



Media Representation of Gender and Non-Normative Sexual Diversity Groups

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Abstract

This study examines how the media represents gender and non-normative sexual diversity groups based on news coverage of the ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week (AAW). A qualitative approach was employed, utilizing the critical constructionist paradigm and Entman's framing analysis as the data analysis technique. Analysis of 20 news articles from five Indonesian media outlets revealed the following findings: detik.com, tribunnews.com, and cnnindonesia.com were unsupportive of the existence of gender and non-normative sexual diversity groups, whereas kompas.com and kumparan.com maintained a neutral stance on this issue. Media outlets employed religious, normative, and market-oriented perspectives in representing these groups in their news products. Four forms of stigma toward these groups were identified in media coverage: (1) contradictory to religion and morals, (2) deviance, (3) incompatibility with Indonesian law and culture, and (4) association with disease. Furthermore, not all media adhered to the Indonesian Press Council's Guidelines for Reporting on Diversity Issues in their reporting on gender and non-normative sexual diversity groups. The media played a significant role in shaping societal perspectives on these groups through news coverage that led to widespread actions.

Penelitian ini menggambarkan bagaimana representasi media terhadap kelompok keragaman gender dan seksual non-normatif melalui pemberitaan ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week (AAW). Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan paradigma konstruksionis kritis, serta menggunakan analisis pbingkaihan dari Entman sebagai teknik analisis data. Dari lima media yang diteliti didapatkan 20 berita mengenai AAW. Hasilnya bahwa media detik.com,

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tribunnews.com dan cnnindonesia.com tidak mendukung keberadaan kelompok keragaman gender dan seksual non-normatif. Sedangkan media kompas.com dan kumparan.com netral terhadap keberadaan kelompok ini; Media menggunakan perspektif agama, normatif dan pasar dalam merepresentasikan kelompok keragaman gender dan seksual non-normatif ke dalam produk pemberitaan; Ditemukan 4 bentuk stigma kepada kelompok keragaman gender dan seksual non-normatif dari pemberitaan media. Yaitu: bertentangan dengan agama dan moral, menyimpang, tidak sesuai dengan hukum dan budaya Indonesia, serta penyakit; Belum semua media menerapkan Peraturan Dewan tentang Pedoman Pemberitaan Isu Keberagaman dalam pemberitaan isu keragaman gender dan seksual non-normatif; Media berhasil mengkonstruksi pandangan kelompok keragaman gender dan seksual non-notmatif di masyarakat menjadi pemberitaan yang menggiring tindakan massif.

Introduction

This study aims to explore how the media represents gender and non-normative sexual diversity groups through the coverage of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week (AAW). Indonesia, as a nation, guarantees the right of every individual to equal treatment in practicing religion or beliefs, expressing themselves, associating, assembling, and voicing opinions. These rights are enshrined in the fourth principle of Pancasila, Article 28D paragraph (1), and Article 28E paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia.

However, in reality, not all Indonesian citizens enjoy these rights. The freedom to associate, assemble, and express opinions is often denied to gender and non-normative sexual diversity groups. This is evident in several cases involving these groups. For instance, in 2022, a student at Hasanuddin University in Makassar faced discrimination from their lecturer after revealing their gender identity (Rusdianto, 2022). Similarly, in 2023, the ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week (AAW) was canceled in Indonesia after organizers faced rejection, security threats, and doxing (Wiputri, 2023).

The Alliance of Independent Journalists (*Serikat Jurnalis untuk Keberagaman* or SEJUK, 2023) revealed that AAW serves as a platform for dialogue with marginalized groups, including those discriminated against based on their sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, and sex characteristics (SOGIESC). Despite this, the rejection and threats directed at AAW demonstrate that gender

and non-normative sexual diversity groups are denied the right to assemble and express opinions. The threats faced by organizers further highlight the absence of mechanisms to ensure the safety of these groups (Wiputri, 2023).

The sequence of events began with an online petition created by Nisa (2023), which garnered 6,892 signatures and was shared 134 times on Facebook. Rejection continued on social media with the viral movement #RejectAAW. Narratives opposing AAW were also voiced by several institutions and political figures, culminating in death threats and the dissemination of the organizers' personal information (SEJUK, 2023).

The Alliance of Independent Journalists (*Aliansi Jurnalis Independen* or AJI) Indonesia stated that this rejection and the accompanying threats were influenced by discriminatory media coverage of AAW, which often amplified hate narratives. Many media outlets disregarded the Guidelines for Reporting on Diversity Issues issued by the Press Council by citing sources that perpetuated hateful and threatening rhetoric, including terms such as “expel” and “deviant” (SEJUK, 2023).

Given AJI's statement, this study seeks to examine how the media represented AAW in its coverage. This research is essential to illustrate that media in Indonesia still lacks inclusivity when reporting on gender and non-normative sexual diversity groups. This is despite journalistic practices being expected to adhere to Press Council regulations rooted in the ideology of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

The study aims to provide insights into the media representation of gender and non-normative sexual diversity groups in Indonesia. It is also intended to serve as an update and complement to previous studies on media framing of these groups.

The research employs a qualitative method with a critical constructionist paradigm. This approach combines two perspectives. The first, constructionist, which examines stereotypes, prejudice, and injustices related to race, ethnicity, and gender while seeking to uncover hidden meanings (Crotty, 2003). The second, critical, which analyzes material conditions and ideological systems that reproduce class and economic structures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017).

The primary data for this study consists of news texts from five media outlets covering AAW: detik.com, kompas.com, tribunnews.com, cnnindonesia.com, and kumparan.com, chosen based on the top five most-visited media websites in 2023 (We Are Social, 2024). Secondary data were gathered from various sources, including books, journals, articles, and previous research related to media representation and

gender and non-normative sexual diversity groups. The data were analyzed using Entman's framing analysis technique.

The Concept of Media Representation and Social Construction

Discussions about roles are closely tied to the media's ability to shape human knowledge, opinions, and perspectives through its content, regardless of its form. Media, with its production power, can create "knowledge"—a capacity referred to in media communication studies as 'media representation.' Hall (1997) defines media representation as the process by which media produces meanings represented through language, symbols, or images.

Hall (1997) further identifies three approaches to media representation. First, the reflective approach, where the production of meaning lies in the objects, individuals, ideas, or events existing in the real world. Second, the intentional approach, where language, symbols, or images produced only express the personal intentions of the media. Lastly, the constructionist approach, which focuses on how society collectively agrees to assign meaning to messages represented through language, symbols, or images.

Hall's approaches link media representation to social construction, which is society's consensus in assigning meaning to something. Berger and Luckmann, as cited in Littlejohn and Foss (2009), explain that social construction is humanity's effort to shape the world through words, actions, and media products. Hernawati et al. (2023) add that the reality of social construction is built by individuals through their interpretations of the surrounding world. Thus, human perspectives on various phenomena are not objective but are shaped by complex social and cultural processes.

McQuail (2011) outlines three essential elements of social construction. The first is language, which is used to communicate meaning and values. Second, social structures contribute to determining the norms and rules governing societal behavior and perspectives. Third, social actions, such as jokes, stereotypes, and narratives, play a role in shaping social reality.

The Concept of Gender Diversity and Non-Normative Sexualities

The concept of gender diversity and non-normative sexualities represents sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, and sex characteristics (SOGIESC).

Previously, this concept was encapsulated in the acronym LGBT. Gender refers to traits attributed to men or women that are socially and culturally constructed. These traits can be interchangeable, evolve over time, vary across locations, or differ among social classes (Fakih, 1996).

Oetomo (2024) elaborates that gender identity refers to an individual's deeply felt internal experience of gender, which may align or conflict with the sex assigned at birth, including one's feelings toward their body. Oetomo categorizes gender identities into man, woman, and genderqueer (nonbinary), while classifying feminine, masculine, and androgynous as gender expressions. Gender expression encompasses how individuals display gender through gestures, clothing, speech, and other attributes (Oetomo, 2024).

In anthropology, the concept of sex differs from gender. Oakley, as cited in Artaria (2016), defines sex as the biological differences in form, function, and role in reproduction between men and women. Sex is fixed and unchangeable. Oetomo (2024) classifies sex into male, female, and intersex (individuals born with sexual and reproductive anatomy that does not fit typical male or female definitions).

Gender and sexual orientation are also distinct. The Human Rights Campaign, as cited in Willey et al. (2023), defines sexual orientation as an enduring romantic, emotional, or sexual attraction to others. Goldberg (2016) describes it as an individual's tendency to form sexual attractions toward the same gender (homosexual), the opposite gender (heterosexual), or both genders (bisexual). This concept differs from sexual identity and behavior.

Oetomo (2024) explains sexual identity as a term describing social movements of orientations beyond heterosexuality. Commonly referred to as LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or questioning, and another diverse gender identity), this identity represents diverse social groups. Goldberg (2016) categorizes sexual identities as follows:

1. Lesbian: Refers to the identity of individuals assigned female at birth who are romantically, emotionally, or sexually attracted to other individuals assigned female at birth.;
2. Gay: Refers to the identity of individuals assigned male at birth who are romantically, emotionally, or sexually attracted to other individuals assigned male at birth.;

3. **Bisexual:** Refers to the identity of individuals assigned male or female at birth who are romantically, emotionally, or sexually attracted to individuals of both male and female genders.
4. **Transgender:** Refers to the identity of individuals whose gender role—and potentially their physical sex—differs from the sex assigned to them at birth, as recorded on their original birth certificate.
5. **Queer:** Refers to the identity of individuals who do not wish to be limited by the LGBT framework, considering gender and sexual identity to be indeterminate and dynamic;
6. **Another Diverse Gender Identity ('+')**: Used to refer to those with sexual identities that extend beyond gay, lesbian, transgender, and queer classifications.

Given the evolving nature of sexual identities, the acronym LGBTQ+ continues to adapt. Consequently, alternative media in Indonesia often uses the term non-normative sexualities to encompass this fluidity.

Previous Studies on Media Representation of Gender Diversity and Non-Normative Sexualities

Luviana (2016) analyzed how media reported on “LGBT.” The study found that media adopted four perspectives in reporting LGBTQ+ issues: religious, normative, market-driven, and critical. The religious perspective often associated LGBTQ+ with religious authorities, portraying them as sinners destined for hell. The normative perspective viewed LGBTQ+ as a group violating societal norms. The market-driven perspective treated LGBTQ+ as a sensational issue for commercial purposes, using clickbait headlines. Lastly, the critical perspective analyzed LGBTQ+ issues within the broader contexts of citizenship, society, and religion.

Research on LGBTQ+ media coverage has also been conducted by Zakiah & Az Zahra (2017) and Teresia (2019). Zakiah & Az Zahra examined online media coverage in Indonesia regarding stigma and discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community from January to December 2016. From 70 online media outlets, 303 news articles were identified. The study revealed 12 forms of stigma in 182 media reports during that year. Discrimination was also frequently experienced by the LGBTQ+ community in 2016, with 25 types of discrimination identified across 98 analyzed media reports. Teresia updated this research by examining LGBTQ+

news coverage from January to December 2018. Among 69 online media outlets, 170 news articles were collected, revealing 17 forms of stigma, including framing LGBTQ+ individuals as contrary to religion and morals, deviant, corrupting youth, incompatible with Indonesian law and culture, dangerous, a cause of HIV/AIDS, a disease, a cause of natural disasters, a divine punishment, mentally disturbed, liberalist, a national security threat, immoral, contagious, equated with terrorism and murder, part of a global political movement, and disgusting. The study also found that such stigmatization led to discrimination, hatred, and violence against LGBTQ+ individuals.

Primastika et al. (2022) supported these findings by analyzing 10 media outlets—okezone.com, tribunnews.com, kompas.com, detik.com, liputan6.com, merdeka.com, grid.id, suara.com, kumparan.com, and pikiran-rakyat.com—based on three news articles about LGBTQ+ issues published between March 2020 and February 2021. The results showed that the majority of the media tended to perceive incidents involving LGBTQ+ individuals merely as criminal cases, rather than as issues of discrimination. Additionally, negative word choices and limited sources—primarily from official authorities—were evident in the coverage.

Further research on the framing of LGBTQ+ issues in media was conducted by Abdillah (2017); Lingga & Syam (2018); Mashuri (2021); Hamidah et al. (2023); and Hernawati et al. (2023). Abdillah focused on how kompas.com framed LGBTQ+ issues, using Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's social construction of reality theory and Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model to analyze three news articles. The study found that kompas.com framed LGBTQ+ individuals as entitled to protection under the law, equal to other individuals, and refrained from reporting on LGBTQ+ issues from a religious perspective.

Similar to Abdillah, Lingga & Syam employed the same theoretical framework and analytical method to examine LGBTQ+ news coverage on Republika.co.id and tempo.co, analyzing six news articles from each outlet. republika.co.id represented LGBTQ+ individuals as a serious threat to the nation, deeming their behavior inconsistent with religious teachings, laws, and social norms in Indonesia. Conversely, tempo.co portrayed LGBTQ+ individuals as ordinary citizens, emphasizing human rights and the need for protection.

Mashuri examined LGBTQ+ news framing on republika.co.id and hidayatullah.com using Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's framing analysis. The study found that both media framed LGBTQ+ issues negatively through syntactic, script,

thematic, and rhetorical structures, viewing LGBTQ+ identities as deviant ideologies and strictly opposing their presence in Indonesia.

In contrast, Hamidah analyzed LGBTQ+ representation in detik.com using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, focusing on social structures, class, and social relations. The findings revealed that detik.com predominantly marginalized LGBTQ+ individuals, portraying them as deviant and vulnerable to discrimination.

Hernawati took a different approach by analyzing an alternative (small-scale) media outlet, konde.co, regarding LGBTQ+ issues. Utilizing social construction theory, minority conversion theory, and Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis, the study revealed that konde.co consistently employed positive language, inspirational narratives, and human rights arguments to support LGBTQ+ issues in its reporting.

From these five studies on LGBTQ+ news framing, it can be concluded that media such as republika.co.id, hidayatullah.com, and detik.com oppose LGBTQ+ existence, framing them as issues of religion, law, social norms, and morality. On the other hand, kompas.com, tempo.co, and konde.co view LGBTQ+ individuals as equal to others and legitimate members of society, emphasizing the protection of their rights and efforts to reduce discrimination.

Referring to these previous studies, this research updates the understanding of media representation of non-normative gender and sexual diversity by examining a specific case: the ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week. This update is essential to evaluate whether Indonesian media have implemented the Guidelines for Reporting on Diversity Issues issued by the Press Council, which has been in effect since 2022.

Framing analysis is a textual analysis technique categorized under constructionist research. This method is used to examine how ideologies or media construct events or facts (Hernawati et al., 2023). On the other hand, framing analysis conducted by the media is employed to persuade the audience about what to believe and what not to believe, effectively guiding them to view news from the media's perspective.

This study employs Entman's (1993) framing analysis, which identifies the primary dimensions of framing as selection and salience. Selection refers to the choice of issues, while salience emphasizes certain aspects of an issue, highlighting its problems, interpretations, moral evaluations, or recommendations. According to Entman in Primastika et al. (2022), media framing of news involves four components: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies.

Define problems	How the issue is perceived and explained. Typically, explanations are viewed from the perspective of general morality.
Diagnose causes	Examining the causes of the issue; identifying who or what is deemed responsible for the occurrence of the issue.
Make moral judgments	Offering specific moral values to explain or legitimize the issue.
Suggest remedies	Proposed solutions to address the issue or to close the matter. There is also consideration of whether the issue will have widespread impacts on society or not.

Figure 1.
Entman’s Framing Analysis in Media Reporting

Source: Primastika et al., 2022

Findings from Entman’s Framing Analysis of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week Reporting

The media’s representation of non-normative gender and sexual diversity groups can be observed through the framing of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week (AAW) news coverage. From five media outlets—detik.com, kompas.com, tribunnews.com, cnnindonesia.com, and kumparan.com—a total of 20 news articles were published between July 11 and 13, 2023.

Out of these 20 articles, researchers conducted an analysis based on Entman’s framing components: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies. Below is the analysis of news coverage regarding the cancellation of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week in Jakarta:

Table 1.
News Coverage on the Cancellation of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week in Jakarta

No	Media	Publication Date	Title	Problem Identification	Causal Interpretation	Moral Evaluation	Treatment Recommendation
1	detik.com	July 11, 2023	ASEAN LGBT Activists Plan to Gather in Jakarta, MUI Strongly Condemns It	ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week faced rejection by MUI	LGBTQ+ groups exhibit deviant behavior	Media portrays Indonesia as a religious country based on Pancasila	No recommendation provided by the media

No	Media	Publication Date	Title	Problem Identification	Causal Interpretation	Moral Evaluation	Treatment Recommendation
2	detik.com	July 12, 2023	ASEAN LGBT Activists Cancel Meeting in Jakarta	ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week was canceled in Jakarta	Media does not explain why the event was canceled	Media emphasizes the need for public event organizers to notify and obtain permission from law enforcement	No recommendation provided by the media
3	detik.com	July 12, 2023	HNW Calls on Government to Firmly Ban LGBT Propaganda Across ASEAN in Jakarta	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week received rejection from members of the legislative body, MPR.	LGBT is not considered a part of human rights recognized in Indonesia.	The media portrays Indonesia as having a constitutional basis for rejecting LGBT, referencing the first principle of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945), and Article 414 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP).	Based on an interview with HNW, the media suggests questioning the legal status of the ASEAN SOGIE Caucus organization and immediately discussing the Draft Bill on Anti-Propaganda of Sexual Deviations.
4	kompas.com	July 11, 2023	Polda Metro Jaya Investigates the Validity of Planned LGBT Community Event Across ASEAN	Information circulated widely online about the planned ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week to be held in Jakarta.	Polda Metro Jaya is investigating the validity of this information regarding the planned event.	The media highlights that any public gathering or event held in public spaces must notify and obtain permission from the police.	No recommendations were provided by the media.
5	kompas.com	July 12, 2023	Facing Security Threats, ASEAN LGBT Community Cancels Event in Jakarta	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week was canceled and not held in Jakarta.	The cancellation occurred due to threats from various parties, as well as to ensure the safety and security of participants and organizers.	The media describes how leaders of 11 ASEAN countries, including the Indonesian government, have created space for dialogue with LGBT groups	No recommendations were provided by the media.
6	kompas.com	July 12, 2023	Polda Metro Confirms ASEAN LGBT Community Event Was Not Held in Jakarta	Polda Metro Jaya confirmed the cancellation of the ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week event planned to be held in Jakarta.	Polda Metro Jaya verified the information circulating online about the planned activity.	The media emphasizes that any public gathering or event in public spaces must notify and obtain permission from the police.	No recommendations were provided by the media.
7	kompas.com	July 12, 2023	Amid Rejections and Threats, ASEAN LGBT Community Event Ultimately Canceled in Jakarta	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week event was canceled in Jakarta.	The event faced rejection and threats from various parties.	The media depicts the government's responsibility to ensure the rights of groups to express themselves and their views, as part of human rights that must be upheld for everyone.	No recommendations were provided by the media.

No	Media	Publication Date	Title	Problem Identification	Causal Interpretation	Moral Evaluation	Treatment Recommendation
8	tribunnews.com	July 11, 2023	Anwar Abbas Responds to the Issue of the ASEAN LGBT Community Meeting in Jakarta, Calls on the Government to Prohibit It.	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week has faced rejection from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).	The LGBTQ+ group is considered to have violated the Constitution, specifically Article 29, Clause 1 of the 1945 Constitution, which states that the country is based on the belief in One God.	The media portrays that Indonesia has laws and regulations that must be obeyed.	No recommendations are provided by the media.
9	tribunnews.com	July 11, 2023	MUI Vice Chairman Condemns the Planned LGBT Community Meeting in Jakarta, Urges the Government to Deny Permission.	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week has faced rejection from MUI.	The LGBTQ+ group is considered to have violated the Constitution, particularly Article 29, Clause 1 of the 1945 Constitution, which affirms that the state is based on the belief in One God.	The media illustrates that Indonesia has legal frameworks and rules that must be followed.	No recommendations given by the media.
10	tribunnews.com	July 12, 2023	Controversy Surrounds the LGBT Community Gathering in Jakarta, Member of Parliament: Close All Access and Permits	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week has been met with rejection by legislative officials in the DPR (Indonesian House of Representatives).	LGBT behavior is regarded as deviant and a source of public unrest.	The media depicts Indonesia as a nation with a Pancasila ideology that upholds the values of religious and cultural teachings.	The media provides recommendations based on an interview with Guspatri Gaus, who urges the Ministry of Communication and Information (<i>Kominfo</i>) to promptly regulate and block all LGBT campaigns on social media platforms.
11	tribunnews.com	July 13, 2023	Controversy Surrounds the ASEAN LGBT Activist Meeting, GNPF: Deviant Behavior, Needs Treatment	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week received opposition from the National Movement to Guard the Fatwas of the Ulema (<i>Gerakan Nasional Pengawal Fatwa Ulama</i> or GNPF).	The LGBTQ+ community is viewed as engaging in deviant behavior that requires treatment.	The media portrays LGBTQ+ as part of a propaganda campaign.	No recommendations provided by the media.
12	tribunnews.com	July 13, 2023	Backlash Against the ASEAN LGBT Activist Meeting in Jakarta: Event Relocated, Website and Instagram Privatized	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week faced rejection from legislative officials in the DPR (House of Representatives).	LGBTQ+ is considered a sexual and social deviation present in society.	The media depicts LGBTQ+ as violating human rights and dignity, specifically the rights to human preservation and civilization.	No recommendations were provided by the media.
13	tribunnews.com	July 13, 2023	Facts About the ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta: Polda Metro Jaya Confirms Cancellation, Who Are the Organizers?	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week was canceled in Jakarta	Following widespread rejection from various parties, prompting the organizers to cancel and relocate the event.	The media emphasizes that any public gathering must provide notification and obtain permission from the police.	No recommendations were given by the media.

No	Media	Publication Date	Title	Problem Identification	Causal Interpretation	Moral Evaluation	Treatment Recommendation
14	cnnindonesia.com	July 11, 2023	MUI Urges Government to Deny Permission for ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week received opposition from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).	The LGBTQ+ community is viewed as contradicting the values of religious teachings, particularly those of the six officially recognized religions in Indonesia.	The media portrays Indonesia as a country founded on the principle of belief in One God	No recommendations provided by the media.
15	cnnindonesia.com	July 11, 2023	Police Investigate Validity of ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	Widely circulated information online suggested that the ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week was planned to be held in Jakarta.	Polda Metro Jaya is investigating the validity of the event's plans.	The media highlights that all public gatherings must provide notification and obtain permission from the police.	No recommendations provided by the media.
16	cnnindonesia.com	July 12, 2023	ASEAN LGBT Meeting Canceled in Jakarta	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week faced opposition from legislative officials in the DKI Jakarta Regional Representative Council (DPRD).	The LGBTQ+ community is deemed incompatible with Indonesian culture, Pancasila, and religious values.	The media describes Indonesia as a nation with a Pancasila ideology that respects the values of religion and culture	No recommendations provided by the media.
17	cnnindonesia.com	July 12, 2023	Relocation of ASEAN LGBT Meeting for Safety Concerns	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week was canceled in Jakarta	To ensure the safety of both the organizers and participants.	The media provided no depiction or commentary regarding the group or event.	No recommendations provided by the media.
18	kumparan.com	July 11, 2023	MUI Urges Government to Reject ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week received opposition from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).	The LGBTQ+ community is viewed as contradicting religious values.	The media underscores that Indonesia has laws and regulations that must be adhered to	No recommendations provided by the media.
19	kumparan.com	July 11, 2023	<i>Gerakan Indonesia Beradab</i> Rejects ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week was opposed by the Civilized Indonesia Movement (<i>Gerakan Indonesia Beradab</i> or GIB).	The LGBTQ+ community is seen as contradicting Indonesia's legal, moral, and ideological principles based on belief in One God.	The media portrays LGBTQ+ as violating human rights and dignity, specifically the rights to human preservation and civilization.	No recommendations provided by the media.
20	kumparan.com	July 11, 2023	Amid Threats, ASEAN LGBT Meeting Canceled in Jakarta	The ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week was canceled in Jakarta	To ensure the safety of both organizers and participants.	The media provided no depiction or commentary regarding the group or event.	No recommendations provided by the media.

Source: Derived from primary data processing.

The majority of media outlets tend to frame the causal event (problem identification) as a controversial activity that faced widespread opposition and was ultimately canceled. This is evident in the headlines and titles used by the media, such as

detik.com's article published on July 11, 2023, titled *ASEAN LGBT Activists Plan to Gather in Jakarta, MUI Strongly Condemns*; tribunnews.com's report from July 13, 2023, titled *Uproar Over ASEAN LGBT Activists' Meeting Agenda, GNPF: Deviant Behavior, Needs Treatment*; and cnnindonesia.com's article on July 12, 2023, titled *ASEAN LGBT Meeting Canceled in Jakarta*. However, the researcher also identified an alternative representation by kompas.com, which emphasized security threats as a key factor leading to the cancellation of AAW. This is reflected in the article titled *Due to Security Threats, ASEAN LGBT Community Cancels Event in Jakarta*, published by kompas.com on July 12, 2023.

In terms of causal interpretation, media outlets attributed the rejection of AAW to the participation of gender and sexual diversity groups, particularly LGBTQ+ communities, which are perceived as deviant and contrary to Indonesia's ideology, religious values, and culture. This perspective is observed in 11 out of 20 analyzed news articles, such as tribunnews.com's report from July 13, 2023, titled *Uproar Over ASEAN LGBT Activists' Meeting Agenda, GNPF: Deviant Behavior, Needs Treatment*. However, the researcher found that kompas.com provided a different causal interpretation. kompas.com framed the cancellation of AAW as a result of the organizers facing rejection and threats from various parties. This framing is evident in kompas.com's article dated July 12, 2023, titled *When ASEAN LGBT Community Event Faces Rejection and Threats, It's Finally Canceled in Jakarta*.

Regarding moral evaluation, most media outlets portrayed gender and sexual diversity groups—LGBTQ+—as violating Indonesia's constitution and laws, particularly with respect to principles of belief in God Almighty. Consequently, opposition from political institutions or figures urged the government to cancel or deny permission for AAW to take place. The media seemingly normalized the denial of freedom of association and expression, which should be rights afforded to all Indonesian citizens. Conversely, kompas.com highlighted freedom of expression as a fundamental human right that must be upheld for gender and sexual diversity groups, consistent with Indonesia's laws.

In terms of treatment recommendations, detik.com and tribunnews.com both presented recommendations from political figures, suggesting the enactment of legal instruments under the 1945 Constitution that would prohibit gender and sexual diversity groups in Indonesia. This perspective is reflected in the narrative ...*In the national context, HNW also reminded and urged the government and DPR*

to immediately discuss the Draft Law on Anti-Sexual Deviance Propaganda... as reported by detik.com on July 12, 2023.

Findings on the Use of Diction and Sources in ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week Reporting

The researcher also analyzed the use of diction and sources in reporting on AAW. In line with Primastika et al. (2022), findings on diction and sources can serve as supplementary primary data to illustrate media representations of gender and sexual diversity groups. Below are the findings from the analysis of diction and sources in AAW reporting:

Table 2.
Use of Diction and Sources in ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week Reporting

No	Media	Publication Date	Title	Use of Diction	News Sources
1	detik.com	July 11, 2023	ASEAN LGBT Activists Plan to Gather in Jakarta, MUI Strongly Condemns	Deviant, reformed, disciplined, conflicting with Indonesian morals and religious values.	Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI)
2	detik.com	July 12, 2023	ASEAN LGBT Activists Cancel Meeting in Jakarta	Stirring public concern, verifying circulating information.	ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week organizers, Jakarta Police.
3	detik.com	July 12, 2023	HNW Urges Government to Ban ASEAN LGBT Propaganda in Jakarta	Justifying, liberal human rights, Western nations, constitutional rejection, sexual deviation, same-sex abuse, public order issues	Deputy Speaker of the MPR, Hidayat Nur Wahid
4	kompas.com	July 11, 2023	Polda Metro Jaya Investigates the Truth Behind Planned Event of ASEAN LGBT Community	Gathering	Polda Metro Jaya (Metro Jaya Regional Police Department)

No	Media	Publication Date	Title	Use of Diction	News Sources
5	kompas.com	July 12, 2023	Security Threats Force ASEAN LGBT Community to Cancel Jakarta Event	Relocation, security threats, dialogue, appreciation, human rights	Organizers of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week, Polda Metro Jaya
6	kompas.com	July 12, 2023	Polda Metro Confirms ASEAN LGBT Community Event Will Not Be Held in Jakarta	Verifying truth	Polda Metro Jaya, Organizers of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week
7	kompas.com	July 12, 2023	ASEAN LGBT Community Event Faces Rejection and Threats, Canceled in Jakarta	Rejection, security threats, guaranteeing group rights, canceled	Organizers of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week, Jakarta Provincial Government, Polda Metro Jaya
8	tribunnews.com	July 11, 2023	Anwar Abbas Responds to Issues Regarding ASEAN LGBT Community Gathering, Urges Government Ban	Condemning, constitutional violation, practices	Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Instagram @ aseansoegicaucus
9	tribunnews.com	July 11, 2023	MUI Deputy Chair Condemns Planned ASEAN LGBT Gathering in Jakarta, Calls for Ban	Condemning, constitutional violation, practices	Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Instagram @ aseansoegicaucus
10	tribunnews.com	July 12, 2023	Controversy over ASEAN LGBT Gathering in Jakarta: Parliament Member Calls for Access and Permits to Be Blocked	Deviance, opposition, religious values, practices, Islam, anticipation, access blockage	Member of Indonesian Parliament Guspati Gaus, Instagram @ aseansoegicaucus
11	tribunnews.com	July 13, 2023	Controversy Over ASEAN LGBT Activist Meeting: GNPf Calls It Deviant Behavior Needing Treatment	Deviance, treatment, prohibition, campaign, propaganda, prevention	National Movement to Safeguard Ulema Fatwa (<i>Gerakan Nasional Pengawal Fatwa Ulama</i> or GNPf), Organizers of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week

No	Media	Publication Date	Title	Use of Diction	News Sources
12	tribunnews.com	July 13, 2023	Fallout from Rejection of ASEAN LGBT Activist Meeting: Event Relocated, Website and Instagram Privatized	Campaign, movement, network, sponsorship	PKS Faction Chair Jazuli Juwaini, Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), National Movement to Safeguard Ulema Fatwa (GNPF), Organizers of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week
13	tribunnews.com	July 13, 2023	Facts About ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta: Polda Metro Jaya Confirms Cancellation, Organizers Identified	Rejection, relocation	Organizers of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week, Polda Metro Jaya
14	cnnindonesia.com	July 11, 2023	MUI Urges Government to Ban ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	Violating constitution, contradicting religious values	Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Arus Pelangi
15	cnnindonesia.com	July 11, 2023	Police Investigate Truth About ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	Information, truth	Polda Metro Jaya, Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI)
16	cnnindonesia.com	July 12, 2023	ASEAN LGBT Meeting Canceled in Jakarta	filtering	Advocacy Officer ASEAN SOGIE Caucus, Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Jakarta Regional Parliament Member M Taufik Zoelkifli, Polda Metro Jaya
17	cnnindonesia.com	July 12, 2023	Event Relocated for Safety: ASEAN LGBT Meeting No Longer Held in Jakarta	Relocation	Advocacy Officer ASEAN SOGIE Caucus, Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI)
18	kumparan.com	July 11, 2023	MUI Urges Government to Reject ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	Constitutional violation, contradictory practices	Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Instagram @ aseansogicaucus

No	Media	Publication Date	Title	Use of Diction	News Sources
19	kumparan.com	July 11, 2023	Indonesian Civil Movement Rejects ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	Rejection, decisive action, moral, legal, collective, sporadic, organized	Indonesian Civil Movement (GIB), Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Polda Metro Jaya
20	kumparan.com	July 11, 2023	Threats Lead to Cancellation of ASEAN LGBT Meeting in Jakarta	Relocation	Organizers of ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week

Source: Derived from primary data processing.

Based on the word choice, the 20 news articles analyzed from each media outlet employed different word choices. Terms such as “deviant,” “indecency,” “troubling the public,” “needs treatment,” and “propaganda” were frequently used by detik.com and tribunnews.com. These negative terms contributed to constructing a disparaging narrative toward gender and sexual non-normative groups. In contrast, kompas.com and kumparan.com adopted neutral terms such as “relocation,” “appreciation,” and “ensuring rights” to describe the relocation of the ASEAN Advocacy Week (AAW) event initially planned to be held in Jakarta.

In terms of source selection, few media outlets provided balanced representation between pro, neutral, and contra perspectives. For instance, an article by kompas.com published on July 12, 2023, titled *When the ASEAN LGBT Community Event Faces Rejection and Threats, It Is Canceled in Jakarta*, included sources from pro (AAW organizers), neutral (the Regional Police Department of Metro Jaya), and contra (Provincial Government of Jakarta) perspectives, all confirmed through interviews. Conversely, some articles, such as one published by tribunnews.com on July 13, 2023, titled *The Aftermath of Rejection of the ASEAN LGBT Activists Meeting in Jakarta: Event Relocated, Website and IG Made Private*, lacked balance. This article cited only one pro source (AAW organizers) while referencing three contra sources (PKS Faction Chair Jazuli Juwaini, MUI, and GNPF) and excluded any neutral voices.

Media Representation and the Social Construction of Gender and Sexual Diversity Groups

The study found that all five media outlets adopted an intentional approach, producing news that reflected the media's own stances. detik.com, tribunews.com, and cnnindonesia.com generally did not support gender and sexual diversity groups, while kompas.com and kumparan.com were neutral toward these groups.

However, detik.com, tribunews.com, and cnnindonesia.com also employed reflective and constructionist approaches. These outlets produced news reflecting societal norms and agreements regarding gender and sexual diversity groups. This aligns with Berger and Luckmann's concept of social construction, as outlined by Littlejohn & Foss (2009), where humans shape the world through language, actions, and media products.

In terms of representation, three perspectives dominated media narratives (Luviana, 2016): The first, religious perspective: media often associated gender and sexual diversity groups with religious-affiliated institutions or political figures. The second, normative perspective: narratives framed these groups as inconsistent with Indonesia's constitution, laws, and cultural values. The third, market perspective: issues related to gender and sexual diversity were packaged with sensationalist and clickbait headlines, such as using the term "uproar" (*heboh*).

When compared to previous studies, such as Abdillah (2017) and Hamidah et al. (2023), the findings were consistent for certain media outlets. For example, kompas.com was shown to avoid representing gender and sexual diversity groups from a religious perspective and portrayed them as individuals with rights to protection. Conversely, detik.com was consistently found to marginalize these groups, depicting them as "deviant" in both this study and Hamidah et al.'s research.

Additionally, the media also selects negative-connoted diction and limits the range of sources. This finding aligns closely with Primastika et al. (2022) who explored the use of negative diction by 10 monitored media outlets. The choice of diction contributes to the formation of stigma toward gender and sexual diversity groups. The forms of stigma identified in the coverage by the five media outlets include: being contrary to religion and morals, deviant, inconsistent with Indonesian laws and culture, and viewed as a disease. This reinforces the findings of Zakiah & Az Zahra (2017) and Teresia (2019).

The findings indicate that not all media outlets have adhered to the Indonesian Press Council's Regulation No. 02/Peraturan-DP/XI/2022 on Reporting Diversity Issues. Journalists have yet to consistently avoid using derogatory language, spreading prejudice, or promoting hate and negative labeling in their reporting. This regulation is intended to serve as a guideline for the press in reporting diversity issues and to contribute to protecting human rights in line with Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila.

Nevertheless, the study also reveals that the media has successfully shaped societal views on gender and sexual diversity groups, resulting in mass mobilization. Evidence includes online petitions, the #RejectAAW movement, opposition from religiously affiliated organizations, and security threats. These outcomes demonstrate that Indonesian society, despite its pluralistic composition, has yet to fully embrace pluralism and multiculturalism in practice.

Indonesian society, which consists of diverse groups, has yet to fully appreciate and tolerate the existence of gender and sexual diversity groups. Moreover, Indonesian society does not grant equal rights to freedom of speech, assembly, and association. Indonesian society only practices the first principle, without applying the second, fourth, and fifth principles.

Conclusion

This study analyzed how media represented gender and sexual diversity groups through news coverage of the ASEAN Queer Advocacy Week (AAW). Using framing analysis, 20 articles published between July 11 and 13, 2023, from detik.com, kompas.com, tribunnews.com, cnnindonesia.com, and kumparan.com were examined. The findings are as follows:

1. Media employed an intentional approach to express their stances. detik.com, tribunnews.com, and cnnindonesia.com did not support gender and sexual diversity groups, while kompas.com and kumparan.com were neutral;
2. Media utilized religious, normative, and market perspectives in representing gender and sexual diversity groups in their reporting;
3. Four forms of stigma were identified in media narratives: incompatibility with religion and morality, deviance, inconsistency with Indonesian law and culture, and disease;

4. Not all media adhered to the Indonesian Press Council's Regulation No. 02/Peraturan-DP/XI/2022 on Reporting Diversity Issues;
5. Media constructed societal views on gender and sexual diversity groups, leading to mass mobilization against these groups;
6. Indonesian society, while pluralistic, has yet to fully implement pluralism and multiculturalism in practice.

Research Limitations

This study is limited to primary data from five major media outlets with the largest readership, restricting the diversity of analyzed data. Additionally, alternative media prioritizing diverse reporting were not included.

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