## The Framing of Gay Candidate for Human Right Commissionaire in the Indonesia Online Newspapers

Dina Listiorini, Olivia Lewi Pramesti, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta

The representation of homosexuality in media in Indonesia tends to be unbalanced and has a negative perspective such as stigma, prejudice and stereotypes in its reporting. This happened in 2012 when Dede Oetomo, an LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) activist who often fights for minorities, ran for membership in the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM).

Dede Oetomo's candidacy invited reactions from the public when this event was covered by the media. In online media, news of Dede's candidacy informs a lot about the pros and cons of public reactions. However, the counter-reaction dominates the news. The counter reaction to Dede Oetomo is mostly due to Dede's identity as a gay person. Not just to inform, online media in Indonesia, especially news portals owned by radical Islamic groups, seem to be carrying out black campaign efforts.

This research will focus on the representation of homosexual issues in online media portals in Indonesia. Online media is interesting to study because this media is increasingly favored by the public. Based on data from the Indonesian Internet Service User Association (APJII), the number of internet users in 2013 increased to 71 million people. In the previous year the figure was only around 63 million. This increase occurs because online media has its own uniqueness compared to other media. In addition to its speed in updating information, this media also has an unlimited reach.

This study aims to find out how online media presents the social reality of homosexuals to the general public. The researcher's initial assumption, like mainstream media in Indonesia, is that online media tend to be discriminatory in reporting on homosexuality issues. This is due to the influence of cultural and religious factors in Indonesia.

The method of this research is framing analysis model by Robert M. Entman. The object of this research is news about the issue of Dede Oetomo's candidacy as a member of Komnas HAM from January 2012 to October 2012. Meanwhile, the online media that will be studied are 10 media which are divided into three categories. These ten online media are carried out by rating ratings on Alexa.com. The first category is Islamic-based online media that does not have а printed edition. namely www.voa-islam.com, www.arrahmah.com. www.eramuslim.com, www.hidayatullah.com, and www.islamedia.web.id. The second category is online media which has print editions based on media ideology, namely Republika.co which represents media with Islamic ideology, Kompas.com which represents media with Catholic ideology, and *Tempo.co* which has nationalist ideology. While the third category is general online media, namely Detik.com and Merdeka.com.

Entman sees that the main dimension in framing is the selection or selection of issues and salience or prominence of issues that give certain pressures that indicate a problem, interpretation, moral evaluation or recommendation and certain treatment of an issue (Entman, 2003). 1993: 52). Eriyanto (2002: 187) clarifies this problem regarding selection and prominence as follows:

| <b>Table 1 Dimension Framing of Entma</b> |
|---|
|---|

| Issue Selection                           | This aspect relates to the selection of facts. From a complex and diverse<br>reality, emerge aspects that are selected or displayed. The selection process<br>causes some aspects to be raised and the rest to be removed. Journalists<br>will choose certain aspects of an issue.                                    |
|---|---|
| Highlighting Certain Aspects of the Issue | This aspect relates to how journalists write facts. When a certain aspect has<br>been chosen, the journalists and editors will determine how to write about<br>that aspect. Things that affect the nuances of writing are the words chosen,<br>the type of sentences used, the selection of certain images or images. |

According to Entman, through the selection and highlighting of a news issue, the implications of raising the news aspect are prominent. News with the prominence of certain news aspects will increase the likelihood that the audience will receive the information, give it a different meaning and store it in memory (Entman, 1993: 53).

To explain the process of framing an issue, there are four aspects (Entman, 1993: 52), namely the first is define problems or define problems. This aspect will explain how an issue or problem is seen and explained through a report. In explaining the problem, usually the media will look at it from a moral point of view that is commonly used by the public. Second, is diagnosing the cause or searching for and analyzing the causes. The third is making moral judgments or giving moral judgments. In this aspect, the media will offer or explain what values or morals will be used to discuss the issue. Fourth is suggest remedies or offer solutions to problems and estimate the effects that may occur in the community as a result of the news.

According to Hatib Abdul Kadir (2007), sexuality in the lives of Indonesian people plays paradoxically in the sacred and profane areas because the concept is a social conception and construction of society with clear distinctions. The distinction between sacred and profane is also evident in the practice of community sexual behavior involving various institutions such as the state and religion. From the explanation of the social construction of sexuality, it can be said that homosexuality is part of profane sexuality. Profane sexuality has become a "taboo" to be discussed in the public sphere because it is contrary to sacred aspects which are widely supported by moral values, especially religion. In talking about profane sexuality, it is commonplace to prioritize aspects of social values that are generally accepted by society, such as religious morals.

Sexuality in the media is interesting to study because the mass media provides an important function in society, especially in reporting on minority groups, where historically these groups have often been marginalized, and the media has an important role in this process (Castañeda and Campbell, 2006). The representation of homosexual news in the mass media will refer to the reality of society and the values contained in that society. If most of society's values think that homosexuality is wrong, then the mass media will not be far from constructing it like that. The negative stereotype attached to homosexuals in the news in the mass media cannot be separated from the homophobia (unclear fear of homosexuals) experienced by the community. Media journalists, in this case not only as media workers, but also as members of society. It is not impossible that the ideology of patriarchy and homophobia is also inherent in the journalist and influences him in making a narrative about homosexuals.

### FINDING AND DISCUSSION

# 1. Analysis of News Framing Nomination of Dede Oetomo as Commissioner of Komnas HAM

From the findings of news framing using the Entman method, it can be seen how news is constructed through elements of determining problems, causes, moral judgments and final recommendations or solutions from news. Based on the results of text analysis, the following results were obtained.

a. Selection and Highlighting of the News Side of Islamic online media that does not have a printed version

In the study, there were four media studied, namely *Arrahman.com*, *Hidayatullah.com*, *Islamedia.id*, and *VOA-Islam.com*. All news headlines displayed by these media highlight the rejection of homosexuals or people with homosexual identities. The words chosen tend to have negative characters such as fail, refuse, kill, and dissolve. The following is the title of the news in the four media.

| Media            | Title  |
|------------------|--|
| Arrahmah.com     | Gay Activist Dede Oetomo Fails to Become       |
|                  | Commissioner of Komnas HAM, FPI Calls for      |
|                  | Dissolution of Komnas HAM, If Gay Leaders      |
|                  | Become Commissioner and KAMMI Aceh             |
|                  | Rejects Gays to Become Commissioner of         |
|                  | Komnas HAM                                     |
| Hidayatullah.com | Passing LGBT to Komnas HAM Is Equal to         |
|                  | Killing Life                                   |
| Islamedia.id     | Rejects Gay Activists to Become Human Rights   |
|                  | Commissioner, Muslims Must Submit Petitions    |
| VOA-Islam.com    | Gay Leader Dede Oetomo Wants to Legalize       |
|                  | Same-Sex Marriage; DPR Appoints 13             |
|                  | Commissioner of Komnas HAM, Gay Activists      |
|                  | Failed to Select; and come on! Submit a letter |
|                  | refusing gay activists to become members of    |
|                  | Komnas HAM                                     |

Table 2Dede Octomo News Titles in Islamic Online Media That Do Not Have a PrintVersion

The titles above indirectly lead readers to the media's rejection of Dede's candidacy. Not only the title, the choice of words and the selection of sources clearly shows the opposite of homosexual issues. The selected speakers ranged from a Takmir chairman of the Great Mosque of AL Azhar, researchers from Islamic studies institutions that oppose homosexuals, to the FPI organization with Habib Rizieq and Habib Husin as sources.

The four media, namely *Arrahmah.com*, *Hidayatullah.com*, *Islamedia.id* and *VOA-Islam.com*, did not give a positive view of Dede Oetomo. Negative images are given through the choice of certain words that tend to be harsh, such as crazy gay characters, people who

have mental disorders, beings who like the same sex; although VOA-Islam also mentions one of Dede Oetomo's attributes, namely as a Doctoral graduate from Cornel University.

The choice of words that accompany or relate to the word homosexual in these four Islamic online media shows not only rejection, but also hatred towards homosexual groups. All negative stigmas and stereotypes ranging from accusations of being crazy, trash people, sources of HIV/AIDS, social diseases, damaging the social order, to destroying the morals and creed of the people are stuffed through the news body when discussing homosexuals. The table below will show how the four media use word choice in Dede Oetomo news.

| Media           | Title            |  |  |
|-----------------|------------------|--|--|
|                 |                  |  |  |
| Islamic Online  | Arrahmah.com     | The failure of Dede Oetomo, the dissolution of Komnas  |  |
| Media That      |                  | HAM and the rejection of gays,   |  |
| Does Not Have a | Hidayatullah.com | Gay is synonymous with killing life  |  |
| Print Version   | Islamedia.id     | Rejection petition   |  |
|                 | VOA-Islam.com    | Same-sex marriage legalization, failed gay activists, rejection letters for gay commissioner candidates,   |  |
|                 |                  | Source and Independence  |  |
|                 | Arrahmah.com     | Habib Husin from the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI),<br>Chairman of the PW Kammi Aceh who all rejected<br>Dede Oetomo as a candidate for commissioner for<br>Komnas HAM   |  |
|                 | Hidayatullah.com | Amli, as the Chairman of the Takmir of the Al Azhar<br>Grand Mosque in South Jakarta who rejected Dede<br>Oetomo   |  |
|                 | Islamedia.id     | Dr Adian Husaini, a researcher at the Institute for the<br>Study of Islamic Thought and Civilizations (INSISTS)<br>rejected Dede Oetomo as a candidate because of Dede's<br>identity as gay.   |  |
|                 | VOA-Islam.com    | The Grand Imam of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI)<br>Habib Muhammad Rizieq, KAMMI Aceh Student,<br>Chairman of the Indonesian Da'wah Council who firmly<br>rejected Dede and called for rejection of all Muslims   |  |
|                 |                  | Identity of Dede Oetomo  |  |
|                 | Arrahmah.com     | Gay figures, gay groups, liberals  |  |
|                 | Hidayatullah.com | Member of the LGBT group, has a disorder   |  |
|                 | Islamedia.id     | Homosexual activists, mental disorders   |  |
|                 | VOA-Islam.com    | Crazy gay figures, Gaya Nusantara activists, creatures<br>who love the same sex as men, doctors  |  |
|                 | <u> </u>         | Words about Homosexual   |  |
|                 | Arrahmah.com     | The DPR is liberal, the DPR is immoral, the DPR is not<br>militant, gay is dangerous, gay, lesbi, endangers Islam,<br>same-sex marriage, is not recognized by the law, is not<br>Pancasilaist, destroys the morals and creed of the<br>people, freedom of expression without limits, religion<br>does not tolerate, must against |  |

# Table 3 Selection and Highlighting of Dede Octomo News in Islamic Online Media that Does not Have a Print Version

| Hidayatullah.com | LGBT kills life, source of HIV/AIDS, sexual perversion. LGBT is worse than animals, deviates from nature, people with disabilities, men pair with women, no animal is homosexual  |
|------------------|---|
| Islamedia.id     | Violating religion and provocation, behavior<br>challenging religion, social disease, damaging social<br>order, sexual disorders, false logic, mental disorders,<br>diseases that must be treated, LGBT, liwath,<br>immorality, adultery, Ahmadiyah, deviant sects of<br>Islam, Aminah Wadud, Irshad Manji, Salman Rushdie,<br>liberal figures, Guntur Romli, Ulil Absar Abdalla,<br>Musdah Mulia |
| VOA-Islam.com    | Legalize same-sex marriage, gay, lesbi, sissy, trash<br>humans, same-sex creatures, crazy   |

# **b.** Selection and highlighting of online media news based on print and having a certain ideology

The religion-based online media that are the object of this research are Republika.co.id, Kompas.com, and Tempo.co. In the news about Dede Oetomo, Republika.co.id and kompas.com also did not support Dede Otomo's candidacy. However, they do not voice excessive hatred like the four online media with an Islamic background that are not based on print media. Tempo.co provides more opportunities to discuss the issue of Dede Oetomo's candidacy. The framing is done more referring to professional things. In general, online media that have print media in choosing words that refer to the context of homosexuality are also not related to rejection or hatred. The following are news headlines that are examined in his research

# Table 4 Dede Octomo News Title in Online Media Based on Print and Having a Certain Ideology

| Media         | Title                                       |
|---------------|---|
| Kompas.com    | Gay Activists Get Only One Vote             |
| Republika.com | Jimly: Transgenders Join Komnas HAM, Please |
| Tempo.co      | Transgender and Gay Figures Pass Komnas     |
|               | HAM Selection                               |

# Table 5 Selection and Highlighting of the News Side in Print-Based Online Media and Having a Certain Ideology

| Kategori Media   | Title                   |   |  |
|------------------|-------------------------|---|--|
| Print-Based      | Kompas                  | Gay activist vote   |  |
| Online Media and | Republika               | Let transgenders participate in the election of Komnas HAM    |  |
| Having a Certain | Tempo                   | Transgender and gay figures pass the selection                |  |
| Ideology         | Source and Independence |   |  |
|                  | Kompas                  | Indra, member of the Komnas HAM Selection Committee           |  |
|                  |                         | for the Prosperous Justice Party faction who in his statement |  |
|                  |                         | did not side with Dede Oetomo                                 |  |
|                  | Republika               | Jimly Ashiddiqie as chairman of the Komnas HAM Selection      |  |
|                  |                         | Committee who tried to be neutral but also did not try to     |  |

|   | support Dede Oetomo                                     |
|---|---|
| Tempo   | Makarim Wibisono and Ikrar Nusa Bakti as members of the |
| *   | Komnas HAM Selection Committee, who in their statement  |
|   | indicated their neutrality                              |
|   |   |
| Identity of Dede Oetomo                       |   |
| Kompas.co                                     | Gay activist, founder of the Gaya Nusantara community,  |
| _   | quality is not too bad, representation of gay groups    |
| Republika.co.id                               | Not necessarily chosen                                  |
| Tempo.co.id                                   | Gay, nyentrik   |
| Kata-kata Terkait Homoseksual di Tubuh Berita |   |
| Kompas.co                                     | Gay, controversy, rejection                             |
| Republika.co.id                               | shemale gay, humanity                                   |
| Tempo.co                                      | Nyentrik, shemale, gay                                  |

### c. Selection and Highlighting of the News Side of General Online Media

Islamic online media that do not have a printed version that is the object of research are *Detik.com* and *Merdeka.com*.

### Table 6 Dede Oetomo News Titles in General Online Media

| Media       | Title  |
|-------------|--|
| Detik.com   | Indonesian Gay Leaders List of Komnas HAM<br>Commissioners               |
| Merdeka.com | Gay Activists Failed to Become a Member of the Human Rights Commissioner |

### Table 7 Selection and Highlighting of the News Side in General Online Media

| Media          | Title                   |   |  |
|----------------|-------------------------|---|--|
| General Online | Detik.com               | Gay figures who signed up for Komnas HAM commissioners      |  |
| Media          | Merdeka.com             | Gay activists fail to become members of Komnas HAM          |  |
|                | Source And Independence |   |  |
|                | Detik.com               | Dede Oetomo as the candidate for commissioner who           |  |
|                |                         | explained the reasons for registering Komnas HAM and the    |  |
|                |                         | need for Komnas HAM   |  |
|                | Merdeka.com             | Indra, Commission III of the DPR PKS faction who is not in  |  |
|                |                         | favor of gay candidacy and feels that if gays fail in their |  |
|                |                         | candidacy, it is natural                                    |  |
|                | Identity of Dede Oetomo |   |  |
|                | Detik.com               | Academician, gay figure, doctor of linguistics              |  |
|                | Merdeka.com             | Activist of gay   |  |
|                | Words about Homoxesual  |   |  |
|                | Detik.com               | Transgender, universal human rights, pluralism              |  |
|                | Merdeka.com             | LGBT, rejection, Nusantara Style community, minorities      |  |

The table above shows how the selection of words is done. In general, the two online media, namely detik.com and merdeka.com, do not show excessive rejection or hatred like non-print-based Islamic online media. Detik.com even describes Dede Oetomo as an

academic, a gay figure and a doctor of linguistics from Cornell University. Detik.com chooses words that are much friendlier than merdeka.com. For words related to homosexuality, for example, detik.com chose the words universal human rights and pluralism. This means that detik.com acknowledges that human rights do not limit or exclude things that are considered taboo, such as homosexuality. In addition, the emergence of the word pluralism in the detik.com news body gives meaning to readers that homosexuality is one of the diversity in discussions about sexuality. Likewise, in the selection of sources, detik.com gave space to Dede Oetomo to explain his reasons for registering as a commissioner of Komnas HAM. It's a bit different from merdeka.com, which chose Indra, a member of the Komnas HAM selection committee from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) who didn't really support Dede, even though he said it was subtle and unobtrusive.

#### **Religious Morality in Framing Homosexuality News**

The framing process is a unique concept and is not easy (sophisticated) because first, it goes beyond differences in matters of pros or cons, likes or dislikes, as well as negatives and positives. Framing also shows the problem of attitude and belief choices, emotional responses that depart from the cognitive dimension. Second, the framing process also shows the ability of the media to define a situation or create it in a certain situation. (Tankard Jr., in Reese, 2001: 96). Regarding what Tankard Jr. said. From this, it can be seen how religious morality and socio-cultural norms are the reasons as well as justifications that dominate all conversations in the news body in online media in general regarding the nomination of Dede Oetomo as a member of the Komnas HAM commissioner.

The ability of the media to define the situation on an issue through a process of framing, some of which according to Tankard Jr. (Tankard Jr., in Reese, 2001: 100) through titles or subtitles, leads, selected sources to be displayed, words as well as quotes and expressions. When referring to Tankard's thoughts, the framing of news through religious morals is shown through the choice of words and word relations that refer to the context of homosexuality and people who have identities related to homosexuality, in this case Dede Oetomo. From the research results, the words chosen are to strengthen the moral truth of religion, in this case Islam. Although Dede Oetomo himself is not a Muslim, the references used by some media, especially the four online media that do not have print media, are Islamic religious norms. New social and cultural norms are also used to strengthen religious norms and at the same time on behalf of Indonesian Muslims.

The use of religious morals can be understood when referring to the thoughts of Hatib Abdul Kadir in his book entitled The Hand of Power in Sex: A Study of Homosexuals, Sex Workers and Free Sex in Indonesia (2007). In his book, Hatib explains that sexuality is divided into sacred and profane views. Sexuality is seen as sacred if it is carried out within religious boundaries and is considered profane if there is behavior that is far from religious (Hatib Abdul Kadir, 2007). The behavior and identity of homosexuality is clearly something that is far from religious values, so that it is understandable if there is a refusal to be included in representations in the media such as news.

The issue of sexuality, especially homosexuality and its portrayal in the media, is important because the media plays an important role in the process of defining and marginalizing these groups (Castañeda and Campbell, 2006: 38). Marginalization of homosexuals and people who have homosexual identities is clearly stated through the dichotomy of right and wrong in the perspective of Islam which is used as a justification. This is closely related to the division of the realm of sacred and profane sexuality where homosexuality is considered as something wrong and heterosexuality as something right. Sacred sexuality is mainly dominated by morality that comes from religious values. Opposition to religious values is considered against God's will (Hatib Abdul Kadir, 2007). Therefore, it is understandable that all Islamic online media, especially those that do not have print media, use religion as the main source of value in their rejection of the issue of Dede Oetomo's candidacy who has a gay identity and says that homosexuals are against religion, against nature and God's will.

#### Power Relation over Words in Homosexuality News Frames

Basically, a framing by the media of a certain event shows either directly or indirectly a power relation. This is believed by Gitlin in his writing The Whole World is Watching (1980) regarding the news in the 1960s about the issue of the New Left and student protests. Gitlin focuses on how dominant social power is produced, how a hegemony is reproduced in the media (Durham in Reese, 2001: 126). According to Gitlin, the reproduction of hegemony in the media becomes ideological by seizing all available space to show what things are considered important and meaningful to society. In the context of online media framing regarding the nomination of Dede Oetomo as a candidate for commissioner of Komnas HAM, both on Islam-based online media that do not have a printed version (Arrahmah.com, Hidayatullah.com, Islamedia, co voa-islam.com), print-based online media such as merdeka.com and detik.com, power relations appear in the power of these online media to determine titles, sources, and the choice of diction or words. to show their side on the issue. The selection and sorting process is relevant to what Entman calls a particular treatment of a problem through selection of issues and highlighting issues (Entman, 1993: 52).

In online media based on religion, especially those that are not based on print media, the power to determine what things are highlighted becomes the full power of the manager of the online media. So it can be seen from the news that appears, the source is often only one person and from the online media's point of view it is to reject Dede Oetomo as a candidate for commissioner for Komnas HAM The facts are stated, even though they are wrong, they are still displayed to control the news field in the context of the rejection. For example, in the news on Islamedia.co, it is stated that homosexuality is a mental illness that must be cured. Whereas the Guidelines for Classifying the Diagnosis of Mental Disorders (PPDGJ) have been around since 1993 and the WHO has revoked the term since 1990. Or news from Hidayatullah.com which states that homosexuality is the source of HIV/AIDS, when in fact this is not the case. However, this mistake is not meaningful for the online media with an Islamic background. The hatred for homosexuals that dominates in such a way makes writers or editors free to write down inaccurate information with the aim that the reading public realizes how dangerous it is if Dede Oetomo, who is actually gay, is elected as the commissioner of Komnas HAM.

The selection and highlighting of issues also cannot be separated from the background or values held by the media. For media with certain religious backgrounds, such as Islam, such as arrahmah.com. hidayatullah.com, islamedia.co, voa-islam.com and republica.com as well as Catholics such as kompas.co, the delivery of message content is dominated by the values they adhere to, in this case the moral values of religion. These values of course affect both directly and indirectly the way of thinking and writing articles so as to form a certain frame or frame. This of course, whether consciously or not, will affect how they choose words, which words or sentences are highlighted or presented and which are not, including presenting certain key words or information, stereotypes that will emphasize a certain theme according to the background and their beliefs (Durham in Reese, 2001: 125). The choice of words that tend to blaspheme and judge wrongly, such as LGBT is a madness, a disease that must be treated, is more evil than animals, is widely used by Islam-based online media that have no media industry base.

The power relations that arise through language and words according to Norman Fairclough (Fairclough, 1989: 46) consist of three things, namely one, problems related to content, where those who have power can control the direction of the conversation and when the conversation is stopped or ended. . Second, social relations involving anyone who can speak or participate in it; and the third is to subject someone to a certain position. When referring to these three concepts from Fairclough, it appears that most of the media control how the 'arrangements' to reject Dede Oetomo's nomination as a member of Komnas HAM are carried out. The arrangement starts from the title of the news, the choice of words in the whole body of the news and contrasts it with the dominant value in this case is religion. This is what Entman calls make moral judgment or moral judgment on a news story that makes moral reasons to legitimize the news (Entman, 1993: 52). Of course this is done based on the interests of the online media manager.

The same applies to the sources used. Most elect people who have a certain power. Is he a researcher from a person who is considered to have more knowledge, a habib from an Islamic organization who is quite feared because he commits many acts of violence in the name of religion, is that person a member of the DPR from a respected Islamic party, to people who are directly involved in the committee? the selection of the National Human Rights Commission. Of course, how the point of view of these people will be 'adjusted' with the interests of online media managers, especially those who frame the rejection of Dede Oetomo. While the position of Dede Oetomo by most of the online media itself is placed as a subject who is rejected or failed because of his sexual identity which is considered disturbing and has a dangerous impact if he is elected as a commissioner of Komnas HAM. However, there are also online media that position Dede Oetomo as an academic subject and make gays a part of Indonesian pluralism.

From this discussion, it can also be said that controversial themes related to sexuality such as homosexuality do not merely stand in a certain position of power, whether controversial, or a dichotomy of pros and cons, because as stated by Gamson, these themes will always have a dialectic; will compete with each other between normative and conventional parties with parties that can be said to be opposite and controversial (Gamson, 1988: 6).

### CONCLUSION

Online media framing in Indonesia regarding the case of Dede Oetomo's candidacy as commissioner of Komnas HAM shows the following points, namely:

- 1. For the category of Islamic online media that does not have a printed version, these media tend to highlight the morality of the Islamic religion, view homosexuality as something wrong, unacceptable and violate social norms, religion, law and Pancasila. For these media, people with homosexual identities such as gay or transgender people are not entitled to be involved in political processes and decision-making that spans a national scale, such as being a commissioner at the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM). The rejection of candidates with a gay identity like Dede Oetomo is always on behalf of Indonesian Muslims
- 2. For the category of print-based online media with a certain ideology, the researcher found that for religion-based online media such as Republika and Kompas, the tendency to view homosexuals as something wrong and negative or portray them as black and white is not overtly visible. However, from the selection of sources and the choice of words and sentences spoken by the sources regarding the candidacy of Dede Oetomo, these two media did not really support Dede's candidacy. Researchers suspect that this may be due to both kompas.com and Republika.co.id having a printed newspaper media industry base. This of course will have an impact on their media image. This seems different from media with a nationalist background such as Tempo.co, which provides more support for the same issue. Tempo.co provides space for discussion and participation for the public. This is certainly influenced by the same thing as Republika.co.id and Kompas.com, in this case Tempo.co also has a print magazine, namely Tempo. In addition, the image of Tempo as a media with a nationalist and idealistic background also influences the way the writers work in framing an issue.
- 3. For general category online media such as merdeka.com and detik.com, the scale of rejection is still there, although it is not too obvious and does not voice much hatred as is the case for online media that are not print-based. This is more likely due to the position of both merdeka.com and detik.com

The formation of framing regarding the issue of Dede Oetomo's candidacy as commissioner of the National Human Rights Commission cannot be separated from the socio-political atmosphere in Indonesia. Many factors influence the formation of pro and con situations regarding homosexuality in Indonesia. Religious factors that affect the lives of Indonesian people at almost all levels, both public and private, make the theme or issue of sexuality controversial and tend to be taboo for discussion. Violence in the name of religion that is associated with representations of sexuality has also emerged. For example, the forced disbandment of the ILGA conference in Surabaya in 2010 and Irshad Manji's discussion in Yogyakarta in 2012 which was accompanied by beatings by several Islamic groups such as the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) and the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). The dichotomy of right-wrong, black-and-white, sacred-profane dominates the conversation about sexuality in various media lines, especially about homosexuals. Thus, the media framing regarding the nomination of Dede Oetomo as a member of the Komnas HAM commissioner

cannot be separated from the discussion of Indonesian sexuality politics with a religious and heteronormative background.

The weakness of this research is that it does not conduct interviews with the media editors. This editorial interview in the framing method is used to conduct analysis at the context level. In future research, this interview process is important to provide in-depth analysis at the text level. The in-depth analysis in question is to see what factors from the editors determine Dede Oetomo's news framing. Methodologically, this research on framing by using elements from Entman cannot see the process of running media ideology in depth. This study also has a weakness that is not conducting interviews with the editorial staff. For this reason, first, it would be better if in the next research it is recommended to use a more comprehensive method such as the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald Kosicki framing method. Pan and Kosicki's method is able to review how the media's ideological process regarding a particular topic through the way of thinking of the media. Second, by expanding the method of framing into discourse analysis which will result in a more comprehensive analysis.

#### REFERENCES

- Andi Saputra, *PK Ditolak, Ryan 'Jagal dari Jombang' Dihukum Mati* <u>http://news.detik.com/read/2012/07/09/101103/1960707/10/pk-ditolak-ryan-jagal-</u> <u>dari-jombang-dihukum-mati</u> diakses 30/3/2014
- E Mei Amelia R Ryan 'The Smiling Serial Killer' Akan Nikahi Perempuan Eks Napi Narkoba <u>http://news.detik.com/read/2010/10/15/171011/1466246/10/ryan-the-smiling-serial-killer-akan-nikahi-perempuan-eks-napi-narkoba</u> diakses 30/3/2014
- Castañeda, Laura and Shannon Campbell (eds.). 2006. News and Sexuality: Media Portraits of Diversity. London: Sage Publications
- Durham, F. 2001. *Breaching Powerful Boundaries: A Postmodern Critique of Framing* dalam dalam Reese, et.all., Framing Public Life. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associate
- Eriyanto. 2002, Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media. Yogyakarta: LkiS Yogyakarta.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. Language and Power. London: Longman Group Limited.
- Gamson, W. Et.al. 1992. *Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality* Annual Review Sociology, edition 18, page 373-93

Gamson, W dan Andre Modigliani. 1989. *Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach.* American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 95 No. 1 (July)

- Hatib Abdul Kadir. 2007. Tangan Kuasa dalam Kelamin: Telaah Homoseks, Pekerja Seks dan Seks Bebas di Indonesia. Yogyakarta: Insist Pers
- McQuail, Denis. 2011. Teori Komunikasi Massa McQuail .Edisi 6.Jakarta : Salemba Humanika.

- Norris, Pippa, Montague Ken and Marion Just. 2003. *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, The Government and The Public*. New York and London: Routledge
- Reese, Stephen D., Oscar H. Gandy Jr., August E. Grant (Eds.). 2001. *Framing Public Life*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associate
- Sarantakos, Sotirios. 1993. Social Research. Melbourne: MacMillan Education Australia
- Shoemaker, Pamela J.and Stephen D. Reese. 1996. *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content. 2nd Edition.* USA : Logman Publisher
- Tankard, Jr, J. 2001. *The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing* dalam Reese, et.all., Framing Public Life. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associat