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## **The LGBT's Propaganda: A Content Analysis of News on the GAYa Nusantara and NU Online**

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### **Abstract**

Indonesia is a state of law, but so far, no legislation or government regulations strictly regulate the existence of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, and Transgender (LGBT). So, its existence in society often has pros and cons. At the same time, pro-LGBT groups conduct propaganda, including GAYa Nusantara. Meanwhile, groups opposed to LGBT, such as Nahdlatul Ulama' continue to reject the propaganda through NU Online. This research aims to analyze the specific missions of the two websites. This article uses agenda-setting theory, literature study, and interview approaches to conduct the research. The data collected is analyzed using news content analysis techniques, namely text, context, and social discourse analysis. This article argues that it is important to understand a news text as the result of an editorial room with a certain mission to convey public information. The mission carries the ideology of the GAYa Nusantara and NU Online media. The GAYa Nusantara portal has a mission to fight for LGBT equality and welfare, and the NU Online portal has a mission to reject LGBT behaviour but does not hate LGBT people.

### **Keywords:**

Propaganda, LGBT, GAYa Nusantara, NU Online, News Content

**Abstrak**

Indonesia merupakan negara hukum, namun sejauh ini belum ada undang-undang maupun Peraturan Pemerintah yang secara tegas mengatur tentang keberadaan kaum Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, dan Transgender (LGBT). Sehingga sering terjadi pro dan kontra terhadap keberadaannya di tengah-tengah masyarakat. Pada saat yang sama, kelompok yang pro dengan LGBT melakukan propaganda, salah satunya melalui GAYa Nusantara. Disisi lain, kutub yang bersebarangan dengan LGBT seperti Nahdlatul Ulama' terus menolak adanya propaganda itu melalui NU Online. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis misi tertentu dari kedua website tersebut. Untuk melakukan penelitian tersebut, artikel ini menggunakan teori agenda setting dan pendekatan studi literatur dan wawancara. Data yang telah terkumpul dianalisa dengan menggunakan teknis analisis isi berita, yaitu analisis teks, konteks, dan wacana sosial. Artikel ini berargumen bahwa penting memahami suatu teks berita sebagai hasil dari ruang redaksional yang memiliki misi tertentu dalam menyampaikan informasi publik. Misi tersebut membawa ideologi dari media GAYa Nusantara dan NU Online. Portal GAYa Nusantara memiliki misi memperjuangkan kesetaraan dan kesejahteraan LGBT, dan portal NU Online yang memiliki misi menolak perilaku LGBT, tetapi tidak membenci pelaku LGBT.

**Kata kunci:**

Propaganda, LGBT, GAYa Nusantara, NU Online, Konten Berita

**Introduction**

LGBT is an acronym for “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender.” The American Psychiatric Association (APA) suggests that sexual orientation will continue to develop throughout a person’s life; sexual orientation can be divided into three, based on sexual and emotional impulses or desires that are a romantic attraction to the same sex (Indonesia Student, 2022). LGBT is considered by society as a deviant act but in several countries, LGBT has been legalized in Europe, Netherlands, Germany, England, South Africa, Canada, and United States. Since the beginning of human history, there have been those who have crossed gender (gay, transgender, and lesbian) or have had erotic, romantic, and ritual relationships with other genders in society (GAYa Nusantara, 2016b).

On June 26, 2015, all LGBT people celebrated the decision of Obergefel V. Hodges, namely the legalization of same-sex marriage and rights and guarantees by the United States Supreme Court (Augustyn,

2015). Five years later, on June 15, 2020, the LGBT community praised the American Supreme Court for winning the LGBT people in a discrimination case at work (Pramadiba, 2020). America's Supreme Court prohibits companies from discriminating and firing their employees (LGBT) without good reason.

Today, LGBT does not only present and voice itself in countries that have legalized LGBT but also in countries that have not legalized it, such as Indonesia. The sound and efforts of this propaganda can be seen from the reports in electronic and digital media. One of the pieces of news that emerged, for example, on September 29, 2020, the police raided a gay party in an apartment on the 6th floor, room 608 Kuningan, South Jakarta (Ernes, 2020). The Central Java Regional Police (Polda) raided a boarding house used as a gay plus-plus massage place in the Banjarsari area, Solo City, on Monday, September 27, 2021 (Ramadhan, 2021). Two TNI sergeants were fired and jailed because they were considered LGBT (Saputra, 2021). This news is enough proof that LGBT is rife in Indonesia. In addition, some news about LGBT will also appear on the Google homepage when searching with the LGBT keyword.

Existing readings and news, including online media, present more than just information. However, it has various purposes, such as changing views, influencing, persuading, or instilling beliefs and ideologies in readers (Wahyuni et al., 2021). News can be read as it is and has a specific purpose. Therefore, improving the quality of information by reading from accurate sources is important.

In Islamic teachings, the phenomenon of LGBT is considered contradictory; one of the arguments used is through Q.S. Al-A'raf [7]: 80-84. In the Tafsir Al-Wasith, this verse is said to explain the arguments for their excessive attitude toward pleasure and actions that exceed the limits of conscience and reason. According to groups that reject LGBT actors, they do not consider the dangers of their actions to health and life,

such as deadly diseases, as indicated in various studies of people who have died due to HIV/AIDS (loss of immunity). At present, the victims have reached more than one hundred thousand; at the end of the 20th century, it reached four million, and the right medicine for this virus has not been found (Az-Zuhaili, 2012).

In the view of Christianity, the rejection of LGBT groups is explained in the third book of the Old Testament Bible (kitabimamat, 20:3), *“If a man sleeps with a man who has intercourse with a woman, then both of them commit an abomination, surely they were put to death, and their blood was on them.”* This argument explains that the Old Testament says that the punishment for LGBT people is death.

The existence of LGBT in Indonesia also often receives a rejection from various lines of society, including the West Java Islamic Movement Alliance (API), which carried out a protest action in front of the West Java Provincial Parliament Building on Friday, December 29 2017 (Kuswara, 2018). The Nahdlatul Ulama Community Organization (NU) also rejects the existence of LGBT. The refusal was conveyed by *Katib’Aam* of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU), KH. Akhmad Said Asrori admits that he is concerned about Deddy Corbuzier’s podcast showing gay couples, and he also emphasized that NU, from the top management to the branches, firmly rejects LGBT practices (Triono, 2022a). The subsequent rejection came from the Saiful Mujani Research And Consulting Institute (SMRC) survey, which showed that 68% of the Indonesian public objected to being neighbours with people with LGBT backgrounds (Muhardianto, 2022).

Rejection from various lines of society has not reduced the courage of LGBT people to speak out for themselves and seek rights that they feel have not been obtained in Indonesia, as evidenced by the several activities they have carried out. This is, for example, with the emergence of Pride Month activity, an annual activity carried out by the LGBT community

in June. This activity can be evidenced as a Portrait of Freedom for the LGBT Community in Indonesia. Then the use of social media as a means to express himself with an LGBT background. Apart from social media, the website is also used by the LGBT community to voice and fight for equality and the welfare of LGBT people. This struggle uses the pretext of equality, which means that individuals with other individuals have the same status in society. The desired equality is the absence of discrimination based on sex or sexual orientation in employment (Tamsyah, 2017).

One of the communities fighting for rights, welfare and equality in Indonesia is GAYa Nusantara, the Indonesian LGBT community, which actively provides articles about LGBT on its website. Activities carried out by GAYa Nusantara on the internet can be categorized as propaganda in the mass media. Propaganda is message dissemination to audiences that have previously been planned to change the views, opinions, and behaviour of the audience or recipients of the message (Kurniasih, 2017). According to Lasswell, propaganda can be interpreted as a technique of influencing human action with representation (presentation); the presentation can be in the form of writing, pictures, oral or music. Propaganda can be said as a special way or free step using deception in presenting messages to persuade or influence audiences (Quail & Widahl, 1995).

According to William E Daugherty and Morris Janowitz in *A Psychological Warfare Casebook*, there are three types of propaganda models: black propaganda, where propaganda is carried out covertly. Another type of propaganda is the second is white propaganda, where the propaganda is done openly, and the source is clear. The third type of propaganda is grey propaganda, whose source is unknown with certainty (Daugherty & Janowitz, 1979).

Propaganda is currently very easy to carry out and be accepted by the public because of the sophistication of technology and the ease of internet access that presents mass media. The mass media is present as a

means of channelling information or messages to the public. The internet easily accesses today's mass media via smartphones. With this convenience, news or information is quickly conveyed to the public, and ironically, the public often needs to make sure the information is correct and carefully examined.

News or information spread in the mass media does not rule out the possibility of propaganda content, like GAYa Nusantara, which includes propaganda content in the news, press releases, and articles on its website. In addition, GAYa Nusantara also includes propaganda content in its social media content, such as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. It is hoped that these propaganda contents will change people's views or attitudes towards LGBT so that the mission of equality and LGBT welfare is achieved as expected by GAYa Nusantara.

Departing from this phenomenon, this article attempts to answer how certain media carry out propaganda or their mission. Through news content analysis, this article analyzes news on the GAYa Nusantara website portal, which is media owned by non-governmental organizations or the LGBT community in Indonesia. Moreover, the NU Online news portal, owned by Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU), the portal that has been preaching or rejecting the existence of LGBT in Indonesia.

In line with this, several literature facts that align with this study have been carried out by several previous researchers. For example, studies on propaganda in the media (Sutanto, 2019) examine political propaganda for presidential candidates. By using content analysis, he tries to see whether the political campaign carried out by the presidential candidate contains any propaganda and what is the purpose of the propaganda. In addition, Kurniasih discussed the propaganda content contained in DjawaBaroe magazine, which was carried out by the Japanese so that it could manipulate the Indonesian people (Kurniasih, 2017). Hashina and Dwi Prianti explained that propaganda, doctrine and the application of

Japanese cultural influence could be seen in their article's language style and the use of sentences and images. (Hashina Rosalini & Dwi Prianti, 2022).

Propaganda is often used to show an organization's existence and sometimes even to bring down rivals. The choice of the NU Online news portal is based on the fact that NU is the largest community organization in Indonesia, which of course, its views will have a wider impact. NU has always tended to provide a middle ground for social problems. The middle way in question still conveys the truth according to Islam but also pays attention to the human side. The human side is carried out with a fiqh approach regarding the four schools of thought, which is more contextual in judging a social phenomenon. NU also prioritizes the da'wah approach with compassion rather than using violence.

This research is a library research study, namely conducting research with data from the literature in the form of library sources, articles, books, the internet, and community websites that support and are related to the issues raised. After the data is collected, analysis is carried out using content analysis techniques. *Content analysis* is a method used in analyzing text. In this case, content analysis is a systematic technique for analyzing or observing the content of messages or the open communication behaviour of selected communicators. (Ahmad, 2018).

Meanwhile, agenda-setting theory is operated in this article. Agenda-setting theory is a derivative of mass communication theory. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw originally formulated the agenda-setting theory in 1972. This theory explains that the media is the centre of truth enforcement, which can increase awareness and information on the public agenda. This theory also explains the relationship between emphasis on issues and the media audience's interest in ownership of issues. It aims to increase public awareness and draw attention to issues considered important by the media (W. Little John & A. Foss, 2009). In other words,

agenda-setting seeks to show important and salient issues and images in the people's minds (Morissan, 2011).

The power of the media to influence the public agenda depends on several factors, such as the credibility of the media in a particular issue and time, The extent to which the conflict or "evidence of conflict" that appears (conflicting evidence) can be understood by the public; What is the degree of similarity between public values and media values; and How willing the public is to receive direction from the media.

Agenda-setting theory is unique in that it supports two interesting basic assumptions. First, this theory clearly states that the mass media has the power to influence and shape people's perceptions. On the other hand, this theory also supports the hypothesis that somehow everything returns to the individual, where they have the freedom to choose what they want to receive. The way agenda setting works is that the media agenda intervenes in the public agenda, and then the public agenda allows the public agenda to influence the policy agenda. Matters presented and reported by the mass media will become public knowledge so that they are widely discussed and debated in public forums.

This article also uses interview techniques to deepen the text analysis with the existing propaganda context. Interviews were conducted with PurbaWidnyana, one of the founders of the GAYa Nusantara Foundation, who currently serves as secretary and KendiSetiawan's Assistant Editor of NU Online. The object of research in this study is all news that contains elements of propaganda on the GAYa Nusantara and NU Online portals.

The selection of GAYa Nusantara and NU Online was based on the consideration of the problems taken by the researchers, namely LGBT people who are increasingly daring to voice themselves and fight for their rights. The GAYa Nusantara portal focuses on voicing and fighting for LGBT rights, while the NU Online portal focuses on voicing LGBT views and laws in the Islamic religion. The unit of analysis in this research is all



news about LGBT, both from profiles, campaigns to support or reject LGBT, and activities held by the GAYa Nusantara organization. In this case, several things include the category of propaganda. First, the use of mockery names, namely giving an insulting name to an idea, belief, position, national or racial group, so the public rejects or criticizes it without checking the truth.

Second, the use of grandiose words, namely, giving grandiose terms with the aim that people accept the truth without proof. Third, Diversion, one of the diversion tactics, is to use the authority that contains the value of honour and is transferred about something so that the audience accepts it. Fourth, quoting the words of famous people about whether an idea or product is good or not so that people will follow it. Fifth, falsification is carried out by covering up facts and presenting false evidence to deceive the public.

Sixth, self-deprecation with propaganda techniques that are carried out to gain public sympathy by convincing someone with ideas to be good. Seventh, the *bura-bura* aspect is carried out by inviting the audience to agree on an idea and ensuring that other people agree.

## Result and Discussion

In an interview, Purba Widnyana (Secretary of GaYa Nusantara) stated that GAYa Nusantara is a social organization focusing on HIV health issues. This institution is the pioneer of gay organizations in Indonesia that are open and proud of their identity and do not question the diversity of sex, gender and sexuality (Widnyana, 2022). The choice of the name GAYa Nusantara with the writing style GAY written in upper case is a form of their courage in campaigning for LGBT behaviour. Purba also stated that *“GAYa is writing that represents GAY, and this is a play on words because at that time the members of GAYa Nusantara were still from the Gay group. Then the word Nusantara is a word that is included to make it look more ethical and represent Indonesia.”*

GAYa Nusantara upholds a sense of responsibility, honesty, punctuality, and a democratic attitude are values that live in GAYA Nusantara. In addition, the information and cultural development atmosphere encourages and creates intimacy, friendship, and romance (GAYa Nusantara, n.d.). According to Purba, not all GAYa Nusantara staff are LGBT actors. *“Not all, because one of the staff is a family and has children. Our members are volunteers or people willing at GAYa Nusantara to fight for LGBT rights.”* The rights in question are not discriminated against in all aspects, such as employment and social society.

The institution’s vision is to create an Indonesian society that respects and guarantees. It fulfils human rights where people can live in equality, freedom, and diversity of matters relating to the body, gender identity and expression, and sexual orientation. GAYa Nusantara’s mission is to conduct advocacy, research, publication, sex education, gender, sexual health, and well-being. Through advocacy activities, they expect the government to issue laws that regulate (protect) various sexualities. According to Purba, this is based on Indonesia’s Eastern culture, which has been diverse in (sexuality) since the beginning, the most famous being the Bugis tribe, who believe in five genders, Toraja, believe in three genders (Widnyana, 2022).

GAYa Nusantara’s vision and mission are clearly stated on social media and news publications on its website. The activity was planned and published as their awareness strategy to the general public about LGBT. The news on the website is a form of their courage in voicing the rights of equality and welfare of LGBT. According to PurbaWidnyana (Secretary of GAYa Nusantara), since the anti-LGBT tsunami occurred in 2016, they have become increasingly curious about LGBT, and the level of interest in opening the web or social media has increased, reaching 9.000 clicks that year (Widnyana, 2022).

Curiosity certainly does not only have a negative influence because actually, but GAYa Nusantara can also actually voice their rights in the form of writing and news, as well as provide education about sex and how to prevent HIV/AIDS. For this reason, GAYa Nusantara is active in holding socialization activities regarding sex education, both online and offline, through collaboration with various educational institutions. Through these activities, they spread the existence and positive values that exist in GAYa Nusantara.

The next activity carried out by GAYa Nusantara is creating content and news on its website. According to Purba, making news on the GAYa Nusantara portal is open to the public and can result from collaboration. As for social media, some volunteers specifically make content (Widnyana, 2022). The news on the GAYa Nusantara website includes the “*Pernyataan Pers Kaukus Pancasila DPR RI* (Press Statement of the DPR RI Pancasila Caucus).” In the news, it was written that the Pancasila Caucus called on the State to protect the LGBT community from discrimination and violence. Apart from medical and religious debates, the fact is that they are citizens who should receive protection and a sense of security, like other citizens. (GAYa Nusantara, 2016a).

The following news item is “*Toleransi Indonesia di Bawah Tekanan Seiring Meningkatnya Wacana Anti-LGBT* (Indonesia's Tolerance Under Pressure Along with Increasing Anti-LGBT Discourse.” The news discusses that invisibility has protected many LGBT people in Indonesia. This invisibility is achieved by marrying heterosexually as if strengthening heteronormative and being careful in political activities. Some people still present themselves as transvestites, like the television character Dorce Gamalama who is well-known by many people. Even President Joko Widodo has appeared with Dorce at public events (GAYa Nusantara, 2017b).

The following news item was entitled “*Pernyataan Sikap Kami Atas Paksa Pekan Olahraga & Seni (Porseni) Se-Sulawesi Selatan di Kabupaten Soppeng*”

(Statement of Our Position on Forced Week of Sports & Arts (Porseni) throughout South Sulawesi in Soppeng Regency).” The news discussed the GAYa Nusantara Foundation condemning the actions taken by the Sulawesi Regional Police, which created terror and created fear by giving warning shots to break up the event (GAYa Nusantara, 2017a). The last news highlight in this article is “*Nonbiner, Hak atau Ancaman? Tanggapan Generasi Z Mengenai Gender Baru* (Nonbinary, Rights or Threats? Generation Z Responses to the New Gender.” The news discusses Generation Z, which is more open in responding to a unique culture. This can be seen in how they welcome the LGBT community, especially gender, under the non-binary umbrella. (Gaya Nusantara, 2022).

The news above has a white propaganda mission because it is blatant and straightforward in its narrative. The propaganda was done to influence news readers. Furthermore, directing readers to accept and fight for certain LGBT rights. Among the news narratives, which mainly include white propaganda appear in several titles; First, LGBT people are also Indonesian citizens.

In the news entitled “*Pernyataan Pers Kaukus Pancasila DPR RI* (Press Statement of the DPR RI Pancasila Caucus),” it was written that the Pancasila Caucus called on the State to protect the LGBT community from all forms of discrimination and violence on any basis. Apart from medical and religious debates, the fact is that they are citizens who should receive protection and a sense of security, like other citizens (GAYa Nusantara, 2016a).

The word *Indonesian Citizen* in this sentence becomes a weapon in carrying out propaganda so that Indonesian citizens will accept the existence of LGBT people and uphold their rights and welfare like Indonesian citizens in general. Because Indonesian citizens get the rights regulated in the Constitution (1945) Articles 27 to 34. According to LGBT people, they must get equal rights, a decent living, protection, and the right

to be recognized as a person in public. However, many Indonesian people cannot accept LGBT people for several reasons.

Many citizens and community organizations, especially religious organizations, refused. The Secretary of GAYa Nusantara stated that there would be no common ground regarding LGBT because GAYa Nusantara has its own opinion, and community organizations have their own opinion based on the legal basis of the organization's religion (Widnyana, 2022). Because it goes back again that every citizen has the right to choose and express attitudes, thoughts, and opinions that follow his conscience.

Second, "LGBT people and citizens continue to present themselves, just as Dorce once appeared with Jokowi at political events." Reports about transgender people who reveal themselves seem to be an opportunity for LGBT people to fight for their rights. Like the news, Dorce has appeared with Jokowi at public events. The emergence of LGBT people does not seem to be explicitly fighting for their rights and welfare. However, his appearance as the number one person in Indonesia became a key and a weapon for them (GAYa Nusantara, 2017b).

Dorce Gamalama's acknowledgement as transgender was initially rejected. However, as time went on, Dorce began to gain acceptance from the public. Apart from Dorce, several Indonesian artists are also transgender, openly admit this, and often present themselves publicly. One of them is Millen Cyrus, who has many achievements; she even won the Miss Queen Indonesia 2021 title. Apart from that, Millen Cyrus has also been chosen to represent Miss International Queen. Being crowned as Miss Queen and becoming a representative for Miss International Queen illustrates that Indonesian society has accepted and considered LGBT people normal.

Third, "Violations of Human Rights and Violence Against LGBT Groups." LGBT people often get human rights violations and violence that should not happen in Indonesia. Reports containing discussions of

human rights violations against LGBT people are one of their missions that Indonesia is not yet friendly towards LGBT people. According to the GAYa Nusantara organization, there needs to be a law that regulates and provides security for LGBT people.

Human rights violations against LGBT people, especially lesbians, often occur in Indonesia. In 2017, there were 973 violence cases against LGBT people, and 73% targeted transgender or transwomen (BBC News, 2018). The commissioner of the National Commission on Women, Adriana VennyAryani, stated that violence against minority groups could be categorized as gross human rights violations, and according to her, there needs to be outreach and public awareness about the protection of minority groups (BBC News, 2018).

Fourth, “Generation Z is relatively more open in responding to an unusual culture as they welcome the LGBTQ+ community or a new gender.” The sentence in one of the GAYa Nusantara news shows they have a mission: to invite Generation Z to share an understanding with them. Because generation Z is relatively more open to culture or changes that occur with the times and technological advances. Based on a survey conducted by the Varkey Foundation in 2016 on Generation Z shows that they strongly support gender equality (89%), the right to abortion (63%) and same-sex marriage (63%)(BBC News, 2020).

In the United States, the 2022 Gallup Survey shows that the younger generation is likelier to come out than the older generation. 20.8% of Gen Z identify themselves as LGBTQ+, almost double that in 2017, namely 10.5%(Pradipta, 2022). Despite the US context, it can be seen that this is true, and in general, younger generations are more likely to identify as LGBTQ+.

In agenda-setting theory, the media is the centre for upholding the truth and building awareness and knowledge of the audience. The distributed news on the GAYa Nusantara portal contains tactics for

upholding the truth regarding gender equality (LGBT). This tactic aims to build awareness and influence the audience to believe that the news they publish is an important issue that must be fought.

The propaganda carried out by GAYa Nusantara above contrasts NU Online. NU Online is a website created by the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU), which conveys information, education and reporting on the activities of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. NU Online was founded on July 11, 2003, and was inaugurated by the general chairman of PBNU KH. Hasyim Muzadi is managed by young people skilled at providing reliable information about Islam. In addition, NU Online is not only present in the form of a website but also is present on various social media platforms with more than 1 million followers.

NU Online has a vision or goal to become a cool and trusted information provider about NU and Islam. Meanwhile, its mission is to produce information that soothes and encourages religious attitudes that are just, moderate, and respects diversity, produce quality information products and become a space for developing high professionalism accompanied by a spirit of service to the people and nation.

This mission is relevant to the attitude or views of NU clerics who reject campaigns related to LGBT. So, NU Online is active in presenting news that discusses LGBT from various perspectives from accurate and reliable sources. In producing news, NU Online also has its techniques to achieve the mission of NU Online, one of which is by quoting the opinions of fiqh scholars to strengthen their arguments regarding LGBT people (Setiawan, 2023).

Kendi Setiawan (Assistant Editor of NU Online) openly shows that LGBT is not in line with Islamic values, but from a human perspective, it is necessary to accept their existence. *“Refuse, yes, but don't hate or even insult, because LGBT people also need to be approached to be given a correct understanding according to religious guidance (Setiawan, 2023).”*

NU Online also uses propaganda techniques in writing news content to influence its readers. Among the news that is relevant to LGBT issues includes news with the title “*Bersama Deddy Corbuzier, Ketua PBNU Bahas Masalah LGBT* (Together with DeddyCorbuzier, PBNU Chairman Discusses LGBT Issues).” The news discusses that LGBT actors are humans. The discussion discusses LGBT actors as human beings. The next news was “*NU Tolak LGBT, Katib’ Aam: Kita Harus Tuntun Mereka ke Jalan yang Benar* (NU Rejects LGBT, *Katib’ Aam*: We Must Lead Them to the Right Path).” The news discusses the rejection of LGBT, but it is hoped that Muslims and NU members will continue to guide LGBT actors to the right path. Further news is titled “*Hukum Hubungan Seksual dan Perkawinan LGBT (Gay 1)* (Law on Sexual Relations and Marriage of LGBT (Gay 1)).” The news explains that same-sex marriage cannot be legalized because it does not meet the requirements for a *syara’*/religious marriage, and the *ta’zir* sanction is handed over to the government through applicable regulations (Kurniawan, 2016a).

The latest news relevant to this study is “*Hukum Hubungan Seksual dan Perkawinan LGBT (Lesbian)* (LGBT (Lesbian) Sexual Relations and Marriage Law).” The news explains that lesbian sexual relations or LGBT (Lesbian) marriages are illegal and are major sins that have legal consequences in the world through existing government regulations (Kurniawan, 2016b).

The news has a propaganda mission and belongs to the type of white propaganda. The propaganda was done to influence news readers. This is intended so that they are influenced by their goals or mission, namely to understand that LGBT is bad behaviour and is prohibited in Islam and is not following Eastern culture. Among the sentences that lead to propaganda carried out by NU online are; First, always say that LGBT behaviour is deviant. This sentence was published in the news on NU Online; it was not stated without a source or law that explained LGBT.



However, this sentence becomes a weapon or a mission to influence news readers.

News stating that LGBT is deviant behaviour, namely “*Resmi, PBNU Sikapi Perilaku Seksual Menyimpang LGBT* (Official, PBNU Addresses LGBT Deviant Sexual Behavior).” The news states that the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) firmly rejects the practice of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender as deviant behaviour and not following human nature (NU Online, 2016). The next news is “*Perilaku LGBT Menyimpang, tetapi Orangnya harus dirangkul* (LGBT deviant behavior, but the people must be embraced).” The news stated that the attitude of all religions towards LGBT behaviour was clear; that is, it was prohibited and considered a deviant act (Sahal, 2017).

Another news entitled “*LGBT Melanggar Fitrah Manusia* (LGBT Violates Human Nature)” contains the opinion of Muhammad QuraishShihab in his commentary Al-Misbah which interprets Q.S Al-Araf verses 80-81. The act of LGBT is a violation of nature and shirk and is not justified under any circumstances. It is different from killing. Murder can be committed in self-defence, whereas LGBT behaviour cannot be accepted for any reason, and there is no way to justify it (Ardiansyah, 2022). Apart from using Islamic law as a basis for influencing audiences, propaganda is carried out by quoting the words of famous people. Muhammad Quraish Shihab is a recognized religious figure in Indonesia; the presence of Muhammad Quraish Sihab providing a statement through his commentary work will later make people believe more and strengthen their beliefs about LGBT behaviour which is deviant.

Second, LGBT is not religiously correct. In Islam, LGBT is behaviour that violates religion and prohibits religious rules. The Al-Quran explains in An-Naba verse 8 that humans were created in pairs (male and female), not male and male or vice versa. For this reason, in any news related to LGBT, it is always explained that LGBT is not good behaviour

by referring to the legal basis and sources of Islamic law regarding LGBT.

The Koran also describes LGBT (Homosexual) people during the time of the prophet Lut AS in several letters, including in Surat Al-A'raf, Hud, Al-Hijr, Al-Qamar, and Al-Anbiya'. The LGBT people at the time of Prophet Lut were called Sodom people because their area of residence or the place where Prophet Lut preached was in the Sudum or Sadum village (FirandaAndirja). In its history, God punished the Sodomites with hot hailstones and turned the Sodom region upside down. This history clearly illustrates God's wrath against people who do homosexuality (Susanti, 2020).

In the news entitled "*Resmi, PBNU Sikapi Perilaku Seksual Menyimpang LGBT* (Official, PBNU Addresses LGBT Deviant Sexual Behaviors)," Kiai Miftah emphasized that LGBT is a form of deviation from human nature, especially in Islam. Because Islam highly values the protection of offspring (*hifdzunnas*) (NU Online, 2016).

In another news entitled "*Hukum Hubungan Seksual dan Perkawinan LGBT (Gay 1)* (The Law of Sexual Relations and Marriage of LGBT (Gay 1)," Syekh M Syarbini Al-Khatib explained the sanctions for LGBT sexual behaviour where these sanctions took the form of beatings, slaps, detention and exile. This sanction is listed in the book of Syeh M Syarbini entitled *Al-Iqna' fi Halli Alfazhi Abi Synja'* (Kurniawan, 2016a). From the various statements above, reinforced by the opinions of scholars regarding the prohibition of LGBT behaviour, it can be concluded that same-sex marriage certainly cannot be legalized because it does not fulfil the marriage requirements or is justified by religion.

Third, LGBT must be directed to the right path. News entitled "*NU tolak LGBT, Katib 'Am: Kita Harus Tuntun Mereka ke Jalan yang Benar* (NU rejects LGBT, Katib 'Am: We Must Guide Them to the Right Path)," Kiai Said Asrori stated that although NU officials reject LGBT practices, he invites Muslims and citizens to NU to be able to direct and

demand LGBT actors to the right path (Triono, 2022b). The sentence also shows the author's persuasive sentence to the reader. This explanation is propaganda, where the technique they use is to spread or reveal some of the shortcomings of their competitors or the things discussed in the news.

In another news entitled "*Resmi, PBNU Sikapi Perilaku Seksual Menyimpang LGBT* (Official, PBNU Responds to LGBT Deviant Sexual Behaviors)," apart from affirming that LGBT is deviant behaviour, Kiai Miftah also conveyed the attitude that Muslims should take; Kiai Miftah urged them to participate in helping and trying to prevent and heal others. Humans, especially those involved in deviant behaviour, have somewhat returned to their nature as human beings with dignity. This effort can be in the form of mobilizing resources for the rehabilitation of people with LGBT tendencies to be able to return to the right path and live straight according to religious, social and cultural norms.

In gaining public sympathy and community support regarding LGBT prevention, influence must be exerted subtly and humbly. NU Online does not merely criticize and insult LGBT perpetrators as someone despicable and wrong. Even though this behaviour is religiously deviant, as Muslims who care for each other, they should be willing to provide assistance and concern to bring back LGBT perpetrators to the right path. Not only giving criticism but suggestions are still being given so that people, especially LGBT actors, will slowly accept the message.

Fourth, LGBT is not following Eastern customs. Kiai Said Asori, as *Katib' Aam*, stated that Indonesia is famous for its Eastern manners (Triono, 2022b). The word Eastern for the Indonesian state is the main weapon to ward off cultures, unethical manners or cultures from outside that are the opposite of Eastern culture, one of which is LGBT.

In providing understanding for the community, of course, by upholding the customs or culture of the Indonesian people themselves, it will become a strong strategy in influencing the public that LGBT

deviant behaviour should not exist in Indonesia because it is not following prevailing Eastern customs.

The news on the NU Online portal contains truth enforcement tactics regarding the prohibition of LGBT. This tactic aims to build awareness and influence the public to believe that the news they publish about LGBT is a form of deviance. The prohibition of LGBT culture is an important issue that must be fought for before its influence spreads to society. Moreover, Indonesia is a country with a majority Muslim population.

## **Conclusion**

This article shows that the GAYa Nusantara Portal and NU Online each have a specific mission in publishing news. The mission of GAYa Nusantara is to voice equality of rights and welfare of LGBT people and educate them about sex, HIV and AIDS. In principle, LGBT people are increasingly being discussed for and against. Indirectly this will benefit them. It was because of this momentum that GAYa Nusantara was able to attract public attention. At the same time, they aggressively propagated on issues of equality. GAYa Nusantara strives for the government to issue laws protecting various sexualities. With the existence of a law that regulates LGBT, it is hoped that there will be no discrimination in all aspects.

Meanwhile, NU Online's mission is to provide understanding to Indonesian citizens, especially the Muslim community, that LGBT's behaviour is not justified in Islam. The missions carried by the two news portals are voiced through the news they write and publish using white propaganda. With agenda-setting theory, each portal aims to influence audiences according to the issues they bring. The two news portals' missions are contradictory, but GAYa Nusantara does not expect a meeting point between them and the community organizations that oppose it. This is

because both parties have an equally strong foundation. Then NU Online, which does not agree with or reject the existence of LGBT, hopes that Indonesian citizens will continue to reject the existence of LGBT people but not hate or discriminate against LGBT people. NU hopes that they can to direct LGBT people in the right direction according to religious guidance.

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