



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Department of International Relations

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**The Factors that Influence Media Framing Regarding
LGBT Rights (Case Study: CNN and Republika's News
Coverage on the Attempt to Criminalize LGBT in
Indonesia)**

Thesis

By
Shafira Amalia Hidayat
2014330165

Bandung
2018



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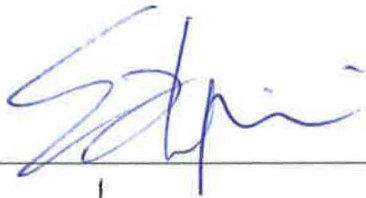


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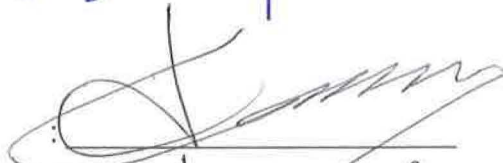
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Bandung, 11th July 2018



Shafira Amalia Hidayat

ABSTRACT

Name : Shafira Amalia Hidayat
NPM : 2014330165
Title : The Factors That Influence Media Framing Regarding LGBT Rights (Case Study: CNN and Republika's News Coverage on the Attempt to Criminalize LGBT in Indonesia)

This research focuses on the research question: "How are the factors that influence media framing regarding LGBT rights between CNN and Republika's news coverage regarding the attempt to criminalize LGBT in the Republic of Indonesia?". The media has a significant role as the fourth estate in non-traditional international relations. However, the nature of the media's non-neutrality is inevitable due to the many factors that influence how they frame their news coverage. One global issue that is currently being discussed by the international media is the increasing number of movements that support LGBT rights in various countries. Some democratic countries support the protection of the LGBT community from all sorts of discrimination. However, many controversies surround the LGBT community and the social acceptance in countries that have religious people as their majority, like Indonesia. Therefore, the petition of the criminal code draft to criminalize LGBT in Indonesia has initiated this research on the factors that influence CNN and Republika's media framing regarding the attempt to criminalize LGBT in the Republic of Indonesia.

In analyzing the news, this research uses Gamson and Modigliani's framing analysis model. This research examines some samples of the news taken from CNN and Republika's official websites which are related to the conditions of LGBT and the petition of the criminal code draft as an attempt to criminalize LGBT in Indonesia. This research also focuses on the timeline since AILA filed the petition in March 2016 until the rejection from the Indonesian Constitutional Court in December 2018. The results show that CNN and Republika have taken opposite sides in covering news related to LGBT in Indonesia due to the influences from many factors. As CNN is being affected by the western media values and depending on international audiences subscription, they take stance with the LGBT community in Indonesia for the sake of human rights through their news coverage. While Republika, which holds a strong historical and ownership ties with conservative Islamic groups, acts in the opposite direction by reminding Muslim communities in Indonesia to fight against the LGBT community.

Keywords: LGBT, Media, Framing Analysis, Human Rights

ABSTRAK

Nama : Shafira Amalia Hidayat
NPM : 2014330165
Judul : Faktor-faktor yang Mempengaruhi Framing Media Terkait Hak LGBT. (Studi Kasus: Berita CNN dan Republika dalam Usaha untuk Mengkriminalisasi LGBT di Indonesia)

Penelitian ini fokus kepada pertanyaan penelitian: "Bagaimana faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi framing media terkait hak LGBT dalam pemberitaan CNN dan Republika terkait usaha untuk mengkriminalisasi LGBT di Indonesia?". Media memiliki pengaruh signifikan sebagai aktor yang menjadi estate keempat dalam hubungan internasional non-tradisional. Namun, tidak dapat dipungkiri media tidak dapat sepenuhnya menjadi netral karena banyak faktor yang mempengaruhi cara mereka meliput dan membingkai berita mereka. Salah satu isu global yang dibahas dalam media adalah hak-hak LGBT di berbagai negara. Beberapa negara penganut demokrasi seperti Amerika mendukung perlindungan kaum LGBT dari segala macam diskriminasi, namun banyak kontroversi terhadap keberadaan LGBT dan penerimaan terhadap kaum tersebut di negara yang didominasi oleh mayoritas rakyat yang religius seperti Indonesia. Maka dari itu adanya pengajuan petisi RUU KUHP untuk mengkriminalisasi LGBT di Indonesia menginisiasi penelitian tentang faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi framing berita CNN dan Republika terkait usaha untuk mengkriminalisasi LGBT di Republik Indonesia.

Dalam menganalisa berita-berita tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan model analisis framing Gamson dan Modigliani. Riset ini meneliti beberapa sampel berita yang diambil dari situs CNN.com dan Republika.com terkait kondisi LGBT serta pengajuan petisi RUU KUHP untuk mengkriminalisasi LGBT di Indonesia dan fokus pada linimasa dimulai sejak pengajuan petisi hingga saat penolakannya oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa CNN dan Republika memiliki sisi yang bertolak belakang dalam meliput berita-berita yang berkaitan dengan LGBT di Indonesia karena dipengaruhi oleh banyak faktor. Dipengaruhi oleh nilai-nilai media barat dan bergantung pada iuran pelanggan internasional, CNN memihak pada komunitas LGBT di Indonesia atas nama HAM lewat liputan berita mereka. Namun Republika, yang memiliki ikatan sejarah serta kepemilikan yang kuat dengan kelompok Islam konservatif, bertindak pada arah yang berlawanan dengan mengingatkan kaum Muslim di Indonesia untuk melawan LGBT.

Kata Kunci: LGBT, Media, Media Framing, Hak Asasi Manusia

PREFACE

I would like to express my utter gratefulness for the opportunity to finish this research titled: **"The Factors that Influence Media Framing Regarding LGBT Rights (Case Study: CNN and Republika's News Coverage on the Attempt to Criminalize LGBT in Indonesia)"** on time. This thesis would not have been completed if it wasn't for the guidance, patience and massive support of my thesis advisors, Mr. Giandi Kartasasmita and Mrs. Anggia Valerisha.

This research analyses the factors that influence CNN and Republika's news coverage regarding LGBT rights in Indonesia. This research is conducted and submitted for the requirement to achieve a bachelor degree in the study of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science in Parahyangan Catholic University, Bandung. The title and issue discussed in this research is chosen due to the interest of the researcher in social issues and mass media throughout the learning experience in UNPAR.

The researcher apologises for the flaws this thesis might have, however the researcher is open for critics and opinions that may help further complete this research. Nevertheless, the researcher hopes that this research could be beneficial to the readers and/or International Relations students that are interested in social issues, LGBT, and mass media, especially in Indonesia.

Bandung, 11 July 2018

Researcher

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A MILLION THANK YOUS AND LOTS OF LOVE TO:

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Umak, Ebak, Papa and Mama, thank you for all the lessons that you have taught me. You have taught me to become the strongest person a lot of people look up to. You have taught me that even the worst problems can be handled on my own, even if it was considered barely hanging on. Thank you for your prayers and thank you for cheering me on even until the very end. I hope you are proud.

Zachary Adam Hidayat

Dek, it is unfair for me to group you up with the others because you are special on your own. You have no idea how many times I have thought about giving up on everything and you appeared on my mind. Before anybody else, you are the one who gave me strength since the very start and for a lot of years I was fueled solely on my love for you and my will to protect you even until my very last breath. All I ever want to do is protect you and love you, and I cannot do that if I am not here with you, so I stay. Dek, I graduated because you told me I am always strong enough to do anything. I'm always proud of you, I hope with this, you are proud of me too.

Tommy Surya Pradana

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Loran Palseo Tambunan, ah, sesama anak pulau. Thank you for being there for me literally dari day 1. Anyways, it is not true if I told you that you have no idea how much you mean to me because you know. I have always run to you with every single problem that I had: financial, family, relationships, friendships, academics. And you have never failed to make me feel better and you even helped me out with most of them, so thank you. One thing that I want to remind you is: you are an inspiration to many. I admire you in so many ways and I support you in everything you do that is best for you. I hope we can stay together in Jakarta when the time comes. You are truly my best friend and I love you.

Sabilla Hamami Robayana, cie. HAHA. We are literally duplicates even though we don't seem alike at all. You know literally everything that I am thinking and you can always guess what I'm going to say next. Sometimes it is annoying, but most of the time I am honored to be a "duplicate" of someone with a heart of gold and a friend of the world (lol kok kayak sims btw). One thing I want YOU to remember is: you are more than you think you are. I wish for a time where you would not be so hard on yourself because you are one of the best people I know. I believe in you so much, Bek. I hope you start to believe in yourself too. Hopefully soon. I love you very much and we must meet at least once a month, ok?

Maghfira Adzhani Diva, hi non. Thank you for being my partner for everything. We have been together through events and internships and there's nobody else I'd rather do them with but you! Also, I know it is hard for you to show affection and emotions so it is an honor for me to be your best friend and have a taste of your awkward show of affection towards us once in a while HEHE. Like the rest, I want you to remember something: PLEASE REACH YOUR DREAMS AND NEVER LET ANYONE TELL YOU THAT YOU ARE NOT ALLOWED TO. Love you Fir, let's video call everyday with the girls!

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It is not fair for me to not thank you all for being a part of my life, you have definitely left a mark. Thank you for everything, but what's in the past, well, I would like it to stay in the past. As nothing else but simply memories that deserve one nod of acknowledgement. However, one thing that I will always remember even in my future adventures is that I thank you for teaching me a lot of things in life. Among many, one of them is to try and stop feeling responsible to fix every broken heart. Why? Because some hearts are just beyond fixing and I will only end up hurting myself. I am now strong because of you guys, thank you.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|---|
| ABC | Australian Broadcasting Corporations |
| AILA | <i>Aliansi Cinta Keluarga</i> (Family Love Alliance) |
| CNN | Cable News Network |
| ICMI | <i>Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia</i> |
| LGBT | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender |
| U.S.A | United States of America |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Research

Before discussing the issue chosen for this research, it is important to understand the general idea of this thesis discussion. This thesis generally discusses elements of non-traditional international relations, the media and its role as the fourth estate of democracy; and the basic concept of democracy itself before discussing the issue of factors that influence media's news coverage regarding LGBT rights in Indonesia. These topics are important to discuss in the introduction because it will help to shape the main background of the research.

According to Siddhart Mallavarapu, non-traditional international relations is a new, different approach of international relations that transcends the scope of 'traditional' or 'realist' perspective of international relations. This non-traditional approach of international relations came as the result of the emergence of non-military security threats after the end of Cold War. While the traditional approach of international relations revolves around the military, high-politics, and diplomatic sectors, non-traditional international relations put many more factors into consideration such as global economic depression, humanitarian crisis, and the unpredicted rising of non-state actors.¹

¹ Siddarth Mallavarapu, 2008, "International Relations Theory and Non-Traditional Approaches to Security", *WISCOMP*, accessed on July 9th, 2018, accessed from <http://wiscomp.org/Publications/141%20-%20Perspectives%2027%20-%20International%20Relations%20Theory%20and%20Non-Traditional%20Approaches%20to%20Security.pdf>

One of the most prominent actors of non-traditional international relations is the media. Being a non-state actor, media possesses the ability to demonstrate power through its representation, advocate, and the distinctive capability to challenge the narrative of a particular issues.² According to Christopher Hill, the media plays a significant role as one of the primary sources of information for the people regarding particular global issues. With this, they thereby present themselves as witnesses to events and provide a clear insight for the consumption of public. This then triggers debates that traditionally would have only happened within the circles of political elites. Specifically in the context of human rights issues or social issues, the media has a significant role to bring the depiction of these issues into the public's attention. This is for the sake of encouraging the public and the people of authority for a change in attitude and policy.³ Thus, also raising awareness and prompting international concern.

Over time, the media also has been seen as the fourth estate of democracy. The 'fourth estate' means that they are holding other institutions into account by covering the news of their activities. Prabhat Ranjan and Sindhuja stated that the media's independence of other institutions (business, industry, and government) is a necessary attribute for them to maintain their functions. Democracy itself, which comes from the Greek word demos (people) is simply described as a governmental system in which the highest power is vested in the people. In some forms, democracy can be exercised directly by the people; in larger societies, it is

² *Ibid.*

³ Christopher Hill, 2003, "The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy", *Palgrave Macmillan*, accessed on July 9th, 2018, accessed from https://www.academia.edu/4832479/The_Changing_Politics_of_Foreign_Policy_Christopher_Hill_Palgrave_Macmillan_2003_

by the people through the representatives elected by the people themselves.⁴ This means that if the media can report their factual-based news with a level of quality that is desired by the public, they can possess a significant amount of political power to contribute as an important actor in non-traditional international relations. With media being an important actor, the media always tries to be neutral. However, influences towards the media's news coverage is inevitable due to the multiple factors behind them. This will be explained more specifically in further chapters in this research.

One international issue that is focused on in the mass media recently is LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) rights and issues. The LGBT community itself started with the first known gay rights organization known as the Society for Human Rights back in 1924 in the United States of America and has expanded and grown into the widespread community we know today. The first and main things that were demanded by the community was social acceptance and support for the community. These demands are still a struggle in a lot of countries even until today.

Over time, the LGBT community started to be accepted and recognised by the laws in a lot of countries, mostly in western countries like the United States and countries in Europe.⁵ Though there are a lot of countries that has legalised same-sex marriage before, the legalisation of same-sex marriage in the United States has affected a lot in a global scale. Before 2015, there were a total of 18

⁴ "Definition of Democracy", *Merriam-Webster.com*, accessed on July 9th, 2018, accessed from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/democracy>

⁵ Atish Parashar, G. Sreenivasan, 2015, "Mindset Shaping by the Media: An Overview of Media Technologies Leading towards Media Imperialism in Media Mix", *Social Networking* 4, p.17-21, doi: 10.4236/sn.2015.41002.

countries that allows same-sex marriages under their law. Currently, there are 26 countries in the world that legalises same-sex marriages. These countries also have a higher social acceptance towards the LGBT community compared to the countries that has yet recognise the rights of the community in their law.

As democracy emphasises the value of human rights, it has become one of the main tools in the rise of LGBT movements throughout the years. The concept of how democracy goes hand in hand with human rights protection is strengthened by Kirchsclaeger which stated that democracy and human rights work together because the system of democracy is a manifestation of individual values within the idea and concept of human rights.⁶ Moreover, according to a paper published by the US Embassy in South Korea regarding the introduction to democracy, in a democratic society, majority rule has to be accompanied with guarantees of individual human rights that serve to protect the rights of minorities whether it is based on their race, religion, or simply those who are defeated in the political battles.⁷ Considering that the LGBT community has been a group of minority in most of the countries worldwide, it can be concluded that democracy does not only open many doors to achieve the liberation of LGBT rights, but also establish a strong principle to protect the rights against discrimination.

⁶ Peter G. Kirchsclaeger, 2014, "The Relations between Human Rights and Democracy", *Globalistics and Globalization Studies*, p. 120, accessed on June 5th, 2018, accessed from https://www.sociostudies.org/almanac/articles/files/globalistics_and_globalization_3/112-125.pdf

⁷ Korean US Embassy, 2017, "Introduction: What is Democracy?" *US Embassy in Korea*, accessed on June 28th, 2018, accessed from https://kr.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/75/2017/04/Democracy-in-Brief_kor-1.pdf

1.2 Problems Identified

Problems surrounding the LGBT topic is mainly caused by the fact that LGBT rights are still not considered equal to other basic human rights in a lot of countries all over the world, even to this day. A lot of countries recognise the rights of LGBT and consider them as legal. One of the most demanded rights of the LGBT community are their freedom to marry. As of today, only 26 countries legalise same-sex marriage.⁸ Other than that, out of all the countries that consider LGBT to be legal, only Bolivia, Ecuador, Fiji, Malta and the United Kingdom explicitly states a guarantee of equal rights for the community. In these five countries, equality, protection and free of discrimination are explicitly recognised and guaranteed.⁹

Although accepted in a lot of countries, the conditions of the LGBT community and their rights in other parts of the world are concerning to many. As of 2017, there are still 73 countries that consider homosexuality as illegal according to the Equaldex.¹⁰ In fact, those who are involved in LGBT activities in countries like Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Afghanistan are punishable by death. Other than countries that ban homosexuality, as stated previously, only a few countries offer protection for the community. Which is also dangerous considering how prone the members of the LGBT community are towards

⁸ David Masci and Elizabeth Sciupac, 2017, "Gay Marriage Around the World", *Pew Research Center*, accessed on February 19, 2018, accessed from <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/08/08/gay-marriage-around-the-world-2013/>

⁹ Carla Denly, 2016, "LGBT Rights and Protections are Scarce in Constitutions Around The World, UCLA Study Finds", *UCLA Newsroom*, accessed on May 22, 2018, accessed from <http://newsroom.ucla.edu/releases/lgbt-rights-and-protections-are-scarce-in-constitutions-around-the-world-ucla-study-finds>

¹⁰ Equaldex, updated in 2017, "Homosexual Activity", *Equaldex*, accessed on May 22, 2018, accessed from www.equaldex.com

discrimination involving employment, housing and general social interaction.¹¹ In a 2017 study of discrimination towards the LGBT community, roughly around 51%-57% of the sample stated that they have experienced some form of harassment, violence or discrimination because they are LGBT.¹²

The 2015 ruling for same-sex marriage in the United States has surely influenced the LGBT community to continue demanding for their rights in their own countries. However, not all efforts produced a positive outcome.¹³ One of the countries where the rise of awareness of the LGBT community and their rights resulted negatively is Indonesia.

The LGBT community in Indonesia are severely prone to discrimination and violence based on gender identity and sexual orientation. This is because the daily lives of most Indonesians are based on religious values, mainly Islamic values. Media Diversity Institute alumnus Yerry Panji explains that the shift in Indonesian media coverage regarding LGBT happened approximately around the 2014 Indonesian Presidential Election. During these times, religious values has become a political tool and issues of LGBT became a sensitive topic. The rise in religious sentiment along with referencing religious teachings has affected a big part of Indonesians to only view the LGBT community as deviants and sinners.¹⁴

¹¹ Alex Gray, 2017, "What You Need to Know About LGBT Rights in 11 Maps", *World Economic Forum*, accessed on May 22, 2018, accessed from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/03/what-you-need-to-know-about-lgbt-rights-in-11-maps/>

¹² Robert J. Blendon, 2017, "Discrimination in America: Experiences and Views of LGBTQ Americans", *National Public Radio*, accessed on May 22, 2018, accessed from <https://www.npr.org/documents/2017/nov/npr-discrimination-lgbtq-fmal.pdf>

¹³ Paul Crossley, Colin Gourlay and Ben Spraggon, 2017, "Pride, prejudice and punishment: Gay rights around the world", *ABC*, accessed on February 27, 2018, accessed from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-03-04/gay-lesbian-mardi-gras-rights-around-the-world/8126828>

¹⁴ Eline Jeanne, 2018, "Most of the Indonesian Media in Anti-LGBT Campaign", *Media Diversity Institute*, accessed on 5 June, 2018, accessed from <http://www.media->

Changes in Indonesia's attitudes towards the tolerance to the LGBT community has drastically changed in 2016. Discriminatory comments have been targeted towards the LGBT community by Indonesian government officials or political elites. Homosexuality is also considered as a mental disorder by Indonesian medical professionals. The Indonesian media has also played its part in affecting the lack of tolerance for the community. Constant negative media coverage on the community has affected the public's opinion towards the community. Especially since it is rare for Indonesians to have direct contact with the LGBT community in their daily lives and they rely on the media for information on the community. One of the reasons behind this is the rise of religious sentiments that affected both Indonesia's politics and media, mainly Islamic conservatism. The Indonesian LGBT community has no known media ally as with the rise of religion, reporting news with a positive attitude towards the community can negatively impact the media outlet.¹⁵

This negative impact towards the people has then prompted fear of the community. This led to a group of conservative scholars named AILA (Family Love Alliance) to file a petition in March 2016 to include extramarital sex into an already existing law that bars people who commit adultery. Even though it seems that couples that are involved in extramarital sex are the main target, the group has explicitly stated that their target is the LGBT community. With no legal recognition for same-sex marriage in the country, the country's LGBT community will be an easy target if this petition for the criminal code draft is accepted to be

diversity.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3292:most-of-the-indonesian-media-in-anti-lgbt-campaign-&catid=35:media-news-a-content&Itemid=34

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Eline Jeanne

recognised by the law.¹⁶ The LGBT community's fear for the approval of this petition then fades as the Indonesian Constitutional Court finally rejected the petition in late 2017 with a narrow result of 5-4. Even though the petition has been rejected and will not be applied to the country's law, this event is essential to the awareness of conditions surrounding the Indonesia's LGBT community and their rights. This prompted a huge international concern towards these conditions.

International media has raised this issue in their news coverage and responded towards the attempt to criminalize LGBT discussed in the court. One of these international medias is CNN. The coverage from CNN reporting the possibility of LGBT relations being illegal in Indonesia has prompted international concern, mainly depicting it as a threat to human rights. Unfortunately, how the Indonesian national media portrays the case are not in line with how the international media portrays their concern towards Indonesia's attempted LGBT criminalization case. Moreover, one Indonesian national media with a very strong Islamic basis known as Republika has taken a firm stance to support this attempt to criminalize LGBT in the criminal code draft. These different stances shows how the media differently portrays an issue and thus shows the existence of factors that influence the media's stances and also their news coverages. Therefore, this thesis discusses factors that influence CNN and Republika's news coverage on LGBT rights through media framing, specifically on how they portray the conditions of LGBT in Indonesia and the attempt to include the criminalization of LGBT in the Indonesian criminal code draft.

¹⁶ Jeffrey Hutton, 2017. "Indonesian Constitutional Court Declines to Ban Sex Outside Marriage", *The New York Times*, accessed on May 8, 2018, accessed from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/14/world/asia/indonesia-court-ban-sex.html>

1.2.1 Scope and Focus of Research

Although there are a number of problems related to this topic, this research will mainly focus surrounding the factors that influence how the media frames their articles on LGBT Rights. Specifically, how Republika and CNN frame their news coverage on the conditions of the LGBT community and their rights in the Republic of Indonesia; and how they frame their news regarding Indonesia's attempt to criminalize LGBT relations in the criminal code draft. The news coverage compared are news found in their official online news websites which are www.republika.co.id and www.cnn.com. CNN is chosen for this research as it has continuously responded and raised international concern towards the issues surrounding LGBT in Indonesia. CNN is also the first international medias to respond and report to this Indonesian LGBT issue in June 2017, whereas other medias covered their articles in December 2017 or in 2018. CNN is also known for their influence, specifically for their CNN effect. Republika is chosen due to its involvement and contribution to the issue. Republika is known for continuously targeting the LGBT community as it is a conservative Indonesian national media. Republika is also known for their first article on LGBT which referred to the community as people who will bring doom to the country.

Even though the media claims to try being neutral in all issues, there will always be factors that influence their news coverages and also their stances. This then can be analysed through how they frame their coverages or articles. Therefore, the factors that influence CNN and Republika's news coverages are vital to be discussed in this research. The factors discussed consists of external

factors and internal factors. External factors being ideologies from both the media's countries of origin, along with how it affects their media approach in their respective countries. CNN is an international media based in the United States of America while Republika is one of the Republic of Indonesia's national medias. Therefore what is discussed are ideologies of the U.S and Indonesia, along with their approach to their media. While the internal factors discussed are the background, funding and tone of coverage of both CNN and Republika.

The LGBT rights discussed in this research are specifically on the rights of social acceptance and being viewed as socially equal without discrimination. The timeline that is discussed in the research starts from March 2016 when the group of conservative scholars, AILA, filed the petition to include the criminalization of extramarital sex to target Indonesia's LGBT community. The timeline then ends in December 2017 when the Constitutional Court of Indonesia rejects this petition to criminalize LGBT relations.¹⁷ This is the timeline chosen for the research since the basis of this research revolves around the attempt to include the criminalization of LGBT in the Indonesian criminal code draft.

1.2.2 Research Question

There are a number of topics and discussions that could be discussed concerning LGBT rights and mass media. However, this research's main focus is to answer the research question: "How are the factors that influence media

¹⁷ *Op.Cit.*, Stephen Wright

framing regarding LGBT rights between CNN and Republika's news coverage regarding the attempt to criminalize LGBT in the Republic of Indonesia?"

1.3 Purpose and Benefit of the Research

As mentioned previously, the recognition of LGBT rights socially and legally varies in different parts of the world. One of the reasons for this is the difference of how different medias portray an issue. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to discuss factors behind how different medias frame their news regarding LGBT rights. Specifically, on how Republika and CNN differ in framing their news coverage regarding the attempted criminalization of LGBT rights in Indonesia.

This research is hopefully expected to be beneficial as reference to other researches relevant to topics surrounding issues regarding the LGBT community, their rights and mass media framing. Especially if researchers are also analyzing the factors behind media framing of the media on LGBT rights.

1.4 Literature Review

There are a few sources of literature used to help in the comparison and analysis of this research. These sources consist of Karina Panyan's research paper titled "LGBT Rights and the Role of Mass Media in the Russian Federation and the United States"; A research paper titled "Getting the Message Out: Media Context and Global Changes Attitudes towards Homosexuality" by Dr. Phillip M.

Ayoub and Dr. Jeremiah Garretson; and “Online Media Framing of LGBT Issues in Guyana: January 2007 - July 2014” by Alana N. Da Silva.

In Panyan's research paper, she discusses the historical background needed for the Russian Federation, then compares it to the United States' history, ideology and their approach towards their mass media. She explains as far as the basic of the American's freedom which is their First Amendment and the Bill of Rights. The next few sections focuses on the history and current situation of LGBT in both the United States and Russia. Panyan then continues to explains the role of media, how it affects the people and the techniques used by achieve an effective affect. The research then further explains specifically about how the mass media in both countries treats and frames articles and news concerning LGBT rights and the LGBT community.¹⁸

The next source that is used as a reference in this research is a research paper titled "Getting the Message Out: Media Context and Global Changes Attitudes towards Homosexuality" by Dr. Phillip M. Ayoub and Dr. Jeremiah Garretson. In the research paper, Ayoub and Garretson explains that one of the reasons behind the international change in attitudes on homosexuality is through the media. This research exposes the involvement of young people as the part of the more socially liberal-cohort society who has shifted the global attitude towards LGBT community. Moreover, it shows that the global change of views towards homosexuality then experienced a drastic change as soon as it was

¹⁸ Karina Panyan, 2014, "LGBT Rights and the Role of Mass Media in the Russian Federation and the United States", *University of Maryland*, accessed on February 25, 2018, accessed from https://drum.lib.umd.edu/bitstream/1903/14976/10/Panyan_ResearchPaper.pdf

affected by transnational interaction and socialization by the American society towards other countries.¹⁹

A research paper by Alana N. Da Silva titled “Online Media Framing of LGBT Issues in Guyana: January 2007 - July 2014” also contributes to the understanding of this research. Da Silva’s research analyses the existence of bias in online media coverage regarding the issue of LGBT rights in Guyana. Da Silva’s research discusses the background of LGBT in Guyana and how the media tends to be against the community and results in injustice. Thus, this research focuses on media bias towards the LGBT community in Guyana and is mentioned in the conceptual framework. In the fourth chapter, Da Silva discusses her findings after collecting information from online archives of various news entities. Her research discovers that news coverage regarding the LGBT community in the country is in fact biased and negatively portrays the community and continues to discuss this throughout the rest of the research.²⁰

Although this research is similar to all of the literature mentioned previously, this research completes the research gaps between these chosen literatures. The literatures chosen discusses about LGBT and the media. However, Panyan’s research focuses on the United States and the Russian Federation, Ayoub’s research focuses LGBT and media in a global context, and Da Silva focuses on Guyana and it’s media approach to LGBT. While this research focuses

¹⁹ Dr. Phillip Ayoub, Dr. Jeremiah Garretson, 2015, "Getting the Message Out: Media Context and Global Changes in Attitudes toward Homosexuality", *Western Political Science Association*, accessed on February 26, 2018, accessed from <https://wpsa.research.pdx.edu/papers/docs/ayoubgarretson.pdf>

²⁰ Alana Da Silva, 2014, “Online Media Framing of LGBT Issues in Guyana: January 2007-July 2014”, *SASOD Guyana*, accessed on May 23, 2018, accessed from <http://www.sasod.org.gy/sites/default/files/resources/Online%20Media%20Framing%20of%20LGBT%20Issues%20in%20Guyana%202007-2014.pdf>

on the United States and Indonesia. Among the literatures chosen, the one that uses media framing for their analysis is Da Silva. However, Da Silva analyses national medias in Guyana while this research compares the news framing of CNN and Republika in the LGBT issue. This research also focuses on one case study which is the issues regarding the attempt to criminalize LGBT relations in Indonesia's criminal code draft. The timeline of these researches also vary. The research by Panyan and Da Silva was both conducted in 2014, while Ayoub's research was in 2015. Whereas the timeline of this research dates back to March 2016 when the petition to criminalize LGBT relations in the Indonesian criminal code draft was first filed, until December 2017 when the petition was rejected by the constitutional court.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

International relations has been widely known as the field of study that delivers a globally oriented perspective on subjects that transcend national boundaries. It is interdisciplinary in nature because it mixes all the study of history, political science, and economics to examine topics such as global poverty, the environment, human rights, globalization, the political environment, and also security.²¹

Since the end of the Cold War, along with the rising tide of globalisation, environmental degradation and international terrorism, states has been prompted to change the focus away from military power to several non-traditional sectors,

²¹ Anonymous, "What is International Relations?" *InternationalRelationsEdu.com*, accessed on June 26, 2018, accessed from <https://www.internationalrelationsedu.org/what-is-international-relations/>

with a much strengthened role of political, economic, and societal powers. The study of international relations has also been broadened with a new scope that is called “non-traditional international relations” in order to adapt to the unprecedented change of security threat. As a result, there has been an emergence of non-state actors that holds significant political influence, such as NGO, MNC, and also the media.²²

Having a significant role as the fourth estate of democracy, the media has become one of the most important actors in the non-traditional international relations because they hold other institutions (business, industry, and government) into account by being the citizen watchdog in covering the factual-based news related to their activity. Filiz Coban has listed three points of evaluation in regards to the political importance of media:²³ First is that the media has become an important equipment for defining ‘in-group’ identity against ‘out-group’ identity based on representing a series of contrasts and oppositions through framing. Simply put, the media provides to establish the reality of international politics. Second, the media are gathering forces from many ways which work against power’s ability to influence and control. The third, the international media’s efforts to attract public attention brings the crises and conflicts to the top of the agenda to persuade its audiences to pressure and influence government policies.

²² Saurabh Chaudhuri, “Defining Non-Traditional Security Threats”, *Global India Foundation*, accessed on June 26, 2018, accessed from <http://www.globalindiafoundation.org/nontraditionalsecurity.html>

²³ Filiz Coban, “The Role of Media in International Relations: From the CNN Effects to the Al-Jazeera Effects”, *American Research Institute for Policy Development*, no. 2 (4), p.45-61, accessed on June 27, 2018, accessed from http://jirfp.com/journals/jirfp/Vol_4_No_2_December_2016/3.pdf

One of the recent popular issues discussed in the media are LGBT, specifically their rights. The term LGBT itself is an acronym for various gender identities and sexual orientation. These letters stand for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender. There are various acronyms that used to describe the community however the term LGBT is more familiar to Indonesians, therefore this is the term used in this research. A lesbian is a term for when a woman is romantically, emotionally and/or sexually attracted to other women. While a gay man is one who is attracted to other men. Bisexuals are men or women who are attracted to people of both sexes. Transgender is actually an umbrella term as it is less specific than the rest of the categories. The term is used for people whose gender identity or gender expression is different from what is associated with their birth sex. In short, trans men are women who identifies as men; while trans women are men who identifies as women.²⁴

Basically, rights that are demanded by the LGBT community are based on equality. Whether it is the right to not be discriminated and also equal rights for protection and privacy. The rights that they are demanding consists of laws preventing members of the community to receive discrimination in workplaces, job opportunities, neighbourhood and social interaction. They also demand for equal protection, equal rights to privacy, equal guarantee for freedom of speech/expression and also social acceptance. Even though it is guaranteed in basic laws in different countries, the LGBT community is still prone to discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. In short, they are

²⁴ Anonymous, "What is LGBT", *LGBT Ireland*, accessed on June 5, 2018, accessed from <http://www.lgbt.ie/about/what-is-lgbt>

struggling to be treated equal or seen as equal in the society. The recognition of LGBT rights have been demanded to be a priority since the rise of discrimination, harassment and violence against the community becomes a concern to many.²⁵ In many countries, the right to marry in same-sex relations have also been demanded as an equal right for the LGBT community.

As stated previously, the issues surrounding LGBT has been a popular topic among mass medias around the world. As much as medias try to be neutral in their news coverage on a certain topic, news will always have a tendency to show their opinions implicitly in their tone of coverage. Their tone of coverage on the LGBT issue is varied, depending on the views, general thought and opinion of the writer or the media itself. How the media is not neutral can also be understood by understanding the influence of their media coverage. The factors behind media coverage consists of internal and external factors. The background of the media the actors involved in their establishment and growth and also where the media gets their funds are important influences in news coverage. This is because the media will not offend, disappoint or be against the actors and people involved in their media. Other than that, external factors are the ideology, beliefs and tendencies of the media's country of origin or where they are based in. A media that is not in line with the general beliefs of the country will result in a negative effect towards the media itself. This is because the country they are based in has the capability to stop the coverage, articles and channels of the media that is believed to be against them.

²⁵ Anonymous, "The Rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People", *American Civil Liberties Union*, accessed on June 5, 2018, accessed from <https://www.aclu.org/other/rights-lesbian-gay-bisexual-and-transgender-people-0>

Due to these influences, the stances of media in a certain issue is inevitable as a completely neutral article is rarely possible. There are techniques which the media uses to implicitly include their stances in articles, one of them is media framing. The term media framing itself does not have a widely accepted definition, but a few scholars has their own definitions towards it. In “Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality”, Gaye Tuchman stated:

“News is a window on the world, and through its frame, Americans learn of themselves and others, of their institutions, leaders, and life styles, and those of other nations and other peoples. The news aims to tell us what we want to know, need to know, and should know. But, like any frame that delineates a world, a news frame may be problematic. The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard.”²⁶

Therefore, in general, framing is an approach used by journalists and the media to show their views and perspectives in a certain issue through the choice of issues to report and their tone of coverage.²⁷ In short, journalists will try to shorten news and only report the important aspects in an event to make the news more understandable to readers. On the other hand, different people with different perspectives will perceive the important aspects differently. Thus, the tone of coverage will implicitly show the perspective of the journalist and also the general view of the media on a certain topic.

Since this research discusses the factors of CNN and Republika's media coverage surrounding the LGBT, the approach used is “framing analysis”. By

²⁶ Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, (Michigan: Free Press, 1978), 1.

²⁷ Eriyanto, *Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media*. (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001), 79.

understanding the definition of framing, it is clear that framing analysis is an approach to determine the perspective implicitly included in an article. There are many techniques that can be used in framing analysis, yet certain keywords, wording of choice, tone of coverage, choices in pictures used in the article are generally observed to determine the frame of an article. This research specifically refers to William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani's framing analysis model.²⁸

To Gamson and Modigliani, the definition of "framing" is a set of main ideas that directs the meaning behind events related to a certain issue. Thus the framing analysis developed by Gamson and Modigliani believes that in constructing meaning behind a certain issue, news coverages are considered as one interpretative package.²⁹ In news coverages, core frames provide the main information relevant to a certain event. This gives them the ability to direct the meaning of an event or an issue according to their understanding, built by condensing symbols. Condensing symbols are usually used to determine the basic perspectives of a news coverage which can be observed from interactions between symbolic tools which are framing devices and reasoning devices. These symbolic tools become the main approach to Gamson and Modigliani's framing analysis model. Framing devices are aspects that affect how to view a certain issue/event. The aspects included in this are metaphors, catchphrases, exemplars, depictions and visual images. Aspects included in reasoning devices are roots, appeals to

²⁸ Anonymous. "Media Framing Analysis", *Provalis Research*, accessed on June 25, 2018, accessed from https://provalisresearch.com/uploads/WP_FramingAnalysis.pdf

²⁹ Alex Sobur, *Analisis Teks Media: Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik dan Analisis Framing*. (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2012), 166.

principle and consequence. Reasoning devices, on the other hand, focuses on justifications or facts that support how to perceive or view the issue.

In framing devices, what is considered to be a metaphor is an expression used to describe a person, object or action without stating its literal meaning. The usage of this expression is usually to compare or explain an idea. In framing analysis, metaphors are usually used to emphasise main ideas in an exaggerating matter or in a manner unusual to describe an idea or object. A catchphrase is a short catchy sentence or phrase that reflect the facts which support their basic idea of the issue. Usually used in an article with a certain slogan with the goal to persuade audience to support the same idea. Depictions is a building of facts with words, phrases and terms that can direct the audience into a certain idea. The goal of the usage of depictions in an article is to prompt misleading assumptions and prejudice. Often used in articles by inserting certain opinions or information that indirectly favors a particular party. Visual images are the usage of pictures, photos, graphics and other visual images to express the image they are trying to build in an article.³⁰ These are the factors analysed by Gamson and Modigliani in their framing analysis model and therefore used to analyse CNN and Republika's news coverage in this research.

1.6 Research Method and Data Collecting Technique

The research method used in this research is the qualitative method. Qualitative research, according to its definition is data that are not in the form of

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Alex Sobur, P. 179-180

numbers and calculation, but data that are in the form of classification.³¹ Another definition to this type of research is the method where data collection is combined and triangulated.³² Due to this definition, the researcher will combine the data from literature sources related to the discussions in this topic, research thoroughly and process the data. To complete the data needed from this research, the researcher will also interview relevant individuals to understand the topic further and view it from multiple different perspectives.

The source of the data collected are from articles in journals; books; online news articles; and publicly published documents. These various types of sources described previously belong to one category, namely secondary data. Therefore, secondary data is the data collection technique used in this study.

³¹ Dr. Ulber Silalahi, *Metode Penelitian Sosial*, 3rd ed., (Indonesia: PT Refika Aditama, 2012),. 284.

³² Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan (Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D)*, (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2013), 15.

1.7 Research Structure

The discussion of this research is divided into 5 parts, this includes:

Chapter I: This chapter explains the broad dynamic of the topic discussed. This includes the background, the problems identified, the scope and limitations; the purpose and benefit; the literature review, the theoretical framework and also the method and techniques of this research.

Chapter II: Focus on factors that influence CNN and Republika's news coverage. The external factors being the ideology and approach to media of the Republic of Indonesia and the United States of America. While the internal factors being CNN and Republika's background, funding and tone of news coverage.

Chapter III: Focuses specifically on the condition of LGBT rights in Indonesia and the attempt to include the criminalization of LGBT in Indonesia's criminal code draft since March 2016 until it's rejection in December 2017. The reaction of international media towards this issue is also discussed.

Chapter IV: Analysis and comparison of CNN and Republika's framing in their news coverage on LGBT rights in Indonesia through Gamson and Modigliani's framing analysis model. Specifically, how they delivered the news regarding the conditions of the Indonesian LGBT community and their rights; and also the Indonesian Constitutional Court's rejection of the criminalization of LGBT to be included in the criminal code draft. The result of the analysis, comparison and the factors within both medias are discussed in the chapter's interpretation of data.

Chapter V: The research will end with this chapter which focuses on the conclusion of the whole research and the answer to the research question.