Corpus-based Analysis of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Representations in *Republika*

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ABSTRACT

In the mass media of Indonesia, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) issues and news are often marked topics. Indonesian media report LGBT news in three main ways: (1) with a proportional, measured response; (2) with a distorted focus on sexuality and sensation; and (3) out of proportion in response to religious views. Only the first of these variants are able to maintain neutrally on LGBT issues. This paper examines how the LGBT community was represented in the 2016 corpus of the daily newspaper *Republika*. Fowler's *Language in the news* (1991) discussion of representation in news media and Stubbs's *Text and corpus analysis* (1996) corpus-based theory were used to investigate representations of LGBT issues in *Republika*. A collocation analysis of the LGBT node in concordance analyses indicates that there were eight types of LGBT representation in the 2016 *Republika* corpus, six of which were negative which are as a phenomenon, as sexual deviation, as an uninherited sexual orientation, as against religion, as actors and victims of crime, and as contrary to Islam; the remaining two representations were neutral.

Keywords: Collocates, concordance, corpus, LGBT, representation, semantic meaning

INTRODUCTION

The legalization of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) sexuality is hotly debated in Indonesia, with the intensity of the conversation peaking in 2016. Widespread attention was first drawn by digital posters containing information on LGBT consultancy services provided by an educational institution. This led to public controversy over the existence of LGBT individuals and their rights. The government

was drawn in, due to an effort to bring Articles 284, 285, and 292 of Indonesia's Criminal Code, which concern adultery, rape, and molestation, to judicial review, in the hope of legally classifying homosexual intercourse as a crime.

The attention of the news media was thus attracted to the topic. Among the media that incessantly report LGBT issue is the Indonesian daily newspaper *Republika*, which published at least 809 news articles on LGBT issues in 2016. This massive reporting effort compelled Indonesia's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersexual, and Queer (LGBTIQ) Forum to respond. The forum indicated that *Republika* exhibited bias in its reporting on this issue. This was evident from such headlines as "*LGBT Ancaman Serius*" [LGBT a Serious Threat], published by *Republika* on January 24, 2016. Nevertheless, *Republika* claimed to be neutral in its report, as indicated in the article entitled "*Soal LGBT, Republika Bersikap Netral*" [About LGBT, *Republika* Is Neutral] published on February 18, 2016. Indonesia's LGBTIQ Forum indicated that the headlines and contents of *Republika*'s articles violated the journalistic principles and were not composed according to the standards and rules of news reporting. Yuli Rustinowati, the coordinator of the forum, asserted that *Republika* failed to include any perspective from the LGBT community or qualified experts, which violated journalistic ethics. As a result of this finding, Indonesia's LGBTIQ Forum had made three demands to *Republika* which were: (1) to admit that the headlines and its contents violated

journalistic ethics; (2) to apologize to LGBTIQ group and society; and (3) to apologize in media (printed and online) and provide a special page for the LGBT support groups to write their thoughts.

Subroto Kardjo, the managing editor of *Republika Daily*, asserted that *Republika* was neutral on LGBT issues but must uphold Indonesia's cultural values. That is, Indonesian society subscribes to heteronormativity, which proscribes the sexual orientation of those in the LGBT community. In this sense, *Republika*'s claim to at once be neutral on LGBT issues and to represent society's cultural values are clearly contradictory. This contradiction and its implications require study.

Discourse analysis can be used to determine what point of view is being taken toward an issue in a body of linguistic expression. Fowler (1991) called the news a type of discourse that subjectively reflected social reality and empirical facts and that was instrumental in developing a social construction of reality. However, the type of media and its underlying social focus can influence the representation by means of the language used, including specific grammatical, syntactical, and vocabulary choices (Fowler, 1991). Fowler claimed that nearly everything that was written was articulated from a particular ideological position, meaning that language worked as a refracting medium, with vocabulary choices that revealed the perspective and beliefs of the writer or publication.

To indicate the perspective taken by media organizations, a body of text can be

analyzed using corpus linguistics. Corpus linguistic analyses and collocation and concordance analyses, in particular, are tools that can be used to objectively and comprehensively interpret media data. In linguistics, the term collocation refers to the lexical relationship between two words that tend to occur together in a text (Stubbs, 2001) and a word that commonly occurs within the neighbourhood of another is known as a collocate (Baker & Hardie, 2006). If a certain collocation repeatedly appears in the media in discussions of a specific issue, this could influence how people think about that issue, thus influencing general discourse (Stubbs, 1996). Concordance analysis, which generates a list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus together with the few words to the left and right of it can be used to understand how collocations are used in the media (Baker, 2006).

Discourse analysis has already been conducted on LGBT representation in mass media outlets in Indonesia. Oktaviani (2016) studied the representation of LGBT people in mass media and found that the *Republika* represented them as deviating from Indonesian religious practices and as having mental health problems. That in-depth analysis found inherent discrimination that violated journalistic principles with unbalanced reporting that responded only to market demand.

Other work has been done on LGBT issues in Indonesia. In Davies (2017), for example, it was found that the Indonesian government openly subscribed to heteronormativity. The human body and its genitals, in particular, are considered to be the basis for the determination of gender. Consequently, someone born with female genitalia is expected to become capable of bearing children. The role of the government in constructing sexual identity is reflected in their programs and regulations, as Boellstorff (1999, 2005) noted. This can be seen in governmental programs, especially those of the New Order era that represented heterosexuality as the national sexual identity. Gender and sexuality are interrelated social constructs (Alimi, 2004). Alimi (2004) also illustrated that heterosexuality, as a social construct, was interpreted in the mind of society as part of propriety.

Alimi (2004) showed that the mass media had played a complementary role to the government in promoting heterosexuality as the national identity by framing it as natural and other sexual practices as abnormal. Alimi (2004) also found that that homosexuality was constructed as an immoral act and a threat to the nation in articles published in national newspapers. In addition to their construction of a version of the national identity, the Indonesian mass media have also contributed a representation of the existence of gay and lesbian individuals in society that relates them to foreign ideas and people, implying a picture of homosexuality as resulting from a globalized influence on Indonesia. As a result, it is commonly assumed in Indonesian society that the emergence of LGBT people in Indonesia is owing to

Western influence. This is in spite of studies that have shown the long-standing presence of homosexuality in Indonesia.

As Oetomo (2001) indicated, homosexual relations are in fact known and acknowledged in society in general. In some Indonesian cultures, homosexual practices, such as the *warok* [an adult male dancer who is believed to be very powerful] and *gemblak* [a young handsome boy dancer] relationship in Ponorogo, which is entered into by the *warok* to maintain his supernatural prowess, are well known. In addition, transvestite artists and performers are found in *bedhaya* dance, *serimpi* dance, and *ludruk* performance (Murray, 1997). Wilken as cited in Murray (2000) explained that men began to take female roles in the traditional dances *bedhaya*, *serimpi*, and *reog*, among others, at the end of the nineteenth century. Graham (2002) and Davies (2017) showed that, in contrast to the traditions of homosexuality in Java, the Bugis publicly recognize four or five genders, namely *oroane* [male], *makunrai* [female], *calalai* [Assigned female at birth (AFAB) but behave in masculine ways and take a male role], *calabai* [Assigned male at birth (AMAB) but behave in feminine ways and take a female role], and a type of para-gender, *bissu* [a priest that is traditionally described as embodying both male and female]. The relationship between a *warok* and a *gemblak* in Ponorogo and the existence of both *calalai* and *calabai* among the Bugis provide evidence for indigenous LGBT practices in Indonesia that are traditionally accepted. However, according to Oetomo (2001), attitudes toward homosexuality and its acceptance have shifted as a result of Western and Islamic influences.

Baker (2005) studied on LGBT news reported in Western mass media namely *Daily Mail* and *Mirror* had revealed that *gay* was considered not only behaviour but also an identity; further, the words associated with *gay* were largely negative.

This study examined representations of LGBT issues and people in news text from the daily newspaper *Republika*, guided by Fowler's (1991) conception that each publication or media outlet had a particular way of reflecting reality. It was expected that *Republika* would have a developed point of view that could be elucidated from its choices of vocabulary and relational contextualization. The analysis conducted in this study was similar to Oktaviani's (2016) work on the discussion of LGBT issues and individuals in text from *Republika*. In this study, however, the LGBT representations were assessed with vocabulary usage and collocates, an approach similar to that of Baker (2005). LGBT-related vocabulary and collocations were analyzed using a concordance of a text published by *Republika* in 2016.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

A corpus linguistics approach was chosen to examine representations of LGBT representations in *Republika* in the interests of credibility (Baker et al., 2013), as it could better illuminate LGBT related issues in media. The text from news articles published

by *Republika* online in 2016 was used as the corpus. To identify how the LGBT community was represented in the corpus, three common corpus analysis procedures were adopted namely frequency analysis, collocation analysis, and concordance analysis, all of which were performed using the corpus software Sketch Engine. Frequency analysis identified what was most talked about. Among the results of collocation analysis, however, only the significant collocates were extracted, and they were then classified using the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS) to examine semantic preferences. Concordance analysis was used to determine semantic preferences from the collocates, using semantic preferences and concordance analyses for an in-depth study of LGBT representations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Using the Sketch Engine data analysis of the 2016 *Republika* news corpus, it was found that the term that appeared most frequently in relation to LGBT issues and individuals was LGBT, for which 5,380 tokens were found. Table 1 presents the findings of the words most frequently associated with LGBT issues in the *Republika* corpus. The word associations in the table were calculated using the association score function found in the Sketch Engine (Killgarif et al., 2014).

In Table 1, it is indicated that Indonesia and Jakarta were among the most commonly found associated words, which is to be expected, as these indicate where the

location of the news items. The third most common word was *gay*, which indicated a more prominent focus on same-sex relationships between males than on other sexual orientations, such as lesbian or bisexual. An interesting finding is indicated in Table 1, namely, the word *anak* [child] was the ninth most common collocation. In 2016, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) issued a press release stating their prohibition against broadcasting or campaigning for LGBT people on television so that children and teenagers could be protected from deviant influences and so that Indonesian cultural and religious norms could be respected and upheld (Badgett et al., 2017; Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia, 2016a, 2016b). Because the term *LGBT* was the most commonly found in the corpus in this connection, a concordance analysis was conducted, which indicated that the *LGBT* node had 239 significant collocates, with a T-score ≥ 5, indicating that these often appeared in society.

Table 1
Ten highest-frequency collocations

No.	Words	Frequency
1	LGBT	5,380
2	Indonesia	1,755
3	gay	1,491
4	*mereka*	1,478
5	*ada*	1,413
6	*Republika*	1,368
7	*kata*	1,245
8	*dia*	1,241
9	*anak*	1,210
10	Jakarta	1,100

Table 2 shows the 10 most significant collocates, among which transgender and bisexual were the most prominent, an interesting contrast to the common appearance of the word gay in the data represented in Table 1. As in Table 1, Indonesia and *Republika* were also in the top 10 in Table 2. The two of the ten most significant collocates with LGBT represented the same semantic field: *kelompok* [group] and *kaum* [clan], both of which were associated with the semantic field group and both of which tended to appear to the left of the LGBT node. The collocates *kelompok* and *kaum* often appeared as noun phrases with LGBT, such as *kelompok* LGBT and *kaum* LGBT, which indicated that the LGBT community was often talked as a group. Like *kelompok* and *kaum*, the word *perilaku* [behaviour] was also dominant in Table 2 and tended to appear on the left of the *LGBT* node in the noun phrase *perilaku* LGBT, indicating that being LGBT was itself considered a behaviour.

Table 3 shows the distribution of the significant collocates from the *LGBT* node, based on semantic categories and preferences, where categories were related to word classifications in the semantic field, and the semantic preferences included words that semantically related to the given semantic field. The left-hand collocates refer to words occurring in the left-hand side of a node, so do the right-hand collocates. This study used the semantic categories developed for the USAS, by Archer et al. (2002). Table 3 gives the distribution of the 183 most significant *LGBT* node collocates, as found in the given semantic fields. In all, twelve semantic categories were found for the LGBT collocates. The three semantic categories with the most collocates were general and abstract terms (A), with 45 collocates, social actions, states, and process (S) with 35 collocates, and names and grammar (Z), with 52 collocates.

In the categories Z, the noun collocates had interesting semantic preferences; however, because this study focuses on the use of nouns, investigating these collocates will be left for a future study. In Indonesian syntax, nouns are often subjects of sentences and clauses. Halliday (2014) indicated that a subject was the focus of a message in a clause where something was a given action or process or became an actor in an action; thus, a noun could appear as a theme. In a

Table 2
Ten most significant collocates of LGBT node

Left-hand collocates	Node	Right-hand collocates
transgender [transgender] (562), *biseksual* [bisexual] (528), *Republika* (38), *tidak* [no] (196), Indonesia (179), *perilaku* [behaviour] (291), *kelompok* [group] (250), *kaum* [clan] (235), *ada* [available] (139), *pelaku* [perpetrator] (179)	LGBT	*transgender* [transgender] (29), *biseksual* [bisexual] (48), *Republika* (536), *tidak* [no] (380), Indonesia (252), *perilaku* [behaviour] (81), *kelompok* [group] (28), *kaum* [clan] (20), ada (144), *pelaku* [perpetrator] (18)

clause, such a theme is the departure point for the recipient of the message to interpret it. Therefore, nouns and noun phrases playing the role of a theme can attract readers a topic.

Table 3
Semantic categories based derived from the collocates of the LGBT node

Categories	Collocates	Preferences
A - General and abstract terms	*harus* [must], *ada* [available], *menjadi* [become], *merupakan* [to be], *adalah* [to be], *bisa* [able], *mengatakan* [to tell], *soal* [matter/issue], *menurut* [to obey], *fenomena* [phenomenon], *kata* [word], *dapat* [be able], *bahaya* [danger], *menyimpang* [deviant, distorted], *salah* [wrong], *sangat* [very], *boleh* [may/might], *hanya* [only], *bertentangan* [to be contrasted to], *dilakukan* [to be done], *masalah* [problem], *perlu* [need], *katanya* [(he/she said], *aktivitas* [activity], *penyimpangan* [deviance, distortion], *keberadaan* [existence], *menegaskan* [to emphasize], *serius* [serious], *memiliki* [to have], *melakukan* [to do], *persoalan* [problem], *meminta* [to ask, to request], *menyebut* [to mention], *menjelaskan* [to explain], baik [nice], *normal* [normal], *melihat* [to see], *terbuka* [open], *terjadi* [happen], *melanggar* [to break (a law)], *baca* [to read], *berbahaya* [dangerous], *mendapat* [to get], *fitrah* [human nature], *perkembangan* [development]	general activities, existences, problems, modals, safety, wrong states
B - The body and the individual	*penyakit* [disease]	disease
E - Emotion	*ancaman* [threat], *kekerasan* [violence]	comfort, harassment
G - Government and the public	*pemerintah* [government], *propaganda* [propaganda], *HAM* [human right], *hak* [right], *hukum* [law], *aktivis* [activist], *UU* [the law], *legalisasi* [legalization], *RUU* [bill], *melegalkan* [to legalize], *kejahatan* [crime]	politics, legal action
I - Money and commerce in industry	*dana* [fund]	financial
M - Movement, location, travel, and transport	*kembali* [to return]	time
N - Numbers and measurement	*banyak* [many], *satu* [one], *semua* [all], *marak* [growing up], *berbagai* [various], *beberapa* [several], *pertama* [first], *segala* [any]	amount
Q - Language and communication	*media* [media], *minta* [to ask, to request], facebook, *program* [program], *poster* [poster], *tayangan* [scene]	kinds of media

Table 3 *(continue)*

Categories	Collocates	Preferences
S - Social actions, states, and processes	*transgender* [transgender], *biseksual* [bisexual], *perilaku* [behavior], *kaum* [group], *pelaku* [actor], *kelompok* [group], *masyarakat* [society], *komunitas* [community], *gerakan* [movement], *mendukung* [to support], *mempromosikan* [to promote], *seksual* [sexual], LGBT, *organisasi* [organization], *sosial* [social], *promosi* [promotion], *konseling* [counseling], *pendukung* [proponent], Islam, *dilarang* [to be prohibited], *dukungan* [support], gay, *melarang* [to prohibit], *warga* [resident], *korban* [victim], *kalangan* [circle], *generasi* [generation], *anak-anak* [children], lesbian, *publik* [public], *penyebaran* [spreading], *ketua* [chairman], *dukung* [to support], *budaya* [culture], *anggota* [member]	groups, social identity, sexual preferences, authorities, participations, alignments, social behaviors
T - Time	*sudah* [already], *akan* [will], *telah* [already], *masih* [still], *mulai* [start], *belum* [not yet]	time of events
X - Psychological actions, states, and processes	*kampanye* [campaign], *agama* [religion], *isu*, [issue], *menurutnya* [according to someone], *menilai* [to judge], *menolak* [to reject], *dinilai* [to be judged], *sikap* [attitude], *tolak* [to reject], *dianggap* [to be considered], *penolakan* [rejection], *menentang* [to against], *paham* [concept], *anti* [anti-], *mengakui* [to admit]	concept, alignments, judgments
Z - Names and grammar	*dan* [and], *yang* which], *di* [in], *untuk* [to], *tidak* [not], *ini* [this], Indonesia, *dengan* [with], *itu* [that], *dari* [from], *dalam* [in], *Republika*, *juga* [also], *dia* he/she], *tak* [not], *terhadap* [toward], *mereka* [they], *karena* [because], *sebagai* [as], *tersebut* [these], *terkait* [related], *ke* [to], *ia* [he/she], *pada* [on], *bukan* [not], *tentang* [about], *secara* [by], *atau* [or], *negara* [country], *seperti* [such as], *kampus* [campus], *kepada* [to], *jika* [if], *termasuk* [including], *agar* [in order to], *masuk* [enter], *kalau* [if], *sebab* [because (p), cause (n)], UNDP, *tapi* [but], *namun* [however], *sejak* [since], *bangsa* [nation], *saya* [I], *jangan* [do not], UI [Universitas Indonesia], Pacquino, *apalagi* [moreover], MUI [Indonesian Ulema Council], *lembaga* [institution], *kami* [us], Asia	mass media publications, cohesive markers, place names, organizations or institutions

Exceptional Findings

Some collocates in the A category had interesting semantic preferences, including *soal* [matter], *fenomena* [phenomenon], and *persoalan* [problem] which appeared in the event preference. The appearance of these collocates showed that LGBT was not only treated as a behaviour or a sexual identity but as an event as well. The word *fenomena* means, among other things, a symptom, an extraordinary thing, a reality, which indicated that LGBT events are considered ordinary occurrences. In Table 4, LGBT issues appeared as an iceberg phenomenon that is, it seems smaller than it really is, therefore, the assessment of the LGBT community as an iceberg phenomenon indicates its apparently extraordinary nature.

The appearance of collocate for *persoalan* indicated that the LGBT community was seen as a problem;

Table 4

Concordances with fenomena [phenomenon] and persoalan [problem]

Left	Node	Right
dan transgender (LGBT). **Fenomena** *gunung es*	**LGBT**	*meledak ke permukaan. Semua beropini, dari*
[… and transgender (LGBT). The iceberg phenomenon of LGBT has emerged. All offer their opinion, from…]		
pandangan hidup sekuler. Saat ini, **fenomena**	**LGBT**	*kian meresahkan masyarakat. Beberapa kasus*
[… secularism. Nowadays, LGBT phenomenon is becoming a growing concern for society. Some cases …]		
LGBT. Hal ini menggambarkan betapa gerakan	**LGBT**	*menjadi* **persoalan** *serius umat Islam dan*
[… LGBT. This shows how the LGBT movement has become a serious problem for Moslems and …]		
mengedukasi **persoalan** *LGBT. Indonesia darurat*	**LGBT**	*. Bahaya latennya mengancam peradaban. Parahnya*
[… education about LGBT issues. Indonesia is in LGBT emergency. Its latent danger threatens civilization. What is worse is …]		
Adhyaksa Dault di media ini, yang menyebut	**LGBT**	*adalah* **persoalan** *bangsa. Beliau meminta*
[… Adhyaksa Dault in this media, that claims that LGBT is a national concern. He asked…]		

furthermore, *persoalan* can also mean "debates, talks; a thing, case, or trouble." This showed that LGBT issues have a valence as important issues for Indonesia. It was also found that *persoalan* commonly appeared in the corpus with *serius* [serious] and the phrase *umat Islam* [Muslims], indicating that the LGBT community were considered to be a problem for or as the Muslim community.

Sexual Behavior

In addition to collocates with vocabulary showing sexual orientation, LGBT was also found to collocate with *perilaku* [behaviour]. LeVay (2007) illustrated that LGBT behaviour is often seen as sexual behaviour. In Table 5, the first line indicated whether LGBT behaviour was considered right or wrong, and the second line indicated

a questioning of the legitimacy of the LGBT community in Indonesia. The use of the term *dibenarkan* [justified] and the question "*Indonesia menerima pelanggengan perilaku LGBT?*" [Does Indonesia accept the legitimation of LGBT behaviour?], indicated that whether LGBT behaviour was right or wrong remained a topic of debate.

The word *perilaku* was also followed by the phrase *azab Allah* [God's punishment], as indicated in the fourth line of Table 5. *Azab* can also mean [torment], and the word is often used to describe a torment given by God. According to the belief structure of many religions, an act can be punished with torment if it goes against the rules of the religion. This appearance of the phrase *azab Allah* indicated that LGBT behaviour was considered to contradict the requirements of religion.

Table 5
Concordances with perilaku [behaviour]

Left	Node	Right
serangkaian pertanyaan. Pertama, apakah **perilaku**	**LGBT**	dapat dibenarkan? Kedua, apakah konsesi
[… a series of questions. First, is LGBT justifiable? Second, does the consension of …]		
Indonesia menerima pelanggengan **perilaku**	**LGBT**	*? Ketiga, bagaimana secara aktif mengawal*
[… Indonesia accept the legitimation of LGBT behaviour? Third, how to actively monitor …]		
pelanggengan Same Sex Attraction (SSA). **Perilaku**	**LGBT**	dimulai dari suatu preferensi homoseksual
[… the legitimation of Same-Sex Attraction (SSA). LGBT is started from a homosexual preference …]		
tumbuh suburnya **perilaku** *homoseksual atau*	**LGBT**	sama artinya dengan mengundang azab Allah
[… the thrive of homosexuality or LGBT means inviting punishment from God …]		

Sexual Orientation

Previously in Table 3, category S, showed that LGBT was collocated with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender most likely because LGBT was an acronym of these words. This concordance indicated that LGBT was considered a form of sexual orientation. LeVay, as cited in Sell (2007), explained that sexual orientation was expressed as sexual behaviour or feelings toward an individual of different sex, the same sex, or both. As indicated in Table 6, this orientation was considered to be unusual and even a denial of human nature. As stated above, *fitrah* [human nature] was associated with something divine that is inherited; this implied the assumption was that LGBT behaviour is a denial of human nature, not an innate sexual orientation. Table 6 also showed that even the very existence of LGBT people was debated, indicating the presence of contradictions within society.

Table 6
Concordances with transgender [transgender], gay [gay], and biseksual [bisexual]

Left	Node	Right
lesbian, **gay**, **biseksual** *dan* **transgender**	**(LGBT)**	*bukan lagi hanya sebatas prilaku individu*
[… lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) are no longer individual behaviours…]		
belakang mengapa seseorang berorientasi sebagai	**LGBT**	*yaitu masalah organ,* **transgender**, *dan*
[… why someone becomes an LGBT person, namely organ, transgender, and …]		
lesbian, **gay**, **biseksual** *dan* **transgender**	**(LGBT)**	*harus dilawan dengan konten positif. Dia*
[… lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) must be resisted with positive contents. He …]		
lesbian, **gay**, **biseksual** *, dan* **transgender**	**(LGBT)**	*. LGBT dinilai mengingkari fitrah dan menodai*
[… lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT). LGBT is considered as a denial against human nature and a blemish …]		

Deviant Sexual Orientation

A collocate of *penyimpangan* [deviance] appeared, bearing a negative meaning which means something that was inappropriate or against the rules and often depicts something that was not approved by social conventions. Table 7 showed that LGBT orientation was itself considered to be a deviation and opposed to the heteronormative social convention. Varela et al. (2011) defined heteronormativity as a regime in which sex, gender, and sexuality match heterosexual norms and in which homosexual and transgender tendencies were considered abnormal. In Table 7, it was also indicated that the word *penyimpangan* was contrasted with *bukan fitrah* [unnatural]. *Fitrah* [human nature] means "nurtured, holy, talent, and innate," and it was often considered to be something that comes from God and was innate. The contrast between *penyimpangan* and *fitrah,* therefore, could be taken as an indication that an LGBT person's sexual orientation did not come from God.

Table 7

Concordances with penyimpangan [deviance]

Left	Node	Right
lesbian, gay, biseksual, dan transgender	**(LGBT)**	*dinilai sebagai bentuk **penyimpangan**.*
[… lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) is seen as a form of deviation.]		
*sepenuhnya mampu membendung **penyimpangan** seksual*	**LGBT**	*di kawasan ini. Di negara teluk saja misalnya*
[…completely able to address LBGT as sexual deviations in this region. In the Gulf countries, for example, …]		
*mengubah **penyimpangan** orientasi seksual para*	**LGBT**	*. Sinyo hanya berupaya mengingatkan mereka*
[… change the deviated sexual orientation of LGBT persons. Sinyo only tried to remind them …]		
merambah ke setiap kampus, yang namanya	**LGBT**	***penyimpangan** dan bukan fitrah sama sekali*
[… spread to campuses, what is called LGBT is a deviation and completely unnatural …]		

Group

LGBT was also collocated with the words *kaum* [class], *kelompok* [group], and *komunitas* [community] as shown in Table 8. Following USAS, these collocates were considered to be organized according to the same semantic preference, group. As *kaum*, *kelompok*, and *komunitas* appeared to the left of the LGBT node, they formed such phrases as *kaum* LGBT*, kelompok* LGBT, and *komunitas* LGBT. In the corpus, most occurrences of LGBT were related to discussions of groups, as was apparent from the frequent appearance of these collocates, as in *kaum* LGBT (217), *kelompok* LGBT (193), and *komunitas* LGBT (155). It is to be inferred here that these texts represent society regarding LGBT people as a group. While the phrases were not used in radically different ways, nevertheless, some undeniable differences did appear.

Table 8
Concordances with kaum [class], kelompok [group], and komunitas [community]

Left	Node	Right
Meksiko mendorong agar pengakuan bagi **kaum**	**LGBT**	*dan keberadaan homofobia disertakan dalam*
[… Mexico has encouraged that the acknowledgement of LGBT and the existence of homophobia should be included in …]		
apapun kemasannya. Selain LGBT*, tidak.* **Kaum**	**LGBT**	*menuntut hak asasinya, tapi menafikan hak*
[… whatever it is wrapped with. Aside from LGBT, no. The LGBT community demands their rights, but denies the rights of …]		
pernikahan sesama jenis. Di Indonesia, **kelompok**	**LGBT**	*kembali ingin menunjukkan eksistensinya*
[… same-sex marriage. In Indonesia, the LGBT community once again tried to show their existence …]		
diskriminasi yang dirasakan oleh **kelompok**	**LGBT**	*di* Indonesia *(dan di tempat lain) adalah*
[… discriminations suffered by the LGBT community in Indonesia (and in other countries) are …]		
segala macam aktivitasnya. Apalagi **komunitas**	**LGBT**	*yang disinyalir penetrasi ke kampus-kampus*
[… all kinds of activities. Moreover, the LGBT community that has allegedly penetrated campuses …]		
Satu-satunya upaya mengembangbiakkan **komunitas**	**LGBT**	*ini hanya dengan penularan. Karena, kaum*
[The only way to boost the number of LGBT persons is through infection. This is because …]		

Perpetrators and Victims of Crime

Table 9 showed the concordances for *korban* [the victim] with LGBT. These indicated that LGBT people often appeared as victims, that was, "someone who has suffered due to an incident or criminal act," implying that being LGBT was considered a loss or being the subject of a crime. The first line of Table 9 indicated that LGBT people found victims and forced them to join their way of life, implying that such individuals were not originally LGBT and only became that way because of the influence of those who were already LGBT people. This also implied that being LGBT could lead to mental health problems and spread HIV-AIDS, as well as that child, could become victims of sexual abuse due to LGBT influence.

Table 9 also indicated how the LGBT community were considered to be causes of the negative effects that impacted them and society's response to their existence. The concordances found indicated that LGBT people were discriminated against in society and were often victims of abuse. Because heterosexuality is considered normal, and the LGBT community was considered to be a threat to that normality, it is marginalized and discriminated against. As Boellstorff (2005) stated, sexuality in Indonesia was not considered private: the contemporary government used sexuality to control citizens. If a person does not adhere to heterosexual norms, they will suffer pain and are sinners. They are also not considered to be citizens. A study conducted by Arus Pelangi (the Indonesian Federation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Transsexual and Intersex Communities) in 2013 found that 89.3% of LGBT people in

Table 9
Concordances with korban [the victim]

Left	Node	Right
bagi para **korban** *yang terjebak kehidupan*	**LGBT**	*. Entah bagaimana perkembangan* RUU *terkait*
[… for the victims that are trapped in LBGT life. No one knows how the progress of the bill concerning …]		
pernah jajan di sana, tulisnya. Emoticon	**LGBT**	*Picu Anak Jadi* **Korban** *Kejahatan Seksual*
[… once snacked there, she wrote. LGBT Emoticons Make Children Victims of Sexual Crime …]		
tua mereka tahu. Hal pasti, bahaya laten	**LGBT**	*menelan* **korban**. *Mulai psikopat, penularan*
[… knew. One thing for sure is that the latent danger of LGBT has claimed victims. From psychopath, infection …]		
memberikan perlindungan terhadap anggota kelompok	**LGBT**	*jika menjadi* **korban** *kekerasan. Oleh karena*
[… provide protection to members of the LGBT community, when they become victims of violence. Because …]		

Indonesia had experienced violence (Arivia & Boangmanalu, 2015). Table 9 showed that the LGBT community was seen negatively in the examined materials, and they and the people around them suffered negative effects.

Beside its collocation with *korban* [victims], LGBT was also found collocating with *pelaku* [the perpetrator]. Most collocates with *pelaku* were on the left side of the LGBT node, and the phrase *pelaku* LGBT appeared 142 times in the corpus. Generally, the word *pelaku* is associated with someone who performs negative actions. In the Indonesian Web as Corpus, for example, words appearing on the border with *pelaku* are often related to the semantic field of crime, including bomb, terror, murder, shoot, and corruption. In Table 10, the LGBT individuals are shown as also

Table 10
Concordances with pelaku [perpetrator]

Left	Node	Right
Sudah melanggar UU dan Pancasila, **pelaku**	**LGBT**	*yang kena* HIV/AIDS *justru semakin melonjak*
[Violating the law and Pancasila, LGBT persons with HIV/AIDS are getting even more annoying …]		
Namun, dari perspektif kemanusiaan **pelaku**	**LGBT**	*patut diayomi dan dibimbing Sehingga mereka*
[However, from the perspective of humanity, LGBT persons deserve protection and guidance, so they …]		
perilaku LGBT *ini perlu ditolak.* **Pelaku**	**LGBT**	*seharusnya diberikan penyadaran agar kembali*
[… this LGBT behaviour should be rejected. LGBT persons should be reoriented so …]		
yang hanya 150 orang. Tingginya peningkatan	**LGBT**	*dikarenakan* **pelaku** *seks menyimpang setidaknya*
[… only 150 people. The significant increase in the number of LGBT individuals that is caused by deviated sexual orientation is at least…]		

associated with ideas of negative behaviour; the fourth line implies that LGBT people were believed to display deviant sexual behaviour, and the first line also indicates that being LGBT was considered not in line with the constitution or the Pancasila (the official, foundational philosophical theory of the Indonesian state in five principles).

Forbidden in Islam

The name of only one religion was found to be collocated with LGBT, namely Islam. The *Republika* probably correlated LGBT with Islam because it claims to represent the Islamic society in Indonesia. *Republika* is founded by the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) in the 1990s. In the newspaper's explanation on their vision, it is stated that *Republika* aims to be a national-scale media company which is professional managed in Islamic ways. The newspaper is expected to have an impact on the process of nation-building, cultural development, and the development and consummation of the national faith in the new Indonesian society (Hamad, 2004).

Republika always captures and looks at any phenomena from the perspective of Islam (Wahyudi, 2005).

Boellstorff (2005) found that nine-tenths of Indonesian citizens were Muslim. In Islam, the idea of LGBT people, orientations, and behaviour was not new as it appeared in the Quran (Wafer, 1997). In the era of the prophet Lut (called Lot in most English translations of the Bible), a clan in Sodom was punished by Allah due to their homosexual practices; consequently, it was understood that LGBT behaviour was forbidden by Islam. Table 11 indicated that the existence of an LGBT community was considered a serious problem for Islam.

In the third line of Table 11, the phrase *aktivitas* LGBT [LGBT activity] was followed by *haram* [forbidden]; *haram* is an Arabic word denoting an Islamic concept of "an act that is forbidden by Allah" (Adamec, 2009). Anyone who such a forbidden activity is expected to be punished. The collocation of *aktivitas LGBT* with *haram* implied an understanding that Allah such activities. Therefore, the concordances in

Table 11
Concordance of Islam

Left	Node	Right
LGBT. *Hal ini menggambarkan betapa gerakan*	**LGBT**	*menjadi persoalan serius umat **Islam** dan*
[… LGBT. This shows how the LGBT movement has become a serious concern for Moslems and …]		
ketahanan keluarga, dan budaya bangsa.	**LGBT**	*bertentangan dengan ajaran **Islam** dan ajaran*
[… family security and national culture. LGBT contradicts the teaching of Islam and the teaching …]		
*Agama **Islam** jelas mengatakan bahwa aktivitas*	**LGBT**	*haram sehingga tidak boleh dilakukan. Salah satu*
[Islam clearly states that LGBT activities are forbidden and therefore are not allowed to do. One of …]		

Table 11 showed that LGBT behaviour was expressed to be contradictory to Islamic teachings and forbidden by Allah.

Western Culture

Table 12 showed the concordance of *budaya* [culture] with LGBT and indicates the way the LGBT community was viewed in Indonesian culture, according to *Republika*.

In the second line of Table 12, the collocated of *budaya* was followed by the verb *menolak* [reject], indicating an unacceptable, unjustified, or repudiated action. As the object of the verb *menolak* is LGBT in that instance, the line implied that Indonesian culture did not accept the existence of the LGBT community. Table 12 also indicates that marriage and relationships with the same sex were considered inappropriate by Indonesian culture. The first line of Table 12 showed that the rejection of LGBT orientations and the assumption that being LGBT was inappropriate for Indonesian culture

came from a sense that LGBT behaviour contradicted or challenged heterosexuality. According to Boellstorff (2005), heterosexuality was seen in Indonesia as an original element of the culture.

The rejection of and prejudice against LGBT orientations in Indonesian culture were influenced by society's beliefs about the origins of LGBT people. Oetomo (1981) and Boellstorff (2005) had found that many people in Indonesia believed that LGBT people were created by the undue influence of Western culture. At the third line of Table 12, *budaya* appeared collocated with *alam liberal* [liberal nature] to form the phrase *budaya alam liberal* [the culture of liberal nature], and in the fourth line, *budaya* appears collocated with *ketimuran* [eastern, Asian]. The notion of liberalism is often understood to imply freedom and is associated with concepts from Western countries. In the fourth line, the phrase *budaya ketimuran* followed by the verb *bertentangan* [contradict] indicates that

Table 12
Concordances with budaya [culture]

Left	Node	Right
budaya Indonesia belum terbiasa dengan	**LGBT**	dan menikah sesama jenis. Meskipun begitu
[… Indonesian culture is not familiar with LGBT and same-sex marriage. Nevertheless …]		
*tradisi dan **budaya** di Indonesia menolak*	**LGBT**	*Terbukti, dalam setiap adat istiadat dan*
[… Indonesian tradition and culture refuse LBGT. Granted, in every custom and …]		
seksualitas dan gender. Menurut Munzir Hitami,	**LGBT**	*merupakan **budaya** alam liberal yang mempengaruhi*
[… sexuality and gender. According to Munzir Hitami, LGBT is a culture of the liberal realm that affects…]		
Ananda Puja, *Kamis (18/2). Menurutnya*	**LGBT**	*bertentangan dengan **budaya** dan adat ketimuran*
[… Ananda Puja, Thursday (18/2). According to him, LGBT is contradictory to the Eastern culture and customs …]		

eastern culture contradicts the idea of LGBT orientations. Therefore, the collocation of the words *liberal* and *budaya ketimuran*, and the verb *bertentangan* indicated that the LGBT community in Indonesia was considered by *Republika* to be the result of influence by Western culture.

CONCLUSION

The collocation analyses of the *LGBT* node in concordance analyses located 239 significant collocates. The semantic field of these collocates was classified into 12 semantic categories, two of which in particular were further analyzed: general and abstract terms (A) and social actions, states, and processes (S). Eight main representations were elucidated from the analyses of collocations with LGBT, six of which were negative.

The first finding was that the LGBT community was represented as an extraordinary phenomenon (Table 4): for example, *fenomena* [phenomenon] was collocated with *gunung es* [iceberg], and the collocated of *persoalan* [matter] was paired with *serius* [serious] and *umat Islam* [Muslims], indicating that being LGBT was considered both extraordinary and a problem for the Muslim community. Second, LGBT was found to be represented as deviant (Table 5). For example, the collocated of *penyimpangan* [deviance] was contrasted with *fitrah* [human nature], which indicated that LGBT orientations were seen to have come from God. Third, LGBT was found to constitute a sexual orientation because

of its LGBT collocations with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender. However, sexual orientation was considered not something that appeared from birth. Fourth, while LGBT was considered to be expressed in sexual behaviour, collocates indicated that the morality of LGBT behaviour was still under debate in Indonesia. LGBT behaviour was certainly considered a violation of religious rules, as seen in the collocation of *perilaku* [behaviour] with the phrase *azab Allah* [God's punishment]. Fifth, the collocates *korban* and *pelaku* that appeared in Tables 9 and 10 indicated that being LGBT was considered to be something negative that could result in a crime. The same tables indicated that LGBT people were discriminated against, and because of this, they became victims. Sixth, LGBT behaviour was seen as sinful deeds; the appearance of *Islam* followed by *bertentangan* and *haram* indicated that LGBT was considered as an action that violated Islamic guidance and was therefore sinful.

Several neutral associations with the LGBT node also appeared, namely those related to notions of a group and Western culture. The phrases *kaum* LGBT [LGBT clan], *kelompok* LGBT [LGBT group], and *komunitas LGBT* [LGBT community] indicated that LGBT individuals were seen as a group. The notion of LGBT was also found to be considered an offspring of Western culture because Indonesia is generally heteronormative, and heterosexual relationships and marriages are foremost in social conventions. Boellstorff (2015)

also found that heterosexual relationships and marriages were broadly considered to represent the real Indonesia.

These results are drawn from a methodological combination of discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, comprehensively accounted for LGBT representation in *Republika*. The use of the corpus method showed that representation and discourse studies are accessible to both the qualitative and the quantitative method. The results of the analysis indicate that the attitude of Indonesian society toward LGBT people is negative. However, due to the length constraints, not all collocations with LGBT are analyzed here. Further research should pursue all collocates to give a broader account of the representation of LGBT in Indonesian media. In addition, using more media publications or other sources of news could bring greater insight into the perspective that Indonesia has toward LGBT.

This analysis has shown that an Indonesian media publication represented LGBT orientations not only as deviant relative to the dominant construction of sexuality within society but also as a threat to the nation. Consequently, LGBT appears to contradict the heterosexual sexual orientation in society, which is considered legal and is legitimated as the only right orientation. Indirectly, the media provides justifications for heterosexuality by repeating statements made concerning LGBT, including the commonly used word in this context, *penyimpangan* [deviance]. The statements published in *Republika*

cannot be separated from ideology. It is widely known that *Republika* has an Islamic bent in its coverage, so it is not surprising that news produced concerning LGBT is framed negatively in the articles it produces and publishes.

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