# QUESTIONING LGBT EXISTENCE IN INDONESIA:

## A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE STRATEGIES

## ON LIVE DEBATE *TVONE* EPISODE OF "*PERNIKAHAN SEJENIS*"

**A THESIS**
**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements**
**For Master Degree in Linguistics**

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**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**
**DIPONEGORO UNIVERSITY**
**SEMARANG**
**2016**

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## CERTIFICATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this study entitled "QUESTIONING LGBT EXISTENCE IN INDONESIA: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE STRATEGIES ON LIVE DEBATE *TVONE* EPISODE OF "*PERNIKAHAN SEJENIS*"" is really my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this study contains no material previously published or written by another or material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institutes of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis.

Semarang, June 2016




Sabila Rosdiana



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**MOTTOS**

If you can dream it, you can do it
(Waltz Disney)

For truly with hardship come ease
(Surah Al-Insyirah 5)

It does not matter how slowly you go as long as you do not stop
(Confucius)

If we fall down hundreds of times, we'll get up, we'll go up
(Winner)

Nothing's over
(INFINITE)

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**DEDICATIONS**

I sincerely dedicate this thesis to....

My reasons why I need to survive and finish this thesis

***My Beloved Mom and Dad***
***My Family***

***All friends who come to my life***

***Everyone who deserves love and life***

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The researcher realizes that this report is not perfect, in order to make it better, the researcher accepts some advices and criticisms. Finally, the researcher wishes this research paper would be useful for all readers.

Semarang, June 2016

Sabila Rosdiana

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| CDA | : Critical Discourse Analysis |
| SCA | : Socio-Cognitive Analysis |
| LGBT | : Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender |
| S1 | : Segment 1 |
| S2 | : Segment 2 |
| S3 | : Segment 3 |
| S4 | : Segment 4 |
| S5 | : Segment 5 |
| SM | : Sodik Mudjahid |
| NZ | : Neng Zubaidah |
| MU | : Musni Umar |
| JT | : Jeremi Teti |
| YL | : Yuli Rachmawati |
| DO | : Dede Oetomo |
| DA | : Dwi Anggia |
| P. Pars | : Pro-side Participants |
| C. Pars | : Contra-side Participants |

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**ABSTRACT**

The emergence of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) recently has become a 'hot issue' in Indonesia and it provokes pros and cons in the society. In this study, the live debate which was broadcasted on *TVOne*, the episode of '*Pernikahan Sejenis'* ('the Same-Sex Marriage') was taken as the data and also as the representation of the society 'reactions' in accordance with LGBT issue. This study aims to know: (1) what kinds of discursive strategies applied in the debate based on ideological discourse structure by van Dijk (2000) as well as its implication towards LGBT existence in Indonesia, (2) how LGBT existence in Indonesia is represented through discursive strategies applied and (3) whether this debate represents the change of the society perspective towards LGBT existence in Indonesia. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used as an approach to reveal the opaque relation between language, power and ideology. The data were analyzed by using the socio-cognitive model by van Dijk with content analysis method. The result shows that there were nineteen various strategies applied in the debate and the concept of 'Ideological Square' was well-represented through various strategies applied in the debate. The frequency of the strategies applied implies that LGBT belongs to minority which is 'oppressed' in the society. Furthermore, from the four domains of the various strategies, it is represented that LGBT is 'controversial', 'unacceptable', 'irrational' and 'opposition' in Indonesia. At the same time, people believe that LGBT also 'exists' among the society. The contestation between 'pro' and 'contra' group in the debate representing LGBT is not considered as 'Indonesian' culture. It is stirred by the nationalism ideology which serves as the obstacle for LGBT acceptance in Indonesia. On the other hand, the debate also depicts a social change that LGBT is no longer 'taboo', which is showed by the discourse practices in this debate

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, strategies, debate, gender, LGBT

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## INTISARI

Lesbian, Gay, Biseksual dan Transgender (LGBT) belakangan ini menjadi 'pembicaraan panas' dan memunculkan 'pro' dan 'kontra' di masyarakat. Dalam penelitian ini, siaran debat langsung di *TVOne* yang berjudul 'Pernikahan Sejenis' diambil sebagai data dan representasi reaksi masyarakat yang berkaitan dengan isu LGBT. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui (1) strategi apa yang digunakan oleh pendebat dalam berargumen, (2) bagaimana representasi dari adanya LGBT di Indonesia dan (3) apakah debat ini merepresentasikan adanya peruabahan perspekstif masyarakat tentang LGBT. Data dianalisis dengan menggunakan ancangan sosial-kognitif dari van Dijk. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat 19 strategi dan konsep '*Ideological Square*' juga tergambar dalam macam-macam strategi tersebut. Dari banyaknya strategi yang digunakan, terlihat bahwa posisi LGBT sebagai minoritas yang ditujukkan adanya 'tekanan' yang terlihat dari dari strategi-strategi yang digunakan. Berkaitan dengan isu LGBT, dari empat domain yang didasarkan pada strategi, ditemukan bahwa strategi-strategi tersebut merepresentasikan LGBT sebagai 'kontroversial', 'Tidak Berterima', 'Tidak Rasional' dan 'Pihak Oposisi'. Disamping itu, strategi yang ditemukan juga merepresentasikan bahwa masyarakat pun sebenarnya menyadari keberadaan LGBT itu ada di Indonesia. Representasi-representasi tersebut didasari oleh ideologi nasionalisme yang ada dalam masyarakat Indonesia dan mengangap LGBT bukan termasuk budaya Indonesia. Terlebih lagi, itu juga akan menjadi halangan kebeterimaan LGBT di Indonesia. Namun, secara lebih umumnya, debat ini menggambarkan bawasannya LGBT sudah tidak 'tabu' dalam masyarakat Indonesia.



Keywords: analisis wacana kritis, strategi, debat, gender, LGBT



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# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Research Background

Gender issue is always upraised among our society. Even though, it is skeptical, it does exist in our society. The misconception between 'gender' and 'sex' leads to a worse situation that makes people have a misunderstanding in defining and distinguishing those terms. It also goes the same for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (henceforth, LGBT). LGBT reconstructs new concept of 'gender' in accordance with 'love' and 'relationship'. LGBT means that they have a tendency to be interested in their same sex (or 'homosexual'), for instance, 'man' for another 'man' (called as 'Gay') or 'woman' for another 'woman' (called as 'Lesbian'). LGBT people believe that a 'relationship' is regardless the 'sex' ('man' and 'woman') as long as they have different 'gender' ('masculine' and 'feminine'). Therefore, the concept of 'gender' ('feminine' and 'masculine') which is introduced by the social scientists also has influenced the human nature.

In the history, homosexuality enormously appeared in the late 19th century. Even more, it actually already began in the 18th century in New York. The New York Landmark Preservation Commission noted that, in 1850, there was a journalist named Walt Whitman. He wrote about "Calamus" poems which talked about a celebration the manly love of comrades that were included in the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass* (NYC Landmark, 2014: 2). This poetry became popular in the U.S. and Europe as one of the first people to openly express the concept of men loving



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men. Homosexuality, even though it is hidden, is still growing until now particularly in the USA. People start to take an eye to homosexuality and their organization. As time goes by, the homosexuality spreads out until Europe and Gay Liberation Front (henceforth, GLF) had come out as the sign of the emergence of LGBT movement in Europe (NYC Landmark, 2014).

The very first organization for 'Gay', established in 1970, is Gay Liberation Front (GLF) placed in London. The main focus of this organization was telling the society that their activities were not social deviation, that they also had the same rights like the others (Manifesto, 1971:15). Their movements, even though they receive hatred from society, still keep their campaign to all parts of the world. From the time being, finally in 1974, the APA (American Psychiatric Association) had erased homosexuality from the list of mental disorders. This was a sign that their movement was a success (Soebagyo, 2012). Thus, with this success, their organization could claim that their behavior was considered as 'natural' and 'normal' like the other society behavior.

As the time goes by, homosexuality has developed rapidly all over the world. The study about homosexuality is always being debated until now. Their existence is always being a big question in society. Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin (1948) have done some research projects related with sexuality in the USA. The result showed that 37% men already experienced homosexuality in their life but only 4% turned to be gay. From these result, sociologically, it is about identity. The importance is not their homosexual relationship but the way they show or declare their 'homosexual' identity (Siahaan, 2009: 43).


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In the society, since back then, the existence of homosexual is still in doubt and all they get is denial. Their community actively works hidden from the society. Gadpaille (1989) stated that people negatively see the activity related with same-sex relationship and would get 'mocking' and discrimination. Lehne (1976) also added there is 'homophobic' in society as the result of homosexual existence. The society sees the homosexual activities are not acceptable in many aspects (religion, culture, sociology, and psychology). Therefore, homosexual would only cause discrimination. Hence, recently, the world had been stunned by the news from USA. June 26 of 2015 was termed as the glorification for LGBT to get their equal rights. The US Supreme Court had announced the legalization of same-sex marriage, especially in the USA. It serves as a sign that LGBT is no longer discriminated in terms of marriage.

As a multi-cultural country, Indonesia is also not spared from the issue of LGBT. Similarly, or even worse, LGBT is seen as 'taboo' in Indonesia. Furthermore, Indonesia, which places 'religion' as its fundamental national bases, always disputes on LGBT issue and buries it deep in the beneath. People also think that talking about LGBT in public is considered as 'inappropriate'. Not only people do ignore the existence of LGBT, mass media (such as television and newspaper) also have not 'touched' and 'published' the issue of LGBT as the main topic or the highlight.

Hence, on July 6, 2015, as the impact of the legalization of same-sex marriage in the USA, one of local TV stations broadcasted a live debate entitled '*Pernikahan Sejenis*' (the Same-Sex Marriage). This debate discussed the

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legitimization of LGBT as well as the probability about same-sex marriage legalization in Indonesia. Some of them were 'defending' LGBT while the rest were trying to 'take down' the issue of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT). Therefore, it would be interesting to have a deep analysis about how the debate went because LGBT issue itself was 'taboo' and belonged to 'minority' group in Indonesia. This phenomenon also raised the curiosity to know the spokespersons' strategies in convincing the 'public' in accordance with LGBT issue.

Here, Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) would be used to understand the various strategies applied as the representations of social and discourse practices. Moreover, CDA also exists to figure out what the underlying ideologies constraints in our mind to construct a strategy and exploit such a language. CDA tries to focus on the relation between ways of talking, ways of thinking and underlines 'the trace of cultural and ideological meaning in spoken and written text' (O'Halloran, 2005: 1946). CDA is also considered as an analysis to find the inequality of power behind language based on the ideology s/he holds when text is produced (Fairclough, 1989:1). CDA also aims 'to uncover, reveal or find' the 'opaque', 'transparent', 'implicit' or 'hidden' relationship between dominance (where power is enacted, reproduced and resisted) and the underlying ideology (van Dijk, 1995: 18). Mainly, CDA gives more focus on the ideological works (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:271). Therefore, the 'political debate' discourse is mostly applicable for CDA since it is where such ideologies are contested (van Dijk, 2006a: 734). Moreover, the 'political debate' could give insights on 'the ways people not only speak about minorities or any other issue but

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also incidentally also about their social representations they share about Others' (van Dijk, 2000: 88). Therefore, this research would focus on how Indonesian people perceive LGBT issue which was represented by various strategies applied by the spokespersons in the debate.

### 1.2. Problem Statements

The research is conducted to answer the following problems:

1. What are the kinds of the discursive strategies applied by the spokespersons in the debate and its implication towards LGBT existence in Indonesia?
2. How is LGBT existence in Indonesia represented through the discursive strategies applied by the spokespersons in the debate?
3. How does this debate represent the change of the society's perspective towards LGBT existence in Indonesia?

### 1.3. Research Objectives

The research is conducted:

1. To find out the kinds of discursive strategies applied by the spokespersons in the debate and its implication towards LGBT existence in Indonesia.
2. To understand LGBT Existence in Indonesia which is represented through the discursive strategies applied by the spokespersons in the debate.
3. To figure out whether this debate represents the change of the society perspective towards LGBT existence in Indonesia.

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### 1.4. Scope of the Study

The research aims to know the discursive strategies applied by the spokespersons as the representation of LGBT existence in Indonesia. The data research would be limited only to the data related to the issue of LGBT and same-sex marriage in the live debate in July 6, 2015. Thus, since the objective is to find out the various strategies in debate, the research would use socio-cognitive analysis model and the theory of Ideological Discourse Structure by van Dijk (2000) which specifically explains and classifies various strategies applied in debate. Firstly, the data would be taken, analyzed and classified on the discursive strategies based on the theory of ideological discourse structures. Then, the classifications would be interpreted in accordance with the issue, in this case LGBT issue. Lastly, the research would work more ideologically which tries to depict the underlying ideologies existing under the social and discourse practices represented in accordance with LGBT issue.

The debate was 60 minutes-long, therefore, other issues might be intended and discussed in the debate. In order to have a comprehensive analysis, the data would be limited only the data containing LGBT existence and same-sex marriage issue in Indonesia.

### 1.5. Significance of the Study

The research about CDA on live debate is very limited in Indonesia. Many previous studies are not under the scope of linguistics. Theoretically, CDA itself on debate is quite common in linguistic research in all over the world. Many of studies

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had been conducted before mainly talking about political or economic issues especially on debate. Hence, the research is related to, the more skeptical and sensitive issue, gender issue (especially LGBT). Therefore, it is hoped that this research could give more knowledge and more variations in doing analysis on CDA Furthermore, this research could 'sting' or 'attract' the students more in studying CDA since it serves us the most applicable and critical way in understanding the text in deeper insight in accordance with the specific issue.

Practically, from this research it is hoped that CDA could help us to figure out the various strategies applied on live debate which are based on the underlying ideologies of the speakers. Van Dijk here specifically defines various strategies on debate which represent the ideology of 'positive *Us'* and 'negative *Other'*. One to be noted, the socio-cognitive analysis, by van Dijk, is also one the study of CDA approaches which reveals the 'unseen' relationship between society, cognition and language. Therefore, it is expected that this research could give knowledge about the ideologies which is held up and believed by the society that is represented through the various strategies applied on debate.

**1.6. Definition of Key Terms**

In order to help the readers in understanding the research, the researcher would provide some key terms in relation to this research.

1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

   It is a tool to analyze the data. It is a discourse analysis to find the inequality of power behind the language based on the ideology s/he

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holds when the text is produced. CDA also raises the awareness on how the language contributes to domination (Fairclough, 1989:1).

2. Political and Debate Discourse

   Political discourse is where such ideologies are contested (van Dijk, 2006: 734). It is something crucial when an ideology should be maintained in order not to be marginalized and suppressed. The debaters should apply some strategies to control and manipulate the viewers' mind and gain the supporters.

3. Gender Issue and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT)

   LGBT is also included as the product of gender issue. They believe that relationship (love) is not only for man and woman but it is for everyone without seeing their sex or gender.

4. Minority and Domination

   Minority is a group with the small population and considered as a category of people differentiated from the social majority. The one who belongs to 'minority' group is occasionally being 'dominated' by the majority.

### 1.7. Thesis Organization

This thesis contains five chapters. It comprises:

Chapter I : This chapter provides the introduction of this study. It covers the background of the study, problem statements, research

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objectives, scope of the study, significance of the study, definition of key terms and thesis organization.

Chapter II : This chapter provides the literature reviews. It covers the previous studies related to the research, critical discourse analysis, socio-cognitive analysis, power, inequality and domination, socio-cognition, mental and context model, knowledge and ideology, debate and political discourse, ideological discourse structure, the concept 'gender' and 'sex' and LGBT.

Chapter III : This chapter describes the research method. It covers the research design, data and source of the data, technique of collecting data, and technique of analyzing data.

Chapter IV : This chapter provides the data analysis and discussion. It covers three phases of CDA analysis such as the analysis of discourse structures which focuses on analyzing the discursive strategies applied in the debate. The second phase is social cognition which focuses on the interpretative and contextual meaning. This phase mainly talks about how the issue (LGBT) is perceived by the society (especially in Indonesia). The last phase is social representation which focuses on the ideology which relies on the discourse structures and social cognition.

Chapter V : This chapter provides the conclusion and suggestion.

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# CHAPTER II

# REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter would mainly focus on theoretical concepts as the bases in analyzing the research. In order to make this analysis well understood, the researcher would serve some theories related such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Debate and Political Discourse, The Concept of Gender and Sex, and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) in order to support the ideas and to solve the problems found in the analysis

## 2.1. Previous Studies

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is analysis which aims to see the 'opaque' or 'transparent' relationship between language, power and ideology. CDA could be applied in many diversities of discourse. Hence, CDA also puts 'social' and 'political' context in the main focus such as the issue of racism, minority, gender status and many more. Here, some research had been done by applying CDA as the tool in analyzing the text especially using socio-cognitive model by van Dijk.

Lauritzen and Fisker (2009) explored the power in discourse which was comparing Obama's and Clinton's speeches in presidential debates in 2008. The research aimed to know how Obama and Clinton appeal the Americans in the election to gain the supports. They found that Clinton had dominant and aggressive discourses which did not have a correlation with the construction of women being suppressed and child-birthing. On the other hand, Obama was seen as a 'true' and



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‘persuasive’ as well as ‘expressive’ speaker which was considered as a better candidate. They also found Obama, who was an African-American, succeeded in appealing the American by showing good humor and leadership to change the American history. He also intentionally told his story to make American believe on the American dream.

Rashidi and Souzandehfar (2010) investigated the representation of the continuation of war in Iraq from two major political parties (Republican and Democratic). The data were six texts which were taken from presidential speeches in 2008. Thus, the analysis only took the issues of war in Iraq from the speeches. The result showed that lexicalization, polarization and rhetoric were frequently used in the speeches. The discursive structures applied to enhance, mitigate, avoid or worsen the issue. Republican tried to legitimate while Democratic candidates delegitimized the issue.

Yang (2013) also did research which aimed to describe, interpret, and explain the power relation represented through the language used in the national debate on the issue of Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA). The result showed that the President Ma seemed to be more dominant and powerful over Chairwoman Tsai. This analysis is quite insufficient and not comprehensive. Even though she used van Dijk socio-cognitive model, she only took the macro-strategy in political debate discourse which only concerned on the positive our-presentation and negative other-presentation. Hence, in the concept of van Dijk model, it also relates the macro- to the micro- strategies.


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Khaghaninezhad and Rostami (2014) investigated a comparative gender representations on two newspapers, Los Angeles Times and Tehran Times which focused on the several of discourse strategies applied in the headlines in those newspapers. The result showed that genders were represented differently through employing diverse discourse strategies in those newspapers. Moreover, the male and female representations were significantly different in Los Angeles Times and Tehran Times. They also found that Los Angeles Times broke the construction of woman concealment by revealing out all the women characteristics in order to catch people's attention. Meanwhile, in Tehran Times, they found that women were represented as good mother and raised children which meant that the Islamic cultures mainly influenced the way the headlines were produced.

Karimi and Tabrizi (2015) analyzed two letters which aimed at exploring the relationship the way the employees applied discursive strategies and later could influence 'Other' whose owned higher power in society status. The two letters of complaint were analyzed to explore whether the employs' discursive strategies characteristics could give impacts in expressing one's point of view. The result of the research showed that the letter which was enriched with many repertoire of discursive strategies mechanisms gave the writer more chance to explain the 'great' and 'honor' position of a teacher in the society.

In Indonesia, Utama (2015) also used van Dijk model in analyzing news in *Bali Post* newspaper. The analysis aimed to know the text structure, social cognition and social context regarding city planning in Bali. The result showed that the newspaper was on the conservative's side by praising them 'positively' while the

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planer was seen ‘negatively’. Thus, the social cognition held by Bali Post was basically based on *Pancasila* and ‘Ajeg’ principal for Balinese which showed the disagreement to the planner. For the social context, the Bali Post particularly represented about *Pancasila* and Balinese local wisdom. Moreover, it also depicted the organization structures in Bali Post, the government as well as the relation between *Bali Post Newspaper* Company with DPRD of Bali and Academics.

Based on these previous studies, the researcher would also investigate the live debate which is similar to Yang’s research (2013). Besides, this analysis would be different from Utama (2015) since the discourse is also different which is a debate (spoken text), while Utama (2015) is about a news (written text). Hence, this analysis would also concern on the micro-strategy of ideological structures in representing the issues. Particularly, the aims are almost the same, that is, to figure out the underlying theories. However, this analysis has different issue (which is gender issue) and discourse (live debate) to be analyzed thoroughly. Moreover, similar to Khaghaninezhad and Rostami (2014) analysis, the researcher would also try to depict the “social representation” in Indonesia from discursive strategies applied by the debaters which also has a correlation with gender (LGBT) issue in Indonesia.

## 2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Many approaches have been developed in linguistics especially in the discourse analysis. Many linguists compete to create a compatible approach to reach a more comprehensive language analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

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is one of the discourse analyses which goes deeper to reveal out the 'transparent' relationship between language, power and ideology.

CDA is a type of discourse analytical approaches that primarily studies the issues of language, power and ideology (Coffin, 2001 in Lawson, 2008:3). Moreover, it is also an approach to give more focus on how the social power abuse and dominance are enacted and resisted in the text and talk in socio-political context (van Dijk, 2001: 352). It raises the awareness that how language contributes to domination (Fairclough, 1989:1).

CDA aims to find the inequality power behind the language based on the ideology s/he holds when text is produced. It also tries to reveal or uncover what lies under the 'indirect' relationship between the domination and ideology (van Dijk, 1995:18). CDA tries to look closer and deeper how the language used in society, how the language could have more power and dominance as well as how ideology could control mind in producing text. In addition, Wodak (1995: 10) also explains that CDA, which is fundamentally interested in investigating an 'opaque' relations dealing with the manifestation of dominance, discrimination and power in a language. It also goes more critically on the social inequality which is expressed and legitimized by the use of language.

Furthermore, Fairclough and Wodak explained there are some principles which deal with CDA analysis. It comprises:

- CDA takes a more concern on the social problems
- The power relations are discursive
- Discourse establishes society and culture

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- Discourse deals with ideological work
- Discourse must be historical
- The bridge between text and context (society) is mediated
- Discourse analysis also deal with 'interpretation' and 'explanation'
- Discourse must be a social practices or actions

(Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 271-80)

It could be seen that the researchers should be careful when they want to analyze with CDA. The researchers should at least profoundly understand with the text that they want to analyze. For example, the first one thing is stated above is "CDA takes a more concern on the social problems", it means that the text which the researcher takes also must contain a social problem.

The principle above is understandable enough to show how CDA is doing in revealing the ideology and hidden power based on the language used, for example, "discourse analysis also deals with 'interpretation' and 'explanation'". CDA is also called as the 'interpretative' and 'explanative' analysis. It means that it works on a specific discourse which is correlated with the context of situation when the text is produced. In short, in order to ease the analysis, the researcher should firstly also understand this principle of critical discourse analysis.

The main focus of CDA is the unconsciousness of language which has a hidden power. There are some popular CDA theorists with the distinctive theoretical background areas in conducting CDA such as **Norman Fairclough** with dialectical-relational approach, **Ruth Wodak** with discourse-historical approach, **Theo van Leeuwen** with social actors approach, **Sara Mills** with feminist approach

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and **Teun A van Djik** with socio-cognitive approach (Wodak, 1995:20). Many previous researches have been done by using CDA analysis in various discourses such as written (newspaper or headlines) and spoken (speeches). Hence, it is still limited to find CDA which focuses on the discursive strategies, moreover, in the debate discourse. The CDA researchers also mostly like to apply Fairclough model in doing their research instead of using van Dijk model. Actually, the idea of Fairclough and van Dijk models have many similar ideas and even the way on doing the analysis are almost the same. Hence, most of van Dijk model of researches focus on the political issues (legitimation or dominance) while Fairclough analysis is mostly applied in social issue (racism or gender). In this research, the researcher intends to combine the political with gender issues since the LGBT issue also has a tight correlation with the issue of 'legitimation', 'gender' as well as 'domination'. Therefore, CDA approach from Van Dijk (2000) is chosen to analyze the text and talk (prominently, debate) since this theory defines and characterizes various strategies in debate which inclines with the aim of this research in finding the various discursive strategies in debate in which later represent the LGBT existence in Indonesia.

## 2.3. Socio-Cognitive Analysis

CDA which is proposed by van Dijk is popularly called as the **'Socio-Cognitive Approach'** (Wodak, 1995:20). He gives more focus on the 'socio-psychological' side in the field of CDA. Wodak also adds that it is a theory that serves 'the framework of systematizing of social reality' and 'the tradition of social

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representation theory' (Wodak, 1995:25). Van Dijk, himself, argues that there is no direct relation between discourse and society. There should be a 'cognitive interface' that bridges these two things. Wodak also summarizes CDA van Dijk that:

> He emphasizes that CDA should also not limit itself to a study of the relationship between discourse and social structure, such as racism and other forms of power abuse but that language use and discourse always presuppose the intervening mental models, goals and general social representations (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, values) of the language users. In other words, the study of discourse triangulates between society/ culture/ situation, cognition and discourse/language. (Wodak, 1995: 14)

From the explanation above, we could see that van Dijk SCA theory mainly focuses on the social cognition as the way or to inter-correlate between the discourse and social representation. SCA itself introduces the concept of 'context model', which is understood as the mental representation of structures of the communicative situation that are discursively relevant for a participant (Wodak, 1995:26). The detail explanation would be presented later (in sub-chapter. 2.3.2).

Moreover, the principles of CDA of van Dijk, as it has been mentioned above, focus on power, dominance and cognitive interface in the production of text and talk. Van Dijk (1993: 250) defines that dominance as "the implementation of social power by elites, groups, or an institution which causes a social inequality, includes in politics, culture, ethnics, and race as well as in the gender inequality". The dominant could enact power and cause an inequality. Typically, CDA analyst should pay more attention towards the issue of actual power and dominance in

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society which also focuses on how the elites and their discursive strategies maintain the inequality (van Dijk, 1993:250).

## 2.4. Power, Inequality and Domination

As it has been stated above, van Dijk model also points out the 'manifestation of inequality and domination' as a result of 'exercising power' in society which is represented (enacted, reproduced and resisted) by written or spoken 'text', specifically in socio-political context (van Dijk, 2001: 352). Thus, to understand the relation between discourse, dominance and inequality, the analyst should examine the role of social representation in the minds of social actors more detail (van Dijk, 1993: 251). Therefore, CDA requires true multidisciplinary and an account of complex relationship between 'text', 'talk', 'social cognition', 'power', 'society' and 'culture' in order to measure the social inequality, for instance, the minority movement such class struggle, decolonization, women's right and so on (van Dijk, 1993: 253).

Talking about **power,** it always correlates with *control*. It means that (members of) a group are over the (members) of the other groups. Teun van Dijk adds that control might concern to *action* or *cognition* (1993: 254). Action means that someone could directly control over another person or could be called as a 'force'. Meanwhile, cognition or mind control could change the other's mind into the same interest by giving persuasion, manipulation, and so on (van Dijk, 1993:254). In studying CDA, analyst should fully understand that controlling other's mind is also the main functions of 'text' and 'talk'. When language is used,

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someone is actively controlling other's mind by text and talk. Thus, if 'text' and 'talk' are enacted and reproduced subtly, routinely, naturally and acceptably, thus, it would create the dominance (van Dijk, 1993: 254). In sum, power is mainly about control. If someone could control (action and cognition) over others, then the one, who is being controlled, accepts and appears 'natural', soon after it becomes the dominant group.

Moreover, studying CDA is also about the power abuse. The dominance is one of the sources which let into the power abuse. The dominance is hidden and acceptable until its persistent is being challenged, for instance the domination of male over female, rich over poor, thus power abuse would be exist (van Dijk, 1993: 255). Van Dijk (1993: 255) explains that if the minds of the dominated group could be influenced until they could accept and act out of their own free will, it would create a *hegemony*.

Power and dominance are not merely enacted by member of group individually. These are "usually organized and *institutionalized*" (van Dijk, 1993: 255). Van Dijk (1993: 255) states that the institutionalized dominance (such as social, politic, media or cultural organization) implies the *hierarchy of power*. It means that the dominant group could control in planning, decision-making and controlling over the relation and the process of the power being enacted. The dominant one is commonly called power elites. The power elites literally mean someone who talks a lot. In addition, the power elite is a symbol of power who could control many discourse accesses. In sum, van Dijk (1993) has described in detail how to inter-relate power and dominance to text (especially on the discourse

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structures). Moreover, it relates the *macro level* (where 'dominance' is manifested) to *micro level* (where 'power' is enacted) through the understanding of social cognitive to find out how power and dominance are manifested, produced and reproduced through discourse.

## 2.5. Social Cognition, Mental and Context Model

Instead of 'power' and 'domination', van Dijk also highlights what it is called as the 'social cognition'. Social cognition is a link between macro- and micro-, dominance and discourse, individual and groups. It explains the production, understanding and the influence of text and talk (van Dijk, 1993: 257). Resnick also adds social cognition is, though it is embodied in the person's mind, a social belief which is shared and presupposed by group of members. It also monitors the social action and interaction as well as lies below the social and any organizations in the society as a whole (Resnick, 1991 in van Dijk, 2003: 257). It is clearly seen the tight relation between power, dominance and social cognition. Social cognition would unconsciously control power and dominance (social actions) and inequality, abuse of power (social interaction). Below is the graph that shows how text, social cognition and social context are related.

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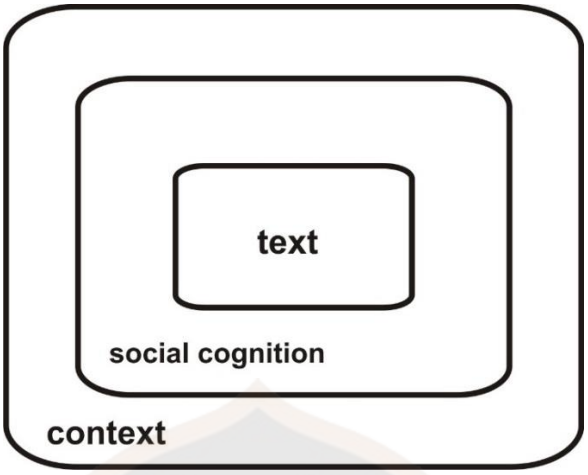



**Figure 2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis Model by Van Dijk**
**Source: Eriyanto (2009: 225)**

As it has been explained before (in sub chapter 2.3), CDA van Dijk is a study of a discourse which triangulates the 'language', 'cognition' and 'society' (Wodak, 1995: 14). Social cognition exists to monitor 'the text' while it underlies on 'the context' (the society). Therefore, from the figure 2.2 above, we could see how the position of 'social cognition' in between the 'text' (the discourse structures) and the 'context' (the social representation). Moreover, precisely, CDA van Dijk gives more focus on how the relation of **discourse structures** and the structure of **social cognition** which is embedded in broader social, political, cultural theory of the situations or **context** (Van Dijk, 1993: 259).

Talking about social cognition, it also has a tight correlation with 'mental' and 'context' models. In a discourse, power, dominance and inequality are reproduced and resisted through the discursive strategies which could not be separated from the 'mental' model as well as the social cognition (socially shared mental representation). Van Dijk (1992: 98) also underlines that *socio-cognitive interface* (which does not only contain 'mental model' but also 'social cognition' is

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needed in order to know how the manifestation of 'power' and 'domination' through text and talk. He, moreover, adds that social cognition is more like a general knowledge. It covers the social context and other fundamental ideological systems such as norms, values as well as belief. It is less individualistic orientation and as the social representation of people as group members (van Dijk, 1992: 98). Meanwhile, the mental model is more personal. It particularly relates with a person and traditionally called as '*learning from experience*' (Van Dijk, 2004: 11). Van Dijk states that "a model is a personal and unique mental representation of an event or situation, such as one personally experienced or heard/read about. Such a model is a subjective representation of the relevant structures of the event (setting, participants, actions, and so on), but it may also include a personal evaluation (opinion) about the event" (van Dijk, 1992: 99).

Furthermore, in CDA, he notes that the mental model also has a role in producing the talk and text. A *context model* is one of special kind of mental model. It features particular general attitudes and norms about appropriate communication, about the own group, and so on. It also monitors the well-known processes of face keeping and positive self-presentation in talk and text. Later, van Dijk summarizes that talk and text are particularly being monitored by underlying (1) (event) models, (2) context models – that is through the model, (3) social cognition such as knowledge, attitudes and beliefs (1992: 99).

## 2.6. Knowledge and Ideology

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Social cognition is a place where ‘knowledge’ and ‘ideology’ lie inside. In (re)producing text and talk, **knowledge** plays a prominent role in the processes since it could shape people’s interpretation of the world. Meanwhile, CDA, practically, stands to find out how the text and talk could create a new concept knowledge (van Dijk, 1993: 258). Meanwhile, van Dijk (1993: 258) explains that **ideology** is “the fundamental social cognition”. The ideology would reflect the basic aims, interest and value of the group. It also controls the attitude of the groups and their members. It also monitors every social action and interaction of the (members of) groups in the society. Therefore, during the process of text production and interpretation, there is a mental representation of experiences, events or situations and the opinion towards specific things (van Dijk, 1993: 258). It works on people’s mind in shaping the opinion or the interpretation of the text which would be produced. The relation between text, interpretation and ideology, in sum, is that the text produced might have been constructed based on the interpretation from the existing knowledge they have which more or less are shared general attitudes and ideologies. Van Dijk does not oppose the notion of ideology as a tool for oppression but does take a far more neutral approach to the concept itself when defining it as a system which is at the base of the socio-political cognition of a specific group (van Dijk, 1995: 138). With this statement, van Dijk allows for the voices of opposition from dominated groups to be classified as ideologies as well as those from dominant groups. Ideologies are, according to van Dijk, made up of the social norms and values that exist within the culture the group belongs to, and selected to optimize the realization of the group’s goals (van Dijk, 1995: 138). An

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example of this is feminist ideology that does not recognize women as being any weaker than men and therefore considers the notion of equality between the genders a key value of the ideology.

Ideology influences the way one constructs the world in the sense that it has an impact on the: *"...specific knowledge and beliefs of individual language users*." (van Dijk, 1995: 138). As such it will naturally influence language and thereby discourse. For this thesis, we adhere to the definition of ideology as set forth by van Dijk, in that it includes the voices of all social groupings in society whether dominant or dominated. To define ideology simply as the voices of dominance would, in our opinion, not only neglect the rest of the society, it would largely underestimate groupings in society that currently hold little or no power but which may represent a dominant majority in the future.

## 2.7. Debate and Political Discourse

The research would focus on debate as the discourse. Some said that "debate" is a better form of discourse (than a dialogue) because it is more controlled while both sides are able to give their ideas. Moreover, as it has been already stated before (in subchapter 2.2), the issue also has a correlation with politics. Therefore, the researcher also takes 'politics' as part of discourse. Political discourse, itself, is also where ideologies are contested (van Dijk, 2006a: 734). The notion 'politic' here is not only about the politician involves but also their activities in the domain of politic. Some activities which require a joint or communal decision making, policies, regulations and legislations are comprised in the domain of politics (van

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Dijk, 2002: 21). Therefore, here, even though the spoke-person might be not all are 'politicians', the live debate here also mainly talked about the legitimation and policies (which are under the domain of politics) due to a social issue, in this case is gender. Therefore, debate and political discourse are needed to be explained well in order to give more understanding towards the research.

In debate, especially the parliamentary debate that van Dijk had analyzed before, van Dijk found that there is a schematic organization of ideology which generally has been reflected in the debate. It is so called as the 'Ideological Square':

*Emphasize Our good things, Emphasize Their bad things*

*De-emphasize Our bad things, De-emphasize Their good things*

(van Dijk, 2006a: 734)

'Representing US and THEM' should be underlined in analyzing debate. The positive Self-presentation and the negative Other-presentation are as the ideology in the mind of (members of) groups or institutions. Ideologies might, in fact, be the same as the representation of a group. van Dijk later gives more explanation about the properties of text or known as the ideological discourse structures. He states that the ideological discourse structures are not only organized by the context model but also as a function of a function of the structures of the underlying ideologies and the social representations. He later names it as the 'ideological discourse'. He states that the ideological discourse is structured by the fundamental strategy of positive-self presentation (favoring) and negative other-presentation (derogation). This strategy might operate at various level or domains

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by emphasizing OUR good things and de-emphasizing THEIR bad things as well as generally position at opposite side of the Others (van Dijk, 2006b: 126)

In sum, we could see that the ideology could be seen from the discourse structures. These discourse structure practically influences the ideology of the speaker while it could also reflect the ideology that the speaker holds. Therefore, we should deeply understand what items are in the discourse structure.

### 2.7.1. Ideological Discourse Structures

Talking about debate discourse, we could possibly think about "how is the debate going?" or, maybe, "how are the participants trying to convince the 'public'?". Therefore, here, van Dijk specifically compiles various kinds of strategies that are commonly applied in the debate. As it has been stated previously, he names it as 'Ideological Discourse Structure'. It consists of the various micro-strategies (more than 40 strategies) with two main macro-strategies which are the 'positive US presentation' and 'negative OTHER presentation'. The figure below shows the various strategies compiled by van Dijk.

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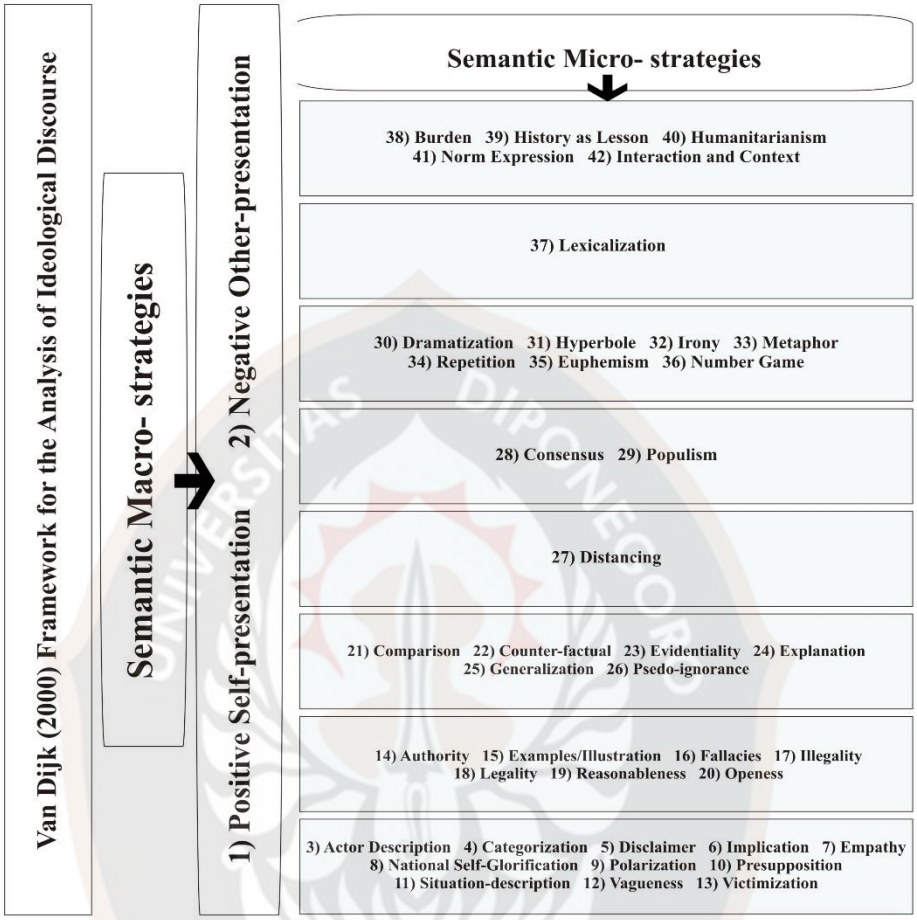



**Figure 2.2.** Ideological Discourse Structure
**Source: van Dijk (2000)**

In this research, the researcher would especially select some strategies to be defined below in order to give a better understanding to the strategies with the research above. The selected key terms of discourse strategies below are chosen because it is found and applied in the debate. The complete version could be looked up in van Dijk's paper entitled "*Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*" (2000). Van Dijk (2000) also adds four domains to divide those

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strategies which have similarity intentions, such as Meaning, Argumentation, Rhetoric and Style.

Van Dijk (2006b) states that some strategies, such as Implication, Presupposition, Evidentiality, Lexicalization, and Disclaimer, are included in as the meaning strategies. Meaning' itself correlates with the semantic literal sentence meaning (usually called as textual meaning) as well as the contextual pragmatic (contextual meaning) which concerns on the meaning beyond the sentences when someone intends to say something hence it means something else (van Dijk, 2006b).

Then, van Dijk (2006b: 376) also states that such manipulated argumentations effect to the reader could be categorized based on the qualification and critical sense of the reader or recipients because the well-acknowledged and critical recipients could resist it. Moreover, he also adds that the argumentation is a strategy of manipulation discourse which appears primarily semantic or having a meaning (van Dijk, 2006b: 376). Some strategies, such as Authority, Example, Counter-factual, Generalization, Reasonableness, Consensus and Populism, are included as argumentation strategies.

Rhetorical and Style strategies are typical and common strategies which are clearly shown in debate. Rhetorical strategies are considered as intended strategies which aim to manipulate or persuade people. Some strategies, such as Metaphor, Hyperbole, Euphemism, Repetition, Number Game, Antithesis, are included as rhetorical strategies. Meanwhile, Style is a move to show the way someone's talk or written which contextually could represent "their" position and

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identity. Some strategies, such as Polarization and Norm Expression, are also included as style.

## 2.8. The Concept of 'Gender' and 'Sex'

Different from the previous ones, this subchapter would mainly focus on the 'issue' (especially, gender issue) which means that most of the information given is not under the linguistics areas.

In this research, the 'discourse' (in this case debate and politics) must be prominently explained in order to give a more understanding to the 'issue' as well as the 'discourse practices'. Moreover, dealing with CDA approaches, we could not leave out the question '*what is it?*' which covers the importance of an 'issue' involved in the discourse. The 'issue' itself could unintentionally 'control' the ideology of a participants in 'producing' the discourse practice. In this research, the debate discussed about the gender issue which lately has become a *'trending topic'* in Indonesia. It is about the issue of Lesbian, Gay, Transgender and Bisexual (LGBT) and the same-sex marriage whether it should be legitimized or neglected especially in Indonesia. Therefore, before we go to deeper explanation about LGBT, it is also needed to know the concept of 'gender' and 'sex' which basically triggers the issue of LGBT existence in the society. Thus, later, we need to know what 'LGBT' is as well as their position in Indonesia in order to get a better understanding towards the issue and how the 'issue' could influence the discourse practices.

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In the concept of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’, as it has been stated in Chapter I, people likely to meet a difficulty in distinguishing the concept of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. Most of them believe that ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ are similar terms to differentiate the characteristic of ‘man’ and ‘woman’. Then, what does actually ‘gender’ and ‘sex’ mean for? Do ‘they’ have same meaning?

The concept of gender has been introduced in 1970. Historically, before the term ‘gender’ has existed, the social scientists still used the concept ‘sex’ to mark the ‘inequality’ treatment between ‘men’ and ‘women’ (Holmes, 2007: 2). The term ‘gender’ was started the notion of ‘complementary role’ in the society. Parson, firstly, has initiated to see ‘sex’ from the functionalism sociological construct which defines how ‘men’ and ‘women’ role positions in the society (Holmes, 2007: 5).

Some social theorists describe the differences between ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ is about ‘nature’ and ‘nurture’. Holmes also says that ‘sex’ is an ‘anatomical’ and all about the other physical characteristic differences while ‘gender’ is the socially produced in term of role (holmes, 2007: 18). Moreover, she also states that ‘gender’ is to see how the differentiate men and women are socially constructed and also how those differences are created and shaped by social environment (Holmes, 2007: 18). Aside from the ‘sex’ which is naturally ascribed, the term of ‘gender’ is about getting the ascribed ‘identity’ (Holmes, 2007: 20). Moreover, sociologists have also distinguished between ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. ‘Sex’ is a biological and natural conditions that characterize human into ‘man’ and ‘woman’. Meanwhile, gender is the constructed social role which divides human into ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’.

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The ‘femininity’ and ‘masculinity’ are seen as the shades of the human being and behavior rather than as an ‘opposition’ (Holmes, 2007: 26). In addition, many researchers also try to correlate the ‘sex’, ‘sexuality’ and ‘gender’ in other points of view. The sociologists assume that every person has one sex, one sexuality and one gender. The terms of sex and gender might be interchangeably as well as sex and sexuality which it might refer to the biology or psychology. They assume that a woman must be feminine female and a man must be masculine male. Hence, the new idea of ‘gender’ which brings the complementary role in society led to the other conception that says ‘the male body must not always be masculine and also the female body must not always be feminine’ (Holmes, 2007: 27).

In short, with the new concept of ‘gender’, we could assume how LGBT could exist and how people could differently perceive its existence. More information about LGBT and the history would be explained below in order to help in understanding the research.

## 2.9. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT)

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender, also known as **LGBT**, is recently being a hot issue. They belong to a group with their ‘special’ sexual orientation. Somehow, they are also commonly as ‘homosexual’ which means loving someone with the same sex, e.g. man-man (gay) or woman-woman (lesbian). The nature of LGBT members is actually not different with the other ‘normal’ people. Thus, sexual orientation is divided into three, heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual. Heterosexual is sexual orientation with different sex, like man and woman.

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Heterosexual is the only acceptable sexual orientation and considered as 'normal'. On the other hand, according to Oetomo (2001: 6-7), homosexual is seen as 'orientation' or 'choice' of sex to someone who has the same sex. It could be called an attraction emotionally and sexually to the same sex partner. Seokanto (2004: 381) also adds that the homosexuals call their lover as the 'sex partner'. Moreover, Davison and Neale (1996) also explain that actually there 2 categories of homosexual; (1) *gay*, a man who tends to sexually love another man. (2) *Lesbian*, a woman who tends to sexually love another woman.

In the history, LGBT has already existed since late 13$^{th}$ century in the ancient Greek era. There are some artefacts which show the relationship between the same sexes. Thus, as time being, the homosexuality has developed rapidly in all over the world. The study about homosexuality is always being debated until now. Their existence is always being a big question in society. Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin (1984) had investigated and examined the sexuality in America. The result showed that 37% men already have experienced homosexuality in their life but only 4% whose turn to be gay. From these result, sociologically, it is about identity. The important is not their homosexual relationship but the way they show or declare their 'homosexsual' identity (Siahaan, 2009: 43).

In society, formerly, the existence of homosexual is still in doubt and all they get is denial. Their community actively works and develops under the consciousness of the society. Gadpaille (1989) says that people negatively see the activity related with the same-sex relationship and would get 'mocking' and discrimination. Lehne (1976) also adds there is a '**homophobic'** in society as the

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result of the homosexual existence. The society sees the homosexual activities are not acceptable in many aspects (religion, culture, sociology and psychology). Therefore, the homosexual would only cause discrimination.

Back to the history of LGBT, homosexual emerged enormously in the late 19th century. Hence, the movement already began in 18th in New York. The New York Landmark Preservation Commission noted that in 1850s, there was a journalist named Walt Whitman. He wrote about "Calamus" poems, celebrating the manly love of comrades that were included in the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. This poetry made Whitman iconic in the U.S. and Europe as one of the first people to openly express the concept of men loving men (NYC Landmark, 2014: 2). The movement, though it is hidden, is still growing until now particularly in America. People start to take an eye to homosexual and their organization. Thus, their movement spreads out until Europe and Gay Liberation Front (henceforth, GLF) came out as the sign of the emergence of LGBT movement in Europe (NYC Landmark, 2014).

The very first organization, established in 1970, is Gay Liberation Front (GLF) placed in London. The main focus of this organization is that telling society that their activities are not social deviation, so they also get the same rights like the others (Manifesto, 1971:15). Their movements, however, gain many haters from society, they still keep their campaign to all part of the world. From the time being, finally in 1974, the APA (American Psychiatric Association) erased the homosexuality from the list of mental disorder. This is as a sign that their movement is success (Soebagyo, 2012). Thus, with this succession, their organization could

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claim that their behavior is considered as ‘natural’ and ‘normal’ like the other society behavior.

Similarly, in Indonesia, the LBGT communities also do not have a proper place in society. LGBT itself is considered as taboo. They are marginalized and discriminated. Therefore, the UNDP also includes Indonesia in their project. LGBT in Indonesia itself has been started in 1982 in Solo with the born of Lambda Indonesia. This is the first gay organization in Asia and working cooperatively (Oetomo, 1996: 1). Thus, with the born of Lambda Indonesia, it is hoped that it could be a place for LGBT, especially gay at that time, in sharing their problems or experiences (Oetomo, 1996).

Talking about the amount of LGBT members, in Indonesia, it statistically shows that there are 8-10 million men population has experienced their homosexuality once. More or less than one third of theses population are still ‘doing’. Thus, the survey from YPKN shows that there are 3000-4000 people are homosexual in Jakarta. In addition, *GAYa Nusantara* also estimates that 260.000 population in East Java are Homo. Quoted from *Gatra*, Oetomo says, nationally, there are more than 1% from total Indonesia population are homo. Dede Oetomo is the ‘president’ of gay in Indonesia. He and his partner have been together in more than 18 years. His partner is also the one who established *GAYa Nusantara* (Gatra, 2003: 2).

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# CHAPTER III

# RESEACRH METHOD

This chapter would focus on the way some methods were used in doing the research. This chapter comprises Research Design, Research Data, Technique of Collecting Data, and Technique of Analyzing Data.

## 3.1. Research Design

The research belongs to a descriptive qualitative research. It is a qualitative which employs descriptive method. Qualitative research relies primarily on the collection of qualitative data (Johnson and Christensen, 2000: 17). Qualitative research is conducted with observation and interview, and the data are usually in the form of words. Therefore, it is different from quantitative research which always employs numbers in the research.

Meanwhile, the purposes of descriptive research are describing the facts, their characteristics, and also the relationship among the phenomena being observed systematically, factually and accurately (Nazir, 1988: 63). Employing descriptive qualitative research, the researchers generally focus on the phenomenon, collect the data and draw a conclusion.

In short, this research is also considered as the qualitative research because it is served mostly in the forms of words as well as it describes a phenomenon or an issue which happens in the society.



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### 3.2. Data and Source of Data

The data are in the various forms (such as words, phrases and clauses) which are also called as the 'strategy' applied in the debate. The source of data was in the form of 'debate' which was taken from a live TV show, entitled *Debat TVOne*, in one of local TV channels in Indonesia, called *TVOne*. '*Debat TVOne*' airs weekly at 7 p.m. with various issues and focuses are discussed differently in each week. Hence, in this research, one of the episodes, entitled "*Pernikahan Sejenis*" (*Same-Sex Marriage*) was deliberately taken in order to answer the problem statements (in Chapter 1). The debate mainly discussed abou the legalization of same-sex marriage as well as the LGBT existence in Indonesia. It ran for about sixty minutes with six spokespersons who participated in the discussion. The video of the debate itself was downloaded from *youtube.com*. Thus, the statements in this debate were used as the data in this research.

### 3.3. Technique of Collecting Data

In qualitative research, a technique to collect the data must be concerned to obtain the adequate data. The data of this research include the words, phrases and clauses which contains the issue of LGBT as well as same-sex marriage. Below are the steps in collecting the data:

1. Getting the video of the debate.

   The video (as the source of the data), entitled "*Pernikahan Sejenis*" (Same-Sex Marriage), was selected and downloaded (the full video) through *youtube.com*.

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2. Making the transcription of the debate

   The discussion was re-written orderly based on the spokespersons' interactions in order to be used as the data in the analysis. The data were re-written by using orthographic transcription method since the research would concern more on the content.

3. Getting the data

   The data were collected and compiled by using non-participants observation because the researcher did not participate directly in the debate (William, 2008: 561). The data consisted of all the interactions (mostly speeches) in the debate. They were in the forms of words, phrases and clauses. Since the debate was sixty minutes long, there might be many other issues were intended in the discussion. Hence, the researcher would only concern on the issue of LGBT and same-sex marriage.

### 3.4. Technique of Analyzing Data

In analyzing the data, the researcher applied the three levels of analysis of socio-cognitive analysis (SCA) by van Dijk such as **Discourse Structures, Social Cognition** and **Social Representation**. SCA tries to reveal out the relationship between 'language' and 'society' though 'cognition'. Simultaneously, the data were also analyzed by using content analysis with abductive inferential and referential methods (Krippendorff, 2004: 36). The content analysis was used to know how various discourse strategies were applied in the debate. Meanwhile, the abductive

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inferential and referential methods were applied to attempt the underlying ideologies and social representation that would be inferred from the debate. Therefore, below are the steps in analyzing the data:

1) Gathering and observing all data

   Previously, it was already stated about how the data were taken. The data consisted of all interactions (specifically called as 'strategies') appeared in the debate which focused and presented the LGBT and same-sex marriage.

2) Analyzing the discourse structures

   '**Discourse Structure**' is the very first step in doing CDA which focuses on the textual analysis. The textual analysis means that the analysis would focus on the data (as the "text" produced) while the data were about various 'strategies' applied in debate. Therefore, in this step, the researcher would classify all the data taken based on the analytical framework of 'Ideological Discourse Structure' by van Dijk (2000). This theory concerns on the various strategies which are applied by the spokespersons especially in the debate.

3) Revealing the social cognition

   The second step is called as '**Social Cognition'**. This step would deal with revealing the underlying ideologies that trigger the 'actions' of the spoke-persons. Social cognition would cover the ideology and the context model of the spoke-persons. This phase works more on the contextual analysis. Therefore, the analyst should position him/herself

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as the ‘interpreter’. Here, the intertextuality ‘text’ and ‘context’ were applied to know why the spoke-persons conducted the debate. This phase could also be called as the ‘ideological discourse analysis’ (van Dijk, 1995). He states that ‘ideologies’ could be represented from ‘group-defining’ categories such as Identity/Membership (who are ‘we’?), Activities (what do ‘we’ do?), Goal (why do ‘we’ do this?), Norm and Values (what norm and values that ‘we’ respect in such activities?), Social position (who are ‘our’ friends and enemies?) and Resources (What is ours? What do we want to have/keep at all costs?). These categories are inter-correlated to form such an ‘ideology’ value based on the ‘text’ that represents and belongs to a ‘specific’ group.

In broader way, in this step, the researcher would try to correlate the issue of LGBT with the findings from the discourse structure as well as define the issue of LGBT which triggers the spokespersons apply various strategies in the debate.

4) Finding out the social representation

The last phase is ‘**Social Representation’**. In this phase, the analysis would go broader on the sociocultural practice. It works on the relation and relevancy between discourse and society. Van Dijk himself also claims that language largely is controlled by the society and language is also considered as the ‘product’ of the society (Wodak, 2009: 13). This analysis covers three levels of contexts, such as the situation (the interaction), institution, and social organizations (van Dijk, 2001: 115).

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The situational level is about context-text relevance. The ‘text’ is based on the consideration of the context of situation in producing discourse. In institutional level, ‘text’ is mainly influenced by the interference of institutional organization. The last, in the societal level, the ‘text’ is analyzed based on the sociocultural elements.

In other words, this step would concern on the society which reflects a ‘basic’ or ‘very fundamental’ ideology that also simultaneously controls the ‘text’ produced. The researcher tried to reveal how the ‘ideology’ as a base in constructing the ‘text’ as well as uncover the ‘new’ ideology which challenges the ‘conformity’ as the representation of the social change.

5) Drawing a conclusion

Lastly, the researcher tried to summarize and conclude all the findings and discussions.

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# CHAPTER IV

# FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This research deals with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which concerns on live debate with its topic Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) and 'same-sex marriage'. Some major features of critical discourse analysis such as the relation between **discourse structures** and the structures of **social cognition are** the focus of the analysis. At the same time, this analysis also takes an account of both discursive and cognitive structures which are embedded in broader social, political and cultural theory of any situation, contexts or institution that also represents the power relations (van Dijk, 1993: 259).

In order to answer the research problems mentioned in Chapter 1, the analysis would be divided into four parts which comprises (1) The Contextual Overview, (2) The Strategies Applied in the Debate and Its Implication, (3) The Representation of LGBT Existence in Indonesia, and (4) The Society Perspective towards LGBT Existence Especially in Indonesia.

## 4.1. The Contextual Overview

Applying the critical discourse analysis, we could not leave the notion of 'context'. In the socio-political debate or any political discourses, the researcher must not only concern in the level of 'text' but also in the 'context'. Moreover, in the debate discourse, it must be contextually relevant in between any 'texts' produced and the 'situations' embedded (van Dijk, 2000: 213). The context of

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discourse could help in shaping the readers or audiences as well as any other groups and the public's mind in perceiving various kinds of issue in the discussion. Then, later, the researcher could analyze the 'text' produced as the way of any specific group 'resists' or 'challenges' Others as well as depict the 'Us' and 'Other' representation in the debate (van Dijk, 2000: 215).

The live debate was on July 6, 2015 in *TVOne* (one of the most popular TV channels in Indonesia). The debate was held in Jogjakarta and UII students came as the audience. The title of the debate was '*Pernikahan Sejenis'* (the same-sex marriage). The debate was held to find out whether the same-sex marriage could be legalized in Indonesia. The topic was chosen because the same-sex marriage has been legalized in USA. On June 26, 2015, US Supreme Courts already announced that the same-sex marriage in USA is legal, as quoted, "*Supreme Court Ruling Makes Same-Sex Marriage a Right Nationwide*" (New York Times, 2015). This news spread out in all over the world as well as, here, in Indonesia. Hence, later, it might also provoke the pros and cons in the society.

Here, the researcher would give brief information of the debate and speakers (with the coding) involved in the debate in order to give a better understanding to the analysis. Thus, there were six persons involved in discussion. The table below shows the spokes-person and their position in the debate.

Table 4.1. The Spokepersons in Debate

| **No** | **Name** | **Information** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Neng Zubaidah **(NZ)** | **Sex** | Female |
| | | **Position** | Representative of *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (MUI) – Islam Ulema Council |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | Sodik Mudjahid **(SM)** | **Sex** | Male |
| | | **Position** | The House of Representative of The Republic of Indonesia (Commission VIII) |
| 3. | Musni Umar **(MU)** | **Sex** | Male |
| | | **Position** | Sociology Expert<br>Lecturer in Islam Indonesia University |
| 4. | Jeremi Teti **(JT)** | **Sex** | Male |
| | | **Position** | Public Figure (artist) |
| 5. | Yuli Rustinawati **(YL)** | **Sex** | Female |
| | | **Position** | Representative of "*Arus Pelangi*" community (LGBT supporter) |
| 6. | Dede Oetomo **(DO)** | **Sex** | Male |
| | | **Position** | Founder of *GAYa Nusantara* (Gay community in Indonesia) |

Talking about debate, there must be some issues being contested (van Dijk, 2006: 734). People who are involved in debate must also take a position, for instance 'pro' or 'contra', according to the issues. Since the speakers involve in this debate were six people, thus for the sake of simplifying the analysis of the discourse structures, the researcher divided them into two main groups 'pro' and 'contra'.

## 4.2. The Frequency of Strategies Applied in the Debate and Its Implication towards LGBT Existence in Indonesia

This is the first phase of the analysis with CDA approach. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 3, the analysis would start with the analysis of Discourse Structure which focuses on the various strategies applied in the debate. The various strategies found would be analyzed based on four big domains, such as Meaning, Argumentation, Rhetoric and Style (van Dijk, 2000).

There are nineteen strategies found in the debate. The table below shows the various and frequency of the strategies applied in the debate.

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Table 4.2. The Various and the Frequency of Strategies Used in the Debate

| No. | Strategies | Pro | (%) | Contra | (%) | Total | (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **MEANING** | | | | | | | |
| 1. | Implication | 2 | | 4 | | 6 | **7** |
| 2. | Presupposition | 3 | | - | | 3 | **4** |
| 3. | Evidentiality | 2 | | 6 | | 8 | **9** |
| 4. | Disclaimer | 3 | | 4 | | 7 | **8** |
| 5. | Lexicalization | - | | | | | |
| **ARGUMENTATION** | | | | | | | |
| 6. | Example | 3 | | 1 | | 4 | **5** |
| 7. | Authority | 2 | | 6 | | 8 | **9** |
| 8. | Consensus and Populism | 5 | | 15 | | 20 | **22** |
| 9. | Reasonableness | - | | 11 | | 11 | **12** |
| 10. | Counter-factual | - | | 4 | | 4 | **4** |
| 11. | Generalization | 4 | | - | | 4 | **4** |
| **RHETORIC** | | | | | | | |
| 12. | Number game | 3 | | - | | 3 | **4** |
| 13. | Hyperbole | - | | 1 | | 1 | **1** |
| 14. | Metaphor | - | | 1 | | 1 | **1** |
| 15. | Repetition | - | | 5 | | 5 | **6** |
| 16. | Antithesis | 1 | | - | | 1 | **1** |
| 17. | Euphemism | - | | 2 | | 2 | **3** |
| **STYLE** | | | | | | | |
| 18. | Norm Expressions | - | | | | | |
| 19. | Polarization | | | | | | |
| **TOTAL** | | **27** | **31%** | **60** | **69%** | **87** | **100%** |

The table above shows there are various strategies applied in the debate. Each sides also have different tendency in using the strategies. In addition, the consensus and populism strategy takes place as the most frequent strategy which is applied in the debate. Meanwhile, some strategies, such as lexicalization, norms expression and polarization, would be explained later in the next subchapter because it focuses more on the content (the textual analysis).

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From the table above, it shows that the spokespersons on the contra-side applies more various strategies as well as more frequent used to the strategies. They employ 60 turns (69%) of the total in using the strategies. It means that the contra-side spokespersons have more power by controlling and dominating the flow of the discussion. On the other hand, the pro-side spokespersons employ less strategies which is shown that they only employ 27 turns (31%) of the total in using strategies. It implies that the pro-side spokespersons seem powerless in the debate. They also have limited access in using the strategies.

In accordance with LGBT existence in Indonesia, the pro-side spokespersons come as the representative of LGBT supporter and protector. From the frequency and variation of strategies applied, it could be seen that they are powerless than the contra-side spokesperson. In other words, here, LGBT existence in Indonesia is still 'oppressed'. It is represented by the limited access of the use of strategies as well as less-frequent used of the strategies in the debate. The remarkable ratio of the frequency (in table 4.2) implies that LGBT has limited area in expressing their idea. Therefore, they are somehow being 'excluded' and 'restricted' from the society.

Afterwards, the other question comes up, "why LGBT is 'oppressed' in the society?". We should put it in broader scope that, in fact, they belong to "minority" group in Indonesia. According to statistics, there is only 9-10% who declares themselves as LGBT in Indonesia (Oetomo, 2006). We could imagine how minority LGBT is. They are only a few people among the society in the big country like Indonesia. As the minority, they definitely should have nothing more than

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'accept' the conformity. They must merge themselves just like what the majority wants. Moreover, as it has been already mentioned above, they also must have very limited access in expressing their selves as LGBT in Indonesia. Indonesia, as the democratic country, always puts majority's voice as the priority. In other words, the minority's right must be reduced and merged based on the majority's choices. Even though Indonesia claims that they also protect the minority's right, hence here, in fact, we could see how LGBT, as the minority group, could not express their ideas as much as their opponents (the contra-side spokespersons) do.

In sum, here we could see how CDA reveals the relation between language, cognition and ideology. In the textual analysis, we could see how various strategies applied and its frequency occurred in the debate. Thus, from the frequency of strategies, it represents that how LGBT is being 'oppressed'. They have very limited access in expressing their ideas. In broader sense, we later now that LGBT itself is considered as minority group in Indonesia which means that they unquestionably must under the majority's control. Furthermore, as the minority, LGBT also should 'accept' the conformity as well as 'merge' themselves among the society.

### 4.3. The Strategies Applied and Its Representation of LGBT Existence in Indonesia

As it has been stated previously, in this sub chapter would mainly focus on how the various strategies applied in the debate. Thus, later, we could see how the strategies depict the LGBT existence in Indonesia. In some other cases, it was also worth mentioning the frequency as well as the functions of the discursive strategies

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in the debate which indicates how the LGBT existence in Indonesia in order to answer the problem statements.

### 4.3.1. The Strategies Applied in the Debate

From the analysis of discourse structure (in sub chapter 4.2), we could see that there are 19 out of 42 strategies used by the spoke-persons which are divided into four domains (Meaning, Argumentation, Rhetoric, and Style). Then, here, we would see how the strategies applied in the debate.

#### 4.3.1.1. Implication

It is a strategy that the speakers do not (need) to say everything they know. Indeed, 'the large part of discourse remains implicit and such implicit might be inferred by the shared knowledge' (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied five times (6%) by both sides in the debate. The table below would show how implication is used.

4.3. Implication Strategy

| **Pro** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *di tahun 1993, yang sudah dirilis oleh departemen kesehatan, sudah mengeluarkan homoseksual dari daftar gangguan jiwa. Itu 93, PPDGJ.* ***Jadi kalo orang-orang yang bilang kemudian bahwa LGBT adalah gangguan jiwa, sakit jiwa. Hallo? Kemana ajah udah 93?*** (S3/4/YL)<br>(In 1993, the Health Department has deleted homosexual from the list of mental disorder. **So, if people who said LGBT is a mental disorder, Hello? Where have you been? It's already since in 1993?')** |
| 2. | *Terserah yang menikah dia, yang dosa-dosa dia, urusan dia dengan Tuhannya.* ***Kita tidak perlu menjadi Tuhan untuk orang lain, ok?*** *Jadi, menurut saya, perkawinan sejenis, ya terserah dia dan Tuhan dan juga orang tuanya.* (S1/1/JT)<br>(It is up to her/him, if it is a sin, it is their private matter between him/her and the God. **We should not be God for anyone else, right?'.** So, I think, the same-sex marriage, it is up to her/him and God and also their parents.) |
| **Contra** | |

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| | |
|---|---|
| 3. | *Saudara-saudara setuju tidak bahwa kita negara hukum? Dalam negara hukum,* ***kita tidak boleh mengintepretasikan sesuatu seenak dewe.*** *Tidak boleh. Interpretasi segala sesuatu, termasuk intepretasi HAM harus berdasarkan hukum* (S2/4/SM)<br>(Do you agree that we live in the law and democratic country? In the democratic country (Indonesia), **we may not interpret something based on your own,** we may not. Interpretation should be based on the law including the human right'.) |
| 4. | *Di Indonesia berdoanya, Ya Allah berikan kami anak cucu gitu kan? Ya ga?* ***Mana mungkin ada anak cucu jika perkawinannya sejenis.*** *Dan itu adalah budaya kita.* (S4/19/SM)<br>('In Indonesia, people wish "God, please give us child!", right? **So, how to have a baby if it is a same-sex marriage** and this is our culture'.) |
| 5. | *Justru saya melihat ke depan berdasarkan pancasila & UUD 45 untuk menyelamatkan kemanusiaan.* ***Bukan untuk kemanusiaan dengan pernikahan sejenis.*** (S5/66/MU)<br>('I precisely see the future based on Pancasila and UUD 45 to salvage the humanity and **it's not for humanity with same-sex marriage'**.) |
| 6. | *Jadi menurut saya itulah yang menjadi pertanyaan besar pada kita, yang bapak-bapak menyetujui itu tadi perkawinan sejenis.* ***Mau dibawa kemana, suatu masyarakat kalo Bapak saja ada karena ada bapak dan ada ibu. Kalo ga ada bapak, Bapak ga ada pasti!*** (S5/60/MU)<br>'So, for me, one becomes a big question for us,to those whom agree with the same-sex marriage. **Where we should bring our society, if you exist because of father and mother. If there is no father, you must not exist'**.) |

These are the explanation why these data are included as implication strategy. In datum (1), the speaker assumes that people do not know the rule about LGBT which has been already erased from the list of mental disorder. Meanwhile, before, the contra-side spokespersons said that LGBT is a mental disorder. Therefore, the implicit meaning of the speaker is that the contra-side speakers do not understand the rule which, in fact, already exists since 1993.

In datum (2), the speaker states '***We*** *should not be God for anyone else, right?*'. As the beginning of the debate, the speaker declares that the speaker agrees with same-sex marriage since it is personal matter between the person, parents and God. The speaker also states that people should not to be a God for people who do

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the same-sex marriage. In this context, the speaker assumes and presupposes that the same-sex marriage is still taboo and considered as a 'sin' by many of Indonesian. As the speaker also mentions 'God', the speaker assumes that people have shared knowledge about 'God'. God is the one and only one who could judge human whether they are right or wrong, it is a sin or not. Moreover, the speaker states 'we' which refers to all the society, especially as Indonesian who oppose the same-sex marriage. In fact, people could not be a God since human is created by God, so that, they do not have a right to judge others since it is God's priority. Therefore, the implicit meaning that the speaker wants to say, is '*don't judge other people!'*.

In datum (3), the speaker also starts his statement with a rhetorical question about Indonesia is a law country. Then, the speaker adds people should interpret everything based on the law applied in the country (Indonesia). Here, the speaker assumes that people already have shared knowledge that Indonesia is a law country. The pronoun 'we' refers to Indonesian including him which he means that everyone should know that Indonesia is a law country so interpretation must be based on the law applied. Hence, the pro-side spokespersons repeatedly say both same-sex marriage and LGBT are human rights and under protection of human right policy. In fact, in Indonesia, there is no law which allows the same-sex marriage or legitimization for LGBT. Therefore, it means that the pro-side spokespersons misinterpret the human right which is applied in Indonesia and declines the Indonesian's law.

In datum (4), the speaker illustrates how Indonesian always wish descendants in a marriage and family. Hence, the speaker wonders that the same-

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sex marriage could have a child. As the speaker also mentions '*us'* in the statement, they assume that people have shared knowledge about Indonesian's culture about the goal of marriage, that is, to make a family and have a child. Then, in fact, to have a descendant, there should be a father and a mother (a man and a woman) in a family. Meanwhile, the pro-side spokespersons repeatedly argue that same-sex marriage also could have a family though there are only two mothers or fathers. Therefore, it implies that the speaker wants to show that the pro-side spokespersons deny the fact (about having a child) as well as decline the Indonesian's culture which always wish biological descendant in the future. In addition, in the correlation with the statement *'God, please give me child! Am I right?',* it means that the same-sex marriage also declines with the religion (in this case, Islam).

In datum (5), the speaker argues that in order to save the humanity, it should be based on *Pancasila* and *UUD 45* (the principles) and not by legalizing same-sex marriage. The speaker also assumes that people who support same-sex marriage must not understand the national principle. Meanwhile, in the debate, the pro-side spokespersons keep pretending that the same-sex marriage is social problem that should be solved in Indonesia for the sake of humanity. They assume that same-sex marriage is socially about a human right that people could marry anyone else without any pressure and it is their right to choose the one that they want to marry with. In fact, there is no Article in *Pancasila* or *UUD 45* which allows the same-sex marriage. In addition, *Pancasila* and *UUD 45* are the fundamental national principles in Indonesia which also concern the humanity, as it is written in the 2nd article of *Pancasila, Justice and civilized humanity*'. So, it is clearly seen

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that the implicit meaning of the speaker is that pro-side spokespersons do not understand and even try to decline *Pancasila* and *UUD 45*, by supporting the same-sex marriage.

The last statement (datum 6), the speaker, with a rhetorical question, the speaker wants to point out about the goal of same-sex marriage. The speaker wonders about the future of society by having a same-sex marriage. As the speaker also mentions '*us'*, the speaker assumes that people who support the same-sex marriage deny the nature of human existence because a man and woman in a family (have a sex). Meanwhile, the pro-side participants repeatedly argue that the same-sex marriage could also make a family and have a child whether by surrogated mother or adopting a child. In fact, a society should be maintained by having younger generations. Talking about the nature, human race could still exist until now because of having children or descendants. A family trait could still preserve because they have a biological successor by a marriage. Hence, in fact, by same-sex marriage, they only have two men or women as a partner. Then, biologically and naturally, human could only have a child because there a man and a woman in having sex. Therefore, the implicit meaning of the speaker is that the pro-side spokespersons who stand for the same-sex marriage deny the nature of human revolution which always needs man and woman to make a society preserve.

From the explanation above, we could see how each sides argue about the existence of LGBT. The 'pro-participants' (P.Pars) believe that LGBT is all about human right and for the sake of society as well as they naturally exist in the society. Meanwhile, the 'contra-participants' (C.Pars) believe that LGBT is all

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about declining all the Indonesian's principles. Hence, here, if we could take a red string from the data, we could see that implication strategy is used to 'covertly derogate OTHERS' in the debate. Therefore, they prefer to leave their 'negative' intention implicitly because they want to save their 'positive' face to the public.

#### 4.3.1.2. Presupposition

It is an indirect way to say whether the truth is taken for granted and unchallenged. Presupposition is dependent, to a higher degree, on the linguistic form of the utterance (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied three times (4%) by pro-side spokespersons in the debate. The table below would show how presupposition is used.

Table 4.4. Presupposition Strategy

| **The Statements** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Persoalannya kemudian, bagaimana **orang-orang yang punya orientasi seksual yang berbeda, orang-orang yang bisa dikatakan bahwa mereka adalah lesbian, gay, biseksual, transgender**, itu juga punya hak yang sama. Diakui oleh negara, tidak boleh didiskriminasikan. Kekerasan pun tidak boleh ada, gitu loh* (S1/21/YL) |
| 2. | *kalo dalam konteks sekarang saya sepakat soal itu, tidak bisa. Tapi kan ini ada perubahan **yang cukup banyak….*** (S1/23/YL) |
| 3. | *UUD bisa diamandemen **lagi**....* (S3/24/DO) |

From the table above, we could see how the presuppositions are employed in order to 'implicitly' present 'other' negatively. In the subordinate clauses, it is generally the case that **the main clause** is more prominent than the subordinate clause, that is, already 'shared knowledge' and 'presupposed'.

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In datum (1), it shows how the speaker's statement entails with a rhetorical 'implication' question that the speaker wonders about the way the LGBT member could also have the same right, a recognition and also should not be discriminated as well as violated in Indonesia. The bold words show that there is a presupposition about the existence of LGBT in Indonesia. This statement contains a presupposition:

a) 'Then, the problem is that how people **who have different sexual orientation or so called as LGBT,** also have the same rights, to be legitimate in Indonesia, to not be discriminated, there is no violence. So, if we talk about anti-discrimination policy or human right….').

Means**: The speaker believes there is LGBT in Indonesia**

In this context, the speaker intends to show that LGBT exists and live among us in the society. The subordinate clause (the bold words) could strengthen the statement about 'discrimination'. In fact, in Indonesia, LGBT already exists and it is signaled with the presence of some gay communities since 1980. The community is created to 'gather' and 'share' people who have different sexual orientations (gay) and aiming to 'protect' and 'fight' for their equality rights. Hence, here, the contra-side group keeps pretending that LGBT is a social phenomenon that nowadays is being a '*trending topic*' especially in Indonesia. So, it could be seen that the contra-side group has mistakenly defined the existence of LGBT in Indonesia which is, in fact, we know that LGBT actually has existed since a long time ago.

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In datum (2), the speaker states that *'tapi kan ini ada perubahan yang cukup banyak'*. Here, the speaker illustrates that there are some changes in accordance to same-sex marriage. Then, the presupposition would be:

a) But there are **some** changes

Means**: The speaker believes that there is a change**

In the context of changes of policy, the speaker wants to prove that it still could change. The phrase '*cukup banyak'* ('some') could manipulate the statement which means 'there must be a change', especially in Indonesian policy. In fact, the Indonesian policy is always changing based on the society developments, needs and changes. In Indonesia, *UUD 45* (the national principle and constitution) also has been amended until four times since 1945. It is clearly seen that the speaker intends to prove about the policy changes. In the correlation with the same-sex marriage, the speaker believes that there would be a change for it in the future.

In datum (3), the speaker claims that there is the constitution amendment which means that the constitution could be changed based on the social changes and needs. Below is the presupposition:

a) *UUD* could have an amendment **again**

Means: **The speaker believes that the constitution is amendable**

In the context of constitution, it is always correlated with 'amendment'. The government might amend the constitution if the social changes need some rules to control its changes. The bold word '*lagi'* ('again') indicates that the constitution ever changes in many times. Similar to datum (2), in fact, Indonesia's constitutions has been amended four times in its history. Meanwhile, here, the contra-side group

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keeps pretending that the constitution would never be changed especially for LGBT. It could be seen that the 'biased' statement from the contra-side group which in fact, we also know that the constitution would still might change whenever it is needed.

In sum, it could be seen that P.Pars are trying to make their statements less-biased by sharing a common knowledge and provoke the viewer to support for them. In addition, similar to Implication, the presupposition is used to strengthen the statement, at the same time, to implicitly derogate 'other' in order to save 'the positive face'.

#### 4.3.1.3. Evidentiality

It is a strategy which gives some evidences or proofs to support the idea or knowledge. According to Aikhenvald (2004:3), it is a linguistic category whose primary meaning is a source of information. From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied eight times (9%) by both sides in the debate. There are only four data presented in the table below. The other similar data could be read in appendix (S4/38/YL), (S1/15/SM), (S2/2/SM) and (S1/15/SM).

Table 4.5. Evidentiality Strategy

| **Pro** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Bicara soal tadi UUD 45 di pasal 28 i juga **mengatakan** bahwa setiap orang berhak bebas dari perlakuan yang bersifat diskiriminatif atas dasar apapun dan ……* (S4/38/YL)<br>(talking about *UUD 45,* Article 28i also **says** that every person has a right to be free from a discriminative action) |
| **Contra** | |
| 2. | *Mayoritas itu yang **mengatakan** tidak bisa menerima itu.* (S3/19/SM)<br>(The majority who **says** that it (same-sex marriage) could be accepted) |

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| | |
|---|---|
| 3. | *berdasarkan Pancasila UUD 1945 dan UU Perkawinan....yang **jelas** itu **menyatakan** bahwa ibu wanita dan bapak laki-laki.* (S5/27/SM)<br>(based on Pancasila, UUD 1945 and Marriage policy… it **obviously says** that mother is woman and father is man (S5/27/SM) |
| 4. | ***Saya pikir** teman-teman semua yang ada disini, binatang saja kalo dia berhubungan dengan lawan jenisnya, apalagi manusia...* (S5/56/MU)<br>(**I think**, everyone here, animals… if they want to have a sex, they must be with their opposite sex…so, even it is for human…. (S5/56/MU). |

According to Aikhenvald (2004: 25), there are six types of evidentiality, such as 'Witness vs. non-witness', 'Firsthand vs. secondhand', 'Sensory', 'Inferential', 'Reportative' and 'Assumed'. Then, from the table above, it shows how various types are used.

In datum (1), the speaker directly quoted one of policies in Indonesia and a result observation about LGBT discrimination in Indonesia. The speaker intends to show the contradiction between the law and a reality that the LGBT members receive from the society. By giving a direct quotation, it indicates that the information is accurate and not open to interpretation. The speaker assumes that LGBT should also be treated the same as other citizen, hence, in fact, LGBT is still discriminated in society.

Meanwhile, the datum (2), the speaker uses the information from the 'secondhand' source which is the 'majority'. In order to emphasize his intention in disallowing the same-sex marriage and LGBT existence in Indonesia, he employs the 'majority' as the fact that is not only 'him' but also 'all of the Indonesian people' which could not accept it. In fact, there is no legal constitution in Indonesia which allows the same-sex marriage or LGBT.

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In datum (3), again, the speaker witnesses that both 'LGBT' and 'same-sex marriage' break the norms and values of *Pancasila*, *UUD 1945* and *marriage policy* in Indonesia. He also adds *'jelas'* ('obviously) to emphasize the authenticity of his conclusion statement. In fact, as I have stated before, there are no rules applied to allow the same-sex marriage. Moreover, the word '*obviously'* indicates that the speaker is perfectly sure to show that his evidence is reliable and credible enough to portray a 'bag image' of same-sex marriage and LGBT.

The last datum (4), the speaker uses an 'analogical assumption' to negatively present the same-sex marriage. The words '*saya pikir*' ('I think') is showing the speaker's own assumption about same-sex marriage by comparing it with 'animal'. The assumed statement might be not 'applicable' if people do not the same shared knowledge. Meanwhile, here, the speaker also includes '*teman-teman semua yang ada disini'* ('all of you here') which indicates that he already presupposes people also have the shared knowledge to emphasize the speaker's assumption. In addition, the presupposition that the speaker holds is that human hate to be compared with 'animal' and in this statement, the speaker places 'human' below 'animal' if they love with their same-sex partners. So, the speaker utilizes the shared knowledge of the society behind his assumption in order to derogate the image of 'same-sex marriage'.

It could be seen that evidentiality is a strategy which could support and emphasize their ideas. By sharing some facts, it also could make the statements less-biased in order to gain the viewer's support. The words, *mengatakan* (say), *jelas* (obvious) and *saya pikir* (I think), represent how the struggles of each sides in

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showing their ideas and to make it less-biased. By giving an evidentiality, all the P.Pars and C.Pars want to show that 'they' are right (as they use evidentiality as a fact) and hint to covertly derogate 'others' that they have misguided and misjudged over the issue as well as save their 'positive' face in the public.

#### 4.3.1.4. Disclaimer

It is a strategy by mitigating a statement to claim another statement which focuses on 'other' negative presentation. It is usually presented with '*but*…' between two statements (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied seven times (8%) by both sides in the debate. The table below would show how disclaimer is used.

Table 4.6. Disclaimer Strategy

| **Pro** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Kita bukan kiblat ke Amerika* ***tapi*** *Amerika adalah sebuah parameter dunia. Apapun trend menuju ke Amerika.* (S2/20/JT)<br>(We don't incline to the USA but the US is a world-parameterc which every trends incline to the USA') |
| 2. | ***Bapak setiap semua orang tidak pingin anaknya gay dan lesbian ataupun transgender. Tapi*** *itu kan dari sononya udah ada, Pak!"* (S2/28/JT)<br>('**Sir, everyone does not want their children live as a gay, but** it originally and already exists, Sir!') |
| 3. | *Maaf, saya bukan disable. Temen-temen yang lain pun... dan kalau Bapak bilang disable,* ***kami bukan disable***. ***ini fakta***. *Fakta bahwa orang-orang yang namanya LGBT itu ada di negara ini.* (S3/4/YL)<br>('Sorry, I am not disable…also my friends,,,and if you say 'disable', **we are not 'disable'. But,** it is a fact, a fact that people called as LGBT live in our country') |
| **Contra** | |
| 4. | *Kalau misalnya sudah terjadi, oke..ya kan?* ***Tapi*** *ciri bahwa kita melanggar fitrah, melanggar budaya, melanggar norma tidak ada satupun diantara kita yang ingin dan punya cita-cita punya anak, benar tidak?* (S2/27/SM) |

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| | |
|---|---|
| | (“**If it already happens, it’s ok, right? But** the characteristic that we decline the nature, decline the religion, decline the norms, there is nobody among us wants ‘them’ (LGBT) and have a (LGBT) child, isn’t it?”) |
| 5. | ***Saya tidak berbicara agama,..tapi*** *kita bicara pancasila yang satu diantara sumber nilainya adalah agama, ya kan? Mayoritas itu yang mengatakan tidak bisa menerima itu.* (S3/19/SM)<br>(‘**I do not talk about religion, but** we have Pancasila which one of the values is a religion, isn’t it? The majority is the one who could not accept same-sex marriage’.) |
| 6. | ***Saya tidak mengatakan kita perang dengan LGBT, tapi*** *ketika mengubah UUD 45 dan Pancasila. Itu sangat amat sulit...* (S4/11/SM)<br>(**I don’t say that we fight against LGBT** but if it is about changing *UUD 45* and *Pancasila*, it would be very difficult…’) |
| 7. | *Dan memang kita harus menerima, sejak saya kecil ada kok tetangga saya, ada teman saya. Ya, kan?! ITU itu sebagai, mohon maaf, itu adalah sebagai perbedaan sosial ato masalah sosial.* ***Tapi*** *sebagai identitas, yang ----- perkawinan sejenis itu tidak bisa. Itu bertentangan dengan UUD 45 dan Pancasila.. itu masalahnya.* (S5/52/SM)<br>**(and yes we must accept, even since I was a child, there were my neighbor, my friend (who are also LGBT), weren’t they? It is as, I am sorry, as social problem or deviation. But,** as an ‘identity’, which is also the same-sex marriage, it couldn’t be (accepted). It is a contrary with UUD 45 and Pancasila, that’s the problem’) |

Furthermore, van Dijk (2000) elaborates the classification of disclaimers into some types such as ‘*apparent denial’*, ‘*apparent empathy’* and many more. Thus, based on the data found, the researcher classified disclaimer into three types, that is, *‘apparent denial’, ‘apparent empathy’* and *‘apparent agreement’*.

Firstly, both sides correspondingly use ‘apparent agreement’ in debate. In datum (2), the disclaimer is showed by the bold words above that the speaker apparently agrees that people do not want a gay child. Hence, the speaker claims that gay or LGBT is a natural and it originally exists since the baby was born. This

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statement means that the speaker also does not agree with the contra-side spokespersons who always pretend LGBT as a mental disorder.

In datum (4), the speaker eagerly shows the 'apparent agreement' about LGBT which could happen for everyone. Hence, later, the speaker keeps intending that LGBT is a bad thing and no one wants it. So, it means that actually the speaker does not agree with the pro-side group about the 'existence' of LGBT itself.

The second type is 'Apparent Denial'. Firstly, in datum (1), the disclaimer is showed by the bold words above, that is, the speaker apparently denies about inclining to US. Hence, he later claims that US is a world-parameter that practically people also have attention to US. In other words, the speaker also intends to say that the same-sex marriage is acceptable since the USA, as the world-parameter, already legalizes it.

In datum (3), the bold words (in the table above) show that the speaker apparently denies about LGBT as a disable (mental disorder). The speaker claims that LGBT is a social fact that lives in our society. This statement also means that LGBT also live in Indonesia and should be treated the same like others.

In datum (5), the bold words (in the table above) above show that the speaker apparently denies about talking based on religion point of view. Hence, that the speaker claims that religion is the first article in *Pancasila* and it is the majority who could not accept the same-sex marriage. In other words, the speaker intends to say that same-sex marriage would never be accepted in Indonesia since Indonesia (the majority) relies much on religion (the first article of *Pancasila*) which does not allow the same-sex marriage.

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In datum (6), the bold words (in the table above) show that the speaker apparently denies about fighting against LGBT. In this context, LGBT wants to be accepted as an ‘identity’ in Indonesia. The speaker claims that it needs to change *UUD 45* and *Pancasila* first, hence, it would be very difficult since these two are the most fundamental base policy in Indonesia. This means that the speaker intends to say that LGBT would hardly be recognized and approved as an ‘identity’ in Indonesia.

The last type is ‘apparent empathy’ that is only employed by the contra-side group. Lastly, in datum (7), the bold words (in the table above) show that the speaker also apparently shows empathy about LGBT existence in the society. Meanwhile, the speake claims that it could be accepted as the social deviation and not as an ‘identity’ since it declines *UUD 45* and *Pancasila*. This statement means that the speaker intends to say that LGBT is a problem that needs to be solved, so that, the society could live normally without any deviations (which decline the *UUD 45* and *Pancasila*).

In short, from the explanation above, it could be seen that from all the types of disclaimers, the speakers employed disclaimer is to save their positive face in the debate. All the P.Pars and C.Pars are aiming ‘derogating others’ implicitly. Hence, ‘they’ firstly show various kinds of agreement or empathy in order to save their ‘position’ and ‘positive face’ as well as keep ‘their good image’ to the ‘public’.

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#### 4.3.1.5. Lexicalization

This strategy could be considered as an overall ideological strategy for negative other-representation through the semantic features of 'the selection of (strongly) negative words to describe the actions of the others' (van Dijk, 1995: 154). Different from the previous strategies, lexicalization does not have correlation with the frequency and LGBT existence. This strategy particularly directly and unconditionally represents how people perceive LGBT existence. Therefore, the analysis is quite different from the others and directly goes to the content (in this case, in the form of 'words'). In this debate, the researcher found some words which are intentionally repeated by the participants, such as:

Table 4.7. Lexicalization Strategy

| Position | Words | English | Number of Use (%) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Pro-side** | *Diskriminasi* | Discriminate | (6) | 11% |
| | *Berubah* | Changes | (5) | 9% |
| | *Kekerasan* | Violence | (4) | 8% |
| | *Amandemen* | Amendment | (3) | 6% |
| | *Fakta* | Fact | (3) | 6% |
| | *Vintage* | Vintage | (2) | 5% |
| | *Mitos* | Myth | (1) | 4% |
| **Contra-side** | *Penyimpangan Sosial* | Social deviation | (6) | 11% |
| | *Melanggar* | Violate | (6) | 11% |
| | *Bertentangan* | Contradict | (3) | 6% |
| | *Disabel* | Disable | (2) | 5% |
| | *Mutlak* | Absolute | (2) | 5% |
| | *Kodrat* | Nature | (2) | 5% |
| | *Rehabilitasi* | Rehabilitation | (1) | 4% |
| | *Mudharat* | *Mudharat* | (1) | 4% |

From the table above, there are 15 lexicalizations that specifically employed by the speakers in presenting positive self- and negative other-. It could be seen that both sides employed some particular words to represent same-sex marriage and

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things related it, such as family matter, law and LGBT. Here, the researcher would give the lexical meaning of each words and analyze what the 'hidden' meaning in the relation to the context. The researcher would explain the words employed by the pro-side spokespersons first. There are seven words that are repeatedly used by the pro-side spokespersons, such as:

a) *Diskriminasi* (Discriminate)

According to KBBI, '*diskriminasi'* ('*dicriminate'*) means '*pembedaan perlakuan terhadap sesama warga negara (berdasarkan warna kulit, golongan, suku, ekonomi, agama, jenis kelamin dan sebagainya)"*. Similarly, in Cambridge Dictionary, 'discriminate' means 'to treat a person or particular group of people differently and *especially unfairly, in a way that is worse than the way people are usually treated*'. Here, in the debate, the pro-side spokespersons repeatedly use this word in 6 times (11%). From the lexical meaning above, it could be seen that the word 'discriminate' has a negative meaning which is 'treating people worse that it should be'. It means that the pro-side group wants to show that people are injustice and unfair to them and they are the victim who needs an empathy and support.

b) *Berubah* (Change)

According to KBBI, '*berubah'* means '*menjadi lain (berbeda) dari semula'*. Then, in Cambridge dictionary, '*change'* means '*to become or make something different, or to exchange something for something else'*. There is a similarity between the two definitions above, that is, to make

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something different. The pro-side group used this term repeatedly until 5 times (9%). Therefore, it could be seen that the pro-side spokespersons are eager to make LGBT could be accepted as an 'identity' as well as the same-sex marriage in Indonesia.

c) *Kekerasan* (Violence)

According to KBBI, '*kekerasan'* means '*perbuatan seseorang atau kelompok orang yang menyebabkan cedera atau matinya orang lain atau menyebabkan kerusakan fisik atau barang orang lain*'. Then, as the comparison in Cambridge dictionary, 'violence' means '*extremely forceful actions that are intended to hurt people or are likely to cause damage'.* The pro-side also repeatedly used this term in 4 times (8%). From the underlined words, it could be seen that the pro-side group wants to give bad image or representation to the majority (society) and make LGBT member as the 'victim' and needs some empathy.

d) *Amandemen* (Amendment)

According to KBBI (2015), 'amendemen' means '*usul perubahan undang-undang yang dibicarakan dalam Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat dan sebagainya, penambahan pada bagian yang sudah ada*'. In the similar meaning, based on Cambridge dictionary, 'amendment' means '*a change to a law, either one that has already been passed or one that is still being discussed'*. The pro-side group used this term repeatedly until three times (6%). In the relation with LGBT, they also employ 'amendment' since it has a direct lexical meaning to either law or policy changes. So, it could be seen

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that the pro-side argue that the law or policy still could change based on the society changes and needs. Then, they intend to make the policy or law change for the sake of LGBT member as well as the same-sex marriage in the future.

e) *Fakta* (Fact or Reality)

The word '*fakta'* (means '*fact'*), according to KBBI, means '*hal (keadaan, peristiwa) yang merupakan kenyataan; sesuatu yang benar-benar ada atau terjadi*'. Thus, based on Cambridge dictionary, 'fact' means 'used to add emphasis to what you are saying, or to show that it is the opposite of or different from what went before'. Then, I also tried to find the definition of '*kenyataan'* to get the more precise interpretation. In KBBI, '*kenyataan'* means '*hal yang nyata; yang benar-benar ada'.* Thus, in Cambridge dictionary, 'reality' means '*the state of things as they are, rather than as they are imagined to be*'. The word '*fakta'* has a tight correlation with '*kenyataan'*. In the context of the existence of LGBT, the pro-side spokespersons argue that LGBT is a 'fact'. They use this term repeatedly until three times (6%). It means that the pro-side spokespersons intend to show LGBT is a reality who lives among us in society rather than only a phenomenon. As it could be seen from the underlined words, the pro-side group also wants to show that LGBT is even already exist for a long time and not only just 'following' the latest trend (because of the same-sex marriage legalization in US).

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f) *Vintage* (Vintage)

Practically, the speaker borrowed the word '*vintage'* from English. Thus, I tried to look up at Cambridge dictionary, the definition of 'vintage' is 'of high quality and lasting value, or showing the best and most typical characteristics of a particular type of thing, especially from the past'. To have a more comprehensive meaning, I also searched in English-Indonesian dictionary. I found that 'vintage' means '*yang ketinggalan jaman*' (or in English, 'very old'). It seems the speaker partially take only a small part of the definition from Cambridge dictionary which I already underlined. It semantically has the same meaning with '*jadul'*. The speaker also uses this term once '***jadul'*** and put together with 'vintage' by stating:

Excerpt 1. *'Generasi* ***vintage*** *sekarang sudah lewat semua yah. Generasi-generasi yang sekarang udah* ***jadul-jadul*** *udah lewat smua, pola berpikirnya udah berbeda, 50 tahun kedepan mungkin bisa saja seperti itu*.' (S4/17/JT)
(The '**vintage'** generation has already passed. The **'old-fashioned'** generation has already passed, the way of thinking is also different. 50 years later, it (the same-sex marriage) might happen)

The term '*Jadul'* actually comes from a phrase '*jaman dulu*' ('olden time'). 'Olden', in Cambridge dictionary, lexically means '*from a long time ago*'. It could be seen that both 'vintage' and '*jadul'* have similar meaning which is old and past. In the context of family, the pro-side emphasize that the concept of family whose member are father, mother and children is already old. It means they want to show that the concept of family has been changed and developed into various kinds of member in a family such as the same-

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sex marriage and family which could build a family although there are two fathers or mothers.

g) *Mitos* (Myth)

Lexically, 'mitos', according to KBBI, is mainly correlated with legend, heroes, mystic and supernatural. Hence, I tried to look up at Cambridge dictionary, 'mitos' or 'myth' means of '*disapproving'* or '*a commonly believed but false idea*'. It seems that the definition from Cambridge dictionary is more relative than the statement than from KBBI. The speaker used this term once (4%) in presenting the member of a conventional family. From the underlined words above, the speaker intends to show that a conventional belief about family (consisting mother, father and children) is false. Similar to explanation of 'vintage' above, the speaker wants to tell that there is *so called as* 'family' which does not always those members for example the same-sex partners live as a family.

Right after, the researcher would explain the lexicalization employed by the contra-side group. There are eight specific words, such as:

h) *Penyimpangan Sosial* (Social Deviation)

According to KBBI (2015), '*penyimpangan'* means '*sikap tindak di luar ukuran (kaidah) yang berlaku'* which is similar with Cambridge dictionary, written as '*a difference from what is usual or expected'*. In the context of LGBT existence, the speaker use this term repeatedly until six times (11%). From the underlined words, the speaker intends to show that the LGBT existence in our society is unusual. In other words, it could be

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seen from KBBI definition, the speaker also means that LGBT is considered as a 'disturbance' since they act out of the order or norm applied.

i) *Melanggar* (Violate)

Thus, the word '*melanggar'* ('violate') means '*menyalahi'* or '*melawan'* (KBBI, 2015). I also took a look at Cambridge dictionary, 'violate' means "*to break or act against something, especially a law, agreement, principle, or something that should be treated with respect'*. There is a similar meaning from Indonesian and Cambridge dictionary that '*melanggar'* ('violate') is an action to break (*menyalahi*) or against (*melawan*) the conventional thing, as in Cambridge, written as '*should be treated with respect*'. This term is also used repeatedly until six times (11%). Here, the speaker intends to show that the same-sex marriage is a really immoral thing. As it could be seen from the underlined words, the speaker especially used this term to tell how bad thing the same-sex marriage is since it breaks the conformity or law applied.

j) *Bertentangan* (Contradict)

Firstly, according to KBBI, '*bertentangan*' means '***bersalahan** (dengan); **tidak sesuai** (tidak selaras, tidak cocok) dengan'*. Similar definition shown in Cambridge dictionary, the word 'contradict' ('*bertentangan'*) means *'(of one fact or statement) to be so different from another fact or statement that one of them must be wrong'*. This term is also used repeatedly three times (6%)by the speaker. The speaker wants to show that the same-sex marriage is wrong and unsuitable for Indonesia.

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k) *Disabel* (Disable)

The word ‘disable’ is particularly adopted from English which has a meaning ‘*melumpuhkan’* or ‘*pencacatan’* in Bahasa Indonesia. I assume that the speaker uses incorrect term since ‘disable’ means ‘to cause someone to have an illness, injury’ which is ‘verb’. Here, in his statement, he used it to explain a term for LGBT member which should be an ‘adjective’. I think he might mean it as ‘disability’ which has more precise definition ‘*cacat’* atau ‘*lumpuh’* in Bahasa Indonesia. It means that the speaker sees LGBT as a mental disorder or sickness which needs to be cured.

l) *Mutlak* (Absolute)

Thus, according to KBBI (2015), ‘*mutlak’* means ‘*mengenai segenapnya (segalanya), seutuhnya, tiada terbatas, tidak boleh tidak, harus ada’*. I also took some definition from Cambridge dictionary which shows ‘very great, without limit, certain, not to be doubted and used when expressing a strong opinion’ as the meaning of ‘absolute’. In the context of the changes or amendment, the speaker intentionally used this term twice (5%) in presenting the law and policy in Indonesia. It could be seen from the underlined words, the speaker implies that the law and policy in Indonesia, in accordance with LGBT and same-sex marriage, would hardly be changed since religion as the one of the most fundamental sources in changing or making a new policy, hence, there is no legitimate religion in Indonesia which allows it.

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m) *Kodrat* (Nature)

Moreover, the speaker also uses '*kodrat'* ('nature'). According to KBBI, 'kodrat' means '*kekuasaan (Tuhan), hukum (alam), sifat asli atau sifat bawaan*'. While, in Cambridge dictionary, 'nature' means '*the character of a person, or the characteristics a person is born with'*. This term is used twice by the speaker in presenting same-sex marriage. From the underlined words, the speaker intends to say that same-sex marriage is an act which exceeds God's will or the characteristic that human born with. Moreover, in Indonesia where religion becomes priority, everything should also incline with the God's will which only MAN and WOMAN to marry. In addition, the same-sex marriage also opposes the human's characteristic in the case of sexual desire orientation, for instance, for a man has a sexual desire towards a woman or vice versa.

n) *Rehabilitasi* (Rehabilitation)

As I took some definitions from KBBI and Cambridge dictionary which say "*perbaikan anggota tubuh yang cacat dan sebagainya atas individu supaya menjadi manusia yang berguna dan memiliki tempat dalam masyarakat*" and "*the process of returning to a healthy or good way of life*". This term is used once (4%) by the speaker in the closing statement. From the definitions above, it could be seen that the speaker basically sees LGBT as a phenomenon which cause a problem and considered it as a 'sickness' or 'abnormal thing'.

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o) *Mudharat* (Mudharat)

The speaker used once the word '*mudarat'* ('harm' in English). This word also practically borrowed from Arabian language. According to KBBI, '*mudarat'* means '*sesuatu yang tidak menguntungkan, merugikan, tidak berguna*'. Thus, based on Cambridge dictionary, 'harm' means 'to damage something or make something worse'. It implicitly means that the speaker wanted to show or represent how bad the same-sex marriage was. The speaker seemed profoundly acknowledge the listeners (the majority is Islam) that this word might be the proper and well-explained word to represent how wrong and bad same-sex marriage and family.

From the explanation above, lexicalization is used by the speakers to explain the same-sex marriage and things related which gives more focus on negative 'other' presentation. The researcher would firstly discuss how the C.Pars choose some words like '*penyimpangan sosial*', '*melanggar'*, '*bertentangan*', '*kodrat'* and '*mudarat'* which semantically already have a negative connotation. I assume that the 'contra' participants aim to derogate other covertly. They frame both LGBT and same-sex marriage clearly in negative way in order to show how bad the same-sex marriage and LGBT. On the contrary, the P.Pars intend to derogate 'other' covertly. If we blatantly see the words employed, such as '*diskriminasi'*, '*berubah'*, '*kekerasan'*, or '*amandemen'*, we probably think that it is clearly seen as they try to derogate 'other' (especially 'C.Pars'). So, I would take two lexicalizations as the example to be analyzed:

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Excerpt 2. *bahwa mereka adalah lesbian, gay, biseksual, transgender, itu juga punya hak yang sama. Diakui oleh negara, tidak boleh* ***didiskriminasikan****.* ***Kekerasan*** *pun tidak boleh ada, gitu loh..* (S1/21/YL)
(People who have different sexual orientation or so called as LGBT, to also have the same rights, to be legitimate in Indonesia, to **not be discriminated**, there is **no violence**)

The statement above shows how the words '*diskriminasi'* and '*kekerasan'* are applied by the P.Pars. Different from C.Pars that clearly refer the 'negative words' to represent the LGBT and same-sex marriage, the P.Pars prefer to put 'LGBT' as an 'actor' or 'agent' who is being a 'victim'. Firstly, the P.Pars state '*the LGBT should have the same right, be recognized in the country,* ***might not be discriminated*** *as well as* ***the violation*** *(to LGBT) might not be occurred*'. It could be seen that the P.Pars preferably choose a passive voice form ('*discriminated'*) and use a nominalization ('*violation'*) in a statement. The passive-form itself could be used to 'hide the agent', hence on the other hand, in this case, the P.Pars prefer to portray a 'pathetic image' of LGBT existence in Indonesia. It is either, I assume, they try 'not-too-be-personally' attack 'others' (the C.Pars) or they prefer to implicitly make 'others' ('*outgroup'* or 'the majority') as the 'agent'. The combination used of passive voice form and nominalization practically makes 'the agent' and 'causality or responsibility' left unclear. Meanwhile, in this case, the P.Pars want to highlight 'the agent' in the statement ('LGBT') as the main 'topic' and the rest as 'the focus' (being 'discriminated'). Instead of 'accusing others' (or directly 'referring' others), the P.Pars prefer to reconstruct LGBT image as the 'victim' in order to provoke the empathy from 'the public'. In short, we could see

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that the two sides deliberately choose some ‘negative words’ in order to derogate ‘others’, hence, the C.Pars’s way is more covert than the P.Pars.

#### 4.3.1.6. Authority

It is a strategy that the speakers mention the authorities such as figures, institution, media, church or amnesty (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied eight times (9%) by both sides in the debate. The table below would show how authority is used.

Table 4.8. Authority Strategy

| | |
|---|---|
| **Pro** | |
| 1. | *Anak laki-laki bungsu, waspadalah, hasil penelitian dari **Oprah Winfrey** bahwa 35% kromosom dalam tubuhnya sudah terkontaminasi.* (S2/30/JT) |
| 2. | *Dari penelitian yang **arus pelangi** lakukan, di Indonesia mengatakan bahwa 89,3%, LGBT di Indonesia mendapatkan kekerasan dan diskriminasi.* (S2/38/YL) |
| **Contra** | |
| 3. | *Yang saya pahami, yang saya ketahui di Indonesia ini, **agama di Indonesia, yang ada di Indonesia adalah terutama agama yang saya peluk, agama Islam**, mengharamkan atau melarang perkawinan sejenis*. (S1/13/NZ) |
| 4. | *Indonesia budayanya itu mayoritas berbasis agama dan agama itu tidak ada yang membenarkan dan **agama itu adalah hukum Tuhan disebut didalam Al-quran yang bersifat mutlak.** Tidak boleh berubah...* (S2/9/SM) |
| 5. | *Jadi disini sebetulnya **MUI telah mengelurkan fatwa**, dilarang diakui keberadaan LGBT* (S3/16/NZ) |
| 6. | *jelas disebutkan **dalam Al-quran itu**, dan tadi sudah saya kemukakan, bahwa nabi luth memberi gambaran, contoh bahwa itu tidak dibolehkan untuk dilaksanakan pernikahan sejenis itu.* (S4/4/MU) |
| 7. | *Saya beri contoh saja Bang jeremi, ya.. **Bung Hatta, bapak pendiri bangsa kita mengatakan,** contoh nie, soal demokrasi. Demokrasi kita tidak berdasarkan individu, tapi kolektif berbasis KELUARGA.* (S4/19/SM) |
| 8. | *Ajaran **agama apaapun di Indonesia,** itu pasti tidak akan menerima hal LGBT....* (S5/54/NZ) |

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From the table above, it could be seen that the pro-side group mentions two authorities by quoting Oprah Winfrey and also *Arus Pelangi*. Oprah Winfrey is an American media proprietor, talk show host, actress and producer. She also leads and becomes a world-widely famous talk show, the Oprah Winfrey show. She herself has a tight a relationship with LGBT. She is also the one who takes LGBT into the mainstream by inviting The Youth Group (gay group) in her TV show for publication (Herdt, 2012). It could be seen that the speaker intends to emphasize the statement by mentioning Oprah Winfrey. It is not only because she is a famous host or has a popular TV shows, but also because Oprah is also one of the LGBT successor as it has been explained above.

*Arus Pelangi* is as the one of non-commissioned organizations in Indonesia that concerns on LGBTI. They have already started their activities since 2006. This organization is noted as one of the UNDP agencies. *Arus Pelangi* also works actively under the protections of UNDP. They exist to bring LGBT to have a 'more' proper place especially in Indonesia. According their official website (*aruspelangi.org*), this organization clearly puts the idea of 'human right' above everything. They also do not forget to place *Pancasila* and Indonesian Constitutions for their fundamental principles in working. Therefore, the pro-side group mentioned '*arus pelangi*' because it is the highest organization under UNDP, so that, it could strengthen their statement to make it more acceptable.

Meanwhile, the data (3) and (8) shows the speakers repeatedly mention about all the legitimate religions in Indonesia never allow the same-sex marriage. Moreover, in datum (3), the speaker especially mentions '*Islam'*. Firstly, in

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Indonesia, there are 6 legitimate religions, such as, Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hindi, Buddhist, and Kong Hu Chu (Chinese). According to *Data Sensus Penduduk* in 2010, 87,18% are Islam, then 6,96% are Christian, 2,9% are Catholic, 1,69% are Hindi, 0,72% are Buddhist, and lastly 0,05% are Kong Hu Cu (BPS, 2010). In other words, Islam becomes the majority in Indonesia by having the most population religion. In addition, Islam also clearly states that object both LGBT and same-sex marriage as it is also written in *Al-Qur'an* (*Islam Sacred book*):

> *'And (remember) when Luth says to his people, 'Indeed, you really do act so vile that has never been done by one of the followers before you. 'Do you indeed should approach men (homosexual) and do a vicious thing (sodomy) in your meeting places? So the answer of his people was to say, 'Bring us the punishment of Allah, if you should be truthful*.' (Surah Al-Ankabut: 28-29)

> *"And We sent down to them rain (rock); Then see how was the end of the sinner."* (Surah al-A'rãf: 84)

Hence, it is not only Islam which objects the same-sex marriage, but also other religion, for instance Christian. In New King James Version (NKJV) in Genesis 1:27, it is written '*So God created man in His own image; in the image of God He created him; male and female He created them*'. In addition, in accordance to same-sex marriage, Genesis 2: 18-25 (NKJV) also said:

> "*And the LORD God said, 'It is not good that man should be alone; I will make him a helper comparable to him.' Out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field and every bird of the air, and brought them to Adam to see what he would call them. And whatever Adam called each living creature that was its name. So Adam gave names to all cattle, to the birds of the air, and to every beast of the field. But for Adam there was not found a helper comparable to him. And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall on Adam, and he slept; and He took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh in its place. Then the rib which the LORD God had*

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> *taken from man He made into a woman, and He brought her to the man. And Adam said: 'This is now bone of my bones And flesh of my flesh; She shall be called Woman, Because she was taken out of Man.' Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and they shall become one flesh. And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed."*
>
> (Taken from christiananswers.net)

It could be seen that both Islam and Christian, as the 1st and 2nd the most population religion in Indonesia, forbid the same-sex marriage. Moreover, Indonesia is a country where put 'religion' and 'GOD' in top of everything. As you can see, the first verse of *Pancasila* (the Indonesia's national principle) is also written '*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa'* ('Believe in the one supreme GOD'). It means that the speakers intend to mention 'religion' in order to strengthen the statements since almost all Indonesian citizen is religious.

Similarly, the data (4) and (6) show the word *Al-Qur'an*. Datum (6) practically shows that how *Al-Qur'an* says about the objection to same-sex marriage. As it has been explained above, *Al-Qur'an* repeatedly mentioned about same-sex marriage prohibition. Then, in datum (4), the speaker does not only mention *Al-Qur'an* but also God and religion. I assume these two statements are based on Islam perspective by mentioning *Al-Qur'an* (Islam sacred book). Back to the census of religion above, Islam has the most population in Indonesia with more than 85% of total population. So, it is reasonable that Islam could have more power than other religion in Indonesia because of its majority. Moreover, the audience is also the students of UII (Islamic University of Indonesia) whom they must be Islam too. Therefore, by mentioning *Al-Qur'an*, people could easily acknowledge, accept the situation and the speaker could get more support.

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The next statement (5), the speaker mentions '***MUI'*** there. MUI stands for *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (Indonesia *Ulema* Council). It is the Indonesia's top *Muslim* clerical body. MUI takes an important place in Indonesia because Islam the most population religion (similar with *Vatican* in Rome or Europe). They also control all the Islam organizations in Indonesia include issuing '*halal'* certificate for foods and drinks or any kinds of issues in Indonesia. MUI has some aims:

1. Provide counseling and guidance to the Muslims of Indonesia in realizing the religious life and society are blessed by Allah *Subhanahu wa Ta'ala;*
2. Giving advice and fatwas on religious and social issues to the Government and people, to increase the activities for the realization of *Ukhwah Islamiyah* and inter-religious harmony in establishing the unity of the nation as well;
3. As a bridge between scholars, government and translators reciprocity between the people and the government in order to succeed in national development;

(*taken from http://mui.or.id/sekilas-mui*)

It could be seen that MUI apparently looks as the counseling and guidance place to the Muslims of Indonesia. Hence, they also have a role in a governmental problem like the underlined words in point (2). Though actually, MUI could not give any punishment (like how the court does) or make a policy (like The House of Representative of The Republic of Indonesia), they still have an important role in deciding what the country goes on. In accordance with LGBT and same-sex marriage, MUI is the first and becomes the confront committee. As it has been stated by the speaker, MUI also announces a '*fatwa'* ('decision') that illegitimate LGBT and same-sex marriage. They advise all Muslim not to support and even condemn all LGBT member and activities.

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The last statement, the speaker mentions '*Bung Hatta, bapak pendiri bangsa*' in datum (7). The name of '*Bung Hatta*' is actually Mohammad Hatta. He is the first vice-president of Indonesia. He is also Indonesian *proclamator* and *conceptor*. The name of 'Bung Hatta' always remains in the history of Indonesia Independency. He and Mr. Soekarno (the first president of Indonesia) are the greatest figures that must be recognized by all Indonesian citizen. Here, the speaker from the contra-side tries to give an argument from any other perspective. By mentioning 'Bung Hatta', it means that the statements should be acknowledged for all Indonesian citizen (regardless the religion).The speaker intends to say that it is not only the religion which forbids same-sex marriage, but also the greatest figure like 'Bung Hatta' also opposes it. He also hopes that it could give a different impact to the viewer so that he could gain some supports.

In sum, in the debate, 'authority' has a close relationship to 'power'. The one who could access the 'authority' means that they 'exercise power' to other. Here, we could see the '*biased'* fallacy of an authority is being represented in debate. The C.Pars repeatedly use the Islam perspective (religion authority) in order to derogate 'others', which is in fact, 'there is no door open for LGBT and same-sex marriage'. Therefore, in this case, we could simply and possibly say that the C.Pars use 'authority' to blur the 'agent' in derogating 'other' overtly. By mentioning 'religion', 'institutions' and 'superiors', the C.Pars could hide their responsibility as 'an agent' and let 'the authority' be the one which 'derogates' LGBT and same-sex marriage in the debate. On the other hand, the P.Pars mention 'a big name' in order to overtly favor their intention.

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By adding ‘authority’, it could make the statement ‘more reliable and acceptable’. Therefore, they could ‘persuade’ the public in order to ‘accept’ their beliefs and ‘decrease’ the ‘negative’ prejudices as well as they ‘promote’ LGBT or same-sex marriage in the society.

#### 4.3.1.7. Example

It is considered as the effective strategies by giving some examples or illustration in a statement in order to catch people attention (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied four times (5%) by both sides in the debate. The table below would show how example is used.

Table 4.9. Example Strategy

| **Pro-side** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Apakah hukum tidak akan pernah berubah? Secara umum, hukum apa aja.* ***Ya, UU no.1 tahun 74 pernah tidak seperti ini. Perkawinan beda agama pernah bisa di negeri ini.*** (S1/17/DO)<br>(Does law never change? Generally, there is a law….**yes, the UU article 1, 1947 has not ever been like this. The different religion marriage had ever admitted in this country**.) |
| 2. | *Jadi saya rasa mungkin, keluarga masa depan mungkin sudah laen lagi yah.* ***Kita udah tau banyak dong di luar negeri. Banyak selebriti di luar negeri yang menikah sesama jenis dan mengadopsi, menyewa rahim untuk menghasilkan anak. Kita tau kan itu, ada penyayi top di dunia. Dia bersama-sama penyanyi juga dua-duanya penyayi kelas kakap dunia. Mereka membuat membentuk sebuah keluarga baru.*** *Kemungkinan 50 tahun mendatang, sapa tau di Indonesia ada seperti itu* (S4/17/JT)<br>(So, I feel…maybe, the family in the future might be different. **We know there are a lot of people in abroad, there are a lot of celebs in abroad who marry with their same sexes and adopt or have surrogated mother to have a child. We know, there is world top singer, he lives with his partner who is also a top singer. They make a new family.** It might be 50 years later, who knows, that Indonesia also has that kind of family.) |

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| | |
|---|---|
| 3. | *sapa yang bilang sejenis tidak bisa menghasilkan keturunan? Ya ga?* ***Banyak sekali. Kalo di luar bisa nyewa rahim, ya, maaf ya. Kalo di Indonesia mungkin belum bisa*** (S5/62/JT)<br>(Who said that the same-sexes could not have a child? **There are a lot. If it is abroad, we could have surrogated mother, I am sorry.** If in Indonesia, it may not allowed….) |
| **Contra-side** | |
| 4. | *tadi sudah saya kemukakan,* ***bahwa nabi luth memberi gambaran, contoh bahwa itu tidak dibolehkan untuk dilaksanakan. Jadi saya kira itu yang menjadi pegangan kita.*** (S4/4/MU)<br>(Before, I have mentioned, **Luth prophet has given us a picture, an example, that it (same-sex marriage) should not be done.** So, I think we should hold it up tightly.) |

From the table 4.9, in datum (1), the speaker barely gives an example about changing marriage policy in Indonesia in order to clear the uncertainty about the possibility of amendment (changing policy).

Then, data (2) and (3) repeatedly are some examples about the life of same-sex marriage in abroad (another country). In datum (2), the speaker wants to show that the same-sex marriage also could have a family by having adopted children or surrogated mother (paying for a womb). The example is given in order to clear the ambiguity about the family concept which could be made from the same-sex marriage since the main goal of marriage (having babies) could not be reached (by only having two fathers or mothers). The speaker intends to illustrate that there is same-sex partners whom are also great public figures (world top class singers) already live along together well. In fact, I would take one as the example, there is same-sex partners namely Matt Bomer and Simon Halls. They are top-actor celebrities who already have three-adopted children. As it could be seen in the figure below:

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Figure 4.1. Matt Bomer and Simon Hall Family

It is clearly seen that the same-sex marriage, in fact, could also have a family and have children like the figure above though whether the children are adopted or from the surrogated mother. Therefore, the speaker intends to prove that same-sex marriage is also called as a 'family' since they are married and could have children like the hetero-sex marriage.

The next datum (3), the speaker again tells again that same-sex partners about having their own biological children though there only have two mothers or fathers. This example is given because the contra-side persistently keep pretending 'adopted child' is not a biological ancestor. Therefore, again, the speaker illustrates that in abroad (another country), the same-sex partners, especially gay-partner, could pay a surrogated mother (a womb) to produce their biological children.

On the contrary, the contra-side participants also gave some examples which indicate that same-sex marriage would never be accepted in Indonesia. In datum (4), again, the speaker repeats the same example, that is, Luth's prophet era. According to his previous statement (S1/19/MU), the speaker states that the same-sex marriage was already happened in the past which was in Luth prophet era (1800 BC). The speaker tells that Luth's people also did the same-sex marriage back then. Hence, in the end, God punished and finish 'them' (the society who did the same-sex

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marriage). He indicates to show how immoral and how God curse the act of same-sex marriage.

From the explanation above, it could be seen that P.Pars use ‘example’ to overtly favor ‘us’. They intend to show that the majority is wrong and try to dispute all the prejudices about LGBT and same-sex marriage. In order to ‘persuade’ the public, the P.Pars do not have many choices but give some ‘examples’. As the ‘minority’ group in Indonesia, they should manipulate their statements by giving some ‘reliable facts’ which could not be challenged anymore in order to trigger ‘the public’ mind and belief. In addition, they also believe that by giving a ‘reality’ could gain some support from ‘the public’.

Meanwhile, instead of clearly stating the opposition to the same-sex marriage, the C.Pars also give a shared knowledge about Luth prophet (especially in Islam) as the example. The C.Pars utilize the shared knowledge as an ‘example’ in order to ‘persuade’ the public. In fact, Islam is the most majority in Indonesia and it would be an effective move to control’s the majority’s mind to gain many supports. ‘Example’ is also one of strategy to make the statement be more acceptable in our common senses. It is expected that by giving a ‘real example’ could make the statement more ‘acceptable’ and no more ‘doubtable’.

#### 4.3.1.8. Counter-factual

It is a persuasive argumentative strategy that let the participants imagine “what happen if....” It is also strategy that demonstrates an ‘absurd’ consequences when an alternative is being considered (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it

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could be seen this strategy is applied four times (5%) by contra-side spokespersons. The table below would show how counter-factual is used.

Table. 4.10. Counter-Factual Strategy

| **The Statements** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Jadi hukum-hukum kita, saudara-saudara, berbasis kepada norma-norma, hukum-hukum, berdasarkan adat, berdasarkan budaya, berdasarkan agama.* ***Jadi inilah yang dilanggar jika terjadi perkawinan sejenis****. Melanggar norma-norma agama, budaya, melanggar falsafah pancasila melanggar pasal 29 UUD 45 dan pasal 1 UU perkawinan tahun 74.* (S1/15/SM)<br>(So, our laws, everyone, are based on norms, laws, cultures and religions. **Therefore, these things that we decline if there is same-sex marriage**, it would violated the norms, religions, cultures, Pancasila, UUD 1945 as well as the marriage policy article 1 1947.) |
| 2. | *Karena Tuhan telah memberi pelajaran kepada kita seperti nabi Luth.* ***Apakah bangsa Indonesia mau dihancurkan seperti Nabi Luth?*** *Saya kira kita tidak mau, oleh karena itu, ya untuk tetap langgeng itu tidak ada pilihan. Sebagai satu bangsa yang besar, kita harus tetap memegang Pancasila yang sila 1 itu adalah Ketuhanan YME.* (S2/19/MU)<br>(Because God has given us a lesson like Luth prophet. **Do you want Indonesia is crushed just like the one in Luth prophet era?** I think we don't want it. So, in order to keep the peace, there is no other choice. As a big country, we should hold up *Pancasila*, "Believe in one supreme God") |
| 3. | *Yang kedua,* ***jika LGBT*** *ingin masuk disini maka* ***berarti kita harus merubah Pancasila*** *dulu, merubah UUD 45* ***dulu, setuju tidak? TIDAKKKK!!! Perang donk…****kalo kita harus mengubah UUD 45, ya ga?* (S4/6/SM)<br>(Secondly, **if LGBT** want to be included and have a special policy, **so it means that we should change Pancasila first, also change UUD 45, do you agree? Noooo!! It would be a war…**a war if we have to change UUD 45, doesn't it? |
| 4. | *Pertanyaan saya,* ***bagaimana perkembangan suatu masyarakat kalo terjadi perkawinan sejenis? Tidak ada pertumbuhan, tidak ada perkembangan, tidak ada dinamika yang akan terjadi,*** *jadi menurut saya itulah yang menjadi pertanyaan besar pada kita, yang bapak-bapak menyetujui itu tadi perkawinan sejenis.* (S5/60/MU)<br>(My question, **how is the development of a society if same-sex marriage is legal? There will be no growth, no development, no dynamics in the society**. so, it would be a big question for us, to those who agree with same-sex marriage) |

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The data (1), (2), (3) and (4) shows how the contra-side spokespersons use counter-factual strategy. They also employ various forms of statement. From the data (1) and (4), it could be seen that the contra-side gives some unrealistic condition when same-sex marriage is allowed in Indonesia. The speakers state that there are too many infringements for same-sex marriage in Indonesia. Moreover, same-sex marriage could 'disturb' the human balance or ecosystem. It shows that the C.Pars want to gain the support by giving a warning to the viewer. Then, the datum (2) and (3), the speakers use a hyperbolic expressions like 'war' and 'demolished' in the statements. It also means that the speaker also tries to warn the viewer about the legalization of same-sex marriage.

It could be seen, it is also a strategy that could persuade 'the public'. Here, the C.Pars try to manipulate 'the public' to make it more 'plausible' by giving implicitly a 'bad' image as the impact of same-sex marriage in the future. The C.Pars insist on giving a 'warning' to 'the public' while they also negatively present 'OTHER' as a 'destructor' for human ecosystem. They covertly 'derogate others' by giving some statements which contains a 'warning' in order to portray 'bad image' of the same-sex marriage.

#### 4.3.1.9. Reasonableness

It is a strategy to manipulate a 'biased' statement to look more 'reasonable' and 'acceptable' (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied eleven times (12%) by contra-side spokespersons in the debate. Below, there are only three data which would be analyzed. The other data

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could are available in appendix. The other data are (S1/9/NZ), (S1/13/NZ), (S1/15/SM), (S3/2/SM), (S4/6/SM), (S4/26/NZ), (S5/60/MU) and (S5/75/MU). The data shown below are the sample of the use of reasonableness strategy.

Table 4.11. Reasonableness Strategy

| No. | The statements |
|---|---|
| 1. | *saya kebetulan juga dari UII, yang menolak keras perkawinan sejenis. Kenapa?* ***Karena Tuhan telah memberi pelajaran kepada kita seperti nabi Luth*** (S1/19/MU)<br>(I am also from UII, who strictly oppose the same-sex marriage. Why? **Because God has given us a lesson like Luth Prophet**) |
| 2. | *Bedanya budaya Amerika kenapa bisa berubah, sekalian juga buat temen-temen* ***karena budaya Amerika ada yang tidak berbasis***, ***tidak berbasis agama*** (S2/9/SM)<br>(There is a different culture and why the US could change, it is also for everyone, it is **because the US's culture doesn't have a religion basis.)** |
| 3. | *Akan tetapi, sama sekali tidak benar kita berkiblat disana, apa yang baik bagi mereka baik bagi Indonesia.* ***Karena budaya, agama, dan lain lain sebagainya***. (S2/32/MU)<br>(Hence, it is wrong if we incline with them (the US), what's good for them, would also be good for Indonesia, **because culture, religion and others**.) |

It could be seen that this strategy is only shown by the contra-side. The C.Pars repeatedly use religion as the fundamental source to decline the same-sex marriage in Indonesia. The bold words show that the C.Pars explicitly say that they oppose the same-sex marriage. The word '*karena'* ('because') is aimed to 'rationalize' the statement to be 'more acceptable' and 'more reasonable' in our common sense. In other words, they want to put away 'the dictator image' by having a fair 'judgment' with 'reasonableness' statements towards LGBT and same-sex marriage. Then, if we take a look at the reasonable statement above, they also mention 'God' and 'Luth Prophet'. The C.Pars are actually being '*biased'* to always

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see LGBT and same-sex marriage from 'religion', which is, in fact, there is no religion that allows or accept it. Hence, the word '*karena'* ('because') exists in order to make the statement more 'plausible' and 'rational', so that, they could hide their '*biased'* image.

#### 4.3.1.10. Generalization

It is a strategy to generalize their positions to manipulate and save their negative prejudices (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied four times (5%) by pro-side spokespersons in the debate. The table below would show how generalization is used.

Table 4.12. Generalization Strategy

| **The Statements** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *sekarang sudah ada, itu teman-teman yang arus pelangi, saya, yuli setuju. Masa ga diperhatikan?* ***Kami kan juga WNI....*** (S1/24/DO)<br>('now, there is Arus Pelangi, I and Yuli…. agree (same-sex marriage). Can't you recognize us? **We are also Indonesian citizen')** |
| 2. | *Kita bukan kiblat ke Amerika tapi* ***Amerika adalah sebuah parameter dunia. Apapun trend menuju ke Amerika.*** (S2/20/JT)<br>('we don't incline with the USA but the USA is a world-parameter which **every trends always incline with the USA**) |
| 3. | *Ketika kita tau kita punya 5 pasal di Pancasila. Kemudian misalnya ada pasal keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia.* ***Seluruh rakyat Indonesia terlepas dari latar belakang agama, orientasi seksual, identitas gender, perilaku seksual*** (S2/38/YL)<br>(When we know we have Pancasila Article 5, it is written '*Social justice for all of the people of INDONESIA'.* **For all the people of Indonesia regardless their religion, sexual orientation and gender**) |
| 4. | *Kalau menurut saya adalah* ***bagaimana perkawinan itu sih. Kalau saya berharap adalah bahwa keluarga yang penuh dengan keterbukaan dan menghargai perbedaan. Itu adalah menurut saya perkawinan*** (S5/11/YL) |

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| | |
|---|---|
| | (For me is that **how the marriage is. If it is me, I hope a family who have openness and accept the differences. That is a marriage for me**.) |

It could be seen from the table above, this strategy is only used the pro-side which means that they profoundly understand their position in the society. Therefore, they are trying to make a generalization about same-sex marriage. In datum (1), the bold words (in the table above) show that the speaker intends to tell us the pro-side also need a recognition though they agree with the same-sex marriage. In this context, the pro-side who stands for the LGBT member indirectly means that LGBT member, as long as they are Indonesian, has a right to be recognized in the country. In fact, Indonesia has anti-discrimination policy hence it seems 'unreal' for LGBT member since they still get discriminated in the society.

In datum (2), the speaker generalizes about the USA as the world trend-setter. They mean that it is not only same-sex marriage issues which come from USA, but why people only make a distinction to same-sex marriage.

In datum (3), the speaker makes an over-generalization to *Pancasila* ($5^{th}$ verse) which is written *'Keadilan Sosial Bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia'* ('*Social justice for all of the people of INDONESIA'*). She underlines and emphasizes one phrase '*seluruh rakyat Indonesia*' ('*all Indonesian citizen*') which is regardless the background of their religion, sexual orientation, gender identity and sexual behavior. In fact, LGBT is about gender identity and sexual orientation which all the people of Indonesia are still unfamiliar with. So, the speaker intends to tell us that *Pancasila* (known as the Indonesia's National Principle) also accepts LGBT member. Hence, people still discriminate the LGBT existence in Indonesia.

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The last datum (4), in the context of marriage and family, the bold words show the speaker intends to generalize the core meaning of a marriage and family. The speaker also means that marriage is not about sexual orientation (man and woman) but it is how the relationship goes one with openness and respects each other differences. In other words, the same-sex marriage is not different from the hetero-sex marriage as long as they find happiness and could respect the relationship, it is still called as a 'marriage'.

In this debate, this strategy repeatedly use by the pro-side spokespersons. In this case, it is typically used here to formulate 'prejudice' and 'phobia' about LGBT and make a broader claim in order to save their 'position' from the negative 'prejudiced'. They want to clear up by generalizing their 'position' in this case, LGBT. In fact, LGBT is still marginalized and belongs to a 'minority' group in Indonesia. It could be seen how the P.Pars struggle to make LGBT or same-sex marriage to be 'accepted' in Indonesia. In fact, LGBT also exists and lives in Indonesia among our 'society'. They intend to emphasize that 'LGBT is not different with others, they are also human'. Hence, the 'majority' is still 'injustice' to the LGBT member. They also implicitly 'derogate' others with the word '**justice'**. They want to put 'negative impression' to 'others' by exclaiming their 'unfairness' to LGBT member. In short, though this strategy is also implicitly 'derogate' others, they firstly intend to 'erase' the negative prejudices about LGBT and barely put 'a good image' for the sake of LGBT position in Indonesia.

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#### 4.3.1.11. Consensus and Populism

Both consensus and populism are political strategies. Consensus mainly focuses on the issues of 'national importance'. Similarly, populism is a strategy by mentioning what the conservative talks (van Dijk, 2000). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied twenty times (22%) by both sides in the debate. There are only six data presented in the table below which show how consensus and populism are used. The other data are (S1/1/JT), (S1/9/NZ), (S1/13/NZ), (S1/15/SM), (S1/21/YL), (S2/9/SM), (S2/6/JT), (S2/11/NZ), (S2/32/MU), (S2/42/SM), (S4/4/MU), (S5/25/SM), (S5/54/NZ) and (S3/19/SM).

Table 4.13. Consensus and Populism Strategy

| **Pro** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Bahwa kemudian saya sepakat,* ***Indonesia*** *ini kaya akan kebhinekaan, ketunggal-ikaannya, gitu.* (S2/38/YL)<br>(Later then, I agree that **Indonesia** is rich for its diversity and its unity..) |
| 2. | *Dan menurut pedoman penggolongan dan diagnosis gangguan jiwa di* ***Indonesia****, di tahun 1993, yang sudah dirilis oleh departemen kesehatan, sudah mengeluarkan homoseksual dari daftar gangguan jiwa.* (S3/4/YL)<br>(and based on the list of mental disorders in **Indonesia**, in 1993, which has been released by the Health Department, they (the department) has deleted homosexual from the list of mental disorder) |
| 3. | *LGBT itu ada, Pak! LGBT itu ada disini. Ada disini. Ada di negera* ***Indonesia*** *ini.* ***Temen-temen LGBT itu ada, Pak!*** (S4/8/YL)<br>(LGBT exists, Sir! LGBT is here…they are here…they exist in **Indonesia**. Our LGBT friends exist, Sir!) |
| **Contra** | |
| 4. | *Kalau kita berbicara tentang* ***Indonesia****, maka kita tidak bisa lepas dari budaya yang ada di* ***masyarakat kita****.* (S1/19/MU)<br>(If we talk about Indonesia, we could not separate it from the cultures in our society) |
| 5. | *saya tidak mengklaim bahwa* ***Indonesia****, umat islam, kami berdua penguasa. Saya tidak mengklaim begitu. Tapi lembaga-lembaga formalnya* |

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| | |
|---|---|
| | ***mayoritasnya*** *mengatakan seperti itu bahwa itu bertentangan dengan agama.....* (S3/17/SM)<br>(I don't claim that **Indonesia**, Islam and we (two) are the ruler. I don't claim it, but the formal institutions as well as the majority say that it contradicts with the religion) |
| 6. | *Inilah poin* ***dimasyarakat kita****, jadi KELUARGA KELUARGA.* ***Di Indonesia*** *berdoanya, Ya Allah berikan kami anak cucu gitu kan? Ya ga? Mana mungkin ada anak cucu jika perkawinannya sejenis. Dan itu adalah budaya kita.* (S4/19/SM)<br>(This is the point of **our society's** culture, so FAMILY FAMILY, in **Indonesia**, (people) wish "God, please give us child!" doesn't it? So, how could you have a child if it is the same-sex marriage and it is our culture) |

It could be seen from the table above that the spokespersons repeatedly mentioned '*Indonesia'* and '*masyarakat kita*' (means '*in our society*') as it is shown by the bold words. From the data taken, it is not only the C.Pars but also the P.Pars who use the word 'Indonesia' repeatedly in the statements like it could be seen from the table above. Meanwhile, for populism, it is only C.Pars who mention it like the data (4), (5) and (6). Besides the word 'Indonesia', C.Pars also add some words like 'our society' and 'majority'.

In datum (4), (5), and (5), the speakers mention about '*masyarakat kita*' ('*our society')* which means as 'the majority'. As I have stated above, 'the majority' has a tight correlation with 'power' and 'control'. In datum (4), the speaker does not only mention '*masyarakat kita'* ('*our society')* but also '*Indonesia'* (shown with the bold words in the table). Then, datum (5), the speaker stated '***mayoritas itu*** *yang mengatakan tidak bisa menerima itu' ('it's* ***the majority*** *who says that it (same-sex marriage) couldn't be accepted')*. The speaker mentions '*the majority*' in order to lessen his responsibility as an 'agent'. The last datum (6), again, the speaker

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combines '*masyarakat kita'* (*'our society')* and '*Indonesia'* in a statement (also shown with the bold words in the table).

This strategy is also a well-known political strategy to claim 'their own' statement as the national consensus. It could be seen that the spokespersons attach '*Indonesia'* and some populism (such as '*masyarakatnya', 'mayoritas*'). In this debate, this strategy could be used in order to strengthen their statements but it also simultaneously manipulates 'the power' and 'authority' as well as hides the responsibility as the 'agent' behind 'populism' and 'national consensus'. They could manipulate their 'power' to be more 'acceptable' and 'plausible' in order to put away the 'biased' image.

#### 4.3.1.12. Hyperbole

It is a semantic rhetorical device for enhancing and exaggerating meaning (van Dijk, 2000: 73). Here, the researcher found 1 from contra-side group.

Excerpt 3. ***'Perang donk****…**perang** kalo kita harus mengubah UUD 45, ya ga?"* (S4/7/SM)
(**It's war….war, i**f we have to change *UUD 45*, doesn't it?)

In this statement, the speaker was trying an illustration whether when it is about changing UUD 1945. The C.Pars also represent LGBT as a 'destructor' by a **hyperbolic expression** 'a war' if LGBT wants be accepted in Indonesia. The word 'war' itself also has a really 'bad connotation' which relates to 'destruction' and a 'mess'. In fact, people are always trying to avoid any 'war' and live 'peacefully'. Therefore, the C.Pars intend to exaggerate and highlight the 'bad image' as well

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give a ‘warning’ to the ‘public’ (especially the LGBT supporter) if LGBT struggles to change the national principle in Indonesia.

#### 4.3.1.13. Metaphor

It is an implied comparison, in which a characteristic of one object is transferred to another, the purpose being to suggest a similarity between the two (van Dijk, 2000: 76). The researcher also only found one statement which is used by the C.Pars to represent the same-sex marriage.

> Excerpt 4. *“Saya pikir teman-teman semua yang ada disini,* ***binatang saja kalo dia berhubungan dengan lawan jenisnya, apalagi manusia****.... aaa* ***jadi binatang saja, dia melakukan itu, apalagi manusia****. Itu kodrat manusia adalah mencintai, menyukai, menyenangi lawan jenisnya. Ada suatu yang tidak normal, kalo mencintai sesama jenis.*” (S5/56/MU)
>
> (I think all of you here, **animal… if it wants to make a sex, they will look for their mates with different sex…so even it’s for human.** It is a human nature that love or like their different sexes. There would be something abnormal, if they love with the same sexes)

In this statement, the speaker was giving an example that animals are also looking for their opposite sex to make love. He, sarcastically, compared human and animal to negatively represent the same-sex marriage. In fact, in Indonesia, ‘animals’ itself have a really bad connotation. People hate being compared to ‘animal’ since they think animals do not have ‘brain’ unlike ‘human’ who born and have brain to think more than animals do. The researcher assumes that the C.Pars aim to ‘stab’ inside ‘the public’ brain and heart by a comparison, so that, people realizes how ‘immoral’ LGBT and the same-sex marriage is.

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#### 4.3.1.14. Antithesis

It is the juxtaposition of words, phrases or ideas which are apparently (or really) strongly contrasting**.** The researcher also found one statement which was employed by the pro-side:

Excerpt 5. *"Ya, UU no.1 tahun 74 pernah tidak seperti ini. Perkawinan beda agama pernah bisa di negeri ini. Saya ga akan bilang* ***itu maju atau mundur****, itu nanti aja. Tapi bahwa hukum masih bisa berubah. Budaya pasti bisa berubah. Apa yang* ***sekarang tidak diterima****? Mungkin* ***dilawan*** *atau kemudian* ***ditertawakan****, akhirnya* ***diterima juga****."* (S1/17/DO)

(Yes, the *UU no.1 years of 1947* has ever been like this before. The different religion marriage had ever existed in Indonesia. I don't say that it's **progressive or regressive**, it's different case. But the thing that law could ever change, cultures must change. Something which **could not be accepted**, **or maybe opposed** and then **laughed**, in the end, it **could be accepted too**.)

The P.Pars rhetorically use two opposite ideas in order to enhance his idea. Firstly, he mentioned about the marriage regulation which had ever changed once. He rhetorically added that whether it was good or bad. Hence, he only wanted to show and emphasize that UU could be changed. He also gave an explanation that UU and culture could be changed by drawing two opposite ideas '*be opposed and be laughed*' versus '*finally accepted*'. It implied that he believed that the same-sex marriage could be legal in Indonesia.

#### 4.3.1.15. Euphemism

It is a strategy to avoid negative impression formation or negative opinion (van Dijk, 2000: 68). The researcher found two statements with this strategy:

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Table 4.14. Euphemism Strategy

| **Contra-side** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Jadi gini, mbak...saudara-saudara, adik-adikku..LGBT itu harus dipandang 2 sisi. Satu adalah,* ***mohon maaf istilahnya, apakah kelemahan atau penyimpangan sosial****. Mohon maaf mohon maaf, katakanlah* ***semacam disable****. Ini harus dilindungi sepenuhnya….. Jadi harus dibedakan. Sebagai, LGBT sebagai apa tadi? Ee gejala sosial,* ***mohon maaf*** *penyimpangan sosial atau kelemahan sosial, seperti disable. Dia harus mendapatkan perlindungan.* (S3/2/SM)<br>(So, here, everyone, LGBT should be seen from two points of view. One is, I'm sorry the term…is it **a social deviation**? **I'm sorry, I'm sorry**, or it could be so called as a 'disability'. This needs a full-protection from the country. So, it should be differentiated. LGBT **as social deviation**, **I'm sorry….**they must get a protection) |
| 2. | *"dan memang kita harus menerima, sejak saya kecil ada kok tetangga saya, ada teman saya. Ya, kan?! Tetapi ITU itu sebagai,* ***mohon maaf, itu adalah sebagai perbedaan sosial ato masalah sosial.****"* (S5/54/SM)<br>(And, surely, we should accept it. Since I was child, there was also my neighbor and my friends (as LGBT), wasn't it? But this is as, **I am sorry, as the social deviation or social problem**.) |

Here, the C.Pars repeatedly use euphemism in similar way. These statements above are showing euphemistic expressions. The speaker keeps asking for an apology when he is about to give a negative representation for the LGBT member in datum (1). In order to weaken the statement, the speaker barely chooses more comprehensive terms to the LGBT member such as *kelemahan'* ('weakness), '*penyimpangan sosial*' ('social deviation') and '*disable'* in the first statement. Instead of using the word *'sakit'* ('sick') or *'gangguan jiwa'* 'mental disorder', the speaker prefers to use more political and polite terms. Similarly, in datum (2), the C.Pars also use a term '*perbedaan sosial*' ('social difference') and '*masalah sosial'* ('social problem') to represent the LGBT member. These chosen terms

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semantically aim to mitigate the negative sentiment towards the speaker. In Indonesia, as the developing country, these words sound more appropriate, more intellectual, felt less offend. It implies that the speaker tried to save his positive face by using less confrontation words.

#### 4.3.1.16. Number Game

It is a strategy by giving a numerical fact to enhance the credibility of the object in the argumentation (van Dijk, 2000: 79). The researcher found three statements (4%) which is employed by the pro-side spokespersons only.

Table. 4.15. Number Game Strategy

| No. | The statements |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Anak laki-laki bungsu, waspadalah, hasil penelitian dari Oprah Winfrey bahwa **35% kromosom** dalam tubuhnya sudah terkontaminasi. Waspadalah anak laki-laki bungsu, apalagi diatasnya kakaknya perempuan. Lebih potensial….* (S2/30/JT)<br>(The youngest son, be alert, the observation result from Oprah Winfrey states that **35% of his chromosome** has been contaminated.) |
| 2. | *Dari penelitian yang arus pelangi lakukan, di Indonesia mengatakan bahwa **89,3%,** LGBT di Indonesia mendapatkan kekerasan dan diskriminasi. Bisa dikatakan bahwa....* (S2/38/YL)<br>(From the *Arus Pelangi* observation, it is noted that **89% of LGBT member** in Indonesia get violation and discriminated…) |
| 3. | *berarti dengan begitu, Pak! Anda mengorbankan sekitar **3-10%** yang LGBT?* (S5/67/DO)<br>(So, Sir! Will you sacrifice for about **3-10% LGBT** (in Indonesia)??) |

The table above shows that the P.Pars use a numerical fact in a statement to strengthen their statement. As it has been stated above, to make the statements more credible, a numerical fact is also used to provoke an empathy from the viewer.

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#### 4.3.1.17. Repetition

It is a rhetorical strategy by repeating some specific words in some statements (van Dijk, 2000: 83). From the table (4.2), it could be seen this strategy is applied five times (6%) by contra-side spokespersons in the debate. The table below would show how repetition is used.

Table. 4.16. Repetition Strategy

| **The Statements** | |
|---|---|
| 1. | *Sebagai satu bangsa yang besar, kita harus tetap memegang Pancasila yang sila 1 itu adalah Ketuhanan YME.* ***Tidak ada satu agama, tidak ada kepercayaan di negeri ini, tidak ada budaya, tidak ada masyarakatnya yang menerima perkawinan sejenis*** *karena bertentangan dengan kodrat manusia itu sendiri. Makasih.* (S1/19/MU) |
| 2. | *tadi kata Bu Neneng mengatakan bahwa perkawinan itu hanya antara laki-laki dan perempuan untuk membentuk* ***keluarga bahagia****.* ***Bahagia****.* ***Keluarga bahagia*** *dan ujungnya berdasarkan kepada Ketuhanan YME. Jadi hukum-hukum kita, saudara-saudara, berbasis kepada norma-norma, hukum-hukum,* ***berdasarkan adat, berdasarkan budaya, berdasarkan agama.*** *Jadi inilah yang dilanggar jika terjadi perkawinan sejenis.* ***Melanggar norma-norma agama, budaya, melanggar falsafah pancasila Ketuhanan YME, melanggar pasal 29 UUD 45 dan melanggar pasal 1 UU perkawinan tahun 74****.* (S1/15/SM) |
| 3. | *Tapi ciri bahwa kita* ***melanggar fitrah, melanggar budaya, melanggar norma*** *tidak ada satupun diantara kita yang ingin dan punya cita-cita punya anak, benar tidak?* (S2/27/SM) |
| 4. | *Demokrasi kita tidak berdasarkan individu, tapi kolektif berbasis* ***keluarga****. inilah poin dimasyarakat kita, jadi* ***keluarga keluarga****. di Indonesia berdoanya, ya allah berikan kami anak cucu gitu kan? Ya ga?* (S4/19/SM) |
| 5. | *pertanyaan saya, bagaimana perkembangan suatu masyarakat kalo terjadi perkawinan sejenis?* ***Tidak ada pertumbuhan, tidak ada perkembangan, tidak ada dinamika yang akan terjadi****, jadi menurut saya itulah yang menjadi pertanyaan besar pada kita, yang bapak-bapak menyetujui itu tadi perkawinan sejenis* (S5/60/MU) |

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The bold words in the table above practically shows that how the contra-side spokespersons struggle to ensure the public about LGBT. The words *'tidak ada'* (there is no), *'melanggar'* (violates) and '*keluarga'* ('family) particularly also represent how people oppose the LGBT existence especially drawn by the contra-side's statements.

Moreover, it also draws that the C.Pars mainly focus on the negative 'other' representation. It could be seen from datum (2), (3) and (5) that the C.Pars use a repetition to a specific to highlight the negative representation. Besides, in datum (1), the speaker does not only focus on the negative other representation, but also the positive 'our' representation. It is shown by a repetition of words '*keluarga'* ('*family'*) and '*bahagia'* ('*happy'*). In addition, datum (4) also shows a repetition of word '*keluarga'* which the speaker means that the same-sex marriage could not make a happy family like the hetero one. In short, repetition is a typical strategy used in a debate to emphasize a certain thing which is also used to highlight the negative other representation.

Various rhetorical expressions are applied in the debate. It could be seen that 'antithesis' and 'number game' are repeatedly used by the pro-side. Meanwhile, 'metaphor', 'hyperbole', 'euphemism' and 'repetition' are used by the contra-side.

As the LGBT supporter, the P.Pars already presuppose the position of 'LGBT' in Indonesia, which is, a 'minority'. Therefore, the struggle is shown by giving an 'implicit critique' with the **antithesis expression** above about 'changing a policy'. Instead of derogating 'OTHER' (who has more power) directly, the speaker prefers to give a 'blur' or 'opaque' attack by showing the dynamics of

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policy changes in Indonesia (in which C.Pars always claim that ‘law could not change’). In fact, the policy still could change based on the social developments and needs. As the LGBT supporter, the P.pars also put same-sex marriage legalization is also one of ‘the goals’. In order to ‘save the positive face’, the P.Pars let ‘the public’ realize it by themselves with the ‘fact’ that he gives about changing a policy. Moreover, the ‘**number game**’, as a rhetorical device, is also added in the statement in order to emphasize the proofs or the facts. By giving a ‘numerical fact’, it could trigger ‘the public’ to accept ‘their’ belief.

On the other hand, the strategies, such as metaphor, hyperbole and repetition, are deliberately employed by the C.Pars to give a negative framing to their opposition (LGBT and same-sex marriage). They practically derogate ‘others’ overtly in the debate. Here, the C.Pars as the part of ‘majority’ recognizes that people have shared knowledge about the disagreement to LGBT and ‘same-sex marriage’. Therefore, in the debate, they just need to ‘make sure’ and ‘highlight’ on constructing a ‘negative image’ to LGBT and same-sex marriage, so that, the ‘public’ are not interfered (from the opposition) and keep on what the ‘majority’ belief. Meanwhile, the use of euphemistic device there is a strategy to save ‘the positive face’. In order to put away the ‘negative impression’, the C.Pars repeatedly express their ‘apologies’ which aim to covertly ‘preserve’ their ‘good image’ to ‘the public’. In short, we could also take a red string how the rhetorical strategies are used to make a ‘frame’ to the LGBT existence. Even though there are various rhetorical strategies applied with different intentions, hence, here the spokespersons generally use rhetoric to make their statement more rational.

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#### 4.3.1.18. Norm Expression

Similarly, it is a typical strategy in the debate which is strongly normative and explicitly stated about what 'we' should or should not do (van Dijk, 2000:79). Besides, it is also similar to modality (ibid). According to Fairclough (1989: 126), there are two kinds of modality, such as, relational modality and expressive modality. Firstly, relational modality is a modality which has to do with speaker's authority to other participants (in terms of relation). Meanwhile, expressive modality is a modality to show the truth or probability of the representation of reality (evaluation of the truth). The term of norm expression has a correlation with the modals used by the spokespersons. There are 82 modals found in the debate from both pro and contra sides. The table below is the detail description of the finding:

Table 4.17. The Types of Modality

| Modality | Expressive | (%) | Relational | (%) | Total | (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Harus* (must)** | 19 | | 7 | | 26 | **32** |
| ***Sebaiknya* (should)** | - | | 1 | | 1 | **1** |
| ***Boleh* (might)** | 2 | | 2 | | 4 | **5** |
| ***Tidak boleh* (might not)** | 10 | | 2 | | 12 | **15** |
| ***Bisa* (can)** | 20 | | - | | 20 | **24** |
| ***Tidak bisa* (cannot)** | 18 | | 1 | | 19 | **23** |
| **Total** | **69** | **84%** | **13** | **26%** | **82** | **100%** |

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Table. 4.18. Modalities Used by the Pro-Side Group

| Modality | Expressive | Relational | Total | (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Harus* (must)** | 5 | 2 | 7 | **36%** |
| ***Sebaiknya* (should)** | - | - | - | |
| ***Boleh* (might)** | 1 | - | 1 | |
| ***Tidak boleh* (might not)** | 4 | - | 4 | |
| ***Bisa* (can)** | 12 | - | 12 | |
| ***Tidak bisa* (cannot)** | 5 | - | 5 | |
| **Total** | **27** | **2** | **29** | |

Table. 4.19. Modalities Used by the Contra-Side Group

| Modality | Expressive | Relational | Total | (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***Harus* (must)** | 14 | 5 | 19 | **64%** |
| ***Sebaiknya* (should)** | - | 1 | 1 | |
| ***Boleh* (might)** | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| ***Tidak boleh* (might not)** | 6 | 2 | 8 | |
| ***Bisa* (can)** | 8 | - | 8 | |
| ***Tidak bisa* (cannot)** | 13 | 1 | 14 | |
| **Total** | **42** | **11** | **43** | |

Table 4.17 above shows there are six types of modal forms found in the debate, such as *'harus'* (32%), *'sebaiknya'* (1%), *'boleh'* (5%), *'tidak boleh'* (15%), *'bisa'* (24%) and *'tidak bisa*' (23%). Thus, between the 'expressive' and 'relational', it could also be seen from debate that the expressive modality was more frequently used by the spoke-persons. Modality itself also has correlation with 'power' as 'authority' or 'authenticity'. Below, the researcher would give some examples of how the 'expressive' and relational' modality are used with the same modal form. The modal form used above is '*harus'* ('must') because it is the most frequent modal used in the debate with 32%.

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Excerpt 6. "*Sebagai satu bangsa yang besar, **kita harus tetap** memegang Pancasila yang sila 1 itu adalah Ketuhanan YME. Tidak ada satu agama, tidak ada kepercayaan di negeri ini, tidak ada budaya, tidak ada masyarakatnya yang menerima perkawinan sejenis* (S1/19/MU)

Excerpt 7. "*Tetapi didalam kehidupan berdemokrasi itu, suara yang terbanyak itulah ynag menentukan pembuatan UU, kemudian aturan-aturan dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Mereka yang tidak tertampung disitu, sejauh tidak dilakukan diskriminasi pada mereka, **mereka harus** tunduk dan patuh pada aturan maen yang sudah ada. Dan **saya kira itu yang harus jadi pegangan kita.*** (S4/2/MU)

Excerpt 6 and 7 show how the relational modality is applied. The speaker deliberately places an actor (represented by 'pronouns') such as '*kami'* ('we') and '*mereka'* (they) before the modal '*harus'* ('must'). The modal '*harus'* (must) also means an 'obligation' which, simultaneously, also represents that 'someone' has more power than anyone else. Hence, the two examples below show how the 'expressive' modality is used.

Excerpt 8. *"Saya sepakat untuk **menghasilkan anak harus ada laki-laki dan perempuan.** Itu pasti."* (S5/38/YL)
(I agree that, **to have a child, there must be a man and woman. It is a must**.)

Excerpt 9. *"dalam negara hukum, kita tidak boleh mengintepretasikan sesuatu seenak dewe. Tidak boleh. Interpretasi segala sesuatu, **termasuk intepretasi HAM harus berdasarkan hukum"*** (S2/4/SM)
(In the law country, we might not interpret anything like what we want, we might not. **Every interpretation, including interpretation about human right, must be based on law**)

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The expressive modality is typically used by the speakers in debate in order to show the truth of the reality (that is something which should not be denied). It could be seen by excerpt 8 and 9. Different from excerpt 6 and 7, there are no pronouns appeared in the two examples above. Here, the expressive modality (or so called as epistemic modality) is close to the 'authenticity' which meant that the spoke-persons preferred to exercise 'power' by 'presenting' the topic. In excerpt 8, the speaker states about the fact (nature) about having a child from the pro-side group. Meanwhile, in excerpt 9, the speaker talks about human right and law interpretation from the contra-side group.

In short, based on table 4.18 and 4.19, it could be seen that from the percentage that the contra-side group uses more various modality than the pro-side group for both the expressive and relational modality with 64% in total. The modality used is a sign of authority and power relation among the subjects inferred. As Fairclough (1989: 127) also stated, the modality is also exactly about claiming the implicit 'authority' as well as the 'power' relation of the ideology contested. Therefore, it could be said, the modality used by the contra-side group is a signal of claiming 'authority' and 'authenticity'. In other words, it could be also implicitly illustrates that the contra-side group has more 'power' than the pro-side group.

Moreover, we could also see the ratio how often the expressive and relational modalities are used in the debate. In the table 4.17, it could be seen that the expressive modality is used more than the relational modality with 84% in the debate. In other words, the debate also shows that the 'power' would be more blurred and 'opaque' since the 'power' is manipulated through their statements.

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Besides, this study also concerns on LGBT issue. Then, the debate also illustrates that the spoke-persons give more attention on the existence of LGBT which means that it inclines with the aims of this study. Here, the use of modality like '*harus'*, '*sebaiknya'*, '*boleh'*, '*tidak boleh'*, '*bisa'* and '*tidak bisa'* represents that something should be done or not, obligation and restriction.

#### 4.3.1.19. Polarization

It is 'US' and 'THEM' categorization (van Dijk, 2000: 80). It is an expression of polarized cognition and the categorical division of people in 'in-group' (US) and 'out-group' (THEM) (ibid). Typically, in debate, the speakers intend to use a specific pronoun to show their position, which draws US and THEM of the group. In this debate, the researcher found there are five pronouns, which are used by the speakers and basically show the polarization and relation in the debate, such as, '*saya'* (I), '*anda'* (You), '*kami'* (Our), '*kita'* (Our) and '*mereka'* (Their).

Table. 4.20. The Pronouns Used in the Debate

| | **Pro-side** | **(%)** | **Contra-side** | **(%)** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Saya* (I) | 35 | **39%** | 54 | **61%** | 89 |
| *Anda* (You) | 9 | **69%** | 4 | **31%** | 13 |
| *Kami* (Exclusive We) | 3 | **75%** | 1 | **25%** | 4 |
| *Kita* (Inclusive We) | 18 | **24%** | 56 | **76%** | 74 |
| *Mereka* (They) | 1 | **50%** | 1 | **50%** | 2 |

The table above clearly shows that how the 'polarization' could be depicted from the debate. Simply said, there is *'I vs You'* and *'Us vs Them'*. The pronoun '*saya'* (I) is enormously used by the contra-side which refers to 'their own selves' (as the speaker). On the contrary, the pronoun '*anda'* (you) is more often

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used by the pro-side speakers. Typically in debate, the polarization is not only between 'one-self' to 'another one' or vice-versa, but also it is also about 'our group' (Us) and 'their group' (Them). Based on the table 4.20 above, the polarization of 'Us' and 'Them' is represented from the use of '*Kami'* or '*Kita'* and '*Mereka'*.

The researcher wants to show how the grouping or the polarization exists in the debate. The use of pronouns like 'I' or 'you' is identically with 'power'. Basically, here, actually the C.Pars show 'more power' in the discourse. They mostly position themselves over anyone else, so that, casually could make such a 'claim' in the debate. Hence, in the relation with 'others' (specifically 'pro-side'), the C.Pars show the use of '*you'* which is fewer than the P.Pars. Hence, here, the C.Pars generally use '*anda'* ('you') as 'unanimous' or 'unidentified' pronoun. It could be seen from one of the example below:

> Excerpt 10. *Saya tanya kepada **Anda semua**, **Anda** bercita-cita tidak punya gay? Punya anak itu? Kalau misalnya sudah terjadi, oke..ya kan? Tapi ciri bahwa kita melanggar fitrah, melanggar budaya, melanggar norma tidak ada satupun diantara kita yang ingin dan punya cita-cita punya anak, benar tidak?* (S2/27/SM)
> (I ask **all of you**, do you want a gay (child)? in having a child? if it happens, it's ok? But the *characteristic* which declines the nature, declines the culture, declines the norms, there is no one of us want to have the (gay) child, is it?)

The pronoun '*anda'* above is not only specifically referring to the 'pro-side', but the C.Pars also refer to the viewer or 'the public'. I assume that the C.Pars want to 'claim solidarity' between all the participants or moreover 'to make a claim (of something or belief) as natural as possible' and 'commonly already accepted to

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'the public'. On the other hand, the different tendency is indicated from the pronoun '*anda'* used by the pro-side, as it could be seen below:

Excerpt 11. DA *: Oke, Mas Dede, ada banyak yang dilanggar ketika dilegalkan perkawinan sejenis.*

DO *: Saya sebenernya mau nanya kepada **Anda berdua**, apakah hukum tidak akan pernah berubah? Secara umum, hukum apa aja.*

(S1/16-17/DA-DO)

(DA : Oke, Mr, Dede, there are many thing which are declined when the same-sex marriage is legal.

DO : I actually want to **ask two of you**, does law never change? Generally, there is law….)

This is conversation between the moderator (DA) and the P.Pars (DO). The italic words above clearly show that they refer to the C.Pars, which is, the two spokes-person who stand in the panel discussion. The P.Pars repeatedly use '*anda berdua*' ('two of you') in statement (S3/13/DO). The use of 'definite you' indicates 'the struggle for power' which they want to challenge the C.Pars personally. They explicitly claim as 'an opposition' to the C.Pars.

After the polarization of 'I' and 'you', I would explain the grouping based on 'Us' and 'Them' polarization. There are three pronouns represented in the debate such as '*Kami'* or '*Kita'* ('we') and '*Mereka'* ('they'). From the table above, the P.Pars use more '*kami'* ('we') than the C.Pars while the use of '*kita'* is more frequently used by the C.Pars than the P.Pars do. Fairclough (1989: 127) stated there are two kinds of the use of 'we', such as, *'exclusive we'* which is in '*Kami'* in Bahasa Indonesia and '*inclusive we'* which is '*Kita'*.

Firstly, the pronoun the 'exclusive we' or '*kami'* is occasionally used by the P.Pars when they are 'attacked' from the opposition. In other words, it means

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that the P.Pars give a distance to the C.Pars. It also means, to strengthen their position as an 'opposition', that they belong 'different group' from the C.Pars. It is also used to show that they 'have a solid group' when they are 'attacked' from their opposition. So, in other words, the use of '*Kami'* also shows that their notion of 'belonging in group' is stronger than the C.Pars and 'claiming more solidarity to their group'.

On the other hand, different from the *'exclusive we'*, the C.Pars intentionally keep using the *'inclusive we'* (or '*kita'*) in the debate. From the table above, it could be seen that the pronoun '*Kita'* is more often used by the C.Pars. The 'inclusive we' means that to show or implicitly claim a 'solidarity'. In other words, the contra-side insists on establishing their 'good image' by claiming 'solidarity' to both 'the public' and the P.pars.

In conclusion, the C.Pars use various pronouns in referring 'us' and 'them' especially '*saya'* ('I') and 'the inclusive *we*' which is commonly used in the debate. Typically, in debate, the use of 'I' is indicating 'power' since they, could 'proudly' present 'themselves' as the one who makes a claim and be responsible to the claim. Meanwhile, the use of '*kita'*, as it appears equal with 'I' in the debate, indicates that 'they are the part of the majority'. Far from the image of 'exercising power', the pronoun '*kita'* is practically used to claim a 'solidarity'. I assume that the C.Pars wants to balance their image. Though they have 'power', they still try to 'naturalize' the situation in order to hide their image as 'the dominant' and keep 'solidarity' to 'the public'.

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Then, in ‘the relation with others’, the polarization is represented by the use of ‘*anda’* (‘you’) and ‘*mereka’* (‘them’). It could be seen that the C.Pars do not use the pronoun ‘you’ to personally refer ‘someone’ or ‘their opposition’. Hence, they use ‘you’ as the unidentified pronoun which indicates they explicitly refer ‘you’ to all (both their opposition and public). I assume that the C.Pars do not want to personally ‘attack’ or ‘challenge’ their opposition to maintain ‘their positive image’ to ‘the public’. Moreover, the use of ‘they’ is also employed in the debate. Similar with the use of ‘you’, the use of ‘they’ is referring to ‘LGBT member’. This time, the C.Pars try to ‘challenge’ their opposition by representing the LGBT member negatively. Hence, different from ‘you’ that indicates to personally refer to ‘someone’, the idea of ‘*mereka’* (‘we’) is less-direct than ‘you’ which means that ‘they’ refers to ‘the group’. Therefore, since they do not want to derogate ‘others’ personally, they indirectly prefer to their group to ‘establish a good image’. In short, it could be simply said that the C.Pars could not only ‘exercise power’, but they also want to exercise their power by ‘claiming a solidarity’ and ‘not challenging a person directly’.

On the contrary, there are also various pronouns applied by the P.Pars. Hence, I would pay more attention to the use of ‘*kami’* (‘exclusive we’) and ‘*anda’* (‘you’) since these two pronouns are applied more often that the C.Pars do. Firstly, it is the use of ‘*anda’* (‘you’). Different from the C.Pars, the P.Pars use the pronoun ‘*anda’* (‘you’) in order to refer the opposition ‘personally’. The use of ‘you’ indicates ‘the struggle for power’ which they want to challenge the C.Pars personally. They explicitly claim as ‘an opposition’ to the C.Pars. In sum, it could

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be seen that the P.Pars practically wants to make a clear 'border' between them and their opposition, which is, the C.Pars. Different from the C.Pars, the frequent used of '*Kami'* (the exclusive we) and the definite '*you'* to C.Pars indicate the struggle of power from the P.Pars in the debate.

### 4.3.2. The Representation of LGBT Existence in Indonesia

After we already know how the discursive strategies applied, in this part, the researcher would try relate the discursive strategies found with the context of situation in order to discover the representation of LGBT existence in Indonesia. From the analysis of discourse structure (in sub chapter 4.3.1), we could see that there are 19 out of 42 strategies used by the spoke-persons which are divided into four domains (Meaning, Argumentation, Rhetoric, and Style). In order to ease the analysis, the researcher wants to summarize the use of each strategies.

Table 4.21. The Function of Discursive Strategies Used in the Debate

| No. | Strategies | The Function |
|---|---|---|
| MEANING | | |
| 1. | Implication | Generally, all these strategies are used in the debate in order to save the positive 'face' in the public. |
| 2. | Presupposition | |
| 3. | Evidentiality | |
| 4. | Disclaimer | |
| 5. | Lexicalization | Indicating '*biased'* ideology |
| ARGUMENTATION | | |
| 6. | Example | Apparently, these strategies are used to strengthen the statements as well as simultaneously to make it more 'plausible'. |
| 7. | Authority | |
| 8. | Consensus and Populism | |
| 9. | Reasonableness | |
| 10 | Counter-factual | |
| 11. | Generalization | |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| RHETORIC | | |
| 12 | Number game | Various strategies are used in the debate which aims not only to strengthen the statement or save positive face but also to 'framing' the issue. |
| 13. | Hyperbole | |
| 14. | Metaphor | |
| 15. | Repetition | |
| 16. | Antithesis | |
| 17. | Euphemism | |
| STYLE | | |
| 18 | Norm Expressions | Indicating '*Power'* Relation |
| 19. | Polarization | |

From the findings, we could see there are four domains applied in the debate. The representations were based on those domains applied that implicitly represented the LGBT existence in Indonesia.

#### 4.3.2.1. LGBT is "Controversial" and "Sentiment" issue

As the LGBT issue is increasingly aroused in the society, one thing that should be pointed out is that LGBT commonly triggers debate (between those in favor and those against) whether it is a 'nature' or 'sickness' and many more. Therefore, it could be the reason why the spoke-persons intended to use some 'meaning' strategies in the debate. 'Meaning' itself correlates with the semantic literal sentence meaning (usually called as textual meaning) as well as the contextual pragmatic (contextual meaning) which concerns on the meaning beyond the sentences when someone intends to say something hence it means something else (van Dijk, 2006b). It also covers various strategies, such as Implication, Presupposition, Evidentiality and Disclaimer. As it could be seen from table 4.21, these strategies have similar intention which is none other than to save the 'positive' face in the debate.

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"Why LGBT is so called as 'Controversial'?" This question might come up when the researcher tries to relate the meaning strategies with the idea of 'controversial'. As it has been stated above, LGBT is still a hot issue in Indonesia. Hence, every discussion always ends up with whether LGBT should be reassured or being excluded from the society. It inclines with the meaning 'controversial' that means "causing disagreement or discussion" (Cambridge Dictionary). LGBT is also considered as a 'sentiment' issue because it also brings the issue of gender minority in which Indonesia also concerns on the human right (protecting the minority groups' right). Therefore, in this debate, it could be seen that the spokespersons intend to apply the meaning strategies in order to avoid 'misconception' and make the statement less-controversial. The strategies are applied to help them in concealing the 'negative' intention in derogating 'other' and also mitigate the 'rude' statement.

One should be noted here, about the 'controversial' thing, is how people perceive LGBT differently. It could be seen from table 4.7 (in lexicalization) of 'pro' and 'contra' lexical choices in presenting LGBT. It is also correlated with the use of 'nominalization' and 'passivation' in the statement as it is shown by excerpt 2 (page. 72). The statement above shows how the words '*diskriminasi'* and '*kekerasan'* are applied by the pro-side spokesperson. It could be seen that they preferably choose a passive voice form ('discriminated') and use a nominalization ('violation') in a statement. The combination of passive voice forms and nominalization practically make 'the agent' and 'causality or responsibility' left unclear.

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In short, the clear tendency is shown by the contra-side spokespersons by blatantly giving the 'negative' presentations to LGBT issue. On the other hand, the pro-side spokesperson prefer to reconstruct LGBT image as the 'victim' in order to provoke empathy from 'the public'. Therefore, LGBT might lead the 'misconception' and 'controversial' since there are 'two-side poles' of distinctions in perceiving LGBT issue in Indonesia. Moreover, various discourse strategies are applied intentionally to covertly derogate 'other' and save 'positive' face. Therefore, we could imply from the meaning strategies are represented that LGBT as 'controversial' and 'sentiment' issue in Indonesia which people prefer to 'hide' their intention to avoid 'protest' from the society or 'other' specific group.

#### 4.3.2.2. LGBT is "Unacceptable"

Secondly, the LGBT existence in Indonesia is seen the 'unacceptable'. It could be represented from the discursive strategies in argumentation strategies such as Authority, Example, Counter-Factual, Generalization, Reasonable, Consensus and Populism.

Van Dijk (2006b: 376) states that such manipulated argumentations effect to the reader could be categorized based on the qualification and critical sense of the reader or recipients because the well-acknowledged and critical recipients could resist it. Moreover, he also adds that the argumentation is a strategy of manipulation discourse which appears primarily semantic or having a meaning (van Dijk, 2006b: 376). In other words, argumentation strategies are applied to appear 'less-biased' in the public as it could be seen in table 4.21. The various strategies,

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by mentioning ‘authorities’, ‘*because’*, ‘*Indonesia’*, ‘making a generalization’ and ‘giving examples’, could manipulate the ‘biased’ statement become more ‘plausible’ and ‘acceptable’. Therefore, it could be presupposed that LGBT is ‘unacceptable’ in Indonesia. In this debate, especially with the ‘argumentation’ strategies, the spokespersons try to give various ‘biased’ statement in accordance to LGBT existence. We could specifically see from the analysis in subchapter of the argumentation strategies (page 73-89) that the spokespersons (on both sides) have their own tendency in presenting LGBT to appear more ‘plausible’.

As the researcher has stated in the introduction, generally speaking, LGBT is considered as ‘taboo’ in Indonesia and people prefer to avoid this issue. Therefore, the discursive strategies applied show how the spokespersons (from both ‘pro’ and ‘contra’ side) try to manipulate their arguments in order to reach their goal as well as ‘ensure’ the public in gaining the support.

To sum up, in argumentation strategies, the pro-side spokespersons prefer to use ‘generalization’ and ‘examples’ while the contra-side spokespersons use ‘reasonableness’, ‘consensus and populism’. Even though they have their own strategies, tendency and goal, the argumentation strategies are applied to make their statement to be ‘more acceptable’ and more plausible in the public’s mind which also means, in other words, LGBT is ‘Unacceptable’ in Indonesia.

#### 4.3.2.3. LGBT is “Irrational”

Thirdly, the strategies depict that LGBT is ‘irrational’. It might sound as a ‘biased’ assumption, but it could be seen from various discursive strategies in rhetorical strategies. Rhetorical strategies do not only consist of figurative

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languages (such as hyperbole, metaphor and antithesis), but also other typical rhetoric structures used in debate such as euphemism, number game and repetition. In table 4.21, we could see also different tendency in applying the strategies. The the pro-side spokespersons intend to use the ‘number game’ and ‘antithesis’ while the the pro-side spokespersons preferr to apply ‘hyperbole’, ‘metaphor’, and ‘repetition’.

Besides, it is worth mentioning the meaning of rhetoric strategies. Rhetoric is also called as a ‘framing’ strategy to persuade the ‘public’. It could be defined as a strategy to make the statement more ‘rational’. By ‘framing’, people would easily get the ‘meaning’ of the statements. It also helps the ‘public’ in perceiving the message of the statements. Even though there are various ‘biased’ strategies applied in the debate as it could be seen in subchapter 4.3.12 (page. 92-97), these strategies only have one aim which is to make statement ‘more rational’, so that, the public could understand the message.

Some said that LGBT is about having ‘different’ sexual orientation in which man has a tendency to love ‘man’ and similarly, for woman to love ‘woman’. Generally speaking, people would find it ‘strange’ and even ‘irrational’. It also goes the same in Indonesia where people hardly believe on the homosexuality. Therefore, in the debate, it is portrayed by the rhetorical strategies that LGBT is considered as an ‘irrational’ thing in Indonesia.

#### 4.3.2.4. LGBT Exists

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Above all the 'negative' tendencies to LGBT issue, here, people actually believe that LGBT exists in Indonesia and it not a phenomenon. It could be seen from the norm expressions strategy in subchapter 4.3.18 (page.99). As the researcher has stated before, this debate is taken as the representative of the emergence of LGBT in Indonesia. It also simply represents LGBT position and how people perceive 'LGBT' issue in Indonesia.

In the norm expressions (page. 99), we could see that there were various modalities applied in the debate such as '*harus'*, '*sebaiknya'*, '*boleh'* and '*bisa'*. The modalities are also used more in 'expressing' the topic. From the table 4.17 (page. 99), we could see that '*harus'* (must) was the most frequent modality used in the debate with 32% in total. '*Harus'* (must) itself has a meaning of 'obligation', 'necessity' and 'certainty'. Then, there are also the negative modalities used such as *'tidak boleh'* (may not) with 15% and *'tidak bisa'* (cannot) with 23% which represents 'persuasion' and 'possibility'.

In short, it depicts that people are actually aware and also concern with LGBT existence in Indonesia. It is represented by the most frequent use of the modality '*harus'* (must) in the debate. On the other hand, simultaneously, they also 'restrict' the LGBT right and 'exclude', even more 'deem' their existence in the society. It could be signified from various negative modalities applied such as *'tidak boleh'* (may not) and *'tidak bisa'* (cannot) in accordance with the meaning of 'persuasion' and 'possibility' which is as the second and third most frequently used in the debate.

**4.3.2.5. LGBT is an 'Opposition'**

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Lastly, LGBT is seen as the ‘opposition’. It is represented by the polarization of ‘pro-side’ and ‘contra-side’ group in the debate (page. 101). Table 4.20 (page. 103) shows the different tendencies of various pronouns used by the pro-side and contra-side group.

In this context, since the pro-side spokespersons try to defend and protect the LGBT, they could be called as the LGBT representative. On the contrary, the contra-side spokespersons who stand for delegitimizing the issue of LGBT, could be called as the ‘government’, even though in fact, there is also an elites (the House of Representative) as one of the spokespersons. Therefore, since this study concern on the existence of LGBT, this study deliberately pays more attention to the pro-side spokespersons as the LGBT representative.

From table 4.22, it could be seen that the pro-side spokespersons frequently use the ‘*kami’* (‘exclusive we’) and the definite ‘you’. As the researcher has explained above, it particularly represents that LGBT is seen as an ‘Opposition’ in Indonesia. The ‘exclusive we’ depicts that they claim strong solidarity among LGBT as the victim of ‘exclusion’ from the society. It is also strengthened by the use of the ‘definite you’ to the contra-side group which signifies ‘the challenge’ to the society. The idea of ‘opposition’ once again could also be indicated from the lexicalization (page. 62) of ‘*berubah’* (‘change’) and ‘*amandemen’* (‘amendment’). These two lexical items are repeatedly several times in the debate from the pro-side spokespersons which have similar meaning. It depicts the intention of LGBT supporters in changing the history of LGBT existence in Indonesia.

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### 4.4. The Society Perspective towards LGBT Existence Especially in Indonesia

The last step, which is called as the **social representation**, is the third dimension which concern on why the 'text' is produced, what controls the discourse and the aims of the 'text' production. In other words, the analysis would work more on the ideology which controls the 'text' produced and the discourse practices.

Based on the context of situation, the debate as the 'text' is produced as the effect of the same-sex legalization in the USA. It stirs up the debates on those against and those in favor of, not only in the USA but also in Indonesia. Therefore, the debate is held to know and understand people's perspective about same-sex marriage and the emergence of LGBT in Indonesia. From the analysis above, we could see that LGBT itself is considered as 'abundance'. They mostly perceive LGBT in negative ways like 'controversial', 'unacceptable', 'irrational' and 'opposition'. Even though, at the same time, they (people) actually also admit that LGBT has already 'existed' in the society. The way they perceive LGBT might be largely controlled by the nationalism ideology which puts the 'national importance' above everything. Meanwhile, the nationalism itself is in contrast with the nature of LGBT which put the egalitarian as the priority. Egalitarian is as a part of liberalism which is also an ideology that places all human are same and deserve the equal-right whoever, whenever and wherever they belong. Moreover, the liberalism would always put the notion of 'freedom and individualism' which is based on 'egalitarian' and 'human right'. It could be portrayed by the discursive strategies applied by the pro-side group (as the supporter of LGBT). They mostly put the

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notion of ‘human right’ above everything and perceive LGBT as the human social nature as well as keep stating that LGBT does not decline human nature.

Furthermore, the nationalism also stimulates people in perceiving the LGBT cannot be included as ‘Indonesian’ culture since Indonesia itself only accepts the concept of ‘man’ and ‘woman’. In other words, it could be said that the existence of LGBT in Indonesia still could not change the domination of majority’s power. LGBT people are still well-blended and hiding among the society. Moreover, as they are marginalized, they also would find it hard to ‘come out’ (as LGBT) in the society. It might need a long time for LGBT to be legitimized in Indonesia. Moreover, it also needs big power to change the norms and values embedded in Indonesia.

One more thing should be noted here, above all the ideologies have been mentioned above, in accordance with the obstacle of LGBT growth in Indonesia is about ‘religion’. Even though it is not largely expressed in the debate, the notion of ‘religion’ does have a big influence in perceiving LGBT in Indonesia. Indonesia itself is a country where also puts ‘religion’ and ‘God’ as the priority which means that every issues or phenomena as well as changes would also be based on the religion perspectives. As it has been stated in ‘authority’ (page.73), it is undeniable that there is no religion in Indonesia which accepts LGBT. Therefore, people, especially in Indonesia, would hardly accept the LGBT existence because they believe that it declines their faith.

On the other hand, even though it might be hardly accepted, LGBT slightly does change the society perspective in Indonesia. This discourse practically

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shows that LGBT has been accepted by a part of people in Indonesia. It is depicted from how the society acknowledges the existence of LGBT in Indonesia. Even more, there are many organizations, such as *Arus Pelangi* and *Gaya Nusantara*, which are founded to protect LGBT rights in Indonesia. It also could be said that people of Indonesia actually do not deny their existence though they are still 'strict' to LGBT member, for instance, they still get various 'verbal abuse' from the society as well as any kinds of 'homophobic' expressions to LGBT. The debate also represents the change of the history of LGBT in Indonesia. As the researcher has explained before, even talking about LGBT is taboo and considered as 'inappropriate' that people always try to avoid this topic. Hence, here, in a national-scale debate which is broadcasted on TV, LGBT becomes the main issue. Historically, it is the first time for LGBT issue to be put as the main topic. In other words, the history of LGBT has changed in Indonesia due to the same-sex marriage legalization in the USA which is represented from the discourse practices in the debate.

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# CHAPTER V

# CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Some conclusions were made based on the findings of the data analysis presented in the previous chapter. The following conclusions are also the answers to the problem statements of the research in defining LGBT existence in Indonesia through discursive strategies applied in the debate as proposed in Chapter I:

## 5.1. Conclusion

From the analysis and discussion above, it could be concluded that both sides (pro and contra) use discursive strategies in debate to control the minds of others, hence, in order to maintain power, manipulation and inequality. There are 19 out of 42 strategies applied in the debate such as Implication, Presupposition, Evidentiality, Disclaimer, Lexicalization, Authority, Example, Reasonableness, Counter-factual, Generalization, Consensus and Populism, Metaphor, Hyperbole, Antithesis, Euphemism, Number Game, Repetition, Norm Expression and Polarization. The contextual features of the debate are set intentionally in order to serve ideologically positive us presentation and negative other presentation which is portrayed that there is different strategies chosen and intentions between the spokespersons on each sides. It also represents that the contra-side group has more 'power' which is shown by the frequency used of the strategies in the discussion. In other words, in accordance with the LGBT existence in Indonesia, the dominated pro-side spokespersons (as the LGBT representative) implies how LGBT existence is 'oppressed' in the society as being the 'minority' group in Indonesia.

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Secondly, the discursive strategies applied also represent LGBT existence in Indonesia in various ways. Based on the four domains, the meaning strategies represent LGBT as the 'Controversial' and 'Sentiment' issue. Then, by the argumentation strategies represent LGBT as 'Unacceptable' while the rhetorical strategies represent LGBT as 'Irrational'. The last domain is style, which comprises of two moves Norm Expression and Polarization. The norm expression practically shows that LGBT actually and already 'Has existed'. Thus, the polarization itself depicts that LGBT is as an 'Opposition' in which the communities try to change the history (as the struggle to make it accepted in the society).

Lastly, it could be seen that the representations of LGBT existence are largely controlled by the nationalism which means it would be the obstacle for LGBT that brings along a contrast ideology. The nationalism is an ideology which puts 'the national importance' as the first priority. Meanwhile, the contrast ideology which is hold up by LGBT is egalitarian which places or positions the human right above everything else. They put the idea that 'human' should have the same rights and treatment whatever they are, whoever they are and wherever they are. Moreover, above all the ideologies contested here, the notion 'religion' also plays a prominent role in perceiving the LGBT existence which means that LGBT would be pushed back to the ground and again would hardly be accepted in Indonesia.

Besides, the debate also shows the relation and contestation between 'pro' and 'contra' group which represents the current situation that defines LGBT as a 'non-Indonesian' culture. On the other side, even though it is a minor, the debate also represents that there is a change of the society's perspective towards LGBT

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existence in Indonesia. The debate which is broadcasted on TV signifies that some parts of the society already accept LGBT existence in Indonesia. In other words, the researcher could see that LGBT is no longer taboo that nowadays people already cared as well as were curious about the issue

## 5.2. Suggestion

The following are some recommendations for other researchers which are derived from the result of data analysis and drawing conclusions.

Firstly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach of discourse in studying the relationship between language and power, and ideology that is contested in between. The object of its analysis could be both written and spoken text. Furthermore, the researcher, once again, wants to underline that CDA starts with a social problem and focuses on the ideological work. Moreover, in van Dijk model, it mainly works on cognition or people's mind. It emphasizes on how language is described, interpreted and explained based on someone's knowledge and ideology in which the process actively occurs in our mind. Therefore, for the future research, it would be better if the next researcher profoundly acknowledges the problem that is going on and why it should be a 'problem'. The future researcher also should pay attention to 'context' which is also correlated with the matter (the issue) in order to avoid the misinterpretation because analyzing with CDA is quite risky and usually culturally bounded. Thus, it is needed for someone to analyze the 'specific' discourse, in which both the language and the culture has been already inhabited with by the researcher. If she or he does not fully understand the culture

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and language, she or he would encounter difficulties in getting the answer and making a more comprehensive level of analysis.

Secondly, the researcher also suggests to the future research on other debate discourses and issues. Analyzing debate is quite interesting because we could see how some ideologies are contested in between the speakers. Moreover, in the political domains, the speakers also commonly use various rhetorical forms which intend to persuade the public. Specifically, in debate, the speakers generally also try to soften their statements and appear 'unbiased' for the sake of acceptability in public. There must be various ways and strategies applied in debate. It could be done with 'address forms' or 'appraisal'. Therefore, the researcher also hopes that there would be many other researches dealing with debates with other CDA approaches as well as the other linguistics theories (for instance, SFL or sociolinguistics). Once again, the researcher wants to underline that the analysis on debate discourse is still limited in Indonesia, moreover, with a live debate where the speakers gather in one place and face each other as well as being broadcasted in the national TV.

Thirdly, the researcher believes that there are a lot of gender issues which are chosen as the research topic, for instance 'feminism'. Hence, here, LGBT is taken as the topic as it is also being hot topic nowadays. The research on LGBT issue is also still limited though it already spreads out in many media in the world (TV, newspaper, magazines and many more). LGBT is also still being 'trending topic' which always invites the 'pros' and 'cons' in the society. Therefore, it is quite interesting to see the phenomenon and find out people's interpretation and ideology

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to the LGBT existence whether the one ‘roots for’ or ‘against’ it. Moreover, as the researcher has stated before, there are a lot of media which put LGBT as the highlight or headline in the newspaper.

Finally, from this research, the researcher also hopes the result could give more knowledge about doing CDA analysis to the future researcher, especially on debate discourse. In addition, it also gives more understanding to the LGBT phenomenon especially in Indonesia. Furthermore, it is also hoped that the result of this research could be a consideration for everyone (either people or media) to be careful on the language used because the language form) reflects the ideology which is hold up by each person or institutions either in words, phrase or clauses.

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# APPENDIX

In order to ease the finding, the table below is served the codes for the discursive strategies applied in the debate.

| NO. | Discourse Structure | CODE |
|---|---|---|
| **Meaning Moves** | | |
| 1. | Implication | **IMP** |
| 2. | Presupposition | **PRE** |
| 3. | Evidentiality | **EVI** |
| 4. | Disclaimer | **DIS** |
| **Argumentation Moves** | | |
| 5. | Example | **EXA** |
| 6. | Authority | **AUT** |
| 7. | Counter-factual | **CFA** |
| 8. | Generalization | **GNR** |
| 9. | Reasonableness | **RSN** |
| 10. | Consensus and Populism | **CON/POP** |
| **Rhetorical Moves** | | |
| 11. | Hyperbole | **HYP** |
| 12. | Metaphor | **MTP** |
| 13. | Antithesis | **ANT** |
| 14. | Number Game | **NGA** |
| 15. | Repetition | **RPT** |
| 16. | Euphemism | **EUP** |

**TRANSCRIPT LIVE DEBATE**
**'Debat TV One, episode of *Pernikahan Sejenis'***
**July 5, 2015 in Jogjakarta**

**SEGMENT 1**
OPENING [video]

1) JT : Ya, berbicara tentang perkawinan sejenis, akhir-akhir ini dunia digemparkan dengan berita dari Amerika. Menurut saya, perkawinan sejenis, ya...setuju-setuju ajah. Selama orang tuanya setuju, kenapa tidak? Ya nggak? Dan perangkat hukum harus yang kuat, instrumen kalo di Indonesia **{CON}** sudah kuat, ya, terserah yang menikah dia, yang dosa-dosa dia, urusan dia dengan Tuhannya. Kita tidak perlu menjadi Tuhan untuk orang lain, ok? **{IMP}** Jadi, menurut saya, perkawinan sejenis, ya terserah dia dan Tuhan dan juga orang tuanya. Kalo orang tuanya merestui, ya, daripada anaknya kawin lari jauh ke Amerika, Anda mau? Biaya besar ke Amerika? Eee...penonton setuju ga?

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2) AU : /setuju/
3) JT : Setuju? Yang dari UII setuju ga? Jaket kuning?
4) UII : /engga/
5) JT : enggak setuju? Kenapa ga setuju? Sini-sini.. kenapa kamu ga setuju? Suatu saat, saya tidak tahu nanti, kemungkinan nanti keturunan Anda salah satunya LGBT. Bisa kemungkinan kan?
6) DA : terima kasih
7) JT : Oke Dwi Anggia
8) DA : (----------)
9) NZ : Di Indonesia **{CON}**, itu tidak mungkin adanya perkawinan sejenis. Mengapa? Karena **{RSN}**, perkawinan seperti tadi Ananda Jeremi Teti, perkawinan katanya individu?! Tidaklah, di Indonesia kan pernikahan tidak untuk individu, adalah juga berkaitan dengan keluarga, antar keluarga, masyarakat, tidak demikian...
10) JT : kalau keluarganya setuju itu gimana, Bu?
11) NZ : jadi pernikahan itu tidak hanya untuk individu,
12) JT : oh individu?
13) NZ : tidak hanya untuk antar individu tapi menyangkut masalah keluarga. Karena **{RSN}** kalau di Indonesia **{CON}** itu, perkawinan itu adalah menurut pasal 1 UU no.1 tahun 1974, perkawinan adalah ikatan lahir batin antara seorang PRIA dan WANITA untuk membentuk keluarga atau rumah tangga yang bahagia dan kekal berdasarkan Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa. Yang saya pahami, yang saya ketahui di Indonesia ini, agama di Indonesia, yang ada di Indonesia adalah terutama agama yang saya peluk, agama Islam **{AUT}**, mengharamkan atau melarang perkawinan sejenis.
14) DA : Oke, nah Pak Sodiq, secara hukum pun di Indonesia, tidak bisa ya, melegalkan pernikahan sejenis?
15) SM : tidak bisa, karena **{RSN}** perkawinan menyangkut hukum, ya kan? Hukum mana di Indonesia **{CON}** sampai saat ini yang membolehkan perkawinan sejenis. Kita lihat undang-undang dasarnya pasal 29 mengatakan bahwa tidak bisa untuk melakukan pernikahan sejenis. Turun sedikit, kepada UU pernikahan, tadi kata Bu Neneng mengatakan bahwa perkawinan itu HANYA antara LAKI-LAKI dan PEREMPUAN untuk membentuk KELUARGA bahagia. **{EVI}** Bahagia. Keluarga bahagia dan ujungnya berdasarkan kepada Ketuhanan YME. Jadi hukum-hukum kita, saudara-saudara, berbasis kepada norma-norma, hukum-hukum, berdasarkan adat, berdasarkan budaya, berdasarkan agama. Jadi inilah yang dilanggar jika terjadi perkawinan sejenis.**{CFA}** Melanggar norma-norma agama, budaya, melanggar falsafah pancasila Ketuhanan YME, melanggar pasal 29 UUD 45 dan melanggar pasal 1 UU perkawinan tahun 74. **{RPT}**
16) DA : Oke, Mas Dede, ada banyak yang dilanggar ketika dilegalkan perkawinan sejenis.

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17) DO : Saya sebenernya mau nanya kepada Anda berdua, apakah hukum tidak akan pernah berubah? Secara umum, hukum apa aja. Ya, UU no.1 tahun 74 pernah tidak seperti ini. Perkawinan beda agama pernah bisa di negeri ini. {**EXA}** Saya ga akan bilang itu maju atau mundur, itu nanti aja. Tapi bahwa hukum masih bisa berubah. Budaya pasti bisa berubah. Apa yang sekarang tidak diterima? Mungkin dilawan atau kemudian ditertawakan, akhirnya diterima juga**.{ANT}** Jadi saya pikir ini masalahnya kalo sekarang saya setuju dengan lawan debat kami berdua bahwa sekarang ga bisa, UU belum bisa. Tapi kalau diusahakan berubah? Mungkin 20 tahun, mungkin 30 tahun, sapa tau?

18) DA : Saya mau ke Pak Musni. Pak Musni mungkin ga ini? Katanya budaya bisa berubah, hukum bisa berubah.

19) MU : ya pertama, saya ingin menambahkan apa yang disampaikan tadi. Kalau kita berbicara tentang Indonesia **{CON}**, maka kita tidak bisa lepas dari budaya yang ada di masyarakat kita **{POP}**. Tadi sudah disebutkan dengan sangat baik oleh Pak Sodiq, juga secara sosiologis, tidak bisa lepas dari itu, juga UU, terutama pancasila yang menjadi dasar kita berbangsa dan bernegara. Sebenarnya perkawinan sejenis ini adalah pengulangan dari sejarah lama yang pernah terjadi di zaman nabi Luth. Zaman nabi Luth itu yang lahir kira-kira 1800 tahun SM. Masyarakatnya itu melakukan perkawinan sejenis. Nabi Luth berdakwah sedemikian lama tidak ada yang mau ikut. Akhirnya Tuhan mengirim bencana, habislah kaum itu sendiri. Maka malam ini, saya bangga dengan teman-teman saya dari UII, saya kebetulan juga dari UII, yang menolak keras perkawinan sejenis. Kenapa? Karena **{RSN}** Tuhan telah memberi pelajaran kepada kita seperti nabi Luth. Apakah bangsa Indonesia mau dihancurkan seperti Nabi Luth? **{CFA}**Saya kira kita tidak mau, oleh karena itu, ya untuk tetap langgeng itu tidak ada pilihan. Sebagai satu bangsa yang besar, kita harus tetap memegang Pancasila yang sila 1 itu adalah Ketuhanan YME. Tidak ada satu agama, tidak ada kepercayaan di negeri ini, tidak ada budaya, tidak ada masyarakatnya yang menerima perkawinan sejenis karena **{RSN}** bertentangan dengan kodrat manusia itu sendiri. Makasih. **{RPT}**

20) DA : Oke, Mbak Yuli, ini tidak ada agama, tidak ada budaya, tidak ada hukum di negara ini yang bisa melegalkan itu.

21) YL : kalo misalnya dalam konteks saat ini saya sepakat. Tapi misalnya dalam konteks perubahan-perubahan hukum, perubahan-perubahan kebijakan pasti ada. Kalo tadi berbicara tentang UU perkawinan, kita juga jangan lupa, kita punya UU 3999 tentang hak asasi manusia. UU anti diskriminasi yang dimana bahwa tidak boleh satu orang pun WNI untuk didiskriminasikan. Terkait dengan itu, masalahnya kemudian adalah bahwa, saya ga tau Indonesia**{CON}** akan punya dalam 20, 50, 100, 150 tahun yang akan datang. Berbicara soal Amerika, wow, mereka juga penuh proses yang panjang. Persoalannya kemudian, bagaimana orang-orang yang punya orientasi seksual yang berbeda, orang-orang yang bisa dikatakan bahwa mereka adalah lesbian, gay, biseksual, transgender, itu

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juga punya hak yang sama. Diakui oleh negara, tidak boleh didiskriminasikan. Kekerasan pun tidak boleh ada, gitu loh.. **{PRE}** jadi kalo berbicara soal anti diskriminasi, UU HAM gitu kan? Nah, punya juga...

22) DA : Itu kan LGBT nya? Kalo pernikahan sejenisnya?
23) YL : kalo dalam konteks sekarang saya sepakat soal itu, tidak bisa. Tapi kan ini ada perubahan yang cukup banyak **{PRE}**. Pasti akan berubah. Saya ga tau juga akan sampai kapan.
24) DO : saya mau menambahkan aja, sekarang sudah ada, itu teman-teman yang arus pelangi, saya, yuli setuju. Masa ga diperhatikan? Kami kan juga WNI.... **{GNR}**
25) DA : oke nti kita akan lanjutkan debat ini dengan dalih HAM dan juga tidak didiskriminasi. So, debat akan segera kembali sesaat lagi.

**SEGMENT 2**

1) DA : Debat saya lanjutkan kembali, saya ke Pak Sodiq. Tadi dikatakan mereka berlindung. Ini kan hak asasi seluruh manusia, umat manusia.
2) SM : oke saudara-saudara setuju tidak bahwa kita negara hukum? Setuju tidak?
3) AUD : /setujuuu/
4) SM : dalam negara hukum, kita tidak boleh mengintepretasikan sesuatu seenak dewe. Tidak boleh. Interpretasi segala sesuatu, termasuk intepretasi HAM harus berdasarkan hukum. **{IMP}** Saya jelaskan pada Anda nie. HAM dalam hukum Indonesia. Boleh saya bacakan? UUD pasal 1 thun 45 pasal 28 huruf J mengatakan bahwa "setiap orang wajib menghormati hak manusia, hak asasi orang lain dalam tertib kehidupan bermasyarakat, berbangsa dan bernegara. **{EVI}** Pasal 2, "Dalam menjalankan hak dan kebebasannya, setiap orang wajib tunduk pada pembatasan yang ditetapkan dengan UU". Jadi kita tidak bisa mengintepretasikan HAM seperti di Amerika. HAM kita HAM berdasarkan pancasila dan UUD 1945."
5) DA : Oke..mas Jeremi, artinya tidak bisa mengintepretasikan HAM
6) JT : Ya, memang hukum kan bisa intepretasi dan hukum juga bisa diamandemen kan, Pak! Amerika perjuangan untuk melegalkan ini aja butuh waktu beratus-ratus tahun. Di Indonesia **{CON}** mungkin 50 tahun kedepan...
7) S : [*overlapping*] ada yang beda, Pak! Boleh saya *in*?
8) JT : apa bedanya, Pak?
9) SM : Bedanya budaya Amerika kenapa bisa berubah, sekalian juga buat temen-temen (*point the other debaters*), karena**{RSN}** budaya Amerika ada yang tidak berbasis, tidak berbasis agama. Indonesia**{CON}** budayanya itu mayoritas berbasis agama dan agama itu tidak ada yang membenarkan dan agama itu adalah hukum Tuhan disebut didalam al-quran **{AUT}** yang bersifat mutlak. Tidak boleh berubah...
10) DO : tidak semua, Pak! Hanya agama-agama samawi itu yang anti kepada homoseksualitas dan transgender..

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11) NZ : Mungkin kalau boleh... dalam pembentukan hukum di Indonesia**{CON}**, kita sudah ada koridornya. Ada ketentuan-ketentuannya, diantaranya ada sumber hukum untuk pembentukan peraturan perundang-undangan di Indonesia. Itu ada didalam GBHN. Pertama adalah setiap peraturan perundang-undangan di Indonesia, kita mengacu dulu dalam UU no. 12 tahun 2011 tentang pembentukan peraturan perundang-undangan. Pasal 2, pancasila adalah sumber dari segala sumber hukum negara. Berarti semua peraturan perundang-undangan di Indonesia tidak boleh keluar dari nilai-nilai pancasila. Nilai-nilai pancasila diantaranya nilai Ketuhanan YME, persatuan, kemanusiaan, kerakyatan, keadilan sosial.
12) DA : artinya tidak mungkin?
13) NZ : artinya tidak bisa
14) DO : kemanusiaannya?
15) NZ : nah kemudian pembentukan hukum. Pembentukan hukum ada tiga sumber.
16) DO : lupa ibu
17) NZ : pertama hukum Islam, hukum adat dan hukum barat. Nah itu harus dibentuk di dalam suatu peraturan perundang-undangan. Tidak boleh keluar dari situ.
18) YL : tapi saya kemudian sepakat dengan...
19) NZ : dan dan,,,jadi Ananda Jeremi Teti, itu kita jangan kiblatnya ke Amerika, nak! [audience applause]
20) JT : betul betul! Kita bukan kiblat ke Amerika tapi Amerika adalah sebuah parameter dunia. **{DIS}** Apapun trend menuju ke Amerika. **{GNR}** Kalo Bapak dan Ibu, saya ga tahu ya, mungkin punya keturunan salah satunya gay atau lesbian atau transgender. Apa Bapak dan Ibu tidak setuju mereka?
21) NZ : tidak
22) JT : tidak setuju?
23) NZ : tidak
24) JT : kalau anak Anda bunuh diri gimana?
25) SM : saya tanya sebentar saya tanya...
26) DA : sebentar bang Jeremi
27) SM : saya tanya kepada Anda semua, Anda bercita-cita tidak punya gay? Punya anak itu? Kalau misalnya sudah terjadi, oke..ya kan? Tapi ciri bahwa kita melanggar fitrah, melanggar budaya, melanggar norma **{DIS}, {RPT}** tidak ada satupun diantara kita yang ingin dan punya cita-cita punya anak, benar tidak?
28) JT : Bapak setiap semua orang tidak pingin anaknya gay dan lesbian ataupun transgender. Tapi itu kan dari sononya udah ada, Pak! **{DIS}**
29) NZ : TIDAK!! TIDAK DEMIKIAN
30) JT : Anak laki-laki bungsu, waspadalah, hasil penelitian dari Oprah Winfrey **{AUT}** bahwa 35% kromosom dalam tubuhnya sudah terkontaminasi. **{NGA}** Waspadalah anak laki-laki bungsu, apalagi diatasnya kakaknya perempuan. Lebih potensial….
31) DA : bentar mas Jeremi, Pak Musni silahkan...

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32) MU : saya ingin menambahkan saya sependapat apa yang disampaikan tadi bahwa memang Indonesia **{CON}** ini adalah negara demokrasi dan pada umumnya kita sekarang berkiblat ke Amerika. Dalam demokrasi dalam lain-lain. Akan tetapi, sama sekali tidak benar kita berkiblat disana, apa yang baik bagi mereka baik bagi Indonesia. Karena**{RSN}** budaya, agama, dan lain lain sebagainya. Oleh karena itu, apa yang berkembang di Amerika, perkawinan sejenis itu, sebaiknya kita tidak ikut. Karena itu lebih banyak mudharat nya daripada kebaikannya untuk bangsa kita. Kita ingin bangsa ini menjadi bangsa yang besar....
33) JT : ya itu mungkin untuk sekarang, Pak! Kita berfikir visi, kita harus kedepan, Pak!
34) MU : betulll...saya setuju...
35) JT : mungkin 50 tahun kedepan, kita berpikir kesana, bisa terjadi...
36) M : Bangsa ini akan lahir dan besar menjadi negara yang besar di dunia.
*[Yuli, Musni and Shodiq talked in the same time]*
37) DA : Baik, Pak Musni dan Pak Shodiq...Silahkan Mbak Yuli
38) YL : Biacara soal tadi UUD 45 di pasal 28 i juga mengatakan bahwa setiap orang berhak bebas dari perlakuan yang bersifat diskiriminatif atas dasar apapun dan berhak mendapatkan perlindungan terhadap perlakuan yang bersikap diskriminatif. **{EVI}** Ketika kita tau kita punya 5 pasal di Pancasila. Kemudian misalnya ada pasal keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia. Seluruh rakyat Indonesia terlepas dari latar belakang agama, orientasi seksual, identitas gender, perilaku seksual. **{GNR}** Bahwa kemudian saya sepakat, Indonesia **{CON}**ini kaya akan kebhinekaan, ketunggal-ikaannya, gitu. Jadi kalau misalnya berbicara, saya yakin, ketika orang-orang yang mengatakan dirinya LGBT untuk ada di negara ini yang sangat diskriminatif. Dari penelitian yang arus pelangi **{AUT}** lakukan, di Indonesia mengatakan bahwa 89,3%, LGBT di Indonesia mendapatkan kekerasan dan diskriminasi. **{NGA}** Bisa dikatakan bahwa....
39) DA : oke sebentar Mbak Yuli
40) YL : bisa dikatakan bahwa 9 dari 10 orang....
41) DA : oke iya...sebentar...silahkan Bu Neng....
42) SM : Saya setuju Indonesia**{CON}** negara hukum, jangan ada diskriminasi apapun….
43) YL : Benar
44) NZ : TETAPI! TETAPI
45) SM : Tapi diskriminasi yang masih sesuai dengan pancasila. Contoh LGBT harus dilindungi pekerjaannya, harus dilindungi rumahnya, harus dilindungi rejekinya, harus dilindungi aksesnya pada pekerjaan...
46) YL : SEMUANYA, Pak!
47) SM : Itu..tidak..tidak...tidak bisa...
48) YL : termasuk HAM, ekonomi, sosial politik, sipil dan politik, semuanya harus dilindungi....
49) SM : tidak bisa..diskriminasi harus dijaga sebatas itu tidak bertentangan dengan pancasila....

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*[Yuli and Shodiq kept talking in the same time]*

50) DA : semuanya harus dilindungi, ada catatan dari Pak Shodiq, sebentar debat akan dilanjutkan usai jeda berikut ini, sesaat lagi,,tetap bersama kami...

**SEGMENT 3**

1) DA : Saya lanjutkan kembali Pak Shodiq! Tadi ada yang menggelitik saya sedikit. Bagaimana pun juga keberadaan LGBT ini tidak bisa dihindari, tidak bsa dinafikkan bahwa mereka itu ada diantara masyarakat kita. Lalu bagaimana?
2) SM : Jadi gini, mbak... Saudara-Saudara, Adik-Adikku… LGBT itu harus dipandang 2 sisi. Satu adalah, mohon maaf istilahnya, apakah kelemahan atau penyimpangan sosial. Mohon maaf mohon maaf, katakanlah semacam disable**{EUP}**. Ini harus dilindungi sepenuhnya. Hak bekerja, hak ekonomi, dan segala macamnya. Yang kedua, LGBT sebagai identitas. Nah, ini yang bertentangan dengan Pancasila. Karena**{RSN}**Pancasila dengan norma-normanya, mengakui laki-laki dan perempuan dan tidak mengakui adanya pernikahan sejenis. Jadi harus dibedakan. Sebagai, LGBT sebagai apa tadi? Ee gejala sosial, mohon maaf penyimpangan sosial atau kelemahan sosial, seperti disable. Dia harus mendapatkan perlindungan. Yang jadi masalah adalah LGBT sebagai identitas yang antara lain boleh nikah sejenis. Itu berlawanan dengan Pancasila...
3) DA : Oke seandainya Anda diakomodir tapi harus berada sebagai komunitas yang disable disini?
4) YL : Maaf, saya bukan disable. Temen-temen yang lain pun... dan kalau Bapak bilang disable, kami bukan disable. Ini bukan fakta, ini bukan di.. apa.. ini bahwa fenomena. Tapi ini fakta. Fakta bahwa orang-orang yang namanya LGBT itu ada di negara ini. **{DIS}** Dan menurut pedoman penggolongan dan diagnosis gangguan jiwa di Indonesia**{CON}**, di tahun 1993, yang sudah dirilis oleh departemen kesehatan, sudah mengeluarkan homoseksual dari daftar gangguan jiwa. Itu 93, PPDGJ. Jadi kalo orang-orang yang bilang kemudian bahwa LGBT adalah gangguan jiwa, sakit jiwa. Hallo? Kemana ajah udah 93, **{IMP}** pertama, temen-temen LGBT ini adalah fakta sosial. Saya percaya saya percaya diantara temen-temen mahasiswa, ada yang LGBT. Persoalannya kemudian, persoalan lain, apakah mau out sebagai LGBT atau tidak? Dan sebagai identitas adalah bahwa saya atau temen-temen yang... bahwa kemudian ada orang-orang LGBT yang mengakui dirinya adalah LGBT itu identitasnya....mereka akan bangga berbicara soal identitasnya. Kemudian bagaimana negara ini mengakomodir orang-orang LGBT untuk tidak juga didiskriminasikan ataupun kekerasan.....
5) DA : sebentar...tapi tadi sebagai identitas tidak bisa ya diakuin keberadaaan mereka Bu Neng?
6) NZ : tidak bisa...karena begini, tadi Mba Yuli mengemukakan pasal 28i ayat 2 saya kira UUD 1945, nah sebelum itu ada ayat 1, sayang...
7) YL : iya ibu

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8) DA : yang berbunyi apa ayat 1-nya? Bisa diperjelas!
9) NZ : hak hidup, hak untuk tidak disiksa, hak kemerdekaan hati nurani dan pikiran, hak beragama, hak untuk tidak diperbudak, hak untuk diakui sebagai pribadi dihadapan hukum, hak untuk tidak dituntut atas dasar hukum yang *berpesurut* adalah HAM tidak dapat dikurangi dalam keadaan apapun. Saya tekankan disini hak beragama. Hak beragama disini adalah mungkin bisa saya bacakan disini ada salah satu ayat dari ee... saya disini mewakili MUI. Ada ayat didalam surat As-Syuaro (----------) Ini salah satu sumber. Adalagi didalam buku saya, saya telah menulis buku judulnya "perzianaan". Ini disini saya sudah meneliti, diantaranya ada 10 surat dalam al-quran, ada dalam 76 ayat tentang larangan mengenai homoseksual.
10) DA : oke bu Neng, artinya lagi-lagi secara norma agama ini tidak bisa diterima.
11) NZ : ya tidak bisa diterima.
12) DA : Silahkan...
13) DO : Bu..Bu...agama di Indonesia tidak Islam saja. Kedua, Islam pun tidak semua seperti anda berdua. Ibu Musda Mulia, Kyai Husein Muhamad, Marzuki Wahid, lain... Irsyad Manji kalo Internasional. Ya mungkin mereka masih kecil jumlahnya. Tapi ini masalah kontestasi, masalah persaingan, apakah 50 tahun kemudian, orang seperti Anda masi berkuasa di MUI atau diganti sama Bu Musda? Atau mungkin teman-teman arus pelangi.
14) NZ : MUI bukan penguasa Bapak...MUI adalah suatu organisasi
15) DO : loh ya Anda kan...Anda menguasai hak...
16) NZ : Jadi disini sebetulnya MUI **{AUT}** telah mengelurkan fatwa, dilarang diakui keberadaan LGBT dan ada himbauan kepada Bapak (point SM) sebagai anggota DPR dan pemerintah untuk membuat suatu peraturan...
17) SM : saya tidak mengklaim bahwa Indonesia **{CON}**, umat islam, kami berdua penguasa. Saya tidak mengklaim begitu. Tapi lembaga-lembaga formalnya mayoritasnya**{POP}** mengatakan seperti itu bahwa itu bertentangan dengan agama.....
18) DO : tapi mayoritas tidak boleh menguasai minoritas....
19) SM : saya tidak berbicara agama,..tapi kita bicara pancasila yang satu diantara sumber nilainya adalah agama, **{DIS}** ya kan? Mayoritas **{POP}** itu yang mengatakan tidak bisa menerima itu. **{EVI}**
20) DO : hallo, Pak! Dari tdi Bapak membicarakan soal Pancasila. Pancasila juga ada kemanusiaan dan memang relatif kemanusiaan itu, kalo bapak sama ibu ini adalah manusia-manusia yang tidak percaya...
21) SM : tapi ini juga kemanusiaan ini Pak...
22) DO : lho iyah.... kemanusiaan itu...
23) SM : kemanusiaan yang berdasarkan UUD 45
24) DO : lho iyah... UUD bisa diamandemen lagi...**[PRE]**
25) DA : oke jadi tidak boleh bertentangan oleh UUD 45, yang penting..
26) DO : tapi masi bisa diamandemen lagi...

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27) NZ : Pasal 29 ayat 1 UUD 45, kita sepakat tadi negara kita adalah negara hukum. Negara hukum yang bagaimana? Negara berdasarkan atas Ketuahanan YME
28) YL : setuju itu Bu...
29) DO : Tapi kan hukum masih bisa dirubah!
30) YL : dan Ketuhanan YME adalah untuk semua orang. Semua orang yang mengakui ketuhanan.
31) DA : oke oke disini...Tapi nanti dulu, Pak! Debat akan kembali sesaat lagi.

**SEGMENT 4**

1) DA : kita lanjutkan Debat kembali. Tadi, Pak Musni, tadi dikatakan pernikahan sejenis untuk saat ini mungkin tidak. Tapi untuk 50 tahun kedepan katanya dengan mengubah hukumnya. Bisa dimungkinkankah hal itu?
2) MU : Ya jadi, LGBT itu merupakan realitas yang ada. Itu tidak bisa kita bantah fakta bahwa mereka itu ada. Tetapi didalam kehidupan berdemokrasi itu, suara yang terbanyak itulah ynag menentukan pembuatan UU, kemudian aturan-aturan dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Mereka yang tidak tertampung disitu, sejauh tidak dilakukan diskriminasi pada mereka, mereka harus tunduk dan patuh pada aturan maen yang sudah ada. Dan saya kira itu yang harus jadi pegangan kita. Orang untuk berjuang sperti yang disampaikan tadi 50 tahun, 100 tahun, itu bisa saja. Tetapi selagi bangsa ini masih berpegang pada pancasila dengan sila pertama Ketuhanan YME dimana hal-hal yang sifatnya perkawinan sejenis itu tidak mungkin dibolehkan dinegeri ini. Kalo ada pernyataan tadi ada dari sebagian, ada 1, 2 orang mungkin, ulama ato apa. Itu ulama yang tidak bener. Kalo dia paham agamanya, pasti akan berpendapat tidak diperbolehkan untuk melakukan perkawinan sejenis.
3) DO : bapak dan ibu berdua ini yang tidak bener.
4) MU : Jadi itu yang kita harus tau sebab jelas kalau agama islam **{AUT}** yang Bapak maksudkan itu, jelas disebutkan dalam alquran itu **{AUT}**, dan tadi sudah saya kemukakan, bahwa nabi luth memberi gambaran, contoh bahwa itu tidak dibolehkan untuk dilaksanakan. **{EXA}.** Jadi saya kira itu yang menjadi pegangan kita. Dan tentu wajar saja kalo orang berjuang. Berjuang untuk memperjuangkan hak asasi dan perbaikan sebagainya itu wajar di negara demokrasi. Tetapi juga yang mayoritas ini **{POP}** akan juga terus berjuang untuk kebaikan dan kemajuan di negeri yang kita cintai ini. Jadi saya kira itu.
5) DA : Pak Shodiq, wacana untuk dirubah hukumnya 50 tahun kedepan?
6) SM : sebelum tadi kita sepakat, kita negara hukum, menafsirkan segala sesuatu berdasarkan hukum. Hukum berdasarkan antara lain, norma-norma. Tadi dikatakan, bisa berubah tidak? Jika normanya, seperti norma Pancasila yang mayoritas berdasarkan sumber-sumber agama, maka susah untuk berubah selama pemeluknya memegang agama itu. Kenapa? Karena**{RSN}**sifat agama, hukumnya mutlak tidak bisa berubah, itu yang

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pertama. Yang kedua, jika LGBT ingin masuk disini maka berarti kita harus merubah Pancasila dlu, **{CFA}** merubah UUD 45 dlu, setuju tidak? /Audience/

7) SM : TIDAKKKK!!! Perang donk perang kalo kita harus mengubah UUD 45, ya ga? **{HYP}**
8) YL : LGBT itu ada, Pak! LGBT itu ada disini. Ada disini. Ada di negera Indonesia ini**.{CON}** Temen-temen LGBT itu ada, Pak
9) DO : gini gini...saya kira saya mau menunjukkan sesuatu yang kayaknya mempertemukan...
10) YL : Terus kita perang LGBT dengan non-LGBT...
11) SM : saya tidak mengatakan kita perang dengan LGBT, tapi ketika mengubah UUD 45 dan Pancasila. Itu sangat amat sulit... **{DIS}**
12) DA : artinya sangat tidak dimungkinkan ya??
13) SM : sangat tidak dimungkinkan...
14) DA : Oke oke baik..kita tinggalkan perdebatan mengenai perubahan hukum dan lain-lain. Tapi ini ada yang menarik, saya dari Ibu Neng tadi mengatakan, kalau nie, diperbolehkan pernikahan sejenis, terus mau bikin kelurga seperti apa? Sebelum ke Mas dede dan Mbak Yuli, saya minta bung Jeremi. Mau membentuk keluarga seperti apa dengan pernikahan sejenis itu? Saya ingin minta pendapatnya
15) JT : ahahhaha.... keluarganya eumm....
16) DA : boleh sambil berdiri Mas Jeremi?
17) JT : Oke...keluarganya seperti apa ya...Papa dan Papi kali yah..ahahaha ga ada ibu. Jadi saya rasa mungkin, keluarga masa depan mungkin sudah laen lagi yah. Kita udah tau banyak dong di luar negeri. Banyak selebriti di luar negeri yang menikah sesama jenis dan mengadopsi, menyewa rahim untuk menghasilkan anak. Kita tau kan itu, ada penyayi top di dunia. Dia bersama-sama penyanyi juga dua-duanya penyayi kelas kakap dunia. Mereka membuat membentuk sebuah keluarga baru. **{EXA}** Kemungkinan 50 tahun mendatang, sapa tau di Indonesia ada seperti itu. Generasi vintage sekarang sudah lewat semua yah. Generasi-generasi yang sekarang udah jadul-jadul udah lewat smua, pola berpikirnya udah berbeda, 50 tahun kedepan mungkin bisa saja seperti itu.
18) DA : Oke Pak Shodiq...
19) SM : Saya beri contoh saja Bang jeremi, ya.. Bung Hatta**{AUT}**, bapak pendiri bangsa kita mengatakan, contoh nie, soal demokrasi. Demokrasi kita tidak berdasarkan individu, tapi kolektif berbasis KELUARGA. Inilah poin dimasyarakat kita **{POP}**, jadi KELUARGA KELUARGA. **{RPT},** Di Indonesia **{CON}** berdoanya, Ya Allah berikan kami anak cucu gitu kan? Ya ga? Mana mungkin ada anak cucu jika perkawinannya sejenis. Dan itu adalah budaya kita. **{IMP}**
20) DA : Oke..baik...jadi konsep keluarganya tidak masuk disini.
21) YL : BISA BISA
22) NZ : jadi dalam hal ini kalo perkawinan sejenis, bagaimana akan tercapai tujuan perkawinan?
23) YL : bisa bisa...

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24) NZ : dari perkawinan tersebut, katakan tadi kata Jeremi Teti, dengan adopsi. Itu suatu hal yang.. kita harus mengacu lagi kepada kepada agama. Disini adalah mohon maaf jika ada yang alergi saya berkata agama, tapi saya sangat mencintai agama. Karena itu **{RSN}** dalam hal ini adalah dalam hal anak angkat, adopsi itu kedudukannya berbeda dengan anak kandung.
25) JT : sebentar Ibu...itu bukan anak angkat atau adopsi, tapi anak hasil dari sel spermanya dia dibuahkan di rahim orang lain. Jadi itu tetap anak...
[Yuli and NZ talked at the same time]
26) DA :Oke berarti bisa membentuk keluarga... tapi kita jeda dulu sejenak. Debat akan kembali sesaat lagi.

**SEGMENT 5**

1) DA : kita lanjutkan kembali Debat. Mbak Yuli lalu konsep keluarga seperti apa sih yang akan bisa dibentuk dengan pernikahan sejenis itu nantinya?
2) DO : gini ya keluarga itu dari dulu juga bentuknya ga cuman bapak ibu sama anak. Itu mitos. Memang sebagian besar seperti itu. Keluarga saya seperti itu. Tapi tidak semua. Dan sebetulnya, maaf ya Ibu dan Bapak, Ibu terutama, dengan mengatakan anak angkat dan anak kandung itu, disini yang anak-anak angkat ini mungkin sakit hatinya. Ibu dengan tidak sengaja telah menusuk perasaan orang.
3) NZ : Tidak!
4) DO : siapa yang anak angkat berani bilang?
5) NZ : bukan itu yang saya maksudkan...
6) DO : Ya tapi tadi sudah menyatakan begitu...
7) NZ : Betul..tetapi di dalam kita-kita, saya sebagai dari MUI. Tidak berarti anak angkat itu keberadaannya disingkirkan. Dia masih punya hak. Kita melihat dari kompilasi hukum islam, dia punya hak untuk mendapatkan wasiat atau wasiat hibah kalo soal harta. Kalo misalkan itu..
8) DO : Iyaaa...
9) NZ : Ada Bapak...
10) DO : Ada ya? Oke deh...
11) YL : Kalau menurut saya adalah bagaimana perkawinan itu sih. Kalau saya berharap adalah bahwa keluarga yang penuh dengan keterbukaan dan menghargai perbedaan. Itu adalah menurut saya perkawinan. **{GEN}** Ketika kembali ke UU no.1 74, menurut saya yang masih... kemarin kalo kemudian kita gagal bahwa perkawinan antar agama itu...
12) NZ : Tidak gagal itu berhasil kalo menurut saya.
13) YL : bukan, bahwa kemudian masih sama. Beragama yang sama. Kemudian perkawinan dengan anak masi didalam 16 tahun...
14) NZ : ya betul itu berhasil.... tidak gagal.... MK menang...
15) YL : gitu loh... bahwa kemudian ada hal-hal yang juga dipertimbangkan dalam sekarang... kelurga juga ga...
16) DO : Gini-gini...ini menarik ini menarik. Ini kan banyak mahasiswa ya...saya pake topi dosen saya yah...perhatikan! konservatif (point SM &NZ),

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progresif (point him and YL). Ya Konservatif, ini pokoknya gini ga mungkin bisa berubah sampai kapanpun...

17) DA : sebentar..pertanyaan saya mas Dede dan Mbak Yuli. Ini pertanyaan sederhana dan orang diluar sana jutaan. Kalo konsep keluarga bapak ibu anak, ini okelah saya punya orang tua, ada Ibu dan ayah. Kalo konsep keluarga Ibu-ibu? Atau bapak-bapak? Itu gimana konsep keluarganya?
18) DO : Ya gapapa.... ada mami sama mami..
19) YL : Ya gapapa...ada juga yang konsep keluarganya hanya Ibu dan anak kan, ada bapak dan anak kan??
20) NZ : ahh tidak demikian...
21) SM : inilah yang memaksakan intepretasi,,
22) YL : NO!! Bahwa kemudian kewenanangan yang dipaksakan pun...
23) SM : di Indonesia di Indonesia... **{CON}**
24) DA : Mbak Yuli...
25) SM : tidak berdasarkan Pancasila UUD 1945 dan UU Perkawinan....
26) YL : saya sepakat untuk menghasilkan anak harus ada laki-laki dan perempuan. Itu pasti.
27) SM : yang jelas itu menyatakan bahwa ibu wanita dan bapak laki-laki. **{EVI}**
28) DA : sebentar Mbak Yuli, silahkan Pak Shodiq...
29) SM : Itu kan sudah ada UU-nya begini, iya saya katakan tadi, kita negara hukum.
30) DO : seeanaknya ini contoh konservatisme
31) SM : Intepretasi harus dilandasi hukum
32) DO : Ya begini..gitu, kita mo melihat ke masa depan
33) YL : Bagaimana dengan orang tua tunggal?
34) NZ : Agama itu Pak! Agama itu tidak hanya untuk masa sekarang, sampai hari kiamat, lho, Pak! Itu tidak akan berubah.
35) YL : Bahwa agama pun tidak, tidak membiarkan orang melakukan kekerasan dan diskrimanasi untuk semua hak-haknya.
36) NZ : Itu bukan kekerasan Mbak Yuli...
37) YL : Ya, tapi membatasi hak seseorang, juga ga bisa...
38) NZ : saya mengajak, ayolah kita kembali ke agama kita.
39) SM : sampai kekerasan, sampai diskriminasi...
40) DA : sebentar Mbak Yuli, Mbak Yuli yang asaya tangkap dari Ibu Neng disini, ini bukanlah bentuk kekerasan..
41) SM : sampai mendapatkan pekerjaan, anti kekerasan, mendapatkan semua fasilitas, kita sama setuju sesuai dengan pancasila dan UUD 45. Tetapi jika sudah...
42) YL : dan Pak, negara ini menjamin bahwa setiap hak warga negaranya berhak membentuk keluarga
43) SM : haknya, hak pernikahan sejenis, yang tidak berdasarkan pancasila dan UUD 45

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44) DA : Mbak Yuli satu-satu boleh? Pak Shodiq sebentar... baru ditanggapi silahkan... Semua haknya sudah diakomodirkan, hak ekonomi, hak pendidikan, dan lain-lain
45) DO : boleh saya komentar sedikit saja? Ini menarik. 30 tahun yang lalu, waktu saya mulai. Orang-orang seperti Bapak ini, Ibu ini, bahkan tidak ada gay di Indonesia...
46) NZ : saya nonton Bapak dulu di RCTI dulu....
47) DO : Itu tahun 90, dia... (*applause*) bagus bagus....
48) DA : Jadi, Pak, Pak intinya. Bentar... poinnya maksud Anda sekarang masyarakat lebih bisa menerima gitu?
49) DO : artinya dalam 30 tahun terakhir termasuk Ibu Neng... sudah berubah.. sudah berubah dan tinggal diteruskan lagi sama yang muda-muda ini.
50) NZ : Bapak katakan dulu istri saya ada....
51) DA : Bentar-bentar, Pak Shodiq.. ini katanya artinya pelan-pelan masyarakat bisa menerima kondisi seperti ini?
52) SM : dan memang kita harus menerima, sejak saya kecil ada kok tetangga saya, ada teman saya. Ya, kan?! mohon maaf, itu adalah sebagai perbedaan sosial ato masalah sosial **{EUP}**. Tapi sebagai identitas, yang ----- perkawinan sejenis itu tidak bisa. **{DIS}**. Itu bertentangan dengan UUD 45 dan Pancasila.. itu masalahnya.
53) DA : Oke, Bu Neng. Lama-lama ini menurut Mas Dede ini bisa diterima kondisi ini.
54) NZ : menurut saya TIDAK! Sepanjang agama, mari kita bersama semua kita menegakkan agama kita masing-masing. Ajaran agama **{AUT}** apaapun di Indonesia**{CON}**, itu pasti tidak akan menerima hal ini.
55) DA : oke terakhir Pak Musni... sebentar sebentar Pak Musni...
56) MU : jadi memang yang disampaikan tadi itu, yang disampaikan bahwa ada HAM, kemudian ada perubahan-perubahan yang akan terjadi di masa depan. Itu adalah manusiawi, Pak! Dan saya kira itu adalah dinamika yang terus akan terjadi dalam kehidupan kita bermasyarakat, berbangsa dan bernegara. Yang menjadi pertanyaan, kita ---- perubahan kemana kita bawa bangsa ini? Saya pikir teman-teman semua yang ada disini, binatang saja kalo dia berhubungan dengan lawan jenisnya, apalagi manusia.... **{EVI}, {MTP}**
57) DO : salah, Pak! Itu salah, Pak! Maaf salah...
58) MU : aaa jadi binatang saja, dia melakukan itu, apalagi manusia. Itu kodrat manusia adalah mencintai, menyukai, menyenangi lawan jenisnya. Ada suatu yang tidak normal, kalo mencintai sesama jenis.
59) DO : salah...salah...
60) MU : pertanyaan saya, bagaimana perkembangan suatu masyarakat kalo terjadi perkawinan sejenis? Tidak ada pertumbuhan, tidak ada perkembangan, tidak ada dinamika yang akan terjadi, **{CFA}, {RPT}** jadi menurut saya itulah yang menjadi pertanyaan besar pada kita, yang bapak-bapak

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menyetujui itu tadi perkawinan sejenis. Mau dibawa kemana, suatu masyarakat kalo Bapak saja ada karena **{RSN}** ada bapak dan ada ibu. Kalo ga ada bapak, Bapak ga ada pasti! **{IMP}**

61) DA : mas Jeremi terakhir, mungkin Anda bisa menanggapi, Anda terlihat senyum-senyum daritadi, bisa ditanggapi kalo binatang saja menikah juga, kawin juga beda jenis gitu loh..dengan sejenis tidak akan menghasilkan apa-apa? Keturunan juga tidak bisa ada.
62) JT : sapa yang bilang sejenis tidak bisa menghasilkan keturunan? Ya ga? Banyak sekali. Kalo di luar bisa nyewa rahim, **{EXA}** ya, maaf ya. Kalo di Indonesia mungkin belum bisa. Kita berpikir ke depan, sesuatu saat pasti akan ada penyewaan rahim buat kaum gay untuk menghasilkan anak. Kita berfikir visi untuk 50 tahun ke depan. Kalo generasi vintage yang sekarang ini kan, udah lewat lah masanya mereka, pola berfikir mereka selalu dengan hukum-hukum. Kita berfikir ini masalah sosial, kita berfikir ke depan...
63) NZ : itu tidak mungkin terjadi!
64) SM : Justru saya melihat ke depan berdasarkan pancasila & UUD 45 untuk menyelamatkan kemanusiaan..
65) DA : menyelamatkan kemanusiaan itu intinya
66) SM : bukan untuk kemanusiaan dengan pernikahan sejenis. **{IMP}**
67) DO : berarti dengan begitu, Pak! Anda mengorbankan sekitar 3-10% yang LGBT? **{NGA}**
68) NZ : ya ga papa
69) SM : Oh tidak, Pak!
70) DO : Oh ga papa yah? 10% ga papa ya?
71) SM : Jangan dikorbankan, itulah makanya sudut pandang kita... itulah perbedaan sosial...
72) DA : jadi kita harus menerimanya seperti apa, Pak Shodiq?
73) SM : Itu masalahnya ada program rehabilitasi nasional...
74) YL : Nah...saya ga mau... ini bukan ganguan, Pak!
75) DO : Nah kan..keliatan kan?
76) SM : Saya ada pertanyaan yang mendasar. Ini sebagai fitrah, ya... karena **{RSN}** tidak menjadi cita-cita, bahwa fakta ----, tapi tidak menjadi cita-cita, ya kan? Saya tanya, Anda mau tidak punya anak itu? Tidak mau kan?

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