

## News of LGBT on online media in 2020: endless stigma

Dina Listiorini<sup>\*)</sup>, Irene Santika Vidiadari

*Department of Communication, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta*

6 Babarsari, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Email: dina.listiorini@uajy.ac.id, Phone: +6282134978973

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**Abstract** Mass media and its content on various platforms play a significant role in shaping knowledge in society, including the knowledge about sexuality. This article discusses news on LGBT on four Indonesian online media—Viva.co.id, Republika.co.id, Tempo.co.id, and Detik.com—by conducting quantitative content analysis. The result shows that the news on LGBT in 2020 centred on three main issues: the ban on gay individuals joining the army/police, the male rape case committed by Reynhard Sinaga, and male same-sex sexual intercourse in Wisma Atlet. The news structure on LGBT does not pay attention to the information depth, as indicated by the lack of paragraph numbers in the news and the lack of 5W+1H construction. In addition, the coverage is often one-sided, making it unbalanced. Eventually, the construct about LGBT becomes biased.

**Keywords:** discrimination; LGBT; heteronormativity; online media

### INTRODUCTION

Mass media and its various content play an important role in shaping knowledge in society. The two main things conveyed by media are (1) brand new, original information and (2) the reinforcement of existing knowledge or things commonly believed. Media with its productive forces—journalists, reporters, editors, etc.—becomes a sort of agency that could produce "knowledge", which is strongly influenced by many social movements and broader social issues and institutions (Vogler, 2019), including the media under the certain regime (Listiorini, 2020). The mass media has a role in providing continuous information so that it influences the audience to judge or determine what is called the truth (Ghosh, Mozumdar, Chattopadhyay, & Acharya, 2021). In critical studies, knowledge is always followed by power. Portschy (2020) explains that historically there have been regimes of knowledge and power in which power has always intervened in the social organisation from time to time through various channels. This explanation shows that the mass media not only acts as an 'information channel' but also transmits knowledge and power from the media's ideology.

<sup>\*)</sup> Corresponding Author

Human sexuality, as well as sacred and profane things, is appealing to the media. Nonetheless, media usually emphasise moral controversy—particularly when it concerns women's or human body morality, whether good or bad, right or wrong. Scarceli, Krijnen, & Nixon (2020) explore how gender and sexuality influence the ways of life and views in society. Both are controlled by state and religions and impact the discourse, interpretation, and definition of gender and sexuality. Castañeda and Campbell (2006) suggest that culturally different or uncommon things will generally attract the media. Furthermore, they also argue that media play a crucial part in spreading the news about groups thought of as different and groups of the marginalised minority.

It is common practice that society treats unusual things about sexuality and the human body as "deviant." In Indonesia, society sees LGBT as deviant, abnormal, sick, or uncivilised and categorises them as a crime (Human Right Watch, 2016). This point of view is also practised in media. Media prefer to feature bizarre occurrences in society, pack them as information, and define them following the mode of production in which the media operates (Cohen, 2002; Human Right Watch, 2016).

This value could be distributed through a heteronormative ideology that believes there are two separate genders as natural roles and norms. It is produced and subsequently normalised—through the works of, among others, health practitioners, therapists, social workers, educationalists, and those who claim to be 'sex experts' and also the media. (Toorn, Pliskin, Morgenroth, 2020). These practices have made heterosexuality not simply one possible choice amongst many in a pluralist world. It was the hegemonic form, institutionalised in all the major social organisations of the culture. In other words, homosexuality and heterosexuality are more than sexual practices but normative and hegemonic binary divide within the social institutions, especially in the last two until three decades.

Bancroft (2009) mentions three types of social deviations: standard, subcultural, and individual. The acts of gender-diverse and sexually non-normative individuals or communities, including homosexuals and transgender people, fall into the 'subcultural deviation' category. This explanation shows us that the sexual relationship considered the best is heterosexual. There is an unspoken assumption that the everyday (normal) sphere approved, sensed, inhabited, and represented is heterosexual. Therefore, homosexuality is outside the normal or natural. In other words, according to Hubbard, homosexuality is treated as 'other' as opposed to heterosexuality, which is normal, healthy, and satisfying (Hubbard, 2008). Consequently, all sexuality concepts Subsequently, all areas or zones are presumably heterosexual, including that of the media. Heterosexuals are usual, unlike gays or lesbians that are 'abnormal' (Ingraham, 2005). The

It is inarguable that the representation of gender and non-normative sexuality in media is more likely to give negative stigma,

marginalise, and regard them as dangerous criminals (Gross, 2005) or 'nonexistent' (Fejes, 2008; Listiorini, Asteria, & Hidayana, 2019). Even if they exist, they are presented exaggeratedly and discriminatively, such as addressing them 'sissy' (Fejes, 2008) or depicting them as 'spoiled' and 'obscure' (Murtagh, 2013). Although the depiction may vary in various media, the image of gender-diverse, non-normative sexual communities (LGBTs) is naturally different from that of heterosexuals, which is considered a 'taken for granted' truth.

Research on media and gender-diverse and non-normative sexual individuals or groups/communities (termed as 'LGBT' by Indonesian media) started emerging in 2016. The year 2016 saw the emergence of the so-called media backlash towards gender-diverse and sexual non-normative individuals or groups/communities. In 2016, news that stigmatises, discriminates, marginalises, and is full of hate speech flooded the media. The acronym 'LGBT' was rocketing, particularly in online media (Listiorini, Asteria, & Hidayana, 2019). The internet-based online media, a part of the new media developed as the news portal by the mass-media industry to reach a broader audience, became the frontline in spreading hate speech. However, five years later, the media could still not eliminate news that stigmatised and marginalised the LGBT individuals/community.

Gross (1991) argues that there are at least six media roles or interests in representing reality which eventually marginalises the reality of gender and sexual diversity. The media company, referring to Gross (1991), defines and frames gay and lesbian sexuality in a way that marginalises or denies their existence. It indirectly eliminates their life symbolically (Kellner, 2004).

In several criminal cases related to gender diverse and non-normative sexual individuals (LGBT), media tend to discuss the individuals' sexual orientation, including their past (Becker, 2006). Furthermore, a study has unveiled that LGBT news is influenced by media ideology (Syam, Anisah, Saleh, and Lingga, 2021). The study on media ideology on LGBT news discusses the framing by Tempo.co and Republika.co.id. The result shows that media ideology plays a role in news production about LGBT and influences the word choice and viewpoints in writing the news. Another study by Listiorini, Asteria, and Sarwono (2019) studied moral panic on LGBT issues on television. This research reviews an episode of Indonesia Lawyer Club (ILC) that discusses LGBT. The research found that the show supported anti-LGBT actions and promoted homophobic attitudes.

Two studies above discuss the framing of LGBT issues on online media and television talk shows. Meanwhile, they have not discussed the media output/product nor identified what kind of discrimination towards the LGBT community is presented on the news. This research aims to fill the gap by discussing news structure, the news sources, and forms of discrimination committed toward LGBT through online media.

## METHODOLOGY

This research is a study of media text. There are various methods available for media text research, one of which is quantitative content analysis, a way to quantitatively measure particular aspects of media content (Eriyanto, 2013). Content analysis is a method of analysing the contents of documents that use quantitative measures of the frequency of appearance of particular elements in the text. The number of times that a particular item is used, and the number of contexts in which it appears, are used as measures of the significance of particular ideas or meanings in the document (Hardwood & Garry, 2003). Furthermore, in a content analysis study, the researcher performs frequency calculation of words, phrases, and images that appear as the essential indicator in meaning categorisation.

**Table 1.** Analytical Units

Analytical unit	Analytical sub-unit	Description
News composition	Number of paragraphs	a. 1-5 paragraph(s) b. 6-10 paragraphs c. 11-15 paragraphs d. >15 paragraphs
	The completeness of 5W + 1H	a. Complete b. Incomplete
	Coverage side	a. One-sided b. Two-sided c. Multi-sided
News source	News interviewee	a. Central Government b. Regional Government c. Law enforcers d. Activists e. Professional Association f. Religious Clerk g. Expert/Academic h. General public
Exposure to LGBT issues	The 'LGBT' news topic	a. Marginalisation b. Empowerment c. Crime d. Stigma e. Regulation f. Sexuality g. Other
	Keywords for LGBT	a. Immoral b. Embarrassing c. Abnormal/Deviant d. Disease e. Crime
	Coverage tendency	a. Positive towards LGBT b. Negative towards LGBT

Source: Primary data, 2021

Quantitative content analysis is mainly employed to study news objectivity, news tendency, or certain journalism practices (e.g.,

empathetic and environmental journalism). In this study, the method is used to scrutiny sexuality issues in a media text, in which context is gender diversity and non-normative sexuality (LGBT or homosexuality). To reach the objective, Table 1 are the analytical units developed for this study.

The items of news are chosen using stratified random sampling. Since the four online news portals have a different total number of LGBT news, the sample quota needs to be arranged for proportionality (Eriyanto, 2013). Sample can be check at table 2.

**Table 2.** "LGBT" News on Online Media

News Portal	Number of News	Percentage
Viva	34	31%
Republika	16	15%
Detik	45	41%
Tempo	14	13%
Total	109	100%

Source: Primary data, 2021

The four online news portals are chosen based on their popularity on Alexa.com. The news, the population, contains 'LGBT' and 'homosexual' (homosexual) keywords, be published during 2020. Moreover, we also perform validity and reliability tests to determine the research instrument's reliability. The result shows that the maximum value is 0.9 while the minimum value is 0.7. It indicates that the coding sheet's research instrument is reliable for data gathering.

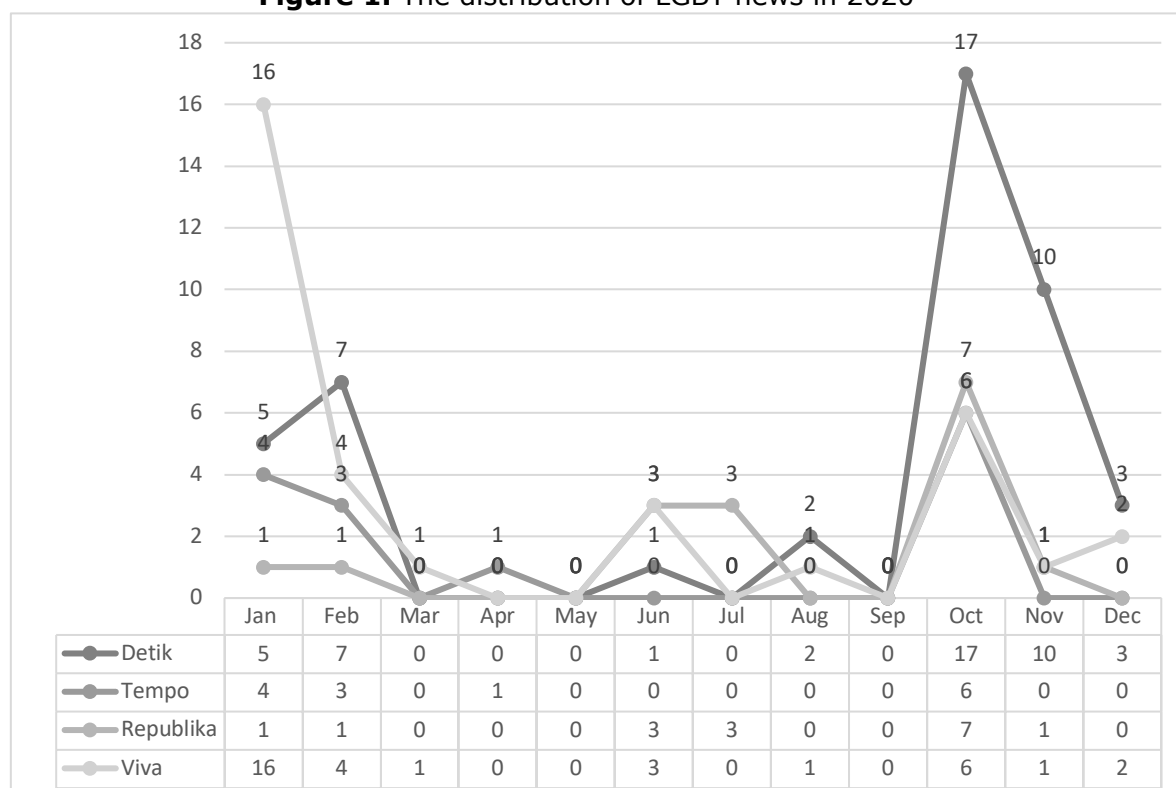
## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There is not much change in the news trend on gender diversity and non-formative sexuality (LGBT) since the research on 'LGBT' moral panic in 2016-2018 (Listiorini, Asteria, & Hidayana, 2019). It is noticed from the news structure concerning LGBT issues on the four online media during 2020 as follows at Figure 1.

The result shows that most of the news on LGBT was posted in October 2020. It was the month when a member of the Indonesian Army (TNI) was caught and brought to court because he had committed same-sex sexual activity. The news related to this event, among others, are: "*Terbukti Berhubungan Seks Sesama Jenis, Praka P Dipecat dari TNI*" (Proved Guilty of Same-Sex Sexual Activity, Chief Private P Was Fired from the Army) (Detik.com, 14 Oktober 2020), "*TNI: LGBT Pelanggaran Berat yang Tak Boleh Terjadi di Lingkungan TNI*" (Army: LGBT Acts Are Serious Violation which Cannot Occur in the Army) (Tempo.co, 16 Oktober 2020), "*Putusan MA: 16 Prajurit TNI Dipecat karena Terlibat LGBT*" (Supreme Court's Decision: 16 Army Privates Were Fired due to Involvement on LGBT) (Viva.co.id, 21 Oktober 2020), dan "*Ketua Kamar Militer MA: Ada Kelompok LGBT di Lingkungan TNI*" (Supreme Court's Chief of Military Section: There Is LGBT Group in the Army)

(Republika.id, 15 Oktober 2020). Viva.co.id in January 2020 featured many news on LGBT issues, mainly related to the Regional Regulation on Sumatra Barat designed to regulate LGBT issues, e.g., "*Sumatera Barat Akan Sahkan Peraturan Khusus LGBT dan Perzinahan*" (Sumatra Barat Will Ratify Special Regulation for LGBT and Adultery) (Viva.co.id, 8 January 2020).

**Figure 1.** The distribution of LGBT news in 2020



Source: Processed media data, 2021

The difference between the period of 2016-2018 and 2020 is on the issue or news topic. From 2016 to 2018, the news was more focused on hate speech toward the community, persecution of transgender people and gays (gay parties), and ideas about special regulations concerning the existence of LGBT individuals or communities 2018 (Listiorini, Asteria, & Hidayana, 2019). In 2020, the news about LGBT was centred on three main issues: the ban of gay individuals in the Army/Indonesian Police Force, the man-rape case committed by Reynhard Sinaga, and anti-LGBT regional regulations. Besides the three issues, there was also splinter news connected to this issue: the Family Tenacity Bill aiming to rehabilitate suspected LGBT individuals in a family and the male same-sex activity in Wisma Atlet. The news list is in the table 2.

**Table 2.** Main LGBT Issues on Online News

Issue	Media	Date	News Title
LGBT Ban in the Army/Indonesian Police Force	Viva	04/06/20	<i>Praka P Berhubungan Sesama Jenis, TNI: Pelanggaran Berat</i> Chief Private P Committed Same-Sex Sexual Activity, Army: Serious Violation
	Republika	15/10/20	<i>Ketua Kamar Militer MA: Ada Kelompok LGBT di Lingkungan TNI</i> Supreme Court's Chief of Military Section: There Is LGBT Group in the Army
	Tempo	16/10/20	<i>TNI: LGBT Pelanggaran Berat yang Tak Boleh Terjadi di Lingkungan TNI</i> Army: LGBT Acts Are Serious Violations which Cannot Occur in the Army
	Detik	14/10/20	<i>Terbukti Berhubungan Seks Sesama Jenis, Praka P Dipecat dari TNI</i> Proved Guilty of Same-Sex Sexual Activity, Chief Private P Was Fired from the Army
Reynhard Sinaga Rape Case	Viva	26/12/20	<i>Wakil Wali Kota Sebut Reynhard Sinaga Mencoreng Kota Depok</i> Vice Mayor Says Reynhard Sinaga Tarnishes the Reputation of Depok City
	Tempo	11/01/20	<i>Berkaca Kasus Reynhard, Wali Kota Depok Bakal Bentuk Crisis Center LGBT</i> Reflecting on Reynhard's Case, Mayor of Depok Will Form LGBT Crisis Center
Anti-LGBT Regional Regulation	Viva	08/01/20	<i>Sumatera Barat Akan Sahkan Peraturan Khusus LGBT dan Perzinahan</i> Sumatra Barat Will Ratify Special Regulation on LGBT and Adultery
	Republika	11/01/20	<i>Wali Kota Depok Perintahkan Razia LGBT</i> Mayor of Depok Instructing LGBT Raid
	Tempo	03/02/20	<i>Rencana Perda LGBT Depok, DPRD: Masih Tunggu Usulan</i> Depok LGBT Regional Regulation Plan, Local Parliament: We Are Waiting for Suggestions
	Detik	31/01/20	<i>Massa Minta Raperda Anti-LGBT Disahkan, Pemkot Depok: Itu Wacana DPRD</i> Public Ask for the Ratification of Anti-LGBT Bill, Depok City Government: It is Parliament's Plan

Source: Primary data (2021)

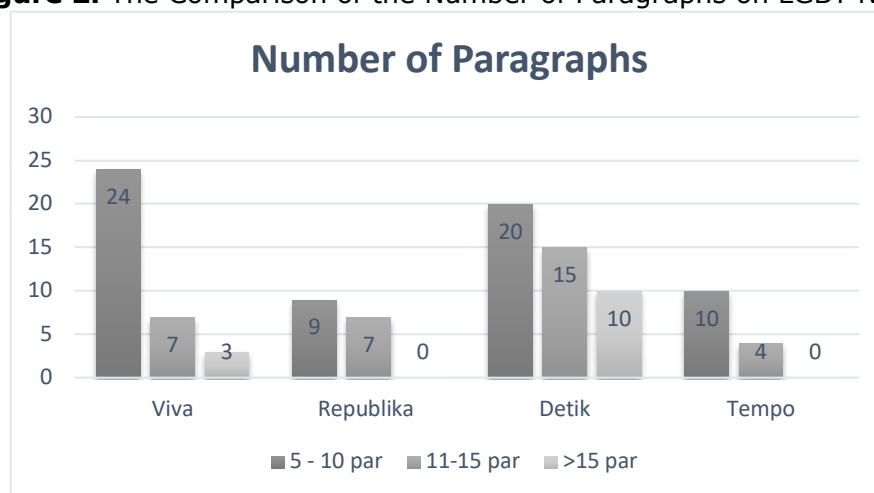
Table 2 presents the main issues in LGBT news in 2020. The news about LGBT in the Army/Indonesian Police Force indicates that LGBT individuals' identity was not only assumed as 'abnormal' but, furthermore, it was also a thing that had to be banned from military institutions. The news on regional regulation against LGBT suggests that the regional governments assumed that LGBT equals adultery and further instructed LGBT raids. Meanwhile, the focus of the news on the

rape case of Reynhard Sinaga on Viva.co.id and Tempo.co went askew from the actual crime to same-sex sexual activity, which the regional government eventually responded to by assembling an LGBT crisis centre instead of a crisis centre for rape victims.

## News Composition

There are three forms of news in general: hard news, soft news, and feature (Rolnicki, Tate, and Taylor, 2008). The news studied in this research is hard news written chronologically using the inverted pyramid method. Hard news pays more attention to actuality. However, the online news industry often assumes that actuality equals the fastness in uploading the news to the portal, as observed in the composition of news on LGBT on the four online media we study. This research is also concerned about the news tendency. In terms of news composition, we study the news through three analytical subunits—the number of paragraphs, the completeness of 5W+1H, and the news coverage side. The number of paragraphs is an indicator of observing the depth of the news.

**Figure 2.** The Comparison of the Number of Paragraphs on LGBT News



Source: Processed by the researchers (2021)

The Figure 2 shows the number of paragraphs written by journalists covering the news on LGBT. It shows that most of the news is only 5-10 paragraphs. News with 11-15 paragraphs or more is far less, but in Detik.com, the number of news written in 11-15 paragraphs is relatively the same as that in 5-10 paragraphs. Here are the examples of news that have small number of paragraphs: *"Wali Kota Depok Perintahkan Razia LGBT"* (Mayor of Depok Instructing LGBT Raid) (Republika.co.id, 11 Januari 2020 dengan 8 paragraphs); *"Wakil Wali Kota Sebut Reynhard Sinaga Mencoreng Kota Depok"* (Vice Mayor Says Reynhard Sinaga Tarnishes the Reputatin of Depok City) (Viva.co.id, 26 Desember 2020 dengan 6 paragraphs); *"Polri Bilang Telah Jatuhkan Sanksi Anggotanya yang Masuk Kelompok LGBT"* (Indonesian Police Force Claims to Have Punished Their Officers Who Are Involved in LGBT)



(Tempo.co, 20 Oktober 2020 dengan 5 paragraphs) dan “*Serka G Akui pernah Hubungan Seks Sejenis dengan 8 Anggota TNI*” (Chief Sergeant G Admitted to Have Involved in Same-Sex Relationship with 8 Army Members) (Detik.com, 8 November 2020 dengan 8 paragraphs).

Although online news space limitation is not an issue, each news media has to compete to be the fastest to upload the news, although the news still has to be edited before publication. The fastness takes a toll on other aspects, such as verification, news depth, and second opinion—to cover both sides and the 5W+1H principle.

**Table 3.** The Completeness of 5 W+1H

The completeness of 5W+1H	Viva	Republika	Detik	Tempo
Complete	14	6	43	12
Incomplete	20	10	2	2

Source: Processed data, 2021

The table 3 suggests that Viva and Republika tend to disregard the use of 5W+1H in writing the news. The remaining content is usually included in the following news and connected to the former with a hyperlink. Juditha (2013) argues that online media use the 3W formula (What, Where, When) instead of the general rule, 5W+1H. It refers to Listiorini (2020) because online media focus on speed to compete with other online media. The jargon of 'post first revise later' is primarily practised in the breaking news. Consequently, the news lacks verification because the journalist interviews only one source. The table 4 shows the news coverage tendency of the four online media.

**Table 4.** News Coverage

News Coverage	Viva	Republika	Detik	Tempo
One-sided	29	16	40	9
Two-sided	5	0	5	5
Multi-sided	0	0	0	0

Source: Processed data, 2021

The table 4 indicates that most journalists only take one side when covering the news. Although the interviewees are more than one, it is most likely that they are people of the same perspective. The sources are more likely from the same institution—the only difference is the rank. In the news titled “*Kasus LGBT Kedaluwarsa, 3 Anggota TNI Lolos dari Hukuman*” (The LGBT Case Expired, 3 Army Dodge Punishment) (Detik, 27 November 2020), for example, the sources are more than three army members and the news only discuss one perspective. The journalist does not write different perspectives as a comparison or as a way to explain the case more objectively. However, news on LGBT discusses the topic by interviewing people with a different perspective, but the number is significantly lower. Table 4 shows that only a few news that is written two-sided, in Viva (5), Detik (5), and Tempo (5). On Republika, all of the news studied features only one perspective.

The question of news' objectivity is also reflected in the news source. The table 5 shows the backgrounds of the interviewees of LGBT news on online media in 2020.

**Table 5.** News Source

Source	Viva	Republika	Detik	Tempo
Central Government	1	1	2	0
Regional Government	13	2	5	4
Law Enforcer	15	4	32	6
Activist	4	0	4	2
Professional Association	2	1	0	0
Religious Clerk	1	5	0	0
Expert/Academic	0	3	1	0
General Public	0	0	7	2
Without Source	2	0	0	0

Source: Processed data, 2021

It seems natural that the news on the dismissal of gay army members uses army members or Police as a news source. However, news on LGBT is more likely written from one perspective regarding news coverage. Consequently, more sources do not necessarily mean that the news is more balanced than other news. In LGBT news, the sources tend to come from the same side, and the journalists do not venture to interview people with a different perspective. The table above suggests that only a few experts/academics and activists were interviewed. It leads us to the main question: why did the journalist keep interviewing the same individuals to get news instead of finding new sources?

In terms of news composition, we could argue that journalists have rarely used the basic rules of journalism. It could be seen that they only feature one perspective and fail to write balanced news by interviewing other sources with different opinions. This, the tendency to give the mic to one particular group, will eventually produce an incomplete understanding of LGBT issues.

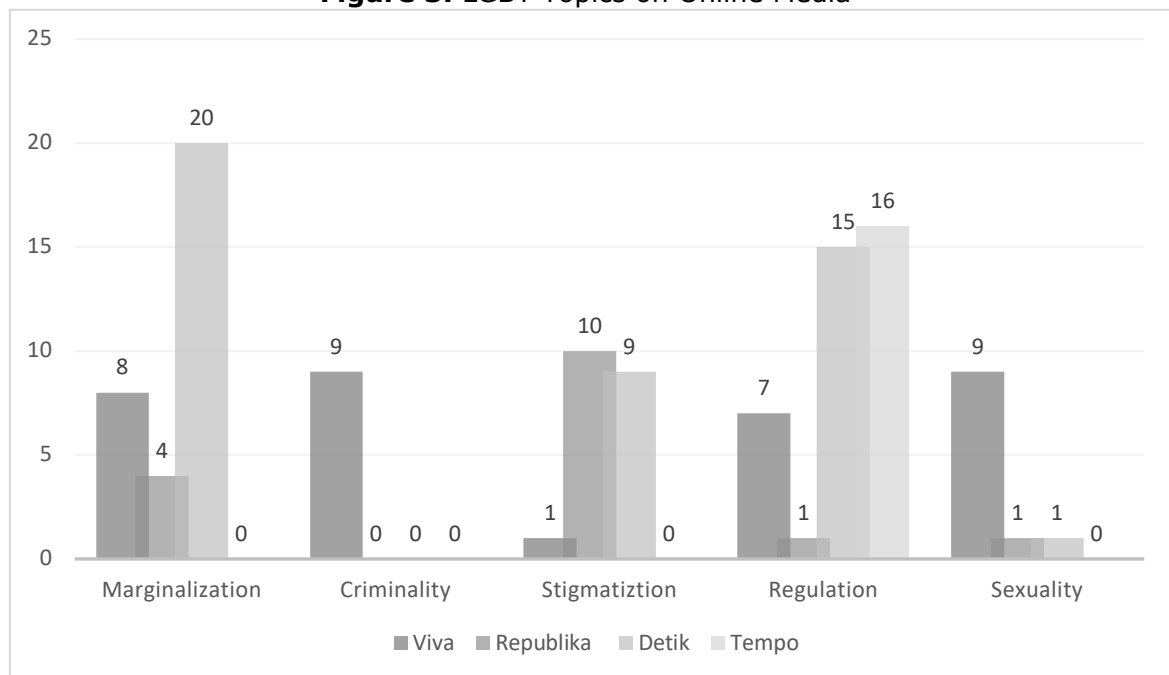
### **LGBT Issues on Online Media News in 2020**

In 2020 news on LGBT focused more on the rape case of Reynhard Sinaga, the dismissal of a gay army member, and same-sex sexual activity in Wisma Atlet. However, besides these three main issues, we also find other LGBT topics, such as the hoax spread by a person from Kalimantan Tengah who resisted screening a movie titled 'Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku' and a psychologist who sexually abused his patient. The mapping of the LGBT topics on online news is presented in Figure 3.

The figure 3 shows that the most discussed topic in Detik.com and Viva.co.id is marginalisation. Marginalisation is a form of discrimination by performing economic impoverishment (Fakih, 2004). Marginalisation gives the impression that specific individuals live in a marginalised culture, so it is not easy to participate in the social or political environment. In particular, marginalisation often occurs in the issues of

immigrants (Martin and Nakayama, 2013). Marginalisation occurs because a dominant power relation subsequently puts specific individuals/communities to the side. Marginalisation is also practised on the media news when reporting LGBT topics, e.g., the dismissal of a gay army member and a Wisma Atlet nurse caught having same-sex sexual activity with a patient. Issues on regulations were relatively abundant in Detik.com, including the caning law in Aceh, the trial of a gay army member, and regulations about sex-reassignment surgery. In covering news on LGBT, Tempo.co was more focused on regulation. For example, the media published news on drafting the Family Tenacity Bill that would make it compulsory to rehabilitate LGBT individuals (Tempo, 19 February 2020) and the plan of Depok LGBT Regional Regulation (13 February 2020).

**Figure 3.** LGBT Topics on Online Media



Source: Processed data, 2021

Many of the news in Republika.co.id discussed the stigmatization towards LGBT, e.g. "*MUI: LGBT seharusnya diobati bukan didukung*" (LGBT Should Be Cured instead of Supported) (29 Juni 2020) or "*Hukum Menggunakan Produk Perusahaan Pendukung LGBT*" (What does Religion Says about Using the Products of LGBT Supporting Companies?) (The Religious (3 Juni 2020). Stigmatisation is a form of discrimination by labelling a particular community and limiting their movement. In the case of LGBT news, stigmatisation occurs when LGBT is labelled as a disease—so it should be cured—and there is an invitation to punish the customers of LGBT supporting companies.

Marginalisation in the media is shown through the news about the dismissal of gay individuals and the news on the ratification of anti-LGBT regulations such as the Family Tenacity Bill and regular regulations on

LGBT, which eventually stigmatise and limit LGBT individuals/communities from accessing social and economic needs.

It is also palpable that the journalists frame LGBT issues negatively by mapping the LGBT topics and producing keywords that will only affirm that LGBTs are public enemies. The keywords on LGBT are presented in the following table 6.

**Table 6.** Keywords

Keywords	Viva	Republika	Detik	Tempo
Immoral	10	6	22	13
Embarrassing	1	2	6	0
Abnormal/Deviant	7	4	12	2
Disease	5	2	9	0
Crime	4	0	2	0

Source: Processed data, 2021

'Immoral' (*asusila*) was frequently written by Detik.com, Tempo.co, Viva.co.id, and Republika.co.id, is a word that shows that the activities of a group violate the etiquette (*norma sopan santun/kesusilaan*) are disgraceful. In Indonesian society, etiquette cannot be separated from heteronormative values. Therefore, something that contradicts heteronormative values will be regarded as disgraceful and violating the norms. It is seen on a sentence quoted from the news titled "Serka G Akui Pernah Hubungan Seks Sejenis dengan 8 Anggota TNI" (Chief Sergeant G Admitted to Have Had Same-Sex Relationship with 8 Army Members) (Detik, 8 November 2020):

*"Terdakwa melakukan hubungan sesama jenis merupakan cerminan Terdakwa yang tidak memperdulikan aturan-aturan yang berlaku serta norma-norma yang berlaku di masyarakat."*

(Performing same-sex sexual activity means the defendant does not care about existing societal rules and norms.)

The quote above suggests that homosexuality is seen as something forbidden and contradictory to society's norms. It also implies that heterosexuality is regarded as normal, healthy, and satisfying (Hubbard, 2008), while gender-diverse and non-normative sexual individuals (LGBT) are considered as "other" and "abnormal" (Ingraham, 2005).

The word 'embarrassing' (*memalukan*) is more likely linked to the identity of an LGBT individual. In the news titled "Wakil Wali Kota Sebut Reynhard Sinaga Mencoreng Kota Depok" (Vice Mayor Says Reynhard Sinaga Tarnishes the Reputation of Depok City) (Viva, 26 December 2020), the Vice Mayor of Depok said that he was ashamed to have come from the same city as the gay Reynhard Sinaga. Indonesian society puts the concept of 'shame' (*malu*) on discourses about sexuality, shoulder to shoulder with the term 'cannot' (*tidak boleh*)—the latter is more than just a group of two words, as it also contains power relation involving the person who says the words. Furthermore, in the context of sexuality,

the word '*kemaluan*,' whose root is '*malu*' (shame), is used as an alternative word for 'genital' (Davies, 2018).

The following keyword is 'abnormal' or 'deviant'. This word refers to LGBTs that are seen as beyond normal and that it defies from society's expectations. This issue is apparent on the news titled "Draf RUU Ketahanan Keluarga Ingin Wajibkan LGBT Direhabilitasi" (Family Tenacity Bill Urges to Put LGBTs on Rehab) (Republika.co.id, 19 February 2020). The news informs that the Bill defines sexual deviation as sexual urge and satisfaction performed unusually.

The word 'abnormal' or 'deviant' stamped on LGBT individuals by the media shows that LGBT is seen as an abnormal group because it has different sexual orientations, namely non-heterosexual. It implies that heteronormativity has become an ideology practised in news production and is legitimised through regional regulations.

LGBT is also viewed as a disease. Some news writes about efforts to cure LGBT. One of the news discussing this matter is "Mau Razia LGBT, Wali Kota Depok Diingatkan Homoseksual Bukan Kejahatan" (Planning of Raiding LGBT, Vice Mayor of Depok Was Reminded that LGBT Homosexuality in Not a Crime) (Viva.co.id 21 January 2020), which wrote that an individual who 'caught' LGBT disease had to be treated and cured. The word 'disease' (*penyakit*) stamped to LGBT is one of the stigmas given to individuals who are non-heterosexual.

The last keyword is 'crime.' LGBT is viewed as a group that violates the law, so they should be put in jail, and the law should control their movement. The news that writes that LGBTs need rehab contains keywords about 'crime'.

Four online media analyses show that the news on LGBT as a gender and sexual minority is shallow and incomplete. It is shown through the lack of the number of paragraphs—so that the news can be skimmed, the news that does not follow the 5W+1H formula, and the news that only cover one side. Online media, which focus on speed and economic aspects (i.e., creating clickbait titles), are sacrificing important aspects of news production: verification and covering both sides.

News on LGBT uses apprehending keywords: *memalukan* (embarrassing), *penyakit* (disease), *abnormal* (abnormal), and *asusila* (immoral). The keywords come from sources representing regional government and law enforcers. It shows that two essential government constitutions are unfair to the people they serve. It also implies that the existence of LGBT is seen as a threat, disease, and immoral and that LGBT individuals should be punished or cured.

In general, this research found that the stigmatisation of LGBT is still happening on the news. First, news on LGBT does not pay attention to the deepness, indicated by the lack of paragraphs on the news. Most of the news is only 5-10 paragraphs long. It was also the case with previous research (Listiorini, 2020), where most news had 5-10 paragraphs (137 out of 170 news in 2016-2018). Second, Two out of four online media, namely Viva.co.id and Republika.co.id, tend to

produce incomplete news more than Detik.com and Tempo.co. Regarding 5W+1H, Viva.co.id and Republika.co.id have not improved much since the last research. Meanwhile, Tempo.co still maintains the news completeness, as suggested by the table, like in the previous research (Listiorini, 2020). Quite similar to Tempo.co, Detik.com's news are more complete than Viva.co.id and Republika.co.id.

Third, LGBT news in 2020 was still focused on one-sided news—none of them is multi-sided. The condition is not different from when the previous research was conducted, which unveiled that around 76-88 per cent of online media were more likely to cover the news from one side (Listiorini, 2020). Finally, from the source of the news. Most of the interviewees were law enforcers and regional government officers. Subsequently, gay individuals were portrayed as criminals, such as in the case of the dismissal of the army/Indonesian Armed Force members. Meanwhile, in response to the rape case of Reynard Sinaga, the regional governments were planning to ratify bills that regulate LGBT individuals/communities. In general, media can demonstrate the practices by which the media define and distort the images of those who have deviated, which can then lead to unjust practices of exclusion (Monod, 2017), including stigmas and hate speeches (Nartey, 2021)

Based on the mapping of LGBT news above, it provides theoretical implications, namely the lack of application of the principle of 'cover both sides' applied in online media. In addition, the research data shows that more news does not use the principle of completeness of news (5W+1H). This practice is because online media puts forward the speed of news (actual value) rather than the factual value of news. On the other side, news coverage in online media does not cover news from minority groups, and vice versa only pursues sources who have been interviewed so that the coverage is not balanced.

## **CONCLUSION**

The news on LGBT on four online media in 2020 shows that discrimination toward LGBT was still occurring. The marginalisation and control of LGBT were palpable through the news about anti-LGBT regional regulation, LGBT raids, and the dismissal of LGBT individuals from their jobs. Without a shame, the media wrote apprehending words like *melanggar kesusilaan* (obscene), abnormal, and disease that needs to be cured. The news on LGBT was incomplete and shallow, indicated by the fact that they only had a few paragraphs and interviewed one-sided sources. Subsequently, the news was imbalanced. Online media that compete to be the fastest to upload the news are sacrificing two crucial facts in news production: verification and covering both sides. For further research, it is essential to study the personal aspect of the journalists, particularly concerning their journalistic knowledge and ideology, to see how the two aspects affect news production.

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