

## CULTURAL VIOLENCE TOWARDS THE LGBTQ+ COMMUNITY IN ISLAMIC MAJORITY COUNTRY: A Case From @tabu.id's Comment Section

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**Abstract:** Indonesia is a Muslim-majority country. There-fore, Islamic values can be found in every aspect of national and state life. The privilege and power that Muslims have as the majority were used to structurally marginalize the minority group. It changes the essence of religious people who worship God into fanaticism that defies religion. This study aims to explore the mechanism of cultural conflict and violence against the LGBTQ+ community in the online landscape, primarily through the @tabu.id platform after the pandemic hit. This research uses theories of cultural violence from Johan Galtung and cultural hegemony from Antonio Gramsci. This research uses a thematic analysis method from the comment section of @tabu.id posts. From 19 LGBTQ+ themed posts in @tabu.id from March 2020 to November 2021, it was found that some audiences still perceive LGBTQ+ as a deviation, mainly from Indonesian and Islamic values. This leads to the justification of cultural violence towards the LGBTQ+ community and the rejection of acknowledging LGBTQ+ as part of CSE. These findings show the importance of CSE integrated curriculum that included the LGBTQ+ matter to form an inclusive society. Peace study is also seen as the solution to solve the cultural conflict, violence, and hegemony in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Cultural hegemony; cultural violence; Islam; LGBTQ+; @tabu.id.

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## Introduction

Indonesia is a country with the highest number of Islam adherents in the world. Of the total population of 270,203,197 people, 236,53 million (~86-87%) of Indonesia's population are Muslim, making Islam the majority religion in Indonesia<sup>1</sup>. The predominance of Islam adherents in Indonesia is not enough to make this country an Islamic state. Indonesia is a state of law whose democratic ideology is based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Calling Indonesia a secular country is not correct either, due to the moral and ethical doctrine of state development being based on Islamic values. However, this situation is enough to inject the values of Islam itself into the lives of people with different religions and beliefs. Islamic values and practices are commonplace to encounter here in Indonesia.

The general increase of freedom of expression after the collapse of the New Order regime instilled an aspiration for Muslims as the majority community to be devoted religiously. It later embodied the proliferation of comprehension and the formation of Islamic ethics in everyday life.<sup>2</sup> Religion and values became the primary domain of civil society, and it is found in many national and state life aspects.<sup>3,4</sup> The ratification of social institutions and actions through the symbolic and essential details of religion was enacted to encourage participation in the

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<sup>1</sup> Direktorat Jenderal Kependudukan dan Pencatatan Sipil Kementerian Dalam Negeri, "Peta Persebaran Agama 2021," in <https://gis.dukcapil.kemendagri.go.id/arcgis/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=0510ddf68e094d56a07a7bf9f5330dfe> (Retrieved November 8, 2021)

<sup>2</sup> Robert W. Hefner, "Whatever happened to civil Islam? Islam and democratisation in Indonesia, 20 Years On," *Asian Studies Review*, 43/3, (2019): 375-396.

<sup>3</sup> R. Setiawan, M. Esti, and V. V. Sidorov, "Islam and Politics in Indonesia," *RUDN Journal of Political Science*, 22/4, (2020): 731-740. 10.22363/2313-1438-2020-22-4-731-740

<sup>4</sup> Syaifiq Hasim, *State and Religion: Considering Indonesian Islam as Model of Democratisation for the Muslim World* (Berlin: the Liberal Institute Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit, 2013).

faith, alongside strengthening the religion's believers' identity. With the majority having the same essence, it is easier to dominate and resist the minority.<sup>5</sup>

Although the idea of democracy and embracing different belief systems is included in this aspiration, it does not necessarily translate into real action. Many Islam believers repel the idea of liberated freedoms, including those part of other minority belief systems such as non-Islam religion and sexual minorities<sup>2</sup>. One of the minority groups that is heavily attacked in Indonesia is the LGBTQ+ community. The cultural conflict between Muslims and the LGBTQ+ community in Indonesia is justified and acceptable under the name of religion. LGBTQ+ is deemed as a deviation from Islamic values and commands, and thus, should be combated. Discrimination, assault, and other forms of violence are manifestations of the cultural conflict between the two groups. One of the reasons is the privilege Indonesian Muslims possess of the majority of the country heading towards the same vertical transcendence, leaving little room for a plurality of other minority groups to exist<sup>6</sup>. At present, the form of modern warfare that has arisen due to resistance to minorities is known as religious fanaticism. Instead of deifying God, this collective human behavior chooses to deify a religion, pushing away the inferior minority in unison<sup>7</sup>. As a result, the rights of expression and opinion of the LGBTQ+ community must be suppressed if they do not want to become victims of cultural conflict and cultural violence in Indonesia.

The challenge the LGBTQ+ community faces in Indonesia is still far from done as the resistance itself is structural. In 2016, the resistance escalated when the Minister of Higher Education, Muhammad Nasir, proposed to forbid

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<sup>5</sup> M Syawaludin, "Transformation of Islamic Values in Political Interests and Moderate Awareness in Indonesia After the Fall of New Order 1998," *Turkish Journal of Computer and Mathematics Education*, 12/9, (2021): 3017-3026.

<sup>6</sup> I. Rakhmani, *Mainstreaming Islam in Indonesia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Dhany Putra Pratama, "Islamic Fanaticism in Indonesia and Malaysia as Seen Through the Lens of Online Comics and Memes," *paper presented in Asia-Pacific Research in Social Sciences and Humanities Universitas Indonesia Conference-APRISH*, (2019), 558.

LGBTQ+ community organizations from university. It sparked many parties to enforce the same idea of rejecting the LGBTQ+ community, from how malnutrition could lead kids to be gay to how mental health professionals claimed LGBTQ+ as a form of mental illness until the largest Islamist organization in Indonesia, Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam—FPI) stated that the LGBTQ+ community deserves to be criminalized.<sup>8</sup> Some moderate Muslims still believe that LGBTQ+ can be spread like an illness and, thus, should be prevented from happening. Most of these narratives are linked to the right-wing religious groups in Indonesia.<sup>9</sup> LGBTQ+ is depicted as something that does not resonate with Indonesia's culture and even the first principle of Pancasila: Belief in one and only God (Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa).<sup>10</sup>

The concept of LGBTQ+ itself is an inseparable topic from the Comprehensive Sexual Education (CSE). The objective of CSE is to educate and promote healthy sexual well-being and relationships based on universal human rights with no discrimination. Altering or obliterating these topics will further enhance the negative stigma, increasing the risk of risky sexual behavior and leading to less help for marginalized and minority communities<sup>11</sup>. Sex education in Indonesia currently focuses on abstinence-only and is conveyed adjacent to religious values that serve as a moral compass<sup>12</sup>. This insufficiency then led to an initiative from the community to form a proficient CSE

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<sup>8</sup> Human Rights Watch, "These Political Games Ruin Our Lives," in <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/08/10/these-political-games-ruin-our-lives/indonesias-lgbt-community-under-threat> (retrieved November 11, 2021)

<sup>9</sup> Rinaldi Ridwan and Joyce Wu, "Being Young and LGBT, What Could be Worse?" Analysis of Youth LGBT Activism in Indonesia: Challenges and Ways Forward," *Gender & Development*, 26/1, (2018): 121-138. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2018.1429103>.

<sup>10</sup> T. Boellstorff, "Against state straightism: Five principles for including LGBT Indonesians," *E-international Relations*, (2016): 21.

<sup>11</sup> UNESCO, *International technical guidance on sexuality education: An evidence-informed approach: Revised Edition* (UNESCO, 2018).

<sup>12</sup> Sanyulandy Leowalu and Jacqueline Hendriks, "Perspectives of Indonesian Parents Towards School-Based Sexuality Education," *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, (2021): 1-14.

platform. One of the biggest social media-based sexual education platforms in Indonesia is @tabu.id. As of November 2021, @tabu.id had over 116.000 followers. The word Tabu in the Indonesian language can be translated to “taboo” in English. @tabu.id has done numerous collaborations with platform in the same background to promote alternative sexual education in Indonesia. @tabu.id has been operating since 2018 by bringing educational topics related to sexual and reproductive health, including LGBTQ+ as a variation of sexual orientation. However, it turns out that the subject often still gets negative sentiments from the audience, which is reflected in the comment section on the post that discusses LGBTQ+.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, there was increased social media usage and the Internet due to restricted physical communication. Instagram has become the top three social media used in Indonesia, especially by Indonesian youth during the pandemic.<sup>13,14</sup> The relatively accessible nature of the Internet and social media, in general, has been a facilitator for the masses to participate and gather information.<sup>15</sup> The verbal threats and negative prejudice towards the LGBTQ+ community in the social media sphere, added by the structural oppression in religious piety, is a form of cultural violence that leads to cultural hegemony. All this evidence tells us that this majority group has higher power to oppress minorities, while minority groups do not have the same rights.

All the problems stated prior then lead us to question how the mechanism of cultural conflict and violence towards the LGBTQ+ community in the online landscape after the pandemic hit. We aim to understand the factors and comprehensively explain how the majority community is given a

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<sup>13</sup> Fiona Suwana, et al., “Digital Media Use of Generation Z During COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Jurnal Sosioteknologi*, 19/3, (2020): 327-340.

<sup>14</sup> S. J. I. Ismail, et al., “Study of Internet and Social Media Addiction in Indonesia during Covid-19,” *International Journal of Applied Information Technology*, 4/02, (2020): 69-80.

<sup>15</sup> L. M. Kruse, D. R. Norris and J. R. Flinchum, “Social Media as a Public Sphere? Politics on Social Media,” *The Sociological Quarterly*, 59/1, (2018): 62-84. 10.1080/00380253.2017.1383143.

free pass to enact violent attacks, primarily verbal, to the minority group namely the LGBTQ+ community. We limit this study objective to the comments under the posts by @tabu.id related to the LGBTQ+ theme after the pandemic hit (March 2020) until November 2021.

### **Literature Review**

This research uses Johan Galtung's cultural violence theory and Antonio Gramsci's cultural hegemony. These theories would support analyzing the injustice problem faced by the LGBTQ+ community on social media platforms. Johan Galtung, known as the "Father of Peace Studies", developed a three-part typology of violence that depicts how specific cultural/historical moments shape the conditions for promoting violence (and, by extension, peace) to function as normative. The three typologies are direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. This article would only focus on the cultural violence theory, in which it refers to the presence of pervasive or prominent social standards that make direct and structural violence appear "normal", "right" or at the very least, acceptable<sup>16</sup>. In Indonesia, religion and belief tend to be passed from one generation to the next rather than something an individual can freely choose throughout their lives. Further, it strengthens the position of Islamic values in the life of the nation and state and maintains the position of Muslims as the majority group. Galtung's understanding of cultural violence explains how dominant views can become so fixed in a culture that they operate as absolutes and are passed down without question from generation to generation. Galtung's typology is a valuable tool for identifying the complicated roles that religions play in all three types of violence, as well as their corresponding forms of peace. Cultural violence and cultural peace are beneficial and relevant expressions. Religious influences are constantly present in all cultural situations, and they are often

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<sup>16</sup> D. L. Moore, *Methodological Assumptions and Analytical Frameworks Regarding Religion* (Harvard: Harvard Divinity School, 2015).

contradictory. Many will be implicit, while others will be explicit. Some effects will promote and represent socially acceptable beliefs, while others will encourage and represent marginalized beliefs. For example, the idea that Africans are primitive and intellectually inferior to Caucasians gave sanction to the African slave trade.<sup>17</sup>

In much the same way Southern writers sought to reinvent the perfidious institution of slavery, hegemony, or control of significant outlets of information and societal control, it has been used to convey a specific view of the LGBT community. Empowering individuals to appreciate this legacy and how it can and is currently being contested with alternative discourses<sup>18</sup>. One approach to start is to define ‘cultural violence’ by looking for its opposite. If the opposite of violence is peace, and peace studies is the field of peace research, then the opposite of cultural violence is ‘cultural peace,’ which refers to characteristics of a culture that serve to justify and legitimize direct and structural peace.<sup>19</sup>

The other theory is the cultural hegemony that Gramsci (1971) found derived from Marx’s concept of false consciousness. It can be described as a state of unawareness that people have regarding their power and dominance. Gramsci further explained that the audiences have a high possibility of getting manipulated by the social structure they financially support. The dominant groups in the society can steer people into citizenship through various means, including popular culture and religion. This would be possible under the condition that the community approves the value or “things” given by the dominant groups, such as freedoms, material goods, etc. After all, people would rather live in a society that recognizes and makes their rights to be seen, in exchange for accepting the ideas

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> G. Shafer, “Language, Hegemony, and LGBT Rights,” *Language Arts Journal of Michigan*, 30/2, (2015): 7.

<sup>19</sup> Johan Galtung, “Cultural Violence,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(No. 23), (1990): 291-305. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3433%28199008%2927%3A3%3C291%3ACV%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6>.

from dominant groups. Gramsci emphasizes the culture of resistance rather than determining the content of the culture itself.<sup>20</sup>

The applicability of Gramsci's hegemony theory to today's society is apparent in the form of cultural violence. Hegemony is actually an attempt to lead people to assess and view social problems within the framework determined by the power holders. Some will prosper while others suffer in the dominant culture, making the losing party vulnerable to a minor power imbalance. The most common form of hegemony is the dominance of one group over another, usually the weaker, usually by using either verbal or physical violence. The division is frequently based on ideology. The method used to win consensus is to determine the cognitive structure of society, either directly or indirectly, through products of hegemony that are considered morally and intellectually correct. Then, the dominance of the compromise idea is not questioned.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the public may discover themselves being affected subtly, pushed, and pulled in several directions and transformed into violence.

These concepts and theories are used to guide this research. From cultural violence to hegemony, the conception of normative imbalance would emerge in this research. The following analysis would also conclude the funnel into Indonesia's social paradigm and its religious fanaticism towards Islam. The LGBTQ+ as an oppressed group in Indonesia is the subject of this study to be analyzed within these theories.

## Method

The primary data from this research is in the form of comments on @tabu.id's LGBTQ+-themed posts from March 2020 to November 2021. During that period, 19 posts with the theme of LGBTQ+ were recorded. Of these 19 posts, as of

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<sup>20</sup> Kate Crehan, *Gramsci, Culture, and Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

November 2021, there are a total of 2002 comments, and the average number of comments per post is 105 comments. The data was then analyzed using qualitative thematic analysis methods, namely identifying and analyzing explicit and implicit themes from the textual information. To enhance the reliability and validity of this research, the analysis was done by all two researchers. This was enacted to provide checks on individual biases and variance in interpretation of code definition.<sup>22</sup> Qualitative thematic analysis was carried out to map what themes emerged from the audience's comments on LGBTQ+ themed posts. It can be argued that social media has become the renewed version of the public sphere by giving access for people to share, publish, or even challenge other people or their opinions<sup>15</sup>. By then, publicly posted comments can measure how a group of people stir their opinions. The secondary data for this research was supporting literature such as journals, books, and or news from online sources.

## **Result and Discussion**

Islam, as the dominant group, possesses great power in determining social value. The dominance gives an illusion that Islam is the only religion in Indonesia. The singularities create stagnation in the practice of humanity. It causes the deification towards religion and neglects the horizontal transcendence value. The reason why Indonesian Muslims have the advantage of having the majority of the country headed in the same direction, leaving little room for other minority groups to exist. The social gap between the majority and the minority in Indonesia can be seen in the social paradigm. Discrimination and oppression quickly emerge, especially in taboo matters such as CSE education. The value opposition from Islamic teaching is the core problem of how cultural conflict led to gender expression injustice in Indonesia. Cultural conflict within the religion that enacted social values led to cultural violence

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<sup>22</sup> G. S. Guest, K. M. Macqueen and E. E. Namey, *Applied Thematic Analysis* (London: Sage Publications, 2011).

towards the oppressed group. The conflict later evolved into cultural hegemony retrieved from power imbalance in society's normative standard.

Galtung's cultural violence theory elaborates on this imbalanced normative system in Indonesia. The mannerism towards anything foreign to the singular majority group tends to end with rejection. The oppression somehow leaves a great gray area to the minority group that the majority ones alienate. Religions are currently shaping and supporting, as well as challenging, significant policy expressions in unique ways. In certain social-historical circumstances, conventional cultural conceptions about gender roles and sexuality are constantly formed and fought by various religious voices and influences. To identify how religions are ingrained in all human agency and experience elements, one only needs to look for their voices and influences in any context and on any problem<sup>16</sup>. From normative value to anything taboo, the social norm seems more feared than the law by society itself. This social norm came from the embedded value within the generation. Informal and customary normative frameworks shape and influence the great bulk of human conduct. At the same time, practically every part of our daily lives is regulated by both formal and informal normative frameworks, with both institutional and non-legal or social punishments. In places where state institutions lack credibility and political clout, informal and customary systems frequently act in isolation from the state legal system, which may be rejected, ignored, or misunderstood.<sup>23</sup>

From cultural conflict to violence, cultural hegemony has also become the repercussion of how the cause of injustice and oppression in Indonesia has evolved from conflict to violence. The normative imbalance system is reflected in the power disparity between the majority and minority groups. Consent and force almost always coexist in Gramsci's world, but one or

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<sup>23</sup> L. Chirayath, C. Sage and M. Woolcock, "Customary Law and Policy Reform: Engaging with the Plurality of Justice Systems," *Background paper for the World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development*, (2005).

the other predominates. They usually dominate through hegemony, although the danger of publicly sanctioned power is constantly there. Ruling groups do not just preserve their hegemony by instilling moral authority in their dominance through the production and propagation of legitimizing symbols. They must also seek the consent of subordinate groups to the current social order.<sup>24</sup> This matter is utterly unfortunate for the minority groups in Indonesia. Their freedom of expression comes with the cost of being discriminated against in both real-world and cyberspace. LGBTQ+ community as the sexual minority group has suffered a long list of injustice and oppression that originated from the dominant and majority group in Indonesia.

The importance of CSE education in the formal curriculum will ease the stigma within gender and sexual orientation expression injustice. Alternative platforms as the primary source get attacked by the third world country and Muslim majority country mindset. As transmitters of culture and consequently engines of social reproduction, schools are unquestionably essential agents in the hegemonic process. LGBT persons and LGBT activists are being attacked worldwide, not for their activities but for who they are. Home, school, and community violence all occur. Schools may be one of the most dangerous settings for LGBT students.<sup>25</sup> Not only are LGBT youth or those thought to be LGBT harassed, but also they are frequently expelled from schools in the United States. Hate crimes against LGBT youngsters have found a new home on the internet. On the one hand, it opens new access to a global LGBT community and a better understanding of LGBT issues. But on the other hand, it is reported that the expression

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<sup>24</sup> T.J.J. Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *The American Historical Review*, 90/3, (1985): 567-593.

<sup>25</sup> Amnesty International, *Crimes of Hate, Conspiracy of Silence* (Oxford: The Alden Press, 2001).

of hatred toward minority groups is more severe within the online community than with the “off-line” community.<sup>26</sup>

Unlike in the old days, the media convergence that has been happening for at least the last two decades eases participation in expressing an opinion. Social media is a public sphere where we can see the reflection of Indonesia's whereabouts in denying the importance of LGBTQ+ as part of the CSE curriculum. The rejection of verbal injustice is critical towards the minority group. @tabu.id as a grassroots movement made by the community aimed to bridge the gap of the current sexual education in Indonesia, which often provides the abstinence-only type, is attacked. Living up to its name, @tabu.id tried to uncover the topics that are often taboo to be discussed in Indonesian society. As an alternative CSE platform, @tabu.id serves the LGBTQ+ curriculum as an integrated part that cannot be separated, although it is against Islamic values. The conflict that emerges sparks cyber injustice in expressing gender and sexual orientation. Democratic life ideally includes freedom of expression that does not violate the freedom of expression of others. This value is stated in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the basis of Indonesia's ideology. However, from the comments found, the idea that appears repeatedly contains only the first principle of Pancasila: *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (Belief in Only One God), without including the second principle that follows: *Kemanusiaan Yang Adil dan Beradab* (Just and civilized humanity). These principles are ideally intertwined to support harmony and freedom in the life of nation and state, for the importance of relationship towards God and society. Other than an integrated LGBTQ+ curriculum, peace studies should be introduced into Indonesia's area of study. To apply the humanities value into everyday life as diverse communities is essential to keep the *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* as Indonesia's tagline.

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<sup>26</sup> S. H. Dworkin, and Huso Yi, “LGBT Identity, Violence, and Social Justice: The Psychological is Political,” *International Journal for the Advancement of Counseling*, 25/4, (2003): 269-279.

### **Underlying Themes on The Comment Section**

Between March 2020 and November 2021, there were 19 posts on @tabu.id containing LGBTQ+ themes. The topics discussed varied, ranging from the complexity of the factors that contribute to the formation of homosexual orientation, the definitions of various sexual orientations, prevention of stigmatization in the LGBTQ+ community, and educating about the origins of the equality movement for the LGBTQ+ community itself. Of these 19 posts, there were 2002 comments, with the most comments on Coming Out Day on October 11, 2021, with 710 comments as of November 2021.

Several general themes can be drawn from these comments when using tonality as an assessment indicator: curiosity, positive remarks, neutral arguments, sharing experiences or knowledge, and negative responses or arguments. Almost all the measured posts had comments in the form of questions. Sometimes the question aligns with the post content, but sometimes it does not. Comments in the form of questions are generally asked in a neutral tone. In addition, in various posts, comments are also found in the form of sharing experiences or knowledge possessed by the audience related to the post being discussed. The appearance of comments in the form of questions and sharing experiences or knowledge in almost all posts indicates two things. First, there are still many audiences who are curious and want to understand more about LGBTQ+ itself. In addition, the audience considered that the post was insightful, so that it sparked comments from the audience about similar experiences or knowledge. These two things lead to creating a healthy, non-judgmental discussion process and enhancing knowledge revolving around the LGBTQ+ theme.

In the negative comments, several main underlying concepts appear repeatedly. LGBTQ+ is still believed by some who make negative comments as deviations, whether biologically, socially, stately, or religiously. The argument often brought up for biological deviations is that same-sex couples

cannot fulfill the natural reproductive function like heterosexual couples.

*“...Secara biologi diciptakan juga pasangannya jenis hetero. Ini yang adminnya kurang tekankan. Untuk diskriminasi ya ga boleh, cuma tetep dibimbing supaya hetero kembali...”*

In addition, LGBTQ+ is also considered a social deviation because it can offend other human rights.

*“Rasanya kok kayak meng-encourage lgbtq+ ya? Ini bak manusia yang menyimpang, dan pastinya menyinggung hak manusia lain yg tidak menyimpang”.*

*“...1 hal yang pasti, meskipun anda minoritas, kalo batu sama prinsip menyimpang, perilaku seksual anda ga akan pernah ditoleransi”.*

Some audiences also perceive that LGBTQ+ is not compatible with the ideology and values adopted by the Indonesian state, including Pancasila. Some audiences associate LGBTQ+ with liberal ideology from Western countries, which leads them to think the existence of the LGBTQ+ community in Indonesia is part of the propaganda that will threaten the nation's safety and wholeness. Comments that use Pancasila as a shield against LGBTQ+ only contain the first precept: Belief in One God. Meanwhile, in Pancasila, the second principle that accompanies is Just and Civilized Humanity because the subject of divinity and humanity are two things that ideally go hand in hand. Referring to the concept of vertical and horizontal transcendence, what appears in these comments is only vertical transcendence and forgets that horizontal relationships among human beings are equally important. This inequality then leads to justification for the rejection of the existence of the LGBTQ+ community in Indonesia.

*“Ingat ketuhanan yg maha esa.. propaganda Komunitas ini sangat bertentangan dgn Nilai2 Luhur Pancasila.. walaupun kalian Tau kalian akan Musnah kalau gak menyebarkan dan menularkan paham ini ke org lain tapi mohon berhentilah menyebarkan paham2 asing dari Negara Luar..”*

*“Di pancasila memang harus toleransi, namun ada batasnya, namun toleransi dalam hal LGBT ini tidak sesuai dengan pancasila sila pertama, dan konsep LGBT ini ideologi komunis, tidak sesuai dengan ideologi pancasila, silakan yang mau berkomentar chat dosen saya saja, ini penjelasan dosen saya terima kasih..”*

*“Tenang min yang kontra & resistance juga akan semakin banyak kok hehe, LGBTQ++ gak pernah bisa nafas bebas di indo, apalagi sampe legal!”*

*“Bukan moralitas org, tapi moralitas yg telah tertanam, dijunjung, dan menjadi nilai praktis bagi sebuah bangsa, paham? Kalo gapaham belajar lagi, indonesia memang toleransi, tapi dalam hal apa dulu, juga pun ada batasnya, adapun dilarang di indonesia juga karna dengan background masing” yg kuat dan itu sab sab aja....jdi mbokya klo mau bebas ya ke negara yg menjunjung hal itu dong, jangan maksa indonesia mau nerima hal yg kalian inginkan, giliran indonesia ga nerima perbuatan itu malah dituduh tabu? Ya emang ukurannya gabisa nerima, gimana sih?...”*

Religious values then became the central theme underlying negative comments on posts on @tabu.id discussing LGBTQ+. In most arguments, the idea found is that all religions forbid the existence of LGBTQ+. They also emphasized the position of divinity and religion as the highest position that must be upheld. Many of these comments are expressed in arguments but are also expressed in the form of sarcasm and ridicule. This argument can be considered valid. Freedom to practice the religious values adopted is part of democratic life in the state itself. However, other accompanying things and values that the commenters involve are related to Islamic teaching. They are using the values and teaching of Islam as a shield and weapon to attack the LGBTQ+ community. For example, in several comments, they believe that LGBTQ+ is a source of adultery and sin like the prophets of Lut listed in the Al-Quran, the source of Islamic teaching, hence, should be combated. If the existence of the LGBTQ+ community is supported and continued, they believe this will bring bad things like doomsday and disaster that were cited in the Al-Quran. Here implied the separation between religion and humanity. The justification for discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community is also allowed because of orders and prohibition from Islamic values and teaching. In addition, the LGBTQ+ community is considered to have no religion because they practice something that should be prohibited by religion.

*“Bukan di negeri ini. Tapi di agama manapun tidak memperbolehkan hubungan sesama jenis”.*

*"Alhamdulillah ternyata byk follower disini yg ga setuju sma LGBTQ. bukan hrs wt dukung tp hrs di cegah lah. Kaya kata mahfud md. Mereka memang ciptaan Tuhan. Iblis juga ciptaan Tuhan dan qt hrs perang!!!"*

*"... Udah jelas dalam Al quran jangan mendekati zina, apalagi zina nya, efek nya yang akan menimbulkan berbagai penyakit. Apalagi yang seperti kaum sodom. Klo dalam Al quran perilaku LGBT itu bukan hal baru lagi, udah ada sejak dulu, ya itu kaum sodom, yang melampaui batas ending nya d adzab, udah jelas banget peringatannya. Sesungguhnya firman Allah itu benar".*

*"Hmmm, kiamat sudah dekat. Tapi yasudah lah... terserah aja..."*

*"Tuhan menciptakan adam dan hawa, bukan adam dan bambang".*

*"Bener ya, agama islam itu adalah agama yg intoleran, salah satunya adalah tidak mentoleransi hal hal yang salah,..."*

*"...Hukuman hanya Tuhan yg berhak? Justru Tuhan memberikan legalitas di dunia yg disebut Hakim untuk menghukum. Jelas sampe sini?. Buat kaum LGBT denger nih, lo itu masih beruntung hidup di Indonesia, sudah diberi pengarahan preventif tentang tindakan LGBT, tapi saat kaum anda melakukan hal tersebut yg wajib dihukum, siapa yg merepresentasikan perilakunya? Yaitu orangnya, HUKUM."*

*"LGBT tidak diakui dan tidak dibenarkan oleh negara menurut saya bukan bentuk diskriminasi. Dalam agama juga tidak membenarkan LGBT, bukan berarti agama mendiskriminasi kaaan".*

The points previously explained then lead to a specific behavior shown by the audience, namely stating in posts discussing LGBTQ+ that they have unfollowed @tabu.id. This reveals how the audience still rejects the notion of how LGBTQ+ is an integrated part of Comprehensive Sexual Education (CSE) because they still perceive LGBTQ+ as a deviation rather than a variation.

*"Nope! Unfollowed. Thought u just an account that talks about sex health and reproduction????".*

*"Unfollow min maaf, gua follow tabu.id untuk edukasi seksual bukan penyimpangan seksual, apalagi sampai terang2an didukung sama admin".*

*"Sorry unfollow gw kira tentang edukasi reproduksi ternyata nyerempet ke kaum nabi luth wkwk bye".*

The interesting thing that was later found was how in posts about asexuality, there were no negative comments like other posts about LGBTQ+. Asexuality is part of LGBTQ+, but because, on the surface, the behavior shown by asexual

people is in line with religious rules that prohibit adultery and sex outside of marriage, it becomes more acceptable to the audience.

*“Terimakasih min postingannya! Semoga bisa meningkatkan awareness mengenai aseksual di Indonesia”.*

*“Jujur ud pernah ketemu seksual orientasi lain d dunia ini, sampai sekarang aseksual belum pernah. Kadang mikir ada temen2 yang bingung atau takut dengan hubungan seksual itu aseksual. Dari curhat2 mereka sih arahnya ke sana, kadang pingin kasih tau tentang aseksual cma kurang tau lebih dalam secara definisi. So this has been very helpful.”*

The belief that LGBTQ+ is a deviant show that audiences still reject the notion of LGBTQ+ as part of various sexual orientations. Having different opinions and viewpoints in a democratic society is not something problematic. Exercising the right to express oneself is encouraged. It becomes a problem when this idea is stretched and modified to be the base for oppressing and attacking the minority group who ideally should have the same right to express themselves as the majority group. The heteronormative construct order also encourages the perception that there is a nature that humans should not violate. The idea of nature is taken from the values taught by religion and the Indonesian state's ideology, especially the precepts of the Belief in One God.

## **Conclusion**

The disparity between these two groups in cyberspace is utterly critical. The deification of religion embodies the misunderstanding of religion's values and nature. This fallacy then leads to the emphasis on singularity. Whereas segregation emerges, singularity arises, which kills human social value to overcome diversity. Therefore, the deification of religion has to be abolished to diverge. The hegemony of Islam believers as a Muslim majority country create cultural conflict against the LGBTQ+ community in Indonesia, The normative imbalance between Muslims as the majority group and the LGBTQ+

community as a minority is still being justified in the name of religion. This was reflected in the comment section of @tabu.id as the alternative CSE platform created by the community to fill the gap of sexual education in Indonesia. The idea of LGBTQ+ as the integrated part of CSE is still rejected by some of the @tabu.id audience in Indonesia. The inclusivity towards LGBTQ+ has to happen towards formal education curriculum as the tool to comprehend the intersection and cross-cultural studies between humans and religion as a whole. Peace studies will be the pinnacle of our efforts to abolish the gender and sexual orientation expression injustice in Indonesia's cyberspace. This research has explored the cultural violence towards the LGBTQ+ community specifically in cyberspace and in a limited time frame. Further studies can explore the related topic from the other interdisciplinary, such as psychology, media studies, and sociology.

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