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Tribunkaltim.co News Analysis on the Halt of Ladyboy Event in Samarinda

Jeri Rahmadani¹, Nurliah²

¹Universitas Mulawarman Samarinda, Indonesia

²Universitas Mulawarman Samarinda, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Background. This research aims to analyze and conclude information about Theo Van Leeuwen's exclusion and inclusion strategies in the East Kalimantan Tribune news when stopping the ladyboy event in Samarinda City.

Purpose. Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people in Indonesia are vulnerable to discrimination such as inequality in education, employment, health, social assistance, and freedom of expression or public space in society. Tribun Kaltim is a mass media that reported the termination of the ladyboy event in Samarinda.

Method. This research method uses critical discourse analysis modeled by Theo Van Leeuwen to find out how one party or group is featured or omitted in the text. The research found 5 exclusion data and 32 inclusion data.

Results. The results are in accordance with Theo Van Leeuwen's theory that a certain group or social actor can be eliminated and even marginalized in the text or discourse. The results also reinforce the concept of the hierarchy of media content influence in mass communication studies, which understands how news texts by certain media agencies can be influenced by internal and external factors, such as the background of journalists, media reader segmentation, media organization policies, and external news sources from media organizations.

Conclusion. From the research results, it can be concluded that there are 5 exclusion data and 32 inclusion data.

KEYWORDS

Discourse Analysis, News, Tribun Kaltim, Samarinda

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) in Indonesia is still often debated (Nida dkk., 2023). This minority group is often badly stigmatized by the general public, and in some cases, they even experience discrimination and persecution. Based on a report from the Community Legal Aid Institute (LBHM) throughout 2017 in Indonesia, there were 973 cases of people becoming victims of stigma, discrimination and violence based on sexual orientation, as well as victims of gender identity and expression outside of heteronormative binary norms (Zarnuji, 2023). The most discrimination was experienced by transgender groups as many as 715 people, followed by gay groups as many as 225 people, lesbian groups as many as 29 people, and 4 other victims were categorized as other victims (Farid, 2023). Persecution of

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Correspondence:

Jeri Rahmadani,
jerirahmadani@gmail.com

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LGBT people in Indonesia occurs because of oppressive actions against LGBT people. minorities and LGBT issues are considered important because they enter the area of counseling and need attention.

Looking at its history, the term LGBT began to be widely discussed since the 1990s, replacing the phrase gay community because it was considered to represent the groups in it in more detail (Teguh dkk., 2023). The spread of LGBT in a number of countries was achieved through a series of pro-LGBT actions that have existed for a long time and the space was further supported by the emergence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations (UN) in 1948. Gunawan Saleh and Muhammad Arif citing Myers (2003) noted that the forerunner of the LGBT movement at the global level began with the formation of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) in London in 1970 - a movement inspired by the previous liberation movement in Stonewall, United States in 1969 (B. Beribe, 2023). While in Indonesia, the long road of advocacy for LGBT people took place not long before that.

Roby Yansah and Rahayu quoting Ercarnacion (2014) stated that the more prosperous and secular a nation is, the more likely it is to embrace the basic rights of LGBT people. Conversely, the poorer and more religious a nation is, the more likely it is to suppress the group (Yeltriana dkk., 2023). This is reinforced by the fact that although not all countries adhering to the concept of democracy accept LGBT people explicitly, in non-democratic countries there is no position of power to accommodate space for expression for LGBT people (Makniyah & Khotimah, 2023). In Indonesia, rejection of LGBT occurs across religious, ideological-political and social lines. A survey conducted by Saiful Mujani Research Center (SMRC) during 2016-2017 found 41.1 percent of people objected to LGBT people having the right to life, while 57.7 percent of other participants had other answers.

The complex pro-contra issues of LGBT people and the lack of a dividing line in a context have more or less made their basic rights such as getting the right to live a life of their own (Mustajab dkk., 2023). education, employment, decent housing, and the guaranteed availability of public space and expression are vulnerable to discrimination by both the state and society (Minarti dkk., 2023). The basis of this argument refers to the content of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 39/1999 on Human Rights, which guarantees individual and group freedom of expression regardless of race, gender, sex, group identity, political, social and cultural choices.

For example, a series of cases of LGBT discrimination are the story of a transgender woman from Aceh who told about her experience of being beaten by sharia police in Aceh, then a transgender woman in Yogyakarta who told the story of her boarding school being forcibly closed, until there was a transgender woman who was beaten just because of her appearance (Ulum dkk., 2023). Another case is the Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia, which in 2019 during the selection of Civil Servant Candidates (CPNS) prohibited LGBT people and pregnant women from participating (Roshayanti dkk., 2023). One of the requirements of this CPNS test eventually became a finding by the Ombudsman RI - a state institution authorized to oversee public services in Indonesia. This fact is part of the evidence of the LGBT polemic in Indonesia, as well as showing the inequality of LGBT people as citizens.

The debate about LGBT people in the Indonesian public sphere itself covers two fundamental issues, namely the issue of human rights and religious beliefs (Fuadi & Mirsal, 2023). Both are guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution as the basic legal reference of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (Nurzen dkk., 2022). In terms of religion, research conducted by Gunawan Saleh and Muhammad Arif (2018) through a phenomenological approach in Pekanbaru City, for example, found that a number of religious leaders (Islam, Catholic Christianity, Protestant

Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism) view LGBT as deviant sexual behavior that cannot be accepted. However, a number of other religious leaders have other views on the understanding of sexuality.

Meanwhile, on human rights grounds, the presence of LGBT people in Indonesia cannot be completely rejected, although LGBT people cannot act freely either. A comparative study between the gay and lesbian movements in Indonesia and the United States argues that human rights are viewed differently by each nation due to their universal nature - although in actualization they can become particular (Suryaningsih, 2021). The results of the research by the three of them show that the analysis of same-sex marriage - which became the final discourse of the LGBT issue in Indonesia - which was legalized in America in 2015 by the United States (Mutalib & Dylan, 2021). Supreme Court Obergefell, in which churches participated in facilitating same-sex marriages under the pretext of following the state's decision, cannot be applied similarly in Indonesia (Mudinillah & Rizaldi, 2021). That's because public rejection of LGBT groups is relatively large (Arsul dkk., 2021). In the research by the three of them, it was also mentioned that Indonesia could become America if there were no restrictions on LGBT people.

The discourse on LGBT today certainly involves the role of mass media in presenting information to the public. The mass media, which is understood as the fourth pillar of democracy (after the executive, legislative and judiciary), is required to be able to present news that upholds citizenship-based politics, not communitarian or religion-based politics (Rahmah & Martin, 2022). The news presented by the mass media today in the midst of various social phenomena and realities is full of various interests and conflicts, Oktavia & Silitonga (2016). In communication studies through the critical discourse analysis (AWK) approach, language, text, or discourse, does not just appear as it is as a communication tool. Through language, a person or group can be easily recognized from which party, Hariyatmoko (2016) (Afifah dkk., 2023). The study of communication through critical discourse analysis (CDA) in terms of language is considered important because it can be seen as a means of communication (Yennizar dkk., 2022). The first is because language is used for various functions whose consequences are very diverse; second, the same phenomenon can be described differently and then presented as a reality that implies certain interests, intentions, and goals so that sharpness is needed in interpreting it; third, language is suspected of not being transparent which is full of rhetoric, manipulation, and misdirection; and fourth language is constructed and constructs.

As the name implies, critical ideas are taken from the Frankfurt school, namely that cultural processes have an impact on social life and are the sphere of struggle against domination and social injustice for emancipation, R. Wiggershaus (1994) (Pathurohman dkk., 2023). This social research is called critical because it wants to analyze what is wrong in society in the form of injustice, inequality, discrimination, unfreedom, by looking for the sources and causes and possible forms of resistance, (N Fairclough, (2010). In contrast to (objective) discourse analysis in general, in critical discourse analysis, the analyzer or researcher can take a position, take sides, expose, and demystify forms of domination through discourse analysis. It can also be interpreted that through critical discourse analysis there is a moral and political responsibility for researchers (Muhammadong dkk., 2023). The focus on social issues is relevant because it serves to criticize injustices that usually occur on the basis of gender, ethnicity, class, religion, or language, Haryatmoko (2016).

Therefore, following up on the polemics of LGBT groups in Indonesia, researchers raised the issue of stopping the organization of ladyboy events in Samarinda City (Lasmi dkk., 2023), which was reported by a number of online media in Samarinda City (Andra dkk., 2023). Based on the author's observation, there were 23 online media that reported the termination of the plan to hold a

Special Event Ladyboy Competition titled Glamour Sparkling which was held at The Curve Café, Jalan DI Pandjaitan, Sungai Pinang District, Samarinda City (Saputra dkk., 2023). This event was unique because it was the first time it would be held in Samarinda on January 31st. 2022 and invited the masses in the midst of the Covid19 pandemic. The event flyer, which was spread on social media, made the public excited (Kurniawan dkk., 2023). The Samarinda City Government immediately instructed the Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol PP) to cancel this event.

In this study, researchers used communication studies with a critical discourse analysis approach of Theo Van Leeuwen's model to reveal how an event and social actors are depicted in a discourse or news text, as well as how another group that does not have access becomes a party that is constantly marginalized. The marginalization of certain social groups can be seen based on the presence of these groups in a discourse in the form of texts, pictures, paintings or films, There are parties who are excluded from the conversation called (exclusion) and there are those who are presented in the conversation (inclusion), (Eriyanto, 2001).

Previously, a similar study using critical discourse analysis as a theory and methodology was conducted by Astri Apriliani Putri and Lin Haryani Subadri (2022) in the case of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) shootout. The results of his research found that the attitude of the Liputan6 media marginalized the figures involved, namely victims or FPI members who were shot at and then died during the incident, but did not mention who the perpetrators of the shooting were. From the research, it can be concluded that people's understanding and views can be controlled by the media. This research also tries to reveal and expose the actors or figures that are highlighted in the East Kalimantan Tribune's coverage of the termination of the Lady Boy event at The Curve Kafe in Samarinda.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research includes qualitative research. Qualitative data is data in the form of words, schemes, and images, Sugiyono (2015). While in this study, qualitative data is sorted through three exclusion strategies and seven inclusion strategies from critical discourse analysis proposed by Theo Van Leeuwen.

This research is included in the type of library research or library research. This research is called literature because the data or materials needed in completing the research come from libraries in the form of books, encyclopedias, dictionaries, journals, documents, magazines, newspapers, and so on, Nursaipa (2014). While the data in this study were obtained from the trubunkaltim.co online media news portal.

The focus of the research seeks to limit the problems that will be discussed in this study which will then be used to draw results and conclusions. In line with this, the focus of this research is as follows:

Researchers use one of the mass communication theories, namely the hierarchy of media content influence which explains that the content of mass media coverage is influenced by five internal and external factors. These are individuals or media workers (individual level), media routines (media routines level), media organizations (organizational media level), outside the media (extramedia level), and ideology (ideology level). Meanwhile, the research method used is Theo Van Leeweun's critical discourse analysis model with exclusion and inclusion strategies on how a person or group is displayed or excluded in the discourse.

This research uses the critical discourse analysis method of Theo Van Leeuwen model as a discourse analysis in the form of news texts to determine the use of exclusion and inclusion strategies. Exclusion is how a group is not involved in the discourse (news) so that it becomes a

party that is constantly marginalized based on the general values adopted by a particular social and cultural group. In exclusion, there are strategies of passivation, nominalization, and the use of subordinate clauses. Meanwhile, the strategy of inclusion is how a group or social actor is displayed and portrayed poorly in the discourse (news) because of certain dominating understandings. In inclusion, a discourse can be identified whether it uses inclusion strategies with details of differentiation-indeference, objectification-abstraction, nominalization-categorization, nomination-identification, determination-indetermination, assimilation-individualization, and association-dissociation.

Data Collection Techniques

Documentation Technique

The documentation technique is a technique that the author uses to collect data in this study. This aims to assist the author in obtaining the desired data. Documentation is a method used to obtain data and information in the form of books, archives, documentation, written numbers and images in the form of reports and information that can support research, Sugiyono (2015). The documentation used in this study are two tribunkaltim.co news titled The Ladyboy Competition Event in Samarinda Made a Noise, Mayor Andi Harun: Cancel! and Ladyboy Event in Samarinda Canceled, Café Manager Speaks Up.

Data Analysis Technique

Based on Theo Van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis model, this research data is organized based on stages and steps:

First, the researcher's question. At this stage the author formulates the problems discussed in this study, namely how are Theo Van Leeuwen's exclusion and inclusion strategies in tribunkaltim.co online media news when stopping the lady boy event at The Curve in Samarinda City?

Second, determining the exclusion and inclusion data of Theo Van Leeuwen in tribunkaltim.co online media news. At this stage, the author sorts out the existing exclusion and inclusion strategies, then categorizes the data according to the exclusion strategy, namely (1) passivation, (2) nominalization, (3) replacement of clauses. As well as inclusion data, namely (1) differentiation-indeference, (2) objectification-abstraction, (3) nomination-categorization, (4) nomination-identification, (5) determination-indetermination, (6) assimilation-individualization, (7) association-dissociation.

Third, detailed analysis in accordance with Theo Van Leeuwen's exclusion and inclusion strategy and then sorting the data according to this strategy. Preceded by exclusion data then inclusion.

Fourth, data interpretation. At this stage, the author gives an opinion, a theoretical view of the results of the data analysis that the author did, namely the analysis of Theo Van Leeuwen's critical discourse in the East Kalimantan Tribune news when stopping the lady boy event at The Curve Café in Samarinda City.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Curve Café is a place that provides food and drinks located on Jalan DI Pandjaitan, Temindung Permai Village, North Samarinda District, Samarinda City, East Kalimantan (Kaltim). This café suddenly became the public spotlight at the end of January 2022 because it planned to organize an event for ladyboys in the context of a lip-sync singing contest and fashion show. This also received criticism from a number of groups, especially from the Samarinda City Government. Through the relevant Regional Apparatus Organization (OPD), Samarinda Mayor Andi Harun

strictly prohibited the event from being held and ordered The Curve Caffe to immediately stop the discourse of holding an event that did not have a police permit. There is no exact information on when The Curve Caffe was established in Samarinda City, however, a little information about the cafe's activities can be reviewed through its Instagram social media account (@thecurve_cafe). Through this Instagram account, The Curve Caffe also published a ladyboy event which was then discussed by the people of Samarinda City on social media and mass media.

One of the mass media that also reported the polemic of the ladyboy event was the online media Tribun Kaltim. Tribun Kaltim is a regional newspaper, part of the Tribun Network managed by PT Mahakam Media Grafika, a member of the Kompas Gramedia Group and Adi Nugroho. Tribun Kaltim newspaper was first published on May 8, 2003. Tribun Kaltim currently has a circulation area in all regencies and cities in East Kalimantan and North Kalimantan. Tribun Kaltim is also affiliated with Tribunnews.com, which launched a special Tribun news portal application that covers the entire Indonesia region. This application is managed by the Tribunnews.com Division headquartered in Jakarta.

The materials and data analyzed in this research are two news articles from Tribun Kaltim regarding the termination of the ladyboy event in Samarinda. Tribun Kaltim is the only media that shows both parties between the government and the manager of The Curve Caffe. Based on the results of the research, the following researchers describe the data from the two Tribun Kaltim news sources.

Based on the results of research using The Van Leeuwen critical discourse analysis method on 2 East Kalimantan Tribune news titled Ladyboy Competition Event in Samarinda Makes a Noise, Mayor Andi Harun: Cancel it! and Ladyboy Event in Samarinda Canceled, Café Manager Speaks Up Exclusion data was found, namely passivation as much as 3 data, nominalization 1 data, and substitute clause 1 data. In the inclusion data, there were 4 data of indefernsiasi-deferentiation sentences, 1 data of objectification-abstraction, 1 data of nomination-categorization, 1 data of nomination-identification, 1 data of association-dissociation, which the researchers detailed as follows:



Image 1: Screenshot of East Kalimantan Tribune news regarding the termination of the ladyboy event at The Curfe Caffe Samarinda.



Figure 2: Screenshot of Tribunkaltim.co news about the termination of the ladyboy event at The Curve Caffee in Samarinda City.

Exclusion Data

Exclusion - Passivation

Passivation is one of the classic ways to eliminate actors or groups in a news story. This passivation situation depicts the ladyboy event in Samarinda City as an event that should not take place both in terms of legal rules and moral values as ordered by Samarinda Mayor Andi Harun to the Regional Apparatus Organization (OPD), in this case the Samarinda City Pamong Praja Police Unit (Satpol PP). Through passivation, this strategy also supports the position and attitude of the East Kalimantan Tribune media towards the existence of LGBT people in Samarinda City. The passivation data was found as much as 3 data as follows:

1. An event at a cafe in Samarinda City, East Kalimantan (Kaltim), was suddenly discussed.... (Data 1)
2. "If there are activities that lead to the event in question, it will be stopped in accordance with applicable regulations," he said. (Data 2)
3. And after communicating, today the organizers have canceled the planned activities," Andi Harun further said. (Data 3)

In data (1), the lady boy event at The Curve Café in Samarinda City, located on Jalan DI Pandjaitan, Temindung Permai Village, North Samarinda Subdistrict, was not clearly explained or lost in the news. In the news lead, the writer or journalist chose to use the sentence one of the events that was suddenly discussed. The use of this sentence can create an effect on the reader that the event in question is reaping the pros and cons. The information being discussed is related to the existence of LGBT groups.

In data (2), the news sentence uses the form of passivation to stop in accordance with the applicable provisions. The unfavorable impact of using this sentence is that readers are more focused on the event, which is filled with ladyboys or transgender groups, or LGBT groups as

generally understood. However, it ignores the motive of the event being held as a space for expression in the public sphere.

In data (3), the passive voice in this sentence adds to data (2) that after communicating with the organizers, the ladyboy event planned by the cafe manager was finally canceled. Again, what is displayed in this news by journalists focuses on the ladyboy event which is described as reaping the pros and cons. While the motives and reasons by the organizer's contact person listed in the pamphlet are missing in the text with the reason that he cannot be contacted. This makes readers see the problem from only one point of view and ignore other points of view.

Exclusion – Nominalization

In fact, the event was reportedly canceled due to a ban from the Samarinda City Government. (Data 1), In data (1): the use of nominalization sentences reportedly eliminates the actor, namely the Mayor of Samarinda, Andi Harun, as the regional head and policy maker who intervened and ordered the cancellation of the ladyboy event at The Curve cafe. The writer or journalist focuses on the ladyboy event that was canceled due to the Samarinda City Government's ban. This shows that the main topic of the news is the ladyboy event, which was the first time and openly held in Samarinda. The use of this passivation strategy makes the motives and reasons for organizing the event disappear in the news discussion.

Exclusion - Substitution of Clauses

An event at a cafe in Samarinda City, East Kalimantan (Kaltim), was suddenly discussed. In fact, the event was reportedly canceled due to a ban from the Samarinda City Government. Yes, the event generated pros and cons among the community. (Data 1)

In data (1), there is an exclusion with a clause replacement strategy. The event that the organizers wanted to hold by including a contact person never actually appeared in the news. The organizer outside the cafe manager as an actor is missing in the news. The use of clauses that demystify the ladyboy group leads the public or readers to indirectly associate it with the stigma against the existence and social status of LGBT groups that are generally understood. This is because LGBT people are still widely rejected by society.

Inclusion Data

Inclusion explained by Theo Van Leeuwen is how an actor, group, or event is featured poorly in the text. There are a number of inclusion data with various strategies obtained from the East Kalimantan Tribune news during the termination of the lady boy event at The Curve Café Samarinda as follows:

Indifference - Deference

1. "We only facilitate the place, the concept explained by the committee initially to us was a lypsync competition and a fashion show conducted by men dressed up as women, for fun, not thinking that it was transgender or anything like that," Alfian told TribunKaltim.co. (Data 1)
2. "Because of our awareness too, maybe because the public perception of ladyboy is associated with LGBT and the like, so I decided to cancel it, even though we also never support such activities," he said again. (Data 2)
3. We have returned the down payment for the venue rental to the organizer since Friday, but because we communicated with Satpol PP only on Sunday, that's why it's only booming now," Alfian explained further. (Data 3)
4. The reason for the Samarinda City Satpol PP to follow up on the cancellation of the event was not only because there was no crowd permit from the police, but also on the basis of the Mayor's order prohibiting the event from taking place. (Data 4)

In data (1), inclusion is found with an inference-deference strategy. The ladyboy phenomenon is not presented independently, although it is associated with general assumptions. The use of this strategy indirectly makes a point of view to the reader that there is a difference between fashion competitions and lypsync shows held by the general public and ladyboys or transgender people through Alfian's confession as the owner of the cafe.

In data (2), inclusion is found with an inference-deference strategy. The ladyboy event is associated with the general assumption that is none other than society. In general, ladyboys are considered an LGBT group.

In data (3), inclusion is found with an inference-deference strategy. The presence of the Samarinda City Pamong Praja Police Unit (Satpol PP) in the text by prohibiting the event from taking place seemed to justify the action.

In data (4), inclusion is found with an inference-deference strategy. The ladyboy event is compared to other parties, namely Satpol PP and the Mayor of Samarinda, Andi Harun, who banned the event. The presence of Satpol PP and Mayor Andi Harun in the text represents the event to the reader.

Objectification - Abstraction

In Thailand being 'on the wrong track' is not a big deal and there transgenders are accepted and tolerated. (Data 1)L: In data (1), the identification or label given in the East Kalimantan Tribune news to the ladyboy group is wrong line. This sentence directly concludes to the reader that ladyboys are a bad life choice. This also comes out of the discussion of the termination of the ladyboy event at The Curve Café in Samarinda.

Nomination - Categorization

Responding to this, the Mayor of Samarinda, Andi Harun, firmly prohibited the event, which is synonymous with transgender people. (Data 1): In data (1), inclusion is found with the nomination-categorization strategy. The sentence identical to transgender people is a categorization carried out by the East Kalimantan Tribune media. This has an impact on the perception of readers who conclude the meaning that ladyboys are people who are definitely transgender and rule out other motives.

Identification Nomination

Ladyboys can also be found in the market as fruit sellers with beautiful faces but rough hands and low voices. (Data 1): In data (1), inclusion is found with the nomination-identification strategy. In this case, ladyboys are described as individuals or groups that are often found in the market. And more specifically as fruit sellers. There is also a depiction of rough hands and a slightly low voice. The use of this phrase will subconsciously instill in the reader a sense of inclusion. audiences or readers that ladyboys are very bad as a life choice that goes against human nature.

Association-Dissociation

1. Reporting from BangkaPos.com entitled History and Why are there many ladyboys in Thailand, their presence is said to atone for past sins, ladyboy is a term for men who dress and behave like women, we are familiar with calling them waria.
2. For some people in Thailand, ladyboys have become an identity.
3. Thai people call them kathoey, which comes from the Khmer language and means boys who are also women.
4. But have you ever wondered why there are so many ladyboys in Thailand?
5. Here's an explanation, launching theblondtravels.com in every class at school there is at least one ladyboy.

6. Almost everywhere in Thailand can be found ladyboys.
7. They usually decide to change their gender when they are teenagers.
8. Hormone drugs can be purchased without a prescription and are available at every pharmacy.
9. Many boys aged 13-15 start taking medication without their parents knowing, and they want to look feminine.
10. Parents also usually do not react when their children start behaving like girls.
11. They consider it as something natural.
12. The commercialization of ladyboys also makes their existence more visible, such as ladyboy festivals held to attract tourists.
13. Then how come ladyboys are tolerated in Thai society?
14. The answer is the beliefs held by Thai society.
15. Thailand is a Buddhist country with 80 percent of the population practicing Buddhism.
16. Their beliefs somehow contribute to some ladyboy explanations of why they exist.
17. Thais believe spirits are not only reincarnated, but they have to go through heaven or hell first, depending on what life they lived before. Very severe punishments await those who commit murder or other gruesome crimes. As for those who commit minor sins such as prostitution or leaving a pregnant wife, they will be punished by being born as a boy who will later become a girl.
18. Thai society treats them with compassion, assuming they have committed sins in a previous life and trying to atone for them.
19. Even so, ladyboys are enlightened to return to the right path.
20. "We can't change everything, but we can control their behavior and show them that they were born men and not women," said one monk in an interview for The Telegraph.
21. Some monasteries offer special programs, where parents can enroll their children and be taught how to be men again.
22. ladyboys are only treated as second-class citizens in Thailand.
23. They are not bullied, but their main role is to entertain others.
24. They can be stylists, make-up artists, dancers in one of the cabarets, but getting a well-paid job may be very difficult for them.

In data (1), inclusion is found with an association-dissociation strategy. In the East Kalimantan Tribune news, the news of the termination of ladyboys at The Curve Café in Samarinda City was associated with how the ladyboy phenomenon developed in Thailand. The ladyboy phenomenon in Samarinda City is associated with a larger group of ladyboys through adaptations from similar news. That is, ladyboys in Thailand.

In data (2) inclusion with the association-dissociation strategy. Ladyboys are presented as an identity in the country of Thailand. In this case, ladyboys in Kota Samarinda are associated with a wider group, namely in Thailand. Indirectly, the use of this sentence makes the reader imagine something outside the news.

In data (3), inclusion is found with an association-dissociation strategy. Ladyboys are given more information which is often called kathoey by Thai people.

In data (4), inclusion is found with the association-dissociation strategy. The use of this sentence invites readers to question why there are so many ladyboys in Thailand, and assumes that Indonesia could have become Thailand if there were no restrictions on ladyboys or LGBT groups.

In data (5), inclusion is found with an association-dissociation strategy. The number of ladyboys in Thailand is very large, it is even said that there is at least one ladyboy in every school

class. The use of this sentence invites readers to see the rampant phenomenon of ladyboys in Thailand, and associate it with the phenomenon of ladyboys in Samarinda City. However, the inclusion strategy used ignores the freedom of exclusion that exists in Indonesia.

In data (6), inclusion is found with an association-dissociation strategy. Thailand is a country where it is very easy to find ladyboys. The use of this sentence invites readers to understand that the number of ladyboys in Thailand is very random.

In (7), inclusion is found with an association-disassociation strategy. Ladyboys in Kota Samarinda are associated with a larger group in Thailand. Ladyboys are described as individuals who change their gender as teenagers. The use of this sentence again makes the audience or readers imagine something outside the news.

In (8), inclusion is found with the association-dissociation strategy. Ladyboys in Samarinda City are associated with those in Thailand. More specifically, ladyboys in Thailand are said to change their gender by buying hormone drugs without a prescription available at pharmacies.

In data (9), inclusion is found with the association-disassociation strategy. Ladyboys in Samarinda City are associated with a larger group in Thailand. The ladyboys in Thailand are shown in the abstract, who usually change their gender during adolescence between the ages of 13-15 without the knowledge of their parents.

In (10), inclusion is found with the association-dissociation strategy. Ladyboys in Samarinda City are associated with a larger group in Thailand. Furthermore, the parents of ladyboys are said to have given no reaction when their children started behaving like women.

In data (11), inclusion is found with an association-disassociation strategy. Ladyboys in Kota Samarinda are associated with a larger group in Thailand. It is mentioned that the parents of ladyboys in Thailand consider their children's behavior like women as something natural.

In (12), inclusion is found with the association-disassociation strategy. Ladyboys in Kota Samarinda are associated with a larger group in Thailand. It is mentioned that the existence of ladyboys has increasingly emerged due to the commercialization of ladyboys in the entertainment industry.

In data (13), inclusion is found with an association-disassociation strategy. Ladyboys in Samarinda City are associated with a larger group in Thailand. Association-dissociation is found by questioning the audience or readers why there are many ladyboys in Thailand.

In data (14), continuing the previous data, an inclusion sentence with an association-dissociation strategy is found. The large number of ladyboys in Thailand is due to its tolerant society.

In data (15), an inclusion sentence with an association-disassociation strategy is found. Continuing the previous data, the use of this sentence can influence the reader's perception that the Thai people who tolerate ladyboys are associated with the Buddhist population.

In (16), an inclusion sentence with an association-disassociation strategy is found. Continuing the previous data, in addition to being associated with a larger group of ladyboys in Thailand, the use of this sentence can influence readers that Buddhist beliefs answer why ladyboys in Thailand exist today.

In data (17), an inclusion sentence with an association-disassociation strategy is found. In this sentence, the existence of ladyboys is associated with the beliefs of Thai people who believe that ladyboys are sinners who want to atone for their sins. In data (17) this continues the explanation of the previous 3 paragraphs which explain the beliefs of the Thai people. They believe that spirits are not only reincarnated, but also have to go through heaven and hell. Ladyboys are indirectly

explained as those who commit minor sins such as prostitution, leaving a pregnant wife, who are then punished and born into the real world as boys who act like women.

In data (18), an inclusion sentence with an association-dissociation strategy is found. Continuing the previous data, ladyboy is understood by Thai people as the reincarnation of someone who committed sin and wants to do good things in his second life.

In data (19), an inclusion sentence with an association-disassociation strategy is found. Continuing the previous data, Thai people treat ladyboys with compassion for the reasons described in the previous data 17 and 18.

In data (20), an inclusion sentence with an association-dissociation strategy is found. Continuing the previous data, ladyboys can get enlightenment to return to the right path.

In data (21), an inclusion sentence with an association-disassociation strategy is found. Besides being associated with the ladyboy phenomenon in Thailand, the association-dissociation sentence used also represents a religious group entity, namely a monk who is related to Buddhist religious teachings.

In data (22), an inclusion sentence with an association-disassociation strategy is found. Continuing the previous data, there are monasteries that offer special programs so that parents can enroll their children and be taught to be men again.

In data (23), an inclusion sentence with an association-disassociation strategy is found. Ladyboys are described as second-class citizens in Thailand.

In data (24), inclusion sentences with an association-disassociation strategy were found. Ladyboys in Thailand are described as a group that is not intimidated, even though it is generally to entertain others.

In data (25), an inclusion sentence with an association-dissociation strategy is found. A ladyboy in Thailand is described as a make-up stylist, artist, and dancer. The ladyboys are described as difficult to get a job with a large salary.

Analysis and Discussion

Analysis in the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) is defined as an investigation of an event, whether in the form of an essay, action, and so on, to find out the true circumstances of an event (Sari dkk., 2023). In this research, the analysis is elaborated by connecting the text with the social, political and cultural situation when the tribunkaltim.co news text which is the object of this research is carried out (N. A. Putri dkk., 2023). As it is understood that in the understanding of the critical discourse analysis model of Theo Van Leeuwen, the social environment and discourse are two things that cannot be separated, which both shape and are shaped by each other (Johanna dkk., 2023), Haryatmoko (2016) (L. R. Putri dkk., 2023). Critical discourse analysis provides critical awareness to readers of something that is considered a truth and normal, it turns out to contain bias by tending to affirm certain or dominant (general) opinions and excluding and even marginalizing minority groups (Maulida dkk., 2023). Therefore, critical discourse analysis is also a tool to dismantle the position of the dominant group.

to the ideology of a mass media today (Susanti dkk., 2023). The socio-cultural practice dimension is a dimension that relates to the context outside the text and context, such as the context of the situation, and more broadly the context of the practice of the agency of the media itself in relation to society or certain cultures and politics, Darma (2009).

In this discussion, the two tribunkaltim.co news articles that became the object of the author's research related to the termination of the ladyboy event at The Curve Caffe in Samarinda City only focused on the polemic regarding the pros and cons of the existence of LGBT groups in society. The pros and cons of LGBT groups are more dominant in the news text written by tribunkaltim.co.

The discourses that appear in tribunkaltim.co news provide more space for policies taken by the Samarinda City Government in stopping the event. Meanwhile (Kamaluddin dkk., 2023), LGBT groups who are social actors are missing in the news and make the motives of this group unclear and blurred (Husna dkk., 2022). Furthermore, the ladyboy event is also described as public opinion and values. society against LGBT people, while ignoring other contexts such as public space and freedom of expression. The research data shows the existence of gender inequality between society in general and LGBT groups.

From the results of the research, 5 exclusion strategies were found, including passivation (3 data), nominalization (1 data), and clause substitution (1 data). In tribunkaltim.co news, the ladyboy event or LGBT group is the focus of discussion in the news, but the real actors are not really shown (Qureshi dkk., 2022). This is in accordance with Leeuwen's theory, which states that a minority group can be a party that is continuously marginalized because it is at odds with public (dominant) values and opinions or power. In the 5 exclusion data obtained by researchers, the news of the termination of the ladyboy event by tribunkaltim.co focuses on the polemic of the pros and cons of LGBT in Indonesia. Then the one that did not have a permit from the police and the ban order from the Mayor of Samarinda, Andi Harun. Meanwhile, the real motive of the event became blurred because the real actors were not involved in the event.

News. This data also shows the partiality of tribunkaltim.co online media regarding the ban on LGBT events in Samarinda City because it describes LGBT groups as a group that is not good and does not deserve space.

Then, inclusion strategies were also found as much as 32 data. Among them are the strategies of inference-deference (4 data), objectification-abstraction (1 data), nomination-categorization (1 data), nomination-identification (1 data), and association-dissociation (25 data). Inclusion strategy is how an actor or group is featured in the text, Eriyanto, (2000). In the 32 data of inclusion in the East Kalimantan Tribune news, the ladyboy event is portrayed poorly, not shown independently, understood as LGBT groups in general, associated with broader groups, described abstractly, and identified with certain social conditions. This makes ladyboys and LGBT people in general again the ones who are stigmatized, while ignoring other complex phenomena related to the existence of LGBT people.

CONCLUSION

Discrimination against LGBT people is still ongoing in Indonesia. Not only in public spaces, the bad label based on the stigma attached to LGBT people has now also entered the realm of media. There are many communication theories that can describe the pros and cons of the existence of LGBT people in Indonesia today, in addition to the author's limitations in conducting research on tribunkaltim.co news analysis during the termination of the ladyboy event at The Curve Caffe in Samarinda City using critical discourse analysis model Theo Van Leeuwen. For example, on the other hand, there is a theory of news and moral panic that involves the important role of mass media. Moral panic is a disproportionate public reaction to the actions of people, groups, which are considered deviant from the prevailing social values and norms, Stanly Choen in Eriyanto (2013). The deviant behavior is defined by moral guardians (community leaders, religious leaders, and editors in the media). The basis of moral panic is a sense of public threat that is exaggerated due to inaccurate representation of a certain action. The media plays a role important, especially through its tendency to distort and exaggerate certain events. In the context of the author's research, this is problematic because it indirectly impacts other contexts of the complex pros and cons of the legality of LGBT people in Indonesia. For example, the basic rights of vulnerable LGBT people are not

accommodated, such as getting education, employment, freedom of expression, and accessing health insurance and social assistance that are actually guaranteed by the state.

On the other hand, the failure to understand the gap between religion and secular society is the main issue regarding the polemic of LGBT existence in Indonesia. As Gusti A B Menoh cites cf. A Sunarko (2013), since the fall of the New Order, religion has rushed to fill the landscape of domestic political life. It can even be said that there is "too much religion" in the public life of Indonesian society, which is sometimes displayed in destructive and violent forms (Gusti A B Menoh, 2015: 37-38). According to Gusti Menoh, this phenomenon is in line with Habermas' statement that government authorities can turn into agents of certain religious majorities to impose their will if religious reasons are allowed to enter the political system. This is which then happened when the Samarinda City Government decided to stop the ladyboy event at The Curve Caffé on January 31, 2022. In tribunkaltim.co news, the news related to the termination of the ladyboy event affirmed the general (dominant) opinion of power. This situation cannot be separated between the text and the existing social conditions in Samarinda City, namely based on the records of the Directorate General of Population and Civil Registration (Dukcapil) of the Ministry of Home Affairs in 2021 as many as 754.1 thousand people living in Samarinda are Muslims out of a total population of more than 825.49 thousand people.

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AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTION

Author 1: Writing - review and editing; Other contribution; Resources; Visuali-zation; Writing - original draft.

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