstated the “difference” that was the character of the community as something wrongful. Therefore, it became an excuse for the police to see such acts as “illegal” and even “lewd act between same-sex/lewd same-sex” or “pornography.” As a result, according to the media, that party—held in private property, deserved to be raided, and law enforcement officials felt the right to detain the participants. Meanwhile, on the framing that connects judgment of the morality of the problem in question, all ten online media stated that firstly, the act of partying during the pandemic is wrongful. This opinion was discriminatory since there had been not a few parties held during the pandemic along the

year 2020. Furthermore, those parties were not being shut down by the Police (for example, the wedding of a heterosexual celebrity). Also, Police referred to a tip from the residents as an excuse to follow up on activities considered a “nuisance” for them.

All online media suggested that the persecution of a gay community on August 29, 2020, was a regular crime incident. Just as other persecution incidents against gay people that had happened since 2017. The media never perceived that persecution against someone in their private realm violates human rights. Moreover, the media reported the statements coming from the police as the single truth with a complete disdain for confirmation from other parties. They did not pursue any statement from, for example, the legal representative of the gay community or statements that represent gay communities/organizations such as Suara Kita¹, Gaya Nusantara, Arus Pelangi, or GWL-Ina. The media’s primary news source, which they quoted repeatedly, was the police (see table 9). The decision to single-source this event was an act of marginalization of gay community voices by the media. No online media provided a space for discussion regarding problem-solving or treatment recommendations to solve this gay persecution incident.

From the analysis mentioned earlier, it was evident that most media tend to quote statements from the Police as their news source, making them the primary and only source in their news coverage.

2.3. Gay Persecution at Kuningan Apartment News Coverage Analysis

All had used the same term from the ten online media that published the gay community persecution issue. A “gay party” or “homosexual party” in an apartment in the Kuningan area, South Jakarta. The following table listed the news selection and highlights:

¹Suara Kita declared itself as an organization fighting for LGBT equality and justice

Table 9: News Selection and Highlights on Gay Persecution Incident in Kuningan Apartment

Issue Category	Title Selection	
A gay community organized a “party” in an apartment in Kuningan	Detik.com	Partygoers were naked during a gay party in South Jakarta
	Grid.id	Gay parties and sex toys were discovered
	Kompas.com	Suspect for apartment gay sex party tested positive for HIV
	Kumparan.com	Gay party at a Kuningan apartment started with a social media invite
	Liputan6.com	Nine gay party suspects raided by the Police
	Merdeka.com	Kuningan apartment’s Gay party facts used red/white mask costume
	Okezone.com	Gay sex party and Jakarta Police arrested nine men
	Pikiranrakyat.com	Police shut down a red/white mask gay party in Kuningan
	Suara.com	South Jakarta’s gay party suspect tested positive for HIV
	Tribunnews.com	A suspect from the gay sex party was tested positive for HIV and could face imprisonment of up to ten years
News Sources and Partiality		
Detik.com	Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus. He explained the party’s rules: guests should come unclothed and only in their underwear—no statement from gay community representatives, whether a gay organization or its legal representatives.	

	Grid.id	Jakarta Police Spokesman Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus stated that Police made the arrest on August 29 at 12.30 a.m. There was no statement from gay community representatives, whether gay organization or their legal representatives.
	Kompas.com	Jakarta Police Spokesman Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus was not sympathetic to the gay community. He said that one of the suspects was tested positive for HIV and transferred to a separate detainment unit. There was no statement from gay community representatives, whether gay organization or their legal representatives.
	Kumparan.com	Jakarta Police General Crime Unit Deputy Chief Adj. Sr. Comr. Jean Calvijn Simanjuntak proceeded with the reconstruction process witnessed by the nine suspects. There was no statement from gay community representatives, whether gay organization or their legal representatives.
	Liputan6.com	Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus explained the chronology of the private gay community event by stating that the event was obscene and pornographic, specifically gay sexual activity. However, there was no statement from gay community representatives, whether gay organizations or legal representatives.
	Merdeka.com	Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus said that the Police had detained nine party organizer suspects and explained the chronology of the event. Not sympathetic towards the gay communities. No statement representing the gay community, whether their organization or legal representatives.

	Pikiranrakyat.com	Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus named nine suspects and was not sympathetic towards the gay communities. No statement representing the gay community, whether their organization or legal representatives.
	Suara.com	Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus said that one of the party organizers was tested positive for HIV. No statement representing the gay community, whether their organization or legal representatives.
	Tribunnews.com	Jakarta Police Spokesperson Sr. Comr. Yusri Yunus said that there was one suspect who tested positive for HIV. No statement representing the gay community, whether their organization or legal representatives.
Gay Identity Representation in a Gay Persecution Incident		
	Detik.com	Suspect, witness, top, bottom, vers.
	Grid.id	Most of the participants were family men (with wife and children), HIV-positive
	Kompas.com	Suspect, sex party, party organizer/mastermind, "having fun."

	Kumparan.com	Suspect, sex party
	Liputan6.com	Suspect, witness, gay lewdness, lewd act, pornography, gay sex
	Merdeka.com	Homosexual lewdness, looking for "fun."
	Okezone.com	Detainee
	Pikiranrakyat.com	Top, bottom, anus, anal
	Suara.com	Suspect, sex party, tested positive for HIV
	Tribunnews.com	Dozens of unclothed men in a sex party.
Choice of Words in Gay Community Persecution Coverage		
	Detik.com	Community of homosexual men, gay party, sex party
	Grid.id	Homosexual
	Kompas.com	Same-sex sex party (quoting Police source), apartment in Kuningan area in South Jakarta, contraceptive, sex game, facing imprisonment
	Kumparan.com	An apartment in Kuningan area in South Jakarta, sex party, same-sex sex party, gay party, sex toys, detained
	Liputan6.com	Same-sex sex party, gay party, lewd, same-sex lewdness, pornography, an apartment in South Jakarta
	Merdeka.com	An apartment in South Jakarta, same-sex lewdness, same-sex sex party
	Okezone.com	Gay party
	Pikiranrakyat.com	Luxury apartment, Jalan Setia Budi Utara Raya, Kuningan, South Jakarta, evidence include sex-enhancing drug, lubricant, used condom, gay sex party
	Suara.com	Apartment in Kuningan, South Jakarta, sex party, same-sex sex party, homo, gay, eight boxes of contraceptive, three bottles of lubricant
	Tribunnews.com	Apartment in Kuningan in South Jakarta, same-sex sex party

In reporting the persecution of a “party” in a Kuningan Apartment, it was evident that the media had discriminatorily cornered the gay community. It was reflected in the choice of words in their coverage, for example, *same-sex lewdness, pleasure-seeker, homosexual, anus, anal, bottom-role, top-role, vers-role, gay people, deviant sex party*. The last terminology, “*deviant sex,*” was an erroneous expression because the World Health Organization (WHO) had completely rectified this point of view. On May 17, 1990, WHO removed homosexuality from the List of Mental Disorders included in the *International Classification of Diseases*. The Guideline for Mental Disorder Classification and Diagnosis in Indonesia, 2nd edition, 1983 (PPDGJ II) and PPDGJ III (1993) by the Indonesian Ministry of Health included this decision by WHO.

In his essay titled “Police and Military’s *Oknumization*² Practices and the Politics of Language in Media,” published by Remotivi, Triyo Handoko explained the importance of language in media in shaping public knowledge and influencing people’s minds. On the other hand, Andajani S. et al. (2015) said that in reporting LGBT communities, the media often used derogatory and belittling terms. It was as if the media had a higher moral standard so that in the reporting of LGBT raids, media deliberately exploited the raid and marginalized LGBT communities.

Ten media analyzed by Konde.co used the Police as their primary news source in reporting the persecution of a “party” in the Apartment in Kuningan. Having the Police as the primary news source in their coverage gave away an even greater power to the Police, freeing them to construct the narrative. Meanwhile, in this case, the Police were the ones who committed violence (persecution) against the gay community. Andajani S. et al. (2015) stated that media often framed police raids in a positive light so that there is a sense of security for the public, that they are safe from anything of a nuisance. Furthermore, since the Police acted based on “heteronormative” norms, the people who belong to gender diverse and ‘non-normative’ sexual identities would become prone to be targets of the raids.

²The practice of putting the blame on the individual instead of the organization/system

2.4 Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the news reportage of three events: the immolation of Mira the trans woman in Cilincing; Garbage prank by Youtuber Ferdian Paleka; and Persecution of a “party” in an Apartment in Kuningan, it was evident that the media still committed marginalization against the communities of ‘non-normative’ gender and sexuality. The media still used the same marginalization pattern against the LGBT communities, such as using dictions with negative connotations, up to the decision to limit their news sources to official authorities (police personnel). Michel Foucault (1998) said that it was one of the forms of disciplining sexuality through narratives. According to Wijaya, H.Y. (2015), things that are currently considered normal and abnormal are a product of discursive practices created by the authority. Akdom, A.M. & Pasarua, E.H. (2020) said that currently, the government still maintains and generates heteronormative views. Often, public officials use this view to issue a discriminatory policy. Another way of marginalization by the government was ratifying the Pornography Law. The law was often used to detain communities with gender diverse and ‘non-normative’ sexuality. Nevertheless, the State should not hide behind particular “moral” interests and ignore the rights of ‘non-normative’ gender and sexuality groups. Even according to the United Nations High Commissioner Navanethem Pillay in Muthmainnah, Y. (2015), criminalization against homosexuality was a serious threat against the fundamental rights of every LGBT individual.

Unfortunately, the media was guilty of endorsing state actors’ campaigns that discriminate against LGBT to influence the public’s perception. Those outside the heteronormativity framework of gender and sexual identity were seen as having an “abnormal” relationship. Greer, C. (2013) said that in news coverage on “sexual offense,” the media tend to echo the group or institution’s views that sit on the top of social and political hierarchy. They think that this group has better credibility so that the Police or Court will dominate the news. On the other hand, the press will deliberately ostracize marginalized groups’ perspectives to influence the lesser part of the public.

The press should be more critical of the government's authority that mistreats the LGBT communities. In the 1999 Law no. 40 on Press, it was clear that the role of the national press, amongst others, is upholding democracy, promoting the embodiment of law supremacy and human rights, respecting diversity (b), and fighting for justice and truth.

Chapter 3

Exposing Television Policies and Compliance With Regards to “LGBT” Issues

In an effort to find facts and data on how Indonesian televisions are reporting issues relating to gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals, who are often referred to as “LGBT”, the researchers interviewed a number of stakeholders of Indonesian news televisions. There are four news televisions in Indonesia with the capacity for extensive coverage across the country: Metro TV, CNN Indonesia TV, Kompas TV and TV One. In practice, only stakeholders from two of those television stations—Metro TV and CNN Indonesia TV—committed to make time for the in-depth interview, namely Metro TV and CNN Indonesia TV. By the time this study was written, despite repeated approaches and formal application for interviews, the researchers did not manage to schedule interviews with TV One and Kompas TV representatives.

In general, it could be concluded that it is not easy for the media to commit to an interview and discussion on reporting stories about gender diverse and sexually non-normative individual and groups, since the issue continues to be perceived as sensitive, a taboo, with conversations around it becoming normative when it comes to the laws and regulations in Indonesia.

The issue of discrimination and violation of the basic human rights of individuals with different sexual preference or gender diverse and sexually non-normative communities is growing in Indonesia. These communities have been discriminated against for years, but they have had to face growing hostility from high level state officials and parliament members who described this minority group as “immoral” and “a danger for the adolescents”. But instead of speaking out about the importance of fulfilling the basic human

rights of members of this community, the media had further affirmed this discriminatory action and joined in in cornering the minority group.

The condition gives the impression that hostility towards LGBTQ community is becoming more institutionalized. Their marginalization continued as the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) issued a discriminatory regulation against LGBTQ community. In 2016, KPI passed Circular No. 203/K/KPI/02/2016 which prohibits broadcasting agencies, televisions and radios from promoting LGBTQ community activities. The prohibition is published on KPI official website (<http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php/id/umum/38-dalam-negeri/33218-kpi-larang-promosi-lgbt-di-tv-dan-radio?start=279&detail3=4935&detail5=320>).

KPI prohibition was endorsed by various televisions, which adopted the policy as a special consideration in their organization's editorial policies, as described by the two respondents from television stations, Arief Suditomo (Metro TV) and Dewi Safitri and Yunizar Djoenaid (CNN Indonesia TV).

Arief Suditomo, Metro TV editor-in-chief, clarified that similar rules can also be found in the Law on Broadcasting and the Broadcasting Code of Conduct and Broadcasting Program Standards (P3SPS):

"It's not just the KPI, the Law on Broadcasting and the P3SPS also [stipulate] that factually, from normative perspectives, LGBT is not a lifestyle that could be promoted. This is part of the legislation. So as long as these regulations are binding, we as part of the industry must comply with them, because this has to do with licensing, with [our] existence. [Consequences for] violating the Law on Broadcasting and P3SPS would be linked to [our] license. As editor-in-chief I would not want to risk not getting an extension of broadcasting permit from KPI because we break the law. So that's the situation. The law

stipulates that [broadcasting] LGBTQ aspects in the context of promoting them is prohibited”

-(Arief Suditomo, Metro TV editor-in-chief)

Similar sentiments were expressed by Dewi Safitri, CNN Indonesia Standard and Practices Specialist:

“We bear in mind the KPI stance [on this issue] in the newsroom. This is part of what we inform our team. We realize that LGBT-related stories are often contentious, involving two different and confrontational perspectives. We [try to] avoid that. Our focus is on the fact that we take note of and comply with what is prescribed by KPI. So I don’t think we see any of what the KPI refers to [in their regulation] on CNN screen”

-(Dewi Safitri, Standard and Practices Specialist CNN Indonesia)

From Arief and Dewi’s statements the researchers could make a number of observations. First, stakeholders in the two television stations tend to follow KPI regulation on LGBT prohibition in the interest of securing the commission’s recommendation for broadcasting permit extension. This necessity has compelled unquestioning compliance with KPI regulation on the part of television stations.

However, if they are prepared to be more critical about it, the television community could ask for, if not file a lawsuit against, the basis for the decisions made in the circular. The KPI circular prohibiting the broadcasting of LGBT content is in contravention of the higher laws, in this case the P3SPS. In P3SPS Chapter XI on Protection of Specific Individual and Community, article 15 paragraph 1 focuses on gender diverse and sexually non-normative groups, stipulating that:

“Broadcasting institution shall take into consideration and protect the rights and interests of: b) individual and/or groups with a particular sexual orientation and gender identity.”

While women activists have argued that the KPI is discriminating in their regulation towards gender diverse and sexually non-normative groups, their criticisms have yet to gain some traction to serve as a reference point for the media in looking into LGBT issues from human rights perspectives.

In the interview, Arief Suditomo stated that his media organization Metro TV was not anti-“LGBT”, as “LGBT”-related content had previously been broadcast in programs such as the talkshow Kick Andy. However, Metro TV continues to base their editorial policies on KPI regulation, since the commission holds the key to broadcasting permit, and television stations refuse to take the risk of suddenly being denied their permit. KPI regulation is an important consideration for the editorial team since following their prohibition of “LGBT” content, Metro TV had refrained from broadcasting contents such as the lifestyle of “LGBT” community. This shows how strongly KPI policy has influenced the policies of television editorial teams in the context of LGBT content.

The researchers’ second observation was that media stakeholders still have erroneous basic understanding of gender diversity and non-normative sexuality. Arief specifically referred to LGBT as a lifestyle and thus “could not be promoted”. Calling LGBT a lifestyle is not the correct way of defining LGBT, in the same way that calling heterosexuality a lifestyle is erroneous. The researchers made a special note of this, as knowledge of LGBTQ issues on the higher echelons of a media organization determines the overall policies in the newsroom.

Strategies on not giving “LGBT” groups space in television and radio broadcasting will only serve to narrow the Indonesian public understanding of the reality of gender diversity and non-normative sexuality in society.

Moreso if this prohibition is discriminatory, putting the “LGBT” community in a negative light. A study has even shown a significant correlation between anti-“LGBT” overtones in news and public opinion on the issue. For instance, on the issue of gay people in the military, when televisions reported the issue with a significantly negative tone, public support for allowing homosexuals to serve in the military dropped (Hester, J. B., & Gibson, R., 2007).

In any case, the media, particularly the television, have a significant contribution to great changes in public thinking and support for “LGBT” community in a society. This is corroborated by a study by Ayoub, P. M., and Garretson, J. (2017), which showed that the media could play a significant role in shaping the political attitude towards sexuality and the minority in general, particularly in influencing the opinion of groups of young individuals. By restricting the perspectives of marginalized groups, the gap in tolerance and freedom of expression will never be closed. Like it or not, to close the gap in tolerance and to effect a cultural change, various stakeholders, including community leaders, must continue to encourage the media to tell a more accurate story about “LGBT”. Promoting a more inclusive and representative portrayal of this marginalized groups may further the tolerance of other stigmatized minorities. This is what Indonesia needs as a nation and a society that is born with diversity.

masyarakat yang memiliki keberagaman sejak awal kehadirannya.

3.1. Why “LGBT” representation matters

As Indonesia is a highly diverse society in terms of ethnicity, religion and sexual preference there should have been no question as to why the representation of gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals or communities in the media, especially television, matter. The answer is because we love, and wish to preserve, the diversity that has enjoyed thousands of years of peaceful existence in Indonesia:

“Bissu” tends to be translated as “transvestite” priest, but this term is less than satisfactory. Transvestite implies cross-dressing, but bissu have their own distinctive clothing. Moreover bissu do not go from one gender to another; they are a combination of all genders. To become a bissu one must be born both female and male, or hermaphroditic. (To be precise, the Bugis believe that a bissu who appears externally male is internally female, and vice versa). And then there is the Warok Ponorogo community that represents the gay community.

The importance of “LGBT” representation on television can be analyzed from a number of aspects. First, exposure to “LGBT” characters through the media may influence the way the general public see the “LGBT” community as well as the deliberation of relevant public policies. As these communities exist among the people of Indonesia, it is important to see that they are an integral and inseparable part of the daily life of the public in general. Secondly, media representation may have a positive impact on members of the “LGBT” communities, especially among the teenagers, who are often subjected to social pressures for having a different sexual preference. Thirdly, a favorable public opinion may be constructed based on positive media representation that does not discriminate against “LGBT” communities as a minority group in Indonesia, whose basic human rights must be protected and fulfilled.

However, in practice, Indonesian televisions have not yet given “LGBT” issues sufficient space. Media policies are one of the major obstacles. Every media outlet has policies on reporting angles and a consensus or a written set of rules on which issues are allowed and which are prohibited in their news programs. In this case, Metro TV representative admitted that they did not have a specific policy or formula:

“To be honest, when it comes to LGBT issues, we don’t have any [specific] formula regarding LGBTQ advocacy. This issue has never been raised, perhaps because there has not been any one incident that requires us to look into it as a matter of public policy, and we don’t see it as something that might

make our programs more enticing. That's what we experience. So far as editor-in-chief who is involved in a number of issues, in my observation none of my deputy chiefs, managers and executive producers have sparked a discussion on this issue."

-(Arief Suditomo, Metro TV editor-in-chief)

With the understanding of how important "LGBT" representation is in the media, including television, we the public have to continue to remind the media to show genuine concern about giving space to "LGBT" groups. This could start with policies—written or otherwise—that will guide the reporting of such issues.

In terms of policies, editorial teams in television have not clearly lent their support and advocacy to "LGBT" issues. The two television representatives who participated in the study also admitted that they do not have specific guidelines on reporting "LGBT" issues. There are no policies on writing about and reporting "LGBT" issues, no rules as to what specific terms are allowed and which are forbidden in the newsroom, as Metro TV editor-in-chief said:

"None. This is the first time this issue crossed my mind. We never have a guideline, stance, benchmarks, or specially formulated terminology. I have to admit we haven't thought about this."

-(Arief Soeditomo, Metro TV editor-in-chief)

Similar statement was made by the CNN Indonesia TV representative who said that her media organization has reporting guidelines that they distribute to every employee upon onboarding.

When asked if the guidelines specifically include instructions on reporting “LGBT” issues, her answer was “More or less”. As an outsider the researchers found it difficult to check further since the guidelines are for internal use only. However, when asked if the guidelines works as a code of ethics, the CNN Indonesia TV representative replied:

“No. I’m not sure what to call it. Whatever the form, though, if it is a code of ethics we still have to break it down into more practical instructions. This is a guideline that applies to field situations. So we do this when this happens, and we do that if that happens. This applies not only to journalists. When you’re recruited into CNN Indonesia as a permanent employee, you have to take what is called basic training and practices. Today we do this and that, and what the purpose of it is in terms of achieving our goal and creating what we strive for. There are a series of things to know in our business and these are our rules. In reporting [certain] themes, we take a similar approach. But because our training time is limited, it is possible that not all of what we call standards and practices are explained to the trainees. Some trainees may be more familiar with the guidelines, while others are not so familiar because they rarely open them, for instance, because it all depends on how they are applied. Journalists who deal with certain issues will consult the guidelines more than others.”

-(Dewi Safitri, Standard and Practices Specialist CNN Indonesia)

3.2. Journalist character matters

When a media organization does not prioritize policies and guidelines for reporting of “LGBT” issues, the task of presenting “LGBT” issues in the news falls on the field journalists. Knowledge of “LGBT” issues, news presenting

skills, and sufficient field experience are key requirements for bringing news about “LGBT” to the public through television programs.

But again, unfortunately field journalists do not receive optimal opportunities from their newsrooms to build character, to get education on “LGBT” issues or training on issues surrounding sexuality. CNN Indonesia TV does not yet have any policy on providing in-depth understanding of “LGBT” issues in the newsroom. When asked if such a policy is a possibility, CNN Indonesia TV gave this straightforward answer:

“We look at it from the standpoint of meeting a demand. Is the issue considered urgent and does it require capacity building? An example of an urgent issue is this pandemic. We don’t know what a pandemic is, what COVID is, how it happened, what the impacts are, how to avoid it, and so forth. So for something like this we organize an internal training. You might call it training in science. The newsroom issues invitations, decides who gets invited, and is allowed to ask around and look for information. The output is insight into what a pandemic is. We also did a training about health, because we are of the opinion that with the large number of COVID survivors among us and our families, and many of them are suffering from long COVID, it is important to do it. We have capacity building for this issue and other upcoming issues, for instance climate change. So the topic is chosen on the basis of what we think is urgent for the employees personal and professional knowledge, and its potential contribution to newsroom performance. When it is really necessary then we arrange it. And so far, we don’t see such needs for LGBT issues.”

-(Dewi Safitri, Standard and Practices Specialist CNN Indonesia)

Metro TV newsroom has also not engaged in developing their journalists character, understanding, and skills necessary for reporting “LGBT” issues. When asked if Metro TV editorial team would be allowed to take part in trainings on issues related to sexuality organized by external entities, Metro TV editor-in-chief replied:

“Training is decided by the management, not an opportunity that people who get the information from their network can take part of on their own. When they are offered training opportunities, the staff have to submit them to the management, who will then decide who to send. The person who receives the offer from organization A or B will not necessarily be the one who gets to participate in the training. Personally, I think Metro hasn’t had the chance to come up with a formula for this, not out of any particular reason, we just never thought about it. The thing that we need to be cautious about is we do not want people to perceive and brand us as promoting these values, because from normative, legal, social and religious perspectives we are far from getting to the acceptance phase. [An understanding of] these phases is important so as to keep us from being too hasty in deciding to sort of affiliate or ally ourselves with LGBT interest advocacy. We have to be extra cautious because our organization is affiliated with a political party that is highly sensitive to these kinds of issues. So our stance is that we never have any intention to persecute, but we also have not decided to advocate. Please bear this in mind.”

-(Arief Soeditomo, Metro TV editor-in-chief)

3.3. Advertisement influence and “LGBT” issues

The livelihood of every media outlet, including television, is dependent on paid advertisement as one of their major revenue streams. In exploring the relations between advertisers and news content, it is interesting to notice how the two television representatives who were interviewed for this research had different perspectives on the matter.

For instance, CNN Indonesia TV stated that while advertisers are not allowed to directly influence their journalism, they still accept paid content in their news program:

“If the question is can an advertiser influence newsroom policy, [the answer is] we have paid content and full editorial. We decide on our own what to do with paid content. On the other hand, it is possible that we may get inspired, and I use the term loosely here, to come up with editorial-type reporting. For example, let’s say a governor is scheduled to officially open an event. The reason for his presence is because he wants the spotlight, what with upcoming local or presidential elections. At any rate he wants screentime to maybe argue that his local programs have national merit, thus the national TV exposure. And when he is on, the team might prepare an editorial program using available material but presented from a different angle. So the material may be the same, but we frame it differently, and we might have fewer or more sources discussing it, and so forth. But will he be able to exert influence, I don’t think there’s a clear-cut answer as to whether or not he will be able to sway the audience.”

-Dewi Safitri, Standard and Practices Specialist CNN Indonesia

On the other hand, the representative from Metro TV firmly denied any correlation between advertiser interest and news reporting:

“None. For other businesses, the key performance indicator is the amount of revenue they are planning on getting, for me it’s ratings.... The main DNA of my editorial is policy discussion, be it the politics of economy, social affairs, education, health, political issues, politics of power, crime. They are enough to capture the public attention in terms of ratings.”

- (Arief Suditomo, Pimpinan Redaksi Metro TV)

3.4. A glimmer of hope in special circumstances

Despite the lack of specific policies on the reporting of “LGBT” issues, and despite the clear statement that both CNN Indonesia TV and Metro TV are in support of KPI prohibition of portrayal of “LGBT” groups on television screens, the two media outlets have on occasions feature “LGBT” issues on their programs or news reporting. In October 2021, Kick Andy—a talk show on Metro TV—had featured Shinta Ratri, a transwoman who leads the Al Falah Islamic Boarding School.



Source: Kick Andy, published 2021, 4th Oktober

While Metro TV editor-in-chief Arief Suditomo had insisted that the television station has no specific “LGBT”-related agenda, the broadcasting of that particular episode of Kick Andy clearly indicated the show’s position as defender of transwomen. While Kick Andy is part of Metro TV editorial team, in practice it differs slightly from Metro TV newsroom policies.



Source: Youtube CNN Indonesia, published 2019, 17th February

Closer observation would reveal that CNN Indonesia TV had run a number of reports on “LGBT” issues. Commenting on the stories that feature transwomen, CNN Indonesia TV, CNN Indonesia Editorial Row Manager Yunizar Djoenaid remarked on the interview with the researchers:

“We ran a report on transgender Quran study circle, but the focus was on the teacher who was willing to teach anybody. And there was no problem. That [you can see] on screen members of the transgender community, some fully transitioned and others who are not, as far as I know there was no problem about it. There was no negative feedback from the audience.”

-Yunizar Djoenaid, Editorial Row Manager CNN Indonesia

The program Yunizar referred to can be accessed on CNN Indonesia Youtube channel. The 2019 report features Arif Nuh Safri Sitompul, a teacher of Islam who teaches at an Islamic boarding school for transwomen in Yogyakarta. Titled *The Transwomen Hero from Yogyakarta* the report focuses on Arif and his activities as he holds Quranic classes among transwomen students.

Similarly, while the research respondent from CNN Indonesia had said that the television station has no specific policies on “LGBT” reporting, in 2020 they had run a piece that implied support for the trans women community in the time of pandemic, titled *Transwomen Strategy in Facing the Pandemic*. The *Transgender Strategy for Women Facing a Pandemic* tells the story of trans women who open a culinary business during the pandemic to survive. They also help each other to other trans women who are experiencing financial problems. Meanwhile, *Polemic Waria in Men’s Cells* tells about the case of Millen Cyrus who is imprisoned in a men’s cell. Millen’s placement in a male cell has the potential to create discrimination and harassment against trans women in detention cells. In both shows, the sources presented are quite diverse, so it’s not just one side.



Source: Youtube CNN Indonesia published 2020, 5th November



Source: Youtube CNN Indonesia published 2020, 25th November



Source: Youtube CNN Indonesia published 2019, 17th February

3.5. Conclusion

It has been shown that the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) 2016 regulation prohibiting programs featuring “LGBT” on broadcast media is now incorporated into television newsroom policies on shows about “LGBT”. Management of television stations are afraid that their broadcasting permit will be revoked if they publish such content. While the two television

stations participating in the study—Metro TV dan CNN Indonesia—have aired reports on “LGBT” issues from humanistic perspectives before, caution in the framework of compliance remains the policy of choice for television stations in the context of KPI regulation.

This compliance model has put an end to the media’s crucial role in reporting “LGBT” issues. The media play an important role in shaping the public knowledge through their content, regardless of its form. People who access the media should have gained at least two things: brand new, hitherto unknown knowledge, or a reinforcement for the things they already know or believe in. The media, with their production power (journalists, reporter, editor, etc.) has become an agency which is supposed to have the capability of producing “knowledge”, as Stuart Hall posited, supported with Michel Foucault’s critical theory on power that is intertwined with sexuality.

KPI has established the power of ideology on television. This demonstrates KPI dominance over the newsrooms of television media. The researchers observed how KPI has asserted aspects of power, creating a dominant-subordinate relation that occurred both on the textual level and in the media newsroom. This is further demonstrated by the Indonesian media tendency to insert experiences and knowledge that have crystallized into a schemata interpretation in their construction of a reality.

It is clear that the compliance of television stakeholders emerges from the normative observance of KPI regulations. Criticisms from women activists over the discriminatory nature of KPI regulation have not successfully changed the media perspectives in looking at “LGBT” issues from the human rights standpoint. This also shows how strong KPI policy influence is on television newsrooms in the context of LGBT issue. As a result, policies to not give room for “LGBT” groups on broadcasting media—television and radio—will further restrict the Indonesian public’s understanding of the reality of sexual diversity in society.

Chapter 4

Online Media and LGBTQ Issues: Speed, Humanitarianism, and Need for Click

The prolific growth of online media in Indonesia illustrates the inevitable competition among this type of media. It is estimated that there are currently over 43,000 online media in Indonesia. (https://dewanpers.or.id/publikasi/opini_detail/173/Media_Online_Perlu_Berbenah_Diri). It is a fantastic figure considering the declining trend of online media consumption, particularly news portals, in the country. The Indonesian audience tends to access their news through social media. (https://kominfo.go.id/index.php/content/detail/5421/Kemkominfo%3A+Internet+Jadi+Referensi+Utama+Mengakses+Berita+dan+Informasi/0/berita_satker). Online media began to crop up in Indonesia following the 1998 reform, starting with Detik.com. Tapsell, R. (2017) argued that online media had transformed the way news is delivered. While journalism is required to incorporate the 4W + 1H elements, online media had pruned off why and how, leaving the content with only who, when, and where.

The proliferation of online media had then proceeded to transform their newsroom policies. It is therefore significant for us to understand how online media are supposed to behave and perform their duties with regard to “LGBT” issues. Some online media openly welcomed the request for an in-depth interview from the team of researchers. These media are Suara.com, Kompas.com, Liputan6.com, and Tempo.co. Other media outlets like Kumparan.com had trouble receiving requests for interviews, while others like Detik.com declined outright without providing any explanation for the refusal.

4.1. Policy changes regarding journalists and content creator

In general, “LGBT” news with negative overtones on online media is the result of the lack of understanding of gender diversity on the part of the journalist or media worker. Take for instance, the way a bisexual celebrity was labeled weird in the eye of the public. People who identify as bisexuals are often branded as greedy and a lawbreaker, some might even consider it a social deviance. Such statements only serve to reinforce the public stigma of “LGBT” groups (Nurhajati, 2019). And this condition persists to this day as online media continue to flourish in Indonesia.

In general, with the recent growth of online media, the media’s existence is no longer determined by their journalism alone, but also by the shifting newsroom policies. Among these changes is the inclusion of writers who are categorized as content creators in the newsrooms. So media newsrooms are populated not only by journalists but also content creators.

The researchers observed an interesting trend whereby on average the online media that participated in the study have a blurred distinction between news-producing journalists and news-producing content creators. Content creators are tasked with drawing viewership:

“The special division came up with the formula to reel in the viewers. As I have said, we have a special team in Yogya for that. The other orientations go under that same umbrella but we are now localizing them, creating sub-domains for hits news with a team of its own and their own coordinator. This creates some newsroom chaos, since we can’t tell the difference [which piece belongs to which team]. The least we could do was to remind them of the rules [for instance] to not discredit women. The same goes with LGBT [issues] because on social media there is no such thing [as editors]. This is where we make sure we treat marginalized groups with sensitivity. We cannot have the team create content for us by breaking

the law. So even though they are called content creators, there are some editorial elements going on [with their work].”

-Reza Gunadha, Suara.com assistant managing Editor

Even though they are also tasked with producing news, content creators have their own policies that the newsroom cannot interfere with.

Kompas.com representative said that online media have the unique and distinct character of requiring clicks from visiting readers. Kompas.com, however, denounces the term clickbait, which they declare is different to being clickable, which is a part of Kompas.com policy.

“Clickbait is forbidden, clickable is a must. We have to distinguish between clickability and clickbait. Clickbaits are stories that deceive the public. Clickability, however, is a must since it is the nature of online platforms to get clicks. So we must be clickable. And there are ways [to achieve that] that we have formulated on our own. If a story isn’t getting any clicks then the writer has failed because the message isn’t getting across. The writers have to understand that newspaper-style writing isn’t clickable. The message may be important, so it has to somehow get across.”

(Johanes Heru Margianto, Kompas.com Managing Editor)

Kompas.com has a relatively varied style in news reporting. A closer look at their website will show that Kompas.com also uses journalistic style for various marketing purposes.

For instance, they have Brandview (a soft-selling educational advertisement product written in Kompas.com journalism standards and language style), Kilas (Brandview derivative product geared at introducing the potentials of specific local government, cabinet ministry, and state-owned enterprise), Jixie (offering news selections tailored to the reader’s preference and interest), and others.

Journalism style writing with click garnering approach through the use of content creator was also the strategy used by oleh Liputan6.com

“We have two content creators, one for advertising, and the other in Yogya. We have only fairly recently hired these content creators due to demands made by SEO, Google algorithm, and others, which make having a content creator a must.”

(Elin Yunita Kristanti, Liputan6.com deputy editor-in-chief)

Realistically, it has to be admitted that online media independence may turn out to be relatively fragile when faced with the issue of chasing clicks. Production of independent stories that provide the public with an understanding of diversity while giving minority groups, particularly “LGBT” ample room in the content of the media, may have faltered when everything is measured by public preference.

Suara.com has also recruited content creators due to the pressure faced by every online media outlet to garner clicks. They are, however, bound by certain unwritten conditions. For instance, they are forbidden from writing about sadism, etc.

Details of the complexity of garnering clicks were laid out by Kompas.com managing editor.

“[Let’s say] there was an explosion in Thamrin, so you go on Google and type ‘Thamrin bomb’. So what does this mean in the context of news quantities? To win the battle on Google we need quantities because the algorithm works by stacking [one story over another]. So if there are ten identical news stories, not all of them will end in clicks for us. People might find the news on Facebook, others on Google, others from WhatsApp, others might find it elsewhere. So that’s how we reach out to the audience using the same story. The way I see it, we are not exploiting the news that way. There are thousands of

stories. Who can swallow all of the news on Kompas.com, and that's only from one online media outlet. We haven't talked about the Pikiran Rakyat that's churning out 20,000 news pieces. People would have to make their own selection to get their news.. This battle [for prominence] on Google makes it necessary to increase the quantity of the news. And there are patterns on how people consume the media, some in the morning, some in the afternoon, some at night, some the next day. Sometimes today's popular news stories are stories we barely know how they happened. We have Google analytics where we can monitor which stories are getting read today. And usually the news that Google analytics says are getting read are yesterday's news, not today's story. I personally have no idea what route is taken by information dissemination, if yesterday's news could become popular [today] and could be duplicated. So that's roughly what the online media landscape looks like."

(Johanes Heru Margianto, Redaktur Pelaksana Kompas.com)

Dependence on clicks and viral issues makes the media become increasingly passive. They no longer have the power to influence public agenda as they cater to market preferences or even create discord. The high daily workload leaves journalists no time to conduct critical analysis and they tend to rely on sources from among public figures, government authority, public relation officers, and conversations on social media (Imaduddin., F, 2018). The media further fail in their educational and social control functions as the journalists have little room for discussion and training.

Our field study found that Tempo.co has strived to maintain a firewall separating news journalism from the use of the journalistic approach to draw advertisers and clicks. Nonetheless, Tempo.co has also hired information writers whose job character is more along the line of content creator.

“In our newsroom there is a quote unquote distinction between editorial staff who write the news on a daily basis and content creators who are on the lookout for trending issues. We are fully aware that people access Tempo.co not only to find news but also in search of information. For the news, obviously it is the editorial team that goes out on the field who look for it. There are not many of them in Tempo.co, only some 16-20 personnel. The content creators’ job is to repackage the news to highlight the information. They specialize in creating contents that are relevant to certain issues or historical dates, for instance the Heroes Day, the G30S upheaval, things that are widely discussed though they are no longer newsworthy as they happened in the past.”

(Anton Septian, Tempo.co executive director)

Another issue that requires more attention is the relatively few number of field journalists. They are saddled with the heavy workload of producing a large number of field reports, on average 10-12 stories daily. In general this causes the journalists to focus more on quantity, while quite possibly forgetting the quality of the stories they produce.

Kompas.com representative said that on average their journalists send between four to ten stories every day, depending on which desk they have been assigned to and whether or not they need to do research in the field. Tempo.co also requires their reporters to submit at least ten stories a day:

“Reporters on average [send] ten stories everyday, the more the better. The better the content, the more follow-ups there are, the more opportunities to get traffic. That’s generally how the math works in Tempo.co.”

Abdul Manan in an interview with Ross Tapsell quoted in the book *Kuasa Media di Indonesia: Kaum Oligarki, Warga, dan Revolusi Digital* (Media Power in Indonesia: Oligarch, Community and Digital Revolution) said that changes to the culture of daily reporting for journalists and editor were brought on by media focusing only on garnering clicks to attract online advertising.

In the context of reporting “LGBT” issues, such system may potentially marginalize communities of gender diverse and sexually non-normative individuals as newsrooms cast aside important and educational stories in favor of news that will bring the audience in.

Tapsell, R. (2017) said that online media have the tendency to recycle news that the audience finds interesting to reap as many clicks as possible. It is easy to find this on online media as their front page will have columns labeled with phrases such as “Popular News”, “Popular Tags”, “Most Comment”, “Popular”, etc. Therefore, in the context of “LGBT” reporting, if more people are clicking on stories that contain hate speech against the LGBTQ community, then the media would only expand on that hostility.

Imaduddin, F. (2018) in an article titled *Kegagapan Digital dan Bunuh Diri Perlahan Jurnalisme* (Digital illiteracy and the slow suicide of journalism) said that the responsibility to meet a sizable story quota is one of the factors that lead journalists into making news out of the most un-newsworthy topic, in their competition for the dwindling advertising crumbs.

This is where it becomes evident that some online media’s approach to reporting is dictated by the strive to win more clicks. The condition is counterproductive in the context of the main duty and function of the media and the press, which is to serve as the fourth pillar of democracy in Indonesia, alongside the executive branch/the government, the legislative branch/House of Representatives, and the judicative branch/the justice system.

4.2. Newsroom policy on reporting “LGBT” issue

The click-oriented reporting model of online media becomes even worse with the lack of newsroom policies on reporting issues related to the gender diverse and sexually non-normative community. In our interview with Kompas.com, they admitted to having no specific policies regarding the reporting of LGBT issues, as these are reported the same way as all the other topics, with emphasis on humanitarianism and without discriminating certain parties.

“We don’t see LGBT as something that is different, that we have to see them as ‘others’. In general they are accorded the same consideration, that the news should not discriminate against any of the objects of the story.”

-Johanes Heru Margianto, Redaktur Pelaksana Kompas.com

While admitting that there is no special policy or guideline on humanitarian and non-discriminatory reporting at Kompas.com. Heru Margiyanto said there are nevertheless a set of unwritten rules that have been agreed upon since they often come up at editorial meetings and briefings.

Tempo.co representative said that the online media have a set of policies for the reporting of “LGBT” issues. Tempo.co executive editor Anton Septian said that the portion for “LGBT” news is the same as that of other marginalized communities like people with disabilities. Though there is no written rule, he said that Tempo has space allocation for reports on “LGBT” issues. Tempo.co and Tempo newspaper may have a smaller space for “LGBT” issues, while Tempo magazine reserves a larger one. Anton Septian said that this has previously been demonstrated in Tempo’s journalism on the persecution of LGBT in Indonesia.

“Take Tempo magazine and Tempo newspaper. They have space for [minority] groups including the LGBT community. This was clearly evident in the newsroom’s stance against issues of persecution of LGBT individuals, such as what happened in 2017 in Aceh and several other locations, where the police became the tool [of some groups of people] to use against groups they did not approve of. We not only reported the incident, but we also criticized the policy taken by the police. We quoted the Constitution [where it is said] that everyone has the right to not be discriminated against, that everyone—even members of minority groups—has the right to live and to do anything as long as it doesn’t go against the law”

-Anton Septian, Redaktur Eksekutif Tempo.co

Having no written policies on the matter, Tempo journalists have resorted to reading cybermedia reporting guidelines. However, there are no special instructions in this guideline for reporting minority issues, like “LGBT”. So, according to Anton Septian, in reporting a case, Tempo finds a way to ensure that their sources are those closest to the incident and strive to strike a balance in getting male and female sources to interview.

Liputan6.com representative claimed that they have no specific policies in the context of “LGBT” issues reporting. In general he said that “LGBT” reporting is conducted from the humanitarian perspectives rather than to ridicule their position.

“When it comes to LGBT, the question whether to support them or not is very much a personal choice. But our official policy is to treat LGBT the way we treat other human beings, meaning they have rights that should not be discounted just because they choose a third gender. And we respect their

rights as human beings. We've run features about them and we treated them with respect, we didn't make fun of them."
-Elin Yunita Kristanti, Liputan6.com deputy editor-in-chief

Similarly, Reza Gunadha of Suara.com said that his media organization has no specific policies on how to report "LGBT" issues.

While the media stakeholders we interviewed claimed that their media outlet has guidelines for reporting, they were disinclined from showing the guidelines to the researchers since such manual are considered corporate secret.

4.3. Special police stations and need for speed

In reporting the "crime" involving "LGBT", the researchers found that online media still put the police as their main source of information. Tempo journalist Shinta Maharani said the police become the main source of information because a lot of the media believe that the police are decision makers in criminal cases. Shinta Maharani admitted that the media should also have referred to members of the "LGBT" community such as counselors or advocacy teams as an important or primary source of information since they are the ones subjected to the violence, but it turns out not many media are doing this. This is because the police have developed a longstanding network with the media. This is evident in the assignment of journalists to special police stations, indicating a deep trust in the police on criminal matters.

“The special police station has been developed for a long time by the media and the police. This is why the police are always the main source, because of this longstanding network”
-Shinta Maharani, Tempo journalist

It is no surprise therefore that in the persecution of the party guests in Kuningan, for instance, a lot of media relied on the police as their primary source and treated the police investigation report as their only source of facts and data in preparing the news the first time it was released. This put the police as an important authority to meet the need for speed in publishing the news.

Shinta Maharani said that another reason for this is the prevailing perception that “LGBT” as a group is still considered as the instigator of controversy by policy makers, such as the government. In addition, the media still consider “LGBT” a violation of religion and norms, and refrain from referring to them as an information source in incidents that happened to them.

In her experience, Shinta Maharani noticed a sense of trauma from members of “LGBT” groups due to the sensational overtones surrounding media reporting of “LGBT” issues. This led many LGBT groups to choose not to open up to journalists for fear that the information they share would be sensationalized to the point where it leads to the bullying of “LGBT” individuals.

Reza Gunadha of Suara.com shared the same observation. In reporting criminal cases against “LGBT” such as the persecution of the partygoers in the Kuningan apartment, the media still place the police as an important source and primary authority. The police are the important entity in possession of the data that the media need. Additionally, Suara.com does not want to be behind when preparing the news. If they did not have the data released by the police, while other media are writing about them, they would, as journalists would say, miss the boat.

Even so, Reza said that they went on to interview other parties that came up with their own data the day after the police released their investigation report. In the case of persecution of a party in Kuningan, Suara.com wrote about a statement released by a civil society organization a few days later. Reza said that today's media need speed in preparing their news. If civil society organizations were late in their response, then the media would not be able to write it in time. The online media have a need for speed in delivering the news to the public.

While Tempo also put the police in an authoritative position in criminal cases involving "LGBT", they claimed that they also conduct interviews with "LGBT" groups to hear their opinion on the matter. In addition to their reporting, Tempo also gives marginalized groups like "LGBT" the opportunity to speak in offline events such as the Tempo anniversary.

"We criticize the diminishing space for civil liberty under the Jokowi administration, so we raise those from vulnerable minority groups who are usually the main victims of this ever shrinking civil liberty, so they can speak. The majority group might be impacted by the narrowing of civil liberty, but for those [minority] groups it is felt as a disruption that makes them more vulnerable to persecution, and so on. We were trying to raise the issue of the diminishing civil liberties and we invite those who were harmed by the situation."

-Anton Septian, Tempo.co executive editor

Elin Yunita Kristanti of Liputan6.com admitted that putting the police as the primary source in criminal cases involving the "LGBT" community had sparked a debate in the newsroom. To settle this, the newsroom decided to also interview an observer. She said that it was difficult for them to interview members of LGBT community.

“Yes, it sparked a heated internal debate because our source were the police. We also interviewed a number of observers. But getting an interview with the victims was difficult, as they might not want to talk, and even if they did, it was difficult to get access to interview them. So we interviewed observers and House members who offer a different narrative from the one by the police.”

-Elin Yunita Kristanti, Liputan6.com deputy editor-in-chief

The police remain an important authority in the reporting of crime against “LGBT”, while in fact the report titled Laporan Bahaya Akut Persekusi LGBT (Report on the acute risk of LGBT persecution) issued by the legal aid agency LBH Masyarakat (2018) stated that law enforcement officials are the biggest perpetrators of persecution, second only to mass organizations. Listiorini, D. (2020) found that in stories about “LGBT” in four mainstream online media, the majority of chosen sources were parties who disapprove of “LGBT”.

In another issue, while a number of media outlets claim that they treat all events and sources equally, not all of them have put certain parties in their network of reporting. Providing the police with a special space in the media indicates that the media consider the police an important, authoritative part of their network. This will be evident in crime cases related to “LGBT” community. The media would rely on the police as their source, while treating the crime as a common incident without consulting sources who identified as gender and sexually non-normative. Such practice accords equal weight to both persecution and a common crime. This is evidence that in their line of work, journalists have yet to give equal weight to their sources in investigating the case and writing it.

This condition shows how important it is for the media to have newsroom policies on the balance of information sources, in this case, for example, the “LGBT” community.

4.4. Special training on “LGBT” issues

So far almost all of the media interviewed by Konde.co research team have declared that they have no specific policy on organizing a training on “LGBT” issues. Elia Yunita Kristanti said that newsrooms generally left the training to journalist organizations that provide training on a regular basis.

“We don’t have any specific training, no. But some of the staff who are members of Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) or other professional organizations took part in training provided by these organizations. But as to internal internal training, we don’t have that, especially now in the time of the pandemic. We used to invite people. Liputan6 opens its doors to minority groups like Ahmadiyah. We engage them in a discussion and ask them questions. But we have never done this with LGBT, not in the past two years. So we rely on AJI and other professional organizations to arrange training on relevant issues.”

-Elin Yunita Kristanti, deputy editor-in-chief Liputan6.com

Suara.com representative stated that his organization had organized a training following criticisms on their reporting of LGBT issues during a media and LGBT discussion organized by AJI Jakarta. Afterward, they claim to have become extremely cautious in their reporting. They have also invited LGBT and gender activists to give an understanding on this issue in response to the criticisms. However, Suara.com claims that they still have room for improvement, which is to align the perception of their journalists on the local level. To address this, they might employ one of the strategies that they have done before, which is to invite their local journalists to Jakarta.

4.5. Conclusion

To position news about “LGBT” on the same level with other stories is a flawed media policy that should not have been implemented in the reporting of “LGBT” issues. Likewise, giving the police sole authority on explaining crimes against “LGBT” indicates that the media accords the special privilege while failing to give the same space to the LGBT community. Meanwhile, the report titled *Laporan Bahaya Akut Persekusi LGBT* (Report on the acute risk of LGBT persecution) issued by the legal aid agency LBH Masyarakat (2018) stated that law enforcement officials are the biggest perpetrators of persecution, second only to mass organizations. Listiorini, D. (2020) also found that in stories about “LGBT” in four mainstream online media, the majority of chosen sources were parties who disapprove of “LGBT”.

In another issue, in their determination to not miss the boat when it comes to breaking news, media policies often position the police as an important source or primary authority in cases involving “LGBT”, with the assumption that the police have the authority on data on “LGBT crime”. This practice occurs because of the need for clicks and speed in reporting. This need has made the media become less critical in their reporting and see an incident from a single angle rather than from multiple perspectives, in this case the “LGBT” experience, by putting “LGBT” as the primary source of information about the incident.

The researchers also observed an injustice in the way an incident or a case is analyzed. The media should ideally be unveiling hidden messages, employ a critical approach to analyze material conditions and systems of ideology that reproduce the structure—in this case the police—and emphasize that nothing is neutral or value-free in any situation.

The researchers also noted that a number of media outlets had put the editorial team as the deciding party, along with the police, with power over the presentation data. The authority of the power flows from top to bottom

and continues to reproduce a series of meanings and social identities that serve the status quo.

In addition, leaving the education of journalists to professional organizations while neglecting to position the media as an important source of learning for their own journalists is another agenda that has to be addressed, as the media should have played an active role in educating their journalists. The media should engage in knowledge production, since with their power of production (journalists, reporters, editors, etc.) the media could become an agency capable of producing “knowledge”. Representation of homosexuals in the media is a reflection of the reality, policies and values of that particular society. If the predominant values in the society perceive homosexuality as wrong, the media would not stray from that perception in constructing the reality. The media should have played a significant role in education by instilling knowledge in their journalists.

Chapter 5

Sifting the Future for LGBTQ Journalists

Disclaimer: This CHAPTER contains the experience of six journalists who identified themselves as a part of the LGBT community. For their safety, the researchers from Konde.co will not disclose the identities of the six journalists (their names and the media where they work) in this report. Instead, the researchers have assigned a code for them: JR 1, JR 2, JR 3, JR 4, JR 5, and JR 6.

Journalist's Code	Type of Media Where They Work
JR 1	Mainstream media
JR 2	Alternative media
JR 3	Mainstream media
JR 4	Alternative media
JR 5	Mainstream media
JR 6	Mainstream media

In her thesis, Kartika Sihombing (2020) wrote that the latest condition of LGBT communities in Indonesia, especially trans women, is getting worse. The fear and rejection of the Indonesian people against gender and sexual identity outside the heteronormative system are responsible for this condition. This refusal, in the end, was responsible for turning the LGBT community into a vulnerable group. Moreover, in the book “Sexual and Gender Diverse Groups in the Middle of the Pandemic Storm: Between Vulnerability and Resilience” (2021), written by Arief Rahadian et al., discrimination against LGBT groups, in the end, brought a very significant effect on them. Nevertheless, the Covid-19 pandemic had made Indonesia’s ‘LGBT’ groups a target for violence, as described in a Crisis Response Mechanism (CRM) study.

In interviews with several policymakers, they claimed that their newsroom is inclusive, as explained by policymakers in CNN Indonesia TV and Liputan6.com.

“We do not have an open discussion with our friends at the newsroom who identify themselves as ‘LGBT.’ We already have a guideline, so regarding news coverage, the discussion will revolve around that. I have no idea which of my [colleagues] have LGBT sexual orientation. However, as long as they are productive and adapting well, they are the same as everyone else.” (Dewi Safitri, CNN Indonesia TV)

“We are pretty careful and do not force our journalists to come out. Some openly identify themselves as ‘LGBT,’ although being open does not necessarily mean they came out. So, if the party concerned wants to talk about it, we are open. If not, then it is okay. No further discussion is needed. So, when there is a story on the ‘LGBT’ issue, we usually follow our guidelines. No special treatment regarding such things. So far, none of the news that we publish needed particular terms. Nevertheless,

here we do our best to respect everyone's private lives.” (Yunizar, CNN Indonesia TV).

“To us, they are just like the others. If they do not know about it, we will not ask them to join the discussion. We think that they are the same as others. We do not see them as special, so same as the others. So far, there is no bullying in the internal newsroom against our friends [colleagues] who identify themselves as LGBT.” (Elin Yunita Kristanti, Liputan6.com)

Even though the policymakers at the media said that they are gender-inclusive, in reality, the journalists still felt that their editors are still far from it, as experienced by JR 3 and JR 5.

“So far, they never asked about my identity. They only asked about the topics that I wrote and worked on. Nevertheless, they never ask personal [questions. The only thing is, they often ask why I wear black nail polish. They always ask, ‘Why do you like wearing nail polish?’ I answered, ‘Why indeed? Nail polish has no gender.’” (JR 3).

“Organizationally, my media presented itself as a progressive media. However, there is a homophobic culture in the newsroom that manifested into jokes like, ‘You are such a sissy, hurry up!’, ‘Get [the news], do not be a sissy!’. Some of the transphobes crept into the [newsroom] policy. One of the things that I remember, one of my superiors brought up journalistic ‘balance’ to endorse a piece of news that marginalized LGBT.” (JR 5)

The source explained this ‘balance’ with the following account.

“I remember one incident³ when we were selecting the news from our contributors. I was uploading the main story, and then one of the contributors from Bandung [West Java] was 2016. The SGRC UI [University of Indonesia’s Support Group and Resource Center on Sexuality Studies] incident was still hot and had spread everywhere. The contributor sent a story on a mass organization demanding the West Java governor ban ‘LGBT’ activities. It was a copy and paste dump. The context for the event was unclear. It seemed that the journalist came to the organization’s headquarters and asked for a comment, and the comment was very generic. So I did not publish it. Then my superior said—one hour before that I had uploaded a news story from Arus Pelangi, to give them a voice—he said, ‘Only because you are pro-LGBT so you will not post news like this [the other story from a fundamentalist mass organization].’ He thinks that the other voices [anti-LGBT] had to be posted. I felt conflicted at the time while he was barking and pointing his finger at my face.” (JR 5)

The kind of ‘balance’ that extends a podium for groups that are against LGBT, according to Listiorini, D. (2020), was homophobic moral anxiety in the newsroom. The media spread fear and the feeling of being threatened in public regarding the existence of ‘LGBT’ communities. The media has framed ‘LGBT’ as a community not aligned with Indonesia’s religions and social norms.

In the end, such a homophobic atmosphere in a mainstream media newsroom caused trauma to the journalists. JR 4 told the researchers that he/she chose to work for a media focusing on gender and sexuality issues because it reminded of its university friend during their internship.

“I had already focused on gender and sexuality issues since college. By chance, I was interning at a media that focused on gender issues. I asked my friend who was interning at a mainstream media company one time. Coincidentally, I have a lesbian friend who decided to intern there. She was forced to write LGBT stories that were not inclusive. In the end, she was forced to write it. I have many friends with similar experiences. So they had to fight against their own identity in their media. So then I decided to work in a media that focuses on inclusion issues.” (JR 4)

journalistic work related to the ‘LGBT’ issue, however personally, he/she chose to distance his/herself from his/her office colleagues.

“We cannot trust everyone. They have different opinions. Basically, I am friends with everyone here, and I have to see first which ones I can talk to openly and which I cannot.” (JR 1)

Another issue that caused the different understanding of journalists in perceiving gender and sexual diversity is the lack of gender awareness classes in media, as pointed out by the media policymakers who were respondents of Konde. co’s research and the six anonymous interviews journalists. The respondent journalists know the gender and sexual diversity prior to working in the media.

“I have been open about being part of the ‘LGBT’ community since 2008/2009. Before working as a journalist, I was active in an NGO. In the past, they already knew that I was a lesbian. Then from 2012 to 2014, I started to identify myself as a trans man. I became a journalist starting last year, in February.” (JR 2)

“As far as I remember, I have never had training on gender and sexuality issues at work. So, I only read and discuss with many people. In the past, before working at my current media, I have worked at a radio station. I was hosting a program on sexuality, and my on-air partner was a woman whose husband was HIV-positive. From her and from that program, I met many people, had discussions with activists, aside from personal reading.” (JR 3)

“Actually, before working as a journalist in this media, I worked as a volunteer at an organization focusing on gender diversity issues. They educated me and made me learn about transgender communities’ lives in society. From there, I became aware and understood what was going on around me and their struggles. I realize that trans women communities are the most oppressed in society. From there, I understand that they are [living in a] circle of poverty because of their identity.” (JR 4)

The lack of knowledge owned by journalists resulted in an information imbalance between one journalist and the others. However, Gaunlett, D. (2018) mentioned that mass media was still an effective instrument to influence the public against gender stereotypes. Reviewing the 1999 Law No. 40 on Press, one of the functions of the Press was education and social control. The Press must educate the public to reduce discrimination against certain groups, not excluding the LGBT communities.

Unfortunately, ‘LGBT’ coverage in the Indonesian Press still often uses religious and normative framing (Luviana, 2013). The media often write about the hatred voiced by religious leaders towards ‘LGBT’ because the latter was not compatible with religious teachings. Meanwhile, from the normative perspective, the media write that ‘LGBT’ cannot live in Indonesia

because they are against the applied norms in Indonesia. Alinea (2018) found that the media in Indonesia, whether mass media or social media, still committed marginalization against transgender communities. They still perceived the people who identify with such groups as having a disorder or deviant. As demonstrated from the negative sentiment attached to the transgender communities, that was higher (35.7%) than positive sentiment (17.32%), and the rest, 46.98%, were neutral.

Benmetan, T. (2021) viewed that the Gender Sensitivity Indicator is needed so that journalists can be more sensitive regarding gender and related issues. So that journalists no longer write news full of stereotypes of the marginal gender. There is a void in many media newsrooms that should be filled with a white book or guideline on reporting gender-related issues, especially 'LGBT' communities. The lack of guidance has resulted in articles bound to each journalist's knowledge.

5.1. Limited Opportunity for Discussions in Newsrooms

The journalists testified that discussion about LGBT issues in the media was still "restricted." JR 5 shared his experience as a journalist. He was labeled as "exclusive" and refused to report on other topics since he frequently wrote about diversity issues, including gender and sexual diversity.

"I often write about diversity issues. However, my editor thought I did not want to write about other things. It is not that I do not want to write about other issues, but this is my specialty. If I were free to write about anything, of course, I would write about diversity issues. I do not have to explain my identity to anyone, but I will answer when someone asks. However, nobody ever asked. When writing about gender

and sexual diversity issues, we, as non-cis individuals, are constantly accused of having a specific agenda.”

Meanwhile, when the cis heterosexual people refused to write about ‘LGBT’ issues, that is an agenda to silence the existence of the ‘LGBT’ communities. So, I was often apprehended when writing about diversity issues.” (JR 5).

JR 6 also conveyed her wish to the media, where she wrote about ‘LGBT’ issues more progressively. However, the media where JR 6 worked explained that they did not want to attract public uproar and viewed that their approach was enough even though it is not perfect. Furthermore, the journalist said that the media worried that religious fundamentalist groups would attack them if they were any more progressive.

“To be more progressive, my media always consider that we are not a small publication. Unlike other progressive media that are not getting too much public attention with their news coverage. The editors think those progressive media will not change policies, unlike the media I work in. They argue that to become progressive, the media has to think about several things, including to what extent and for how long we can push a certain issue. In discussions with them, my argument was: ‘We will not see progress if we keep avoiding conflict.’ Because sometimes my editors equate a little debate with a full-blown quarrel.”

Meanwhile, there is a long process to be progressive. There has to be a continuous discussion that granting rights is a form of protection. In Indonesia, people always think granting [LGBT] rights is the same as religious blasphemy. The media does not have to reach a confrontational level—raising a fuss

every time an incident occurs. It can also be a short educational piece.” (JR 6)

However, unlike JR 5 and JR 6, who work as reporters—as a producer, JR 3 did not face any meaningful challenges regarding the limited opportunity for discussion in his media.

“Regarding the program that I produce, it was my idea. Actually, at the time, I was translating what kind of podcast my media would like to produce. [They] wanted to talk about human rights. What part of human rights can be appealing? So, we started with love. However, what kind of love, which people still rarely narrated about. Which has not been given a chance to be told or tell itself. So, that program was created. And then, the program attracted funds for the newsroom. So, they are happy. As long as [there is money], they are fine.”

From the interview with JR3 and comparing it with JR5 and JR6, the researchers saw a factor in their structural position that affects how far a journalist can be liberal in suggesting their ideas regarding LGBT topics to cover in their media editorials.

Although not all editors block off discussions on LGBT issues, out of the six journalists interviewed by Konde.co researchers, some claimed that their editors are pretty open for discussions. However, they agreed that the opportunity for discussion that they enjoy did not apply to all journalists, especially those who are gender diverse.

“I feel there is a relationship imbalance in other media’s newsrooms. For example, we cannot negotiate when they defend their keywords. However, in my office, those things are negotiable. For example, if we have an angle and would like to

talk about it to the editors, he would [give feedback] on making it better, more inclusive and constructive, comprehensive, complete with various news sources. Unfortunately, what I have is like a privilege when it should be an obligation of all editors. A good newsroom climate should be like that. If the editors are top-down, their journalists will not grow.” (JR 4)

“I think, in general, the media has not provided a safe space for ‘LGBT’ communities. However, if specific to several outside mainstream media, they are all right. They can provide a safe space for [members of] ‘LGBT’ communities to express or present themselves. Nevertheless, to create a safe space, the people’s perspective inside the media has to be corrected, including the instruments. The problem is that some media are not open enough for things like this. So, the journalist might not have the same perspective. I met several people who are like that. Editors should have a good perspective on ‘LGBT’ issues because it is useless when a journalist has a good perspective, but their editors do not. You cannot write accurately about this issue.” (JR 3)

To the Konde.co researchers, JR 3 and JR 6 said that the limited discussion on ‘LGBT’ was a setback. JR 3 said that she had learned about gender and sexual diversity since school. JR 3, who has worked as a journalist for more than ten years, said that such discussions on gender and sexual diversity in her high school were not taboo.

“I was quite lucky because, in [my] high school, discussions like this were already introduced. Even though not directly during lessons, such as [mandatory counseling], the students were open to discussing that. My friends and I used to have movie sessions at school every once a week to watch independent

movies. One of the scenes in the movie was a woman who was pleasuring herself, and the camera panned down to show that she had a penis. A teacher was watching with us, but she did not overreact.” (JR 3)

JR 6, in an interview with Konde.co, said that discussions regarding ‘LGBT’ issues in her office started to dwindle after 2015.

“After 2015, my media became very normative. They admitted that and acknowledged this as a problem. I also talked with a friend at SEJUK and told them why we did not cover LGBT issues anymore. I asked them to come to my newsroom and have a chat. [SEJUK] was aware that my media did not wish to stand out. This kind of approach happened in all issues, not just the controversial ones.” (JR 6)

Listiorini, D. (2020), in her Dissertation titled “Regime of Truth Media in Moral Panic,” said that in the 1960-1990s, the media still provided discussion opportunities about gender diverse and non-normative sexuality individuals or groups. Listiorini mentioned that in the 1970s until the early 1980s, many news reports on gender diverse and non-normative sexuality narrated the trans women without revealing anything on the issues of morality, especially religion. A Human Rights Watch Report (2016) titled “This Game of Politics Destroyed Our Lives: LGBT Groups in Indonesia Under Threat” explained that since early 2016, government officials had been making a string of anti-LGBT statements. The public statements had then developed into threats and hate speech against the LGBT in Indonesia. Journalists then amplified the government’s hate speech through their reporting. In 2016, mass media, especially online, was filled with hate speech against LGBT. They discussed it in a variety of topics, perspectives, and interests (Listiorini et al., 2019)

5.2. Challenges from outside the media

Journalists who covered gender and sexual diversity issues and identified themselves as non-normative face roadblocks in their career (internal media) and from outside their media. JR 2, for example, as a trans man, often experienced misgendering or when someone is assigned an incorrect pronoun that does not reflect the gender with which that person identifies. JR 2 said he had to correct the wrong pronouns repeatedly, but some callers did not want to rectify it.

“I am open with my identity, but I often experience misgendering, which is annoying. They call me ‘mbak’ [miss]. If it only happens once or twice, I can understand, but it is not pleasant if repeated. The majority who commit misgendering are males. My female friends can usually change to mas [older brother] or kak [brother]. If someone commits misgendering, I will correct them, from [telling them] jokingly to annoyed. One time, a friend from NGO called me ‘mbak’ when I told him that I was male and asked him to call me with male pronouns.

Nevertheless, he did not want to. So, I ask him, ‘Do you want me to call you a monkey?’ Now he has changed. He does not call me ‘mbak’ anymore.” (JR 2)

JR 1 had also faced obstacles outside his work circle, which was his readers. It occurred when he produced research related to the LGBT issue. When the result of the research was posted in the official social media account of his workplace, JR 1 immediately received negative responses from the netizens. They attacked his identity. In addition, some readers reviled him regarding his racial identity.

“When the article was published, nothing much happened. Nobody attacked me. However, afterward, the article was turned into a video and uploaded to social media. Wow, it received many comments: ‘This is not allowed by our religion,’ ‘LGBT is worrisome.’ They even attacked me as a person. ‘Are not you are a [certain race]? Why would you write on such a topic? Meanwhile, at the time, it was not even in-depth research. It only showed how the society perceived [LGBT], it did not directly say LGBT is not against or blasphemed a religion.”

Rio Tuasikal, in his article titled “Journalists’ Experience in Covering LGBT: Perceived as Gay and Published Garbage Stories,” that *Konde.co* published also narrated the challenges from the people who read his journalistic works. Rio said that the stories he wrote were often commented as hogwash by the audience even though he believed they were good quality journalism.

When writing about gender and sexual diversity, challenges from outside the media still often occur in Indonesia. Such as the banning of the Student Press SUARA USU by the North Sumatera University rectorate, which is still fresh in our memories. The rectorate had banned the Student Press after they published a short story titled, “When Everyone Denied My Existence Around Him.” The students even filed a motion against the North Sumatra University for the USU Rectorate decree that dismissed everyone in *Suara Usu*’s organizational structure. However, the judges at Medan State Administrative Court denied it. In their ruling, the judges said the article or short story that the students published caused a polemic in the society.

5.3. Conclusion

The Press, which should have been an instrument to achieve equality, has not yet become a safe space for 'LGBT' communities. Based on an in-depth interview conducted with journalists who belong to non-normative gender and sexual identities, the researchers found that the homophobic and transphobic cultures are still ingrained in newsrooms. This culture made it uncomfortable for those journalists. Furthermore, it occurs not only in social activities in the newsroom but also in the journalists' social circle that normalized this homophobic culture has impacted their reporting. As a result, the media hid behind journalistic 'balance' to conform with the narratives that constrained 'LGBT' communities.

Inclusivity, which should be in all newsrooms, needs to be fought for. Unfortunately, the media still "restrict" discussion opportunities regarding 'LGBT' issues. Journalists with concerns on diversity issues were labeled as 'exclusive' and perceived as disinclined to cover other topics. Nevertheless, when they started a discussion in their respective newsrooms just as JR 6 did, the policymakers in the media where she worked were afraid to voice gender and sexual diversity from a more progressive perspective. Editors in mainstream media have significant public power, yet they are worried about being attacked by fundamentalist religious groups.

From the interviews, the researchers found that both the journalists who cover gender and sexual diversity issues and those who belong to non-normative gender and sexual identities also experienced violence outside their media. JR 2, for example, as a journalist who identified himself as a trans man, often faced misgendering. Meanwhile, JR 1 received insults from netizens when the article he wrote was turned into a video by his editors. In addition, JR 1 was also slighted based on his race when the video was published.

BAB 6

Conclusion

This study found a concerning state of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) situation with the media, for instance the television stations policy to comply with the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) regulation prohibiting the portrayal of LGBT in broadcasting programs. Television media are in terror of getting their permit revoked for not complying with KPI regulation. The media are expected to be able to break down policies that are discriminating LGBT community, not taking side with an institution or a state that perpetrates discrimination against a particular group.

The study also concluded that in crime reporting, the media still position the police as the authority on LGBT life. For instance, the police become an important subject in the criminalization of LGBT, even when this community are the victims of the crime. The police control the narratives about LGBT community, with only a handful of media giving the community the space to represent themselves. And even so, the space accorded the LGBT community is smaller compared to that reserved for the police.

Pressures on media reporting of LGBT community stem from a number of elements:

- 1) Clicks on online media,
- 2) The race to be the first to produce news story,
- 3) Rules from the regulating bodies in charge of the media, including the KPI.

In general, the study showed that the media participating in this research: are extremely cautious in making policies regarding LGBT issues; have yet to consider LGBT issues important, and do not have procedural policies on these particular issues in their newsroom. In addition to regarding LGBT issues as criminal issues and dismissing the issue of discrimination as a

common issue, this is a serious indication of how the media contribute to perpetuating the discrimination.

Based on the analysis on the reporting of three separate incidents: the immolation of a transwoman named Mira in Cilincing; the garbage prank by Youtuber Ferdian Paleka, and persecution of partygoers in Kuningan Apartment, it is apparent that the media are still engaging in marginalization of gender diverse and sexually non-normative communities. They use the same pattern of marginalization on LGBT community, which by using word choice with negative connotations and by limiting their sources to official authority.

Discrimination also happens in the newsroom, against journalists who identify as LGBT, along with verbal abuse such as the use of the word *banci* (transvestite) which shows that the struggle not takes place in the media content and the newsroom policies, but also in the working environment in the newsroom.

Based on these findings, the researchers proposed the following recommendations:

First, encourage the media to have policies that are compliant with prevailing human rights statutes in Indonesia, including non-discriminatory treatment of minority groups such as LGBT, since one of the functions of the media to campaign for non-discrimination, as stipulated in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), that may also apply to minority groups.

Second, it is important that newsroom decision makers and journalists be educated on SOGIE-SC and patriarchy to equip the media with the power of perspectives.

Third, it is important to advocate for the reform of the state and state institutions such as the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) to put an end to actions that inspire fear of LGBT issues among the media.

Fourth, the Press Council as the institution with the authority to facilitate the press and journalism should encourage newsrooms to be more fair in their treatment of gender diverse and sexually non-normative communities. This may be achieved by designing a gender-sensitive reporting guideline. The Press Council can examine the existing guidelines for journalists covering LGBT, published by the Women's Journal Foundation and Ardhanari.

In addition the aforementioned recommendations, the researchers proposed a follow-up study to facilitate the development of media newsroom policies and strategies for non-discriminatory treatment of the LGBT community.

Biography of the researchers and writers

Widia Primastika, a journalist currently working at Konde.co. after stints with mainstream media such as Tirto.id and Kantor Berita Radio (KBR). Interested in learning and reporting gender and sexuality issues, as well as mental health. Has some researched such as journalist knowledge about suicide issues, sexual harrasment among journalist, etc.

Marina Nasution, Former television journalist. Currently an associate managing editor of Konde.co. She is interested in the topics of journalism, Islamic feminism, the environment, and the cosmos. Incidentally, she is interested in reading various books related to parenting to become an 'aware' mother for her beloved son. Citradaya Nita Fellowship winner in 2018 and received several reporting fellowships related to human rights, data journalism, women, and the death penalty. Recently, together with her colleague Widia Primastika, she had the opportunity to become a writer in the edition of the Women's Journal of Working Women in Crisis and Technological Change.

Dina Listiorini, lecturer and researcher at Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta. Teaches communication, sexuality and gender diversity. Has completed her doctoral studies at Universitas Indonesia with a dissertation on LGBT and media.

Lestari Nurhajati, completed his doctoral education in Communication Science, FISIP UI. independent researcher working on media studies and digital literacy. Currently also a lecturer at the LSPR Institute of Communication and Business.

Luviana, After more than 20 years as a journalist in some mainstream media, he is now the Chief Editor of Konde.co, and a part-time lecturer in Jakarta. Her pedagogy is in writing media issues, women, and minorities. Received the Tasrif Award from the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) and the LBH Jakarta Award from the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) for the issue of freedom.

Reka Kajaksana, writer and journalist. “Writing is the way of the ninja for me.”

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