REPRESENTASI LGBT DAN IDEOLOGI TERSEMBUNYI DALAM THE JAKARTA POST DAN JAKARTA GLOBE
*The Representation of Lgbt and A Hidden Ideology
of The Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe*

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Abstrak
Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendapatkan makna representasi dari pilihan transitivitas yang digunakan oleh laporan berita The Jakarta Post dan Jakarta Globe dalam mewartakan kasus LGBT dan mengungkapkan ideologi yang mendasari representasi tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dan analisis transitivitas di bawah kerangka pendekatan tiga dimensi Fairclough (1989). Penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa The Jakarta Post cenderung merepresentasikan LGBT sebagai partisipan yang lebih pasif sehingga keadaan tertentu membentuk mereka sebagai kelompok yang terdiskriminasi dan terintimidasi oleh beberapa kelompok agama, masyarakat, dan pejabat pemerintah; dengan demikian, posisi ini menyebabkan aktivis HAM dan beberapa pejabat pemerintah membela mereka. Media juga menggambarkan LGBT sebagai identitas berterima dan fenomena yang diakui di Indonesia. Di sisi lain, Jakarta Globe cenderung merepresentasikan LGBT sebagai partisipan yang lebih aktif sehingga mereka diberikan ruang lebih untuk mengekspresikan penderitaan dan pergulatan mereka yang memicu mereka untuk mengklaim hak mereka melalui keterlibatan aktif dalam diskusi anti-LGBT dan dukungan yang diberikan oleh aktivis HAM. Hasil penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa kedua media berupaya mendorong nilai-nilai demokratis sebagai usaha untuk berkontribusi dalam menumbuhkan penerimaan terhadap LGBT di Indonesia (The Jakarta Post) dan mengkritik diskriminasi untuk menghentikan intimidasi terhadap LGBT (Jakarta Globe).
Keywords: analisis wacana kritis, ideologi, Jakarta Globe, LGBT, representasi, The Jakarta Post

Abstract
This study is aimed at gaining representational meanings from the transitivity choices used by The Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe news reports in reporting LGBT cases and revealing the underlying ideology behind the representations. This study employs the qualitative method and transitivity analysis under the framework of Fairclough's three-dimensional approach (1989). The study reveals that the Jakarta post tends to represent LGBT as a more passive participant in a way that certain circumstances shape them as a discriminated and intimidated group by several religious groups, society and government officials; therefore, this position has caused Human Rights activists and several government officials to defend them. The media also depict LGBT as an acceptable identity and acknowledged phenomenon in Indonesia. On the other hand, Jakarta Globe tends to represent LGBT as a more active participant that they are given

more space to express their sufferings and struggles that trigger them to claim their own rights through their active involvement in anti-LGBT discussions and the support provided by Human Rights activists. The findings suggest that the two media are struggling to promote democratic values in attempts to contribute to establishing LGBT acceptance in Indonesia (the Jakarta Post) and critiquing the discrimination as a means of ending intimidation against LGBT (Jakarta Globe).

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, ideology, Jakarta Globe, LGBT, representation, The Jakarta Post

INTRODUCTION

LGBT, according to American Psychological Association (2015), is an acronym used to refer to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. LGBT has been widely accepted as a sexual and gender orientation-based minority (Subhrajit, 2014). As a minority group, the presence of LGBT has raised many pros and cons around the world. A public survey conducted in 39 countries that investigated the numbers of acceptance of LGBT people in the world stated that broad acceptance of LGBT in North America, the European Union, and most of Latin America is also equal to its widespread disapproval that comes from Middle East countries, African countries, and some countries in Asia and Russia (Pew Research Center, 2013). The survey also found that the acceptance of LGBT occurs in countries where religion in people's lives is less central, for example US, Britain, Germany, France, Spain, and Japan (Global Attitudes Survey, as cited in Pew Research Center, 2013). According to the survey, there is a belief in these countries that it is not necessary to pray and believe in God.

Those countries in the survey show differences in characteristics from Indonesia. While those countries put religion as less central, Indonesia puts religions as a center in people's lives. Moreover, it has been put in one of the five basic principles of the official philosophical foundation of Indonesian state. This philosophical foundation called *Pancasila* requires Indonesian people to follow one religion and to state it on their identity cards (Pursika, 2009), in which people are not permitted to be atheists (Arifin, 2010). The impact of placing religions as a centre is illegalizing LGBT. Although LGBT is still strongly rejected by Indonesian society (Ahmed, 2016) which is proved by the fact that religions reject it, and the rejection is voiced by national figures

and religious communities (Human Rights Watch, 2016), LGBT is present in Indonesia. The presence of LGBT is indicated by a number of news articles that report LGBT activities, such as LGBT's rally to gain equal rights in Yogyakarta on February 23, 2016 (*Jakarta Globe*, 2016). This situation reflects that in Indonesian context, LGBT is not formally accepted, but the issues related to the presence of LGBT are strongly heralded by Indonesian media.

The issues of LGBT as heralded by Indonesian news media are not only concerned whether LGBT is prohibited or not, but the news often presents the lives of LGBT as if it is legally permitted. For example, *Tempo* (January 18, 2017) published a news report on the support given by the provincial government of South Kalimantan to LGBT individuals with regard to their contribution to the economic development of the city. The news presents positive attitudes of LGBT individuals in South Kalimantan that lead the government to consider them potential. This example illustrates that news media have their freedom to spread the life of LGBT in their own way. The possible impact is that readers may have a variety of interpretations on LGBT issues.

LGBT issues in Indonesian media such as *detik.com, Republika, the Jakarta Post, Kompas Online, Tempo* have been studied by a number of researchers (e.g. Oktaviani, 2016; Lobodally, 2016; Fatmawati, 2017). For instance, Oktaviani (2016) investigates how *Harian Repulika* represents LGBT as mentally ill people who deviate from religious teachings by the media. Another study conducted by Lobodally (2016) also found that *detik.com* is more likely to portray LGBT as an abnormal, psychopathic, and criminal sexual predator that has to be vanished from society.

Those previous studies have not yet explored the linguistic aspects of the media, in which they only exposed the representations of LGBT based on general interpretation of data. To contribute to the existing studies on LGBT, this study attempts to reveal the representation of LGBT in two media: *The Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Globe*, as well as the ideologies embedded in the representations by employing Fairclough's three-dimensional concept in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Three-dimensional concept proposed by Fairclough (1989) allows researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis of formal properties of texts and connects it to a broader social context that will unveil representation, power, and ideologies behind the texts.

By employing Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to CDA, this study explores current trend of news report on LBGT to add to other studies on media and LGBT issues in Indonesia. This study is considered significant to see the current trends because media reports quickly increase in numbers in a very short time, and they are very quickly circulated. Choosing *the Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Globe* is based on consideration that those English news reports have the potentials to be globally read. This study more specifically focuses on identifying how the two media deploy transitivity choices in reporting LGBT and gaining representational meanings from the transitivity choices as well as the underlying idelogy.

THEORETICAL BASIS

This section will provide relevant theoretical framework in which the justifications of this study will be grounded.

1. Fairclough's Three Dimensional Concept

Critical Discourse Analysis as a separate field of teaching and research was firstly developed around 1970s and 1980s (Fairclough, 2012). For Fairclough (2012), CDA extends the involvement of discourse in critical tradition in social science. CDA can be referred to techniques used to study language and textual practice as social and cultural practices. Fairclough and Wodak (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 15) explain that CDA views discourse as "a form of 'social practice' that implies a dialectical relationship between particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s), that frame it. Thus, CDA is aimed at both "introducing critical perspective on language in social science and contributing to critical social analysis that is focused on discourses which had previously been lacking or underdeveloped" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 15).

CDA never aims to provide one specific or single theory, and there are no specific characteristics of methodologies in CDA research (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In addition, it is also stated that "CDA is not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per-se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex, thus CDA requires a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodical approach". Therefore, it is necessary to specify which approach or methodology of CDA is selected to study certain discourses. Hence, Fairclough's model of CDA is chosen in undertaking this study.

In the analysis of discourse, Fairclough (1995) proposes three components to study a discourse: description, interpretation and explanation. The three-dimensional model proposed by Fairclough (1989) aims to help linguists conduct discourse analysis critically. This model of Fairclough's three-dimensional concept can be seen in the following illustration:
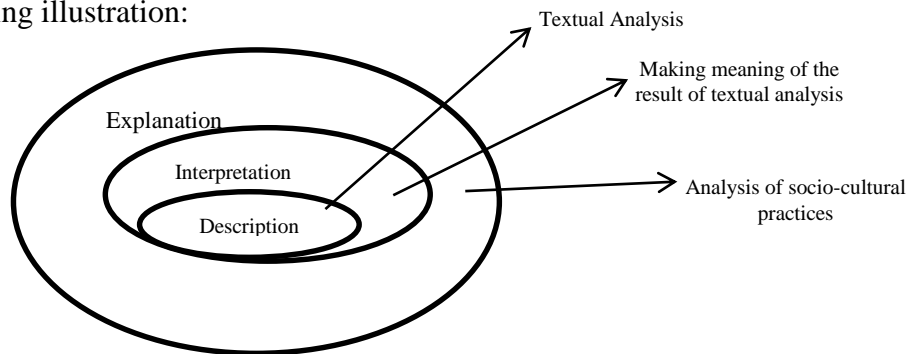

Figure 1 Three-Dimensional Concept in CDA

As shown above, description indicates one of the three crucial components of Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (1995) argues that content of a discourse cannot be analyzed properly without analyzing the form, since what distinguishes one content of discourse to another is the form. This stage allows researchers to treat texts as the objects of analysis. Fairclough (1989) proposes ten key questions to be optionally analyzed in descriptive stage that are related to vocabulary section, grammar section, and textual structure section. The analysis of text structures is in relation to systemic functional grammar proposed by Halliday.

In interpretation stage, the relationship between text and processes of production and interpretation of a discursive practice is interpreted (Fairclough, 1989). This aims to investigate the connection "between text and interaction by considering a text as the product of a process of production, and as resource in the process of interpretation (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). The processes of production and interpretation of texts according to Fairclough (1995, p. 161) are parallel, in a way that "producers must assume that their interpreters are equipped with particular interpretative procedures and conversely" and that values of textual features may be interpreted differently by different participants (Fairclough, 1989).

With regard to the processes of interpretation, Fairclough (1989) recommends six major domains of interpretation levels. The first two levels of domains refer to the situational context and intertextual context. Meanwhile, the four of them relate to four

levels of text interpretation, namely surface of utterance, meaning of utterance, local coherence and text structure and point (Fairclough 1995). For the connection between intertextual context & situational context and textual interpretation, Fairclough (1989) assumes that interpretation is the combination of both levels.

Furthermore, Fairclough (2003) also introduces 'identification of social event' to make a better interpretation. Social events include various elements: persons with desires/beliefs/values, social relations, institutional forms, objects, means, times and places, and language (Fairclough, 2003). By identifying elements of social events, the prominence of certain participants can be figured out. This identification can be done by analyzing the inclusion and exclusion of particular elements and by identifying which element included in the text is given the greatest significance.

The final part of Fairclough's three-dimensional concept is explanation. According to Fairclough (1989), this part has two dimensions that depend on whether the emphasis is upon processes of struggle or upon relations of power.

He also recommends three questions that can help a researcher conduct discourse investigation. The first is to find social determinants that involve questions such as 'what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels helps shape the discourse? 'The second question is regarding ideologies: what elements of interpretative procedures which are drawn upon have an ideological character? And the third is concerning the effects: how is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the institutional, situational and societal levels? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations or transforming them?" (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough (2012) also sees this explanatory part as a critique that seeks causal factors (language is socially shaped and shaping) of the emergence of a discourse that is concerned with ideologies, beliefs and concern manifested in the discourse that contribute to the establishment, sustaining, and reproduction of social orders and power relations.

2. Transitivity

Transitivity is defined as a grammatical system in which clauses are described as representations (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) also claim that clause is the central processing unit in lexicogrammar, in which different kinds of meanings are mapped into an integrated grammatical structure within it. They also mention that the system of transitivity construes the world of experiences into a

manageable set of process types, in which every type of process provides its own model to construe a particular domain of experience.

Fairclough (1995) views transitivity or ideational function of language as a significant part that constitutes systems of knowledge since representation corresponds to ideational function. Transitivity is defined as "an indispensible part in the ideational function that is realized by processes" (Zhang, 2013, p. 36). Fowler states "during the process of Critical Discourse Analysis, it is of great importance of researcher to explore and discover ideologies from transitivity, modality, transformation, classification, etc" (as cited in Zhang, 2013, p. 35).

Transitivity recites in the clause in which the clause is defined as a part of language that construes human experience through naming things into categories that later construes them into taxonomies (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The categories refer to several functions of language, namely ideational function, experiential function, and textual function. In regards to the metafunctions of language proposed by Halliday, Fairclough (1995) explains that the ideational function of language that constitutes systems of knowledge is represented through the options of transitivity.

In transitivity, there are three semantic categories namely processes, participants and circumstances, that are used to explain the representation of phenomena in real world through linguistic structures. Processes in transitivity, which are realized by verbs, are considered central to the analysis of transitivity. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) argue that clauses providing different types of process, contribute distinctively to construal of experiences in text. Thus, different process types contained in text may produce reality or experiences differently. As mentioned by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), there are seven types of processes, namely material, behavioral, mental, verbal, relational, existential, and meteorological.

3. Ideology

Ideology is an essential aspect mostly discussed in Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (1992) affirms that his understanding of ideology is very much influenced by works within Marxist theory proposed by Gramsci and Althusser (1971), yet his definition of ideology is quite opposed to theirs. The difference lies in the complementary strengths and weaknesses between social and linguistic elements (Fairclough, 1992). According to Fairclough (1992), these two scholars: Gramsci and

Althusser, pose imbalance relations between the two distinct elements. The former offers a well-developed linguistic analysis with little social theory and the concept of ideology as the focus of discussion, while the latter is far more concerned with social theory and neglecting the linguistic analysis (Fairclough, 1992). As opposed to the static view of power relations proposed by the two scholars that overemphasizes upon how the ideological shaping of language contributes to reproducing existing power relations, Fairclough (1992) believes that more attention should be given to the stance of discourse in transforming power relations and the role of language itself in the forms of text production and interpretation, not merely discussion.

For Fairclough (1992), ideology is the signification of reality based on three claims. The first claim is that ideology poses material existence in discursive practices that needs investigating. The second claim is that ideology 'interrelates subjects' or affects social relations, and the third is that "institutions are sites of and stakes in class struggle, which point to struggle in and over discourse as a focus for ideologically oriented discourse analysis" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87). Furthermore, he believes that these three claims give a contribution to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations in domination and become most effective when they are achieved as common sense.

As opposed to descriptive views of ideology as positions, attitudes, beliefs, perspective of social groups without reference to power relations and domination, Fairclough (2003, p. 9) defines ideologies as "representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation". He also views ideological representations as something that can be identified in texts.

Fairclough (1992) believes that ideology is not only a property of events but also a property of structures that is located in the forms of convention, such as code, structure and formation. The forms and content of texts are traces of ideological processes and structures. Ideology in texts can be read off through interpretations of formal features and form of the texts.

RESEARCH METHOD

This section provides research methodology used in this study which comprises research design, data collection and data analysis.

Research methodology, as a significant part of studies, refers to "the general approach the researcher takes in carrying out the research project" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013, p. 14). Considering the importance of carrying out this study with a proper research design, this study particularly applies qualitative descriptive research method. This method is used in this study for the focus of the study is to describe and interpret the result of textual analysis. This study specifically aims to identify and explore LGBT phenomena in Indonesia published by two media in attempt to discover how it is actually identified and treated by media.

There were several steps conducted to collect the data. At first, the researcher browsed all news reports related to LGBT in Indonesia published by *Jakarta Globe* (http://jakartaglobe.id) and *the Jakarta Post* (http://www.thejakartapost.com). Both *Jakarta Globe* and *the Jakarta Post* published reports on Indonesian LGBT around 40 and 124 news reports respectively. The researcher then observed the flow of LGBT news in the two media since the first news report on LGBT was published. Below is the illustration of the flow pictured as a line chart:
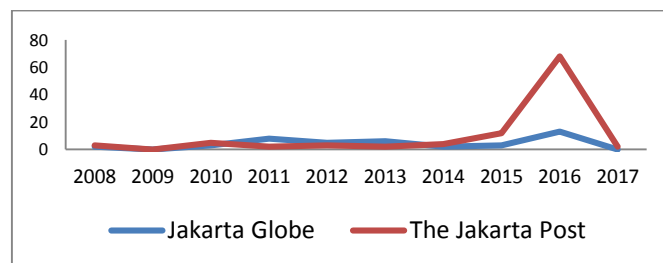

Figure 2. The line chart of the 9-year time span (2008-2017) of the published articles on LGBT in *Jakarta Globe* and *the Jakarta Post*

The first time LGBT issue entered the spotlight of these two media was in 2008. Later, LGBT was most heralded by the media in 2016 in which the year is considered the peak of the reports on LGBT in the last 9 years.

The next step was to sort out the news reports. One basic consideration in deciding which news reports to be analyzed is that the news reports should be able to represent LGBT throughout time: the very first time issues on LGBT were brought to the media, the heated moments of LGBT reports, and the anti-climax of LGBT issue. Therefore the first printed news reports on LGBT published by the media were chosen

as the starting point. Another data were taken from heated moment and the anti-climax published between 2015– 2016. Lastly, the news reports of the two media based on the selected issues were collected. There are 8 news reports chosen in this study.

Table 1
Data Collection

Period	Issues	*Jakarta Globe*	*The Jakarta Post*
2008	First Article Published	'Deviants' Take on Porn Law	Islam 'recognizes homosexuality'
2015-		Rights Activists Lash Out at MUI's Anti-LGBT	In response to anti-LGBT fatwa, Jokowi urged to abolish laws targeting minorities
2016	Heated Moments		
		Male Actors Not Allowed to Show Effeminate Behavior on Screen, Says Broadcasting Body	Commission wants TV, radio free of LGBT
	Anti-climax	"LGBT Safety Should be Placed under the Constitution: Activists"	"Indonesia must protect LGBT Rights: Human Rights Watch"

This study applies the model of Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by Norman Fairclough (1989) known as three-dimensional concept, in order to answer the research questions. Since this approach involves three stages of analysis: description, interpretation, and explanation, this study follows the stages of analysis accordingly.

The first stage of analysis is description. This stage is done by completing textual analysis that relies on Halliday's systemic functional grammar, specifically the transitivity analysis. Based on this approach, the analysis of transitivity in this level consists of several stages. The first stage is to break down the texts into clauses. The second is to underline the process types. In breaking up texts into clauses, the analysis pays attention to finite verbs since the clauses are defined by finite verbs as their properties. The third is to categorize the verbs into process types.

The interpretation stage of Fairclough's three-dimensional concept answers the first question of the study. Aiming at revealing the representation of LGBT in the text, this part requires the analysis of overall data to see most frequent patterns of transitivity used in relation to LGBT information that is further interpreted in terms of their situational contexts. Therefore, to interpret the data in regards to the content, subjects, relations and connection that appear in the texts, the researcher should understand what is going on in the text, who is involved in the text, and what relations they have.

The last stage of analysis known as explanation part attempts to unveil the underlying ideologies behind the representation, which answer the reason why LGBT is represented in such way. In Fairclough's words (1989, p. 163), the purpose of this part is "to portray a discourse as a part of social process, as social practice, to show how it is

determined by social structure" and what effects they have on the social structure, whether to sustain or transform it.

DISCUSSION

This section consists of the results of the study in accordance with Fairclough's three stages of analysis, namely description, interpretation and explanation.

1. Description

In general, by conducting transitivity analysis as the analytical tool used in description part, there are several significant findings resulting from the occurrence of transitivity choices by *the Jakarta Post* dan *Jakarta Globe* in representing LGBT. This part will briefly summarize the results of textual analysis.

The analysis reveals that *the Jakarta Post* dominantly reports LGBT cases through verbal processes (37%), material processes (32%), and mental processes (16%). Meanwhile *Jakarta Globe* news reports LGBT cases through material processes (31%) followed by verbal processes (29%) and relational processes (20%). The following table summarizes the choice of processes:

Table 2
Process Types in *the Jakarta Post*

Types of Process	*The Jakarta Post*	
	Σ	%
Material	**55**	**32%**
Verbal	**65**	**37%**
Relational	**26**	**15%**
a. Attributive	20	12%
b. Identifying	6	3%
Mental	27	16%
Behavioral	0	0%
TOTAL	173	100%

Table 3
Process Types in Jakarta Globe

Types of Process	Jakarta Globe	
	Σ	%
Material	**101**	**31%**
Verbal	**95**	**29%**
Relational	**65**	**20%**
a. Attributive	53	16%
b. Identifying	12	4 %
Mental	57	18%
Behavioral	7	2%
TOTAL	325	100%

More specifically, LGBT as a participant in *the Jakarta Post* is represented as a goal (23%), a phenomenon (26%) and a carrier (18%). Quite similarly, in *Jakarta Globe*, LGBT as a participant is dominantly represented as a goal (20%), a phenomenon (20%), and a senser (14%). The more detail insights of the data is given bellow:

Table 4
LGBT as Participants in *the Jakarta Post*

No.	Types of Participants	The Jakarta Post	
		Total	**%**
1	Actor	2	5%
2	Goal	9	23%
4	Sayer	0	0%
5	Recipient	2	5%
6	Target	1	2,5%
8	Carrier	7	18%
9	Attribute	1	2,5%
10	Token	0	0%
11	Value	2	5%
12	Senser	1	2,5%
13	Phenomenon	10	26%
14	Behaver	0	0%
15	Existent	3	8%
16	Circ. Matter	1	0,5%

Table 5
LGBT as Participants in Jakarta Globe

No.	Types of Participants	Jakarta Globe	
		Total	**%**
1	Actor	15	13%
2	Goal	23	20%
4	Sayer	10	9%
5	Recipient	2	0,5%
6	Target	3	2,5%
8	Carrier	16	14%
9	Attribute	2	2%
10	Token	2	2%
11	Value	1	0,5%
12	Senser	16	14%
13	Phenomenon	23	20%
14	Behaver	0	0%
15	Existent	2	2%
16	Circ. Matter	1	0,5%

The next part, interpretation, will further explain the representations of LGBT in details based on the interpretation of the above finding as the analyzed linguistic features in the texts.

2. Interpretation

The interpretation of textual analysis results is based on the statistics of transitivity choices dominantly used by the two media. Each point of the interpretation, which will be thoroughly explained in the next sub-sections, leads to categorizing the representations of LGBT as a passive and more active group of society in the two media.

2.1 *The Jakarta Post*

The Jakarta Post is more inclined to represent LGBT as a more passive group by the choice of transitivity. More specifically, through verbal processes, *the Jakarta Post* attempts to report LGBT cases through sympathetic comments voiced by LGBT sympathizers as the main sources of information. For mental and material processes, LGBT is represented as a minority group that has been acknowledged and intimidated yet defended by several parties respectively. With regards to the position of LGBT as a goal, the media describe LGBT as the target of intimidations and protection. The position of LGBT as a phenomenon suggests that the media attempt to inform that LGBT is acknowledged in Indonesia and should be recognized. As for LGBT as a carrier, the media seem to represent LGBT as an acceptable identity as revealed by the choice of carriers in this representation.

2.1.1 LGBT as a Defended Party

In *the Jakarta Post* news reports, LGBT is represented in a way that they are defended due to several discriminations revealed by material processes. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 192), material processes "express the notion that some entity 'does' something – which may be 'to' some other entity". To be more specific, the presence of these material processes that dominate about 32% of the overall processes suggests that the position of LGBT as the target (goal) of discrimination becomes the reason for Human Rights activists and several public officials to protect them.

In the texts, LGBT is represented as an intimidated party by society, families, religious groups and government officials.

(69a)   [LGBT is often discriminated not just by the public, but sometimes by their own families…]

In the clause, LGBT is positioned as the goal to which the discrimination conducted by the public and families is addressed.

From religious groups, FPI (Islamic Defenders Fronts) and hardline HTI in Indonesia are represented as the intimidators. These two hardline Islamic groups are depicted as voicing hatred against LGBT as well as undergoing intimidation against them. One of the messages conveying hatred voiced by these religious groups is presented below:

(103a)   [Homosexual acts must be heavily punished]

The clause presented above is voiced by FPI declaring that homosexual acts that are associated with LGBT are represented as the goal of a heavy punishment. In addition to voicing hatred, FPI also did an intimidating action against LGBT.

(102a)   [FPI harassed participants (LGBT) in a seminar on access to justice for LGBT people]

As for intimidating acts done by public or government officials, Sharia police in Aceh and Minister of Research and Technology and Higher Education serve as the actors of intimidations. Sharia Police in Aceh is represented as conducting an arrest of a lesbian couple that *the Jakarta Post* depicts as an intimidation.

(100a)   [Sharia police in Aceh Province arrested a pair of young women for 'hugging in public' in October 2015]

The presented clause as one of the examples of intimidations done by public official against LGBT, describes a pair of young women, without being mentioned what their role is, assumed as a lesbian couple, as the goal of the arrest. This action is conducted due to 'hugging' as the matter of the arrest. The intimidation against LGBT also comes from public officials, for example the Minister of Research and Technology and Higher Education.

(92a)   […members of the community (LGBT) should be barred from university campuses]

In the projected clause of the verbal clause presented above, Minister of Research and Technology and Higher Education, M. Nasir, as the sayer, voiced his opinion that LGBT members should be barred from campuses. Members of the community (LGBT) become the goal to whom the 'barred' action is conducted.

From the position of LGBT as the goal of intimidations, *the Jakarta Post* attempts to emphasize that LGBT is defended by United Nation and a public official due to the intimidations.

(78a)   [Coordinating Political, Legal and Security, Luhut Pandjaitan Stepped up on Friday to defend the LGBT community]

(104a)   [As many as 12 UN agencies, many operating in Indonesia signed a pledge to help government end violence and discrimination against LGBT people]

From the interpretation of material processes existed in texts, it can be concluded that the media tend to represent LGBT as a defended party due to the intimidations. LGBT as an Acceptable Identity

In accordance to the frequent appearance of positive attributes attached to LGBT as a carrier (18%) in the texts, it can be interpreted that the media attempt to represent LGBT as an acceptable identity. The interpretation is made based on the consideration that carrier and attributes are connected to one another as participants in relational processes. According to Gerrot and Wegnell (1995, p. 67) "relational processes, specifically attributive process is used 'to assign a quality to something' in which an attribute is used to add a quality to the carrier". In the texts, the attributes that are added to LGBT as the carrier are dominated by positive attributes, meaning that LGBT carries a positive quality in the texts. The percentage of positive and negative attributes attached to LGBT is presented as follows:

Table 6
The Percentage of Positive and Negative Attributes
In *The Jakarta Post* Articles

Attributes	(+)	(-)
Source of Information	Moderate Muslim Scholars, Human Rights Activists	MUI (Ulema Council of Indonesia), Government Officials
Number of Clauses	10	4
Percentage	71%	29%

In the table, moderate Muslim scholars and Human Right activists appear as the sources of information that convey positive comments on LGBT. On the other hands MUI (Ulema Council of Indonesia) and several government officials are presented as the sayers of negative comments on LGBT status. The table also shows that the positive attributes for LGBT dominate about 71% of the overall attributes attached to LGBT.

The discussion on LGBT in relational processes is concerning the status of LGBT in Islam and Indonesia. In the eyes of moderate Muslim scholars, homosexuality is represented as an acceptable sexuality. Homosexuality is interpreted in such a way, since it is evident in the following attributes attached to homosexuality.

Table 7
Positive Attributes in *the Jakarta Post*

Carrier	Attributes
Homosexuality/ Homosexuals	natural, permissible within Islam, no reasons to reject homosexuals under Islam, not enemy, no difference between lesbians and non-lesbians, was from God, equal

Table 8
Negative Attributes in the Jakarta Post Articles

Carrier	Attributes
Homosexuality/ Homosexuals	wrong, a sin, a curable disease, immoral/ a danger to adolescent

On the other hand, the number of negative comments on LGBT stated by conservative Muslim groups and government officials are not quite emphasized. It is indicated by only fewer comments stated by conservative Muslim groups if compared to the ideas stated by moderate Muslim scholars on LGBT. The presence of their opinions is stated by the media to pint out the cause of homosexual condemnation. With regards to the comments from government official, LGBT is given a negative attribute as 'immoral or a danger to adolescent.

Finally, after interpreting the findings of relational processes in the texts, it can be concluded that homosexuality is viewed in a more positive and sympathetic way by moderate Muslim scholars and public official that homosexuality is an acceptable sexual identity.

2.1.3 LGBT as an Acknowledged Phenomenon in Indonesia

In addition, LGBT is also represented as a phenomenon in a way that they are acknowledged in Indonesian society. This claim is evident in the choice of transitivity

presented in the texts. As many as 27 clauses depict LGBT as a phenomenon that dominate 16% of the overall mental processes in the texts. Mental processes, according to Gerrot and Wegnell (1995, p. 58) are defined as "processes of sensing: feeling, thinking, perceiving that involve senser as the conscious being and phenomenon as what is sensed: felt, thought or seen". In the texts, LGBT is positioned as a phenomenon (26%) in mental processes, indicating that the presence of LGBT is already felt and perceived.

In the texts, LGBT is positioned as a phenomenon that is acknowledged in a way that they are being concerned about and respected as well as to be recognized, realized, and encouraged. The sensers involved in the texts that respect and put their concern about the presence of LGBT are KPAI and Bugis-Makasar tradition. As for the sensers that should instead realize, recognize and encourage LGBT are MUI, government, and people. The related clauses are presented as follows.

Table 9
LGBT as Acknowledged Phenomenon in the Jakarta Post

Sensers	Mental Processes	Phenomena
A 2014 UN Development Program report	(called on government) to officially recognized	The existence of LGBT people
KPAI	Acknowledged	The rights of the members of LGBT community
	Was concerned with	The increasing numbers of LGBT starring programs
So people	Realize (LGBT must be protected)	
	(Most of the discussion regarding LGBT community in local media) is focused on encouraging	Hatred and intolerance against members of LGBT community
	Is respected	Homosexual groups in Bugis Makasar tradition called Bissu
KPAI	Should instead encourage	LGBT programs
Programs	Could shed lights	on LGBT community
MUI	Should embrace	People for their difference
	Should get	The fact that LGBT exists in Indonesia

In brief, it can be interpreted that through the discussion of LGBT as an acknowledged phenomenon, the media attempt to build up an assumption that due to the way LGBT is represented as an already acknowledged phenomenon, LGBT as explicitly written in the texts, should instead be recognized, encouraged, protected, or accepted by Indonesian society that includes TV programs, MUI, as well as government.

2.2 *Jakarta Globe*

As a bit opposed to the way *the Jakarta Post* respresents LGBT, *Jakarta Post* seems to present LGBT as a more active social group by the choice of transivity. Through material processes, *Jakarta Globe* attempts to emphasize that LGBT is represented as a victim of concrete intimidating actions as well as an active participant in claiming their own rights. For verbal processes, the media tend to inform LGBT cases through various sources of information mainly from LGBT sympathizers. Meanwhile, the use of relational processes suggests that LGBT is given more positive stigma by the media.

In addition to the types of processes used to report LGBT cases, LGBT as a participant is dominantly represented as a goal to whom intimidating actions are done, a phenomenon to what Human Rights activists are concerned about, a senser of intimidations, a carrier of positive attributes and an actor that fights for their own rights.

2.2.1 LGBT as an Active Participant in Claiming Their Rights

Jakarta Globe tends to bring up the presence of LGBT into their news reports through material and mental processes that depict LGBT as an active participant in the pursuit of their own rights. Through material processes, the media present LGBT as the actors who try to gain the realization of LGBT rights. Similarly, through mental processes, the media allow LGBT to express their opinions concerning their violated rights as the trigger of their involvement in anti-LGBT discussion in order to claim their rights.

LGBT as an actor in material processes in the texts is described as getting involved in claiming their own rights through joining a discussion of anti-LGBT laws. The involvement of LGBT in anti-LGBT discussions suggests that LGBT attempts to fight for their rights as the citizens of Indonesia. One example of the clauses is explained below.

(33b)   [They gathered to discuss the anti-pornography law]

In the clause, the subject 'they' as a pronoun is used to address LGBT including pro-LGBT participants. The pronoun 'they' is written as the actor of the action 'to gather (to discuss the anti-pornography law)'. The material process 'gather' is an intransitive verb that poses no direct object to follow, while the verbal verb 'to discuss' is only present in the clause to inform more about the reason of the gathering. Thus, the emphasis of the

clause in this sense is the material process that shows an action of coming together to form a group. Furthermore, the anti-pornography law in this context can be associated with LGBT acts that are often addressed as 'deviant acts' by law. The findings also suggest that similar information about the involvement of LGBT in the discussion of anti-LGBT law is frequently presented in the texts.

Furthermore, other finding also suggests that the texts are also inclined to voice LGBT's opinions and feelings concerning their violated rights. Their opinions and concerns are realized through mental processes in which they are positioned as the sensers by the media. In the texts, they are concerned about the impact of anti-LGBT law issued by government and MUI fatwa. These laws express discrimination against LGBT stating that LGBT is categorized as deviants (by law), and that they are against religions in Indonesia (by MUI). The more detail picture of LGBT's opinions is presented as follows:

Table 10
LGBT in Mental Processes in Jakarta Globe

Sensers	Mental Processes	Phenomena
I	Believe (that)	Most of you …
(?) do you	Think (It can be considered porn)	LBGT related pose
We	don't know (what to do)	(about) the ban of LGBT film screening
People present at the forum	Were worried	The ban of homosexuality from society by the articles
Many of participants	Were (also) concerned with	The use of violence to educate homosexuals
We	Hope	The people (at constitutional court, would listen)
I	Think	(it's unwise to hate LGBT)
I (role: as a Muslim)	Appreciate	MUI's efforts in issuing the fatwa
I (role: as a Muslim)	Stand against	The fatwa (because I have my rights to express myself and preference)

From the involvement of LGBT in anti-LGBT law discussions as well as the presence of their opinions concerning the laws, it can be interpreted that they are willing to claim their own rights i.e. they want to be treated equally without discrimination by people, religion or laws, due to the fact that their rights are violated.

2.2.1. LGBT as a Victim of Intimidations

In *Jakarta Globe,* LGBT is represented as a victim of intimidation that is protected by Human Rights Activists. The intimidations against LGBT are served through material processes as well as mental processes that each of them contributes 31% and 18% respectively to the overall processes in the texts. The former attempts to represent LGBT as the goal of violent behaviors by police officers, and anti-LGBT people, while the latter represents LGBT as the senser of the intimidations addressed to them by anti-LGBT people.

Firstly, the representation of LGBT as a victim of intimidation is evident in material processes used in the texts. According to Gerrot and Wegnel (1995), material process is a process of doing that expresses an entity doing something physically and can be done to other entity. Thus, it suggests that through material processes, LGBT as a goal must be represented as having been physically related to some actions. In material processes in the texts, there are several actors that are involved in violent behaviors done to LGBT, namely the police and anti-LGBT people. The examples of the processes are represented bellow:

Table 11
LGBT as Goals in Jakarta Globe

Actors	Material Processes	Goals
They (Police)	Assaulted	Him & partner (gays)
They (Police)	Had beat	Them (gays)
They (Police)	Took (them) to be sprayed	Them
	Was found dead (passive)	Elly
6 police officers	Beat	Him (gay)
Those (anti-LGBT)	Will hunt	You (LGBT)
I (gay)	Went	For a psychological exams
He (transvestite)	Was trying to run away	From public order officers
	Jumped into	A river
He	Could not swim	

As noticed in the table presented above, the police appear several times as the actor of intimidations against LGBT. More tragically, LGBT is also represented as a minority group that is terrorized (e.g. running away). The intimidations are expressed through violent material verbs in which LGBT is positioned as the passive participants or in other word as the victim (goal) of violence.

Secondly, LGBT is also represented as an intimidated party through mental processes. In mental processes, LGBT is positioned as the senser of several

discriminating phenomena. The following table represents several discriminations experienced by LGBT.

Table 12
LGBT as Sensers in *Jakarta Globe*

Sensers	Mental Processes	Phenomena
Hartoyo (gay)	Will not let (…) dampen	That memory and knowledge of these events (intimidations)
Maria, she (lesbian)	Remains fearful	About coming out (circ: matter: because of the climate of homophobia)
The country's LGBT community	Has long faced	Discrimination and even physical violence
Anyone charged with committing any of these "prostitution" activities (LGBT)	Faces	The prospect of up to 6 months imprisonment and $380 in fines
People like Maria (LGBT)	Face	Threat

The table shows that the sensers, that are categorized as the members of LGBT or related to LGBT activities, sense several discriminations (e.g. intimidating actions, homophobia, discrimination and physical violence as well threat).

In brief, the positions of LGBT both as passive objects of intimidations and as the sensers of discriminations prove that LGBT is represented as the victim in the news reports.

2.2.2. LGBT as a Defended Party

In addition to other findings previously explored, that LGBT is represented as a victim as well as an active participant in claiming their own rights, the media also represent LGBT as a defended party due to their position as the victim of intimidations. This is evident in the use of positive attributes addressed to LGBT given by those who are sympathetic to LGBT, i.e. Human Rights activists and government officials, and negative attributes given to anti-LGBT people, laws and groups.

First evidence as how LGBT is defended by Human Rights activists results from the presence of positive attributes they give to LGBT. In the discussion of Human Rights Organizations' comments on LGBT-related topics, *Jakarta Globe* frequently represents them through relational processes that discuss the status of LGBT as three types of carriers that are attributed by positive stigma; 'sexual orientation' as personal matter, one's preference and private, 'homosexuality' as today's victim, a manifestation of human sexuality, not a crime and not a deviant thing, and 'LGBT' as one of minority groups in Indonesia and equal in the eyes of law. It has made it clear that these three carriers are explicitly given sympathetic attributes by the media through the involvement of Human Rights activists in the texts.

Table 13	
Positive Attributes to LGBT status in Jakarta Globe	
Carrier	Attributes
	Jakarta Globe
Sexual orientation	Personal matter, one's preference, private
Homosexuality	today's victim, a manifestation of human sexuality, not a crime, not a deviant thing, not mental disorder, not sexual deviation
LGBT	one of minority groups in the country (Indonesia), equal in the eyes of law

Table 14	
Negative Attributes to Anti-LGBT Parties in Jakarta Globe	
Carrier/Token	Attributes/Values
	Jakarta Globe
what he said (discrimination)	A flaw in the law (anti-LGBT law)
The majority of comment on LGBT (anti-LGBT comments)	(are based on) the matters of morality and religions
Laws	(have to be based on) higher sources
MUI statement	Regrettable
Anti-LGBT fatwa	Not officials
Issuing such fatwa	as same as promoting hatred and motivating people to carry out violence against others,"
Bylaws	Extremist sideshow, Not legally binding

Other prominent evidence of the defense resulting from relational processes is a number of negative attributes given to Anti-LGBT-related laws issued by MUI and governments as well as anti-LGBT comments.

Based on the attributes and values attached to the carriers and tokens, Human Rights activists tend to describe the anti-LGBT laws as non-official and regrettable, and they view discriminations against LGBT are due to a flaw in the law and the matter of morality and religions that laws should be based on higher sources and non-discriminatory principle.

3. Explanation

In addition to dealing with textual analysis and interpretation of text, socio-political and socio-historic contexts are also crucial aspects to investigate in order to unveil the ideology and power hidden in the texts (Fairclough, 1995). Thus, this section exposes the above findings in relation to particular social contexts.

3.1 The Underlying Ideology & Agenda

Based on the interpreations of transitivity choices in *the Jakarta Post a*nd *Jakarta Globe* as elaborated in the previous section on LGBT representations, the two media are   Democratization or the act of democratizing is defined as a way to mediate various social interests in a particular community and to solve conflicts by dialogue rather than by force of arms that focuses on a wide range of human concerns and the protection of human rights (Boutrous, 1996). Boutrous (1996) also explains that

democratic agenda aims to promote the dignity and worth of individual human beings and the fundamental equality of all persons.

The two media attempt to convince their readers to consider the presence of LGBT as a marginalized group in Indonesia. The means of convincing are realized through the representations of LGBT served by the two media in which their agendas are embedded. According to Fairclough (2012, p. 116), in order to dig in the agenda, practical reasoning is required to understand "how analysis and evaluation can contribute to explanatory critique and to critique ideology". Practical reasoning as a means of approaching explanatory critique suggests that "discourses represent premises and claims that are linked to diverse interest and social position of particular agents" (Fairclough, 2012, p.116). The following figures explore how the agenda are revealed through mapping their practical reasonings:

The Jakarta Post

Figure 3 Practical Reasoning of *the Jakarta Post*

The Jakarta Post claims that LGBT should be accepted and protected in Indonesia. There are several attempts made by the media in order to make their claim acceptable and persuasive, i.e. through circumstances and goals. The representation of LGBT as a victim that is defended by Human Rights activists and several public officials as one of the circumstances that lead to one of the goals, suggests that the media tend to build up a judgment among their readers that LGBT as a minority is vulnerable and discriminated thus they should be defended. Moreover, another circumstance also suggests that the way the media represent LGBT in a positive way that LGBT is acceptable in Islam as a religion with most followers in Indonesia shows that the media attempt to convince Indonesians to hold on the same perspective as that of moderate

Muslim scholars. The last circumstance that represents LGBT as an already acknowledged phenomenon in Indonesia suggests that the presence of LGBT in Indonesia should instead be considered and recognized not the other way around. The overall goals generally support the claim proposed by the media that LGBT should be accepted and protected in the country.
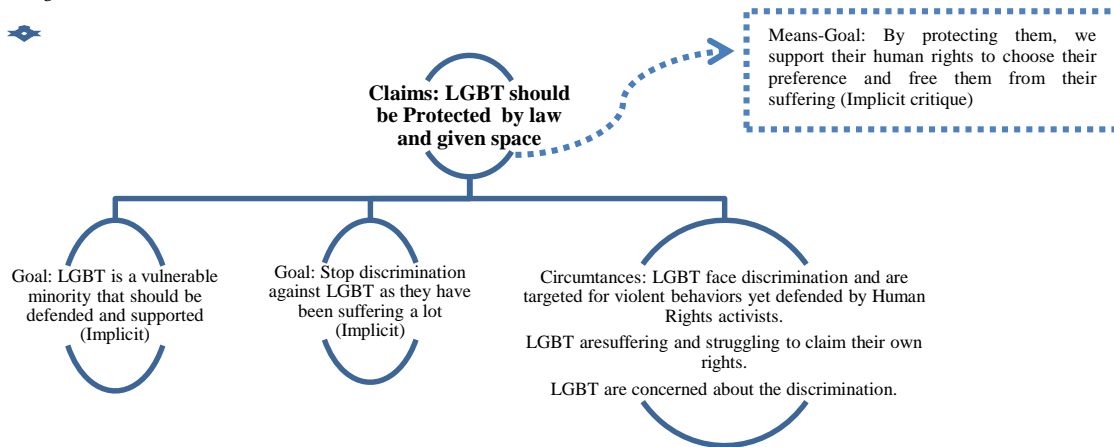
Jakarta Globe

Figure 4 Practical Reasoning of *Jakarta Globe*

Correspondingly, the representations of LGBT in *Jakarta Globe* also suggest that the media seems to have a hidden agenda. *Jakarta Globe* claims that LGBT should be protected by law and given space through critiquing discrimination against LGBT rights. To reinforce their claim and make it look proper and persuasive, the claim is supported by several goals resulting from the circumstances. The first goal suggests that LGBT should be defended and supported due to their suffering in having their rights violated and struggling to claim for their rights as equal citizens in Indonesia; thus, the second goal that discrimination against LGBT should be stopped can be achieved. Based on the discussion, the two media can be assumed to be sympathetic to LGBT.

These two media tend to take the side of LGBT. The partiality can be identified through the existing power relations that will reveal the interest, position and purpose of the media. According to Fairclough (1989), media are defined as something that exercise power in their products by determining the content of their products (i.e. what is to be included or excluded) and that the tendency of media can be revealed by investigating the use of sources of information in their news reports (who get interviewed, quoted or heard). In the texts published by these two media, the statements by Human Rights activists, that include International Human Rights Commission, Komnas HAM

(Indonesian human rights commission), Arus Pelangi (Non-governmental human rights commission for LGBT) are the most frequently presented, while other participants only appear as the projected clauses of their statements. The clauses representing anti-LGBT participants are only present to point out the reasons of condemnation towards LGBT in the perspective of Human Rights activists. The findings indicate that these two media seem to represent the agenda of Human Rights activists for the realization of LGBT acceptance (*the Jakarta Post*) and protection (*Jakarta Globe*) in Indonesia.

By dominantly stating the perspectives of Human Rights to treat LGBT equally as a minority group in Indonesia, it suggests that these media are indirectly in line with the perspectives of Human Rights activists. Regarding the perspectives, according to Human Rights Fact Sheet (2016), both at national and international levels, Human Rights activists consistently fight for "the rights of categories of persons, for example women's rights, children's rights, the rights of indigenous persons, the rights of refugees and internally displaced persons, and the rights of national, linguistic or sexual minorities". It is worth noting that LGBT as a sexual minority in Indonesia is included in the categories of person's rights that are defended by Human Rights activists. Thus, there is no doubt that through the evidence of the interpretation of transitivity choices explained previously, these media hold the perspective of Human Rights as 'equality for all people' regardless of their gender identity and sexual orientation.

3.2 Partiality & Power

With regards to the broader situational context where the news reports are produced, the assumed agenda of the media, that they seek democratic value for the acceptance and protection for LGBT in Indonesia, is quite oppositional to state policy or ideology of Indonesia that still strongly rejects the acceptance of LGBT. Although Indonesia is a democratic country, homophobic views that discredit LGBT groups still dominate many institutionalized regulations and law, for example Law Number 44 of 2008 on Pornography, Article 4 that addresses homosexuality as deviant acts (Muthmainnah, 2016). As opposed to state-controlled media that are aimed at sustaining power relations in society, *the Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Globe* seem to contribute to transforming rejection against LGBT into acceptance that might impact on the realization of LGBT protection and acceptance in Indonesian society.

Therefore, the findings reject the claims of the two media that they are objective, considering that what are represented in news reports are not without a tendency, or in other words, media themselves cannot be neutral, although they claim as if they are. According to Fairclough (2003), media are one-sided perspective in which media are considered as a source of legitimacy in which particular parties can make up certain perception about themselves, in order to look proper and legitimate. Similarly as to how LGBT is represented in the two media, the interpretation has already made it clear that these two media are inclined to represent LGBT as if they were legitimate.

More precisely, to make the stance of the media clearer, information concerning the powers behind the two media should be further dug in. The significant information to seek is regarding the ownership of media. According to Fairclough (1995), the ownership of media plays a crucial role in the determinant of the content of media, particularly in press. Basically this is based on Fairclough's (1995) point of views that the output of media is very much under the control of professional and institutional, generally those having economic, political or cultural power that pose the best access to it. In terms of the ownership, *Jakarta Globe* is owned by *Berita Satu* Media Holding under the association of Lippo Group (company profile) whose owner, James Ryadi, is widely known as a prominent conglomerate figure in Indonesia who is active in cultural and political exchanges between Indonesia and United States (Mydans, 1996). He also used to actively donate to United Democratic Party (Mydans, 1996). It indicates that James Ryadi, the owner of *Jakarta Globe*, might have a democratic agenda in Indonesia.

Likewise, *The Jakarta Post* owned by PT Bina Media Tenggara is under the control of four media groups: *Kompas, Tempo, Suara Karya,* and *Sinar Harapan* (company profile), in which two of the holders, *Kompas* and *Tempo,* as secular or democratic media, have been contributing to the democratization of Indonesians and matched with the finest American publication (Hefner, 2000). In regards to the information of the existing powers behind the two media that refer to their ownerships, it can be assumed that the media are under the control of democratic values held by the owners. These interesting facts might add to a conclusion that power of the media ownerships might determine the interests of media.

3.3. Indonesian Media on LGBT issues

Another prominent discussion not to be missed in order to attain a better understanding on the situational context is concerning LGBT news coverage in Indonesia. Badgett et al (2017) argue that most coverage of Indonesian news media projects negative sentiments concerning LGBT, either in religious perspective or other ideological positions.

Previous studies on Indonesian news media conducted by Syarifuddin (2016), Lobodally (2016) and Oktaviani (2016), suggest that LGBT is tangibly represented in a negative way: mentally ill people who deviate from religious teaching (Oktaviani, 2016), deviated sexual orientation (Syarifuddin, 2016), sexual predator, abnormal, psychopathic, criminal person, and pedophiles (Lobodally, 2016). Thus, these findings directly support the claim proposed by Badgett et al (2017) that religious perspective and other ideological positions dominate the negative LGBT coverage in Indonesian news media. Meanwhile, the findings of this study suggest that, different from Indonesian-written news reports, such as *Harian Republika* and *Detik.com*, *the Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Globe* tend to represent LGBT in a more positive way. Some parts of the findings also support Fatmawati's study (2017) that *the Jakarta Post* represents LGBT community as "victims" discriminated by the public, religious groups, police officers, as well as government officials.

Based on the above discussion, it is clear that this study differs from other similar studies, in which this study has explored the concept of LGBT in a depth of analysis with reference to the underlying ideology behind the representations. This explanation part suggests that both *the Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Globe* are inclined to hold the same perspectives as that of Human Rights activists that express democratic values. These findings correspond to Fairclough's statement (1992, p. 48) that "discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries- representation of how things might or could or should be". To put it in this context, the two media aim to present to their readers the representations of LGBT only in the way they are ideologically fit to their own hidden orientations, agenda and ideologies.

CLOSING

The findings of this study unfold several conclusions. Firstly, with regards to the representation of LGBT in *the Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Globe,* the findings suggest that

the two media depict LGBT quite differently. The former attempts to represent LGBT as a passive participant while the latter tends to represent LGBT as a more active participant. Secondly, in regards to the ideology embedded in the representations of LGBT in the two media, the explanation part suggests that the two media are inclined to pose similar ideology. The two media are struggling to contribute to establishing LGBT acceptance in Indonesia (*the Jakarta Post)* and critiquing the intimidation as a means of ending discrimination against LGBT (*Jakarta Globe)*.

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