

Ideological Ambivalence: A Social Semiotic Multimodal Analysis of LGBT Activism in @WhatIsUpIndonesia

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ABSTRACT

Many people have attempted to criminalize the LGBT community. This study aims to examine how @WhatIsUpIndonesia negotiates the supported ideology with the dominant ideology in their Instagram posts about criminalizing LGBT people through two different cases; the proposed revision of Indonesia's Criminal Code (RKUHP) and Bogor's Regional Regulation on the Prevention and Countermeasures Against Sexually Deviant Behavior. A corpus of two posts about the two cases is analyzed using social semiotic multimodal analysis in two steps: textual analysis and visual analysis. This study finds that WIUI negotiates its relatively liberal values with the dominant conservative ideology in Indonesia by choosing ambivalence through the shifting focus and overgeneralizing the issue using recontextualization and memes. In conclusion, two opposing ideologies in social media activism can be negotiated using ambivalence instead of leaning towards only one. However, the limitations of this research prevented a thorough examination of how WIUI interacts with its audience.

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INTRODUCTION

Although the law does not criminalize them, the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) community, as a sexual minority, still faces a lot of discrimination in Indonesia. In fact, according to a survey conducted by the United States-based Pew Research Institute in 2019 and posted in *The Jakarta Post* (2020), out of the 38,426 respondents across 34 countries, only 9% of Indonesians believed that homosexuality should be accepted and tolerated in society (Adjie, 2020). Aside from that, there have been multiple attempts to criminalize the LGBT community. In May 2022, Mahfud MD (the Coordinating Ministry of Law, Politics, and Security) stated that regulations regarding LGBT have been added to the proposed Revision of Indonesia's Criminal Code (RKUHP). Furthermore, Mahfud believes that this is the correct course of action because LGBT is against religious norms. Aside from that, the criminalization of LGBT is also manifested in Bogor's Regional Regulation No. 10/2021 on the Prevention and Countermeasures against Sexually Deviant Behavior. Bima Arya, the mayor of Bogor, stated that this regulation was an initiative to accommodate aspirations regarding the high number of HIV/AIDS cases and various cases of the weakening of family resilience. The controversial nature of Mahfud MD's statement and Bogor's Regional Regulation attracted attention from the media and activist communities, including @WhatIsUpIndonesia.

One of the newest and most effective strategies of LGBT activism is the use of social media platforms like Instagram. The appeal of moving activism online lies in its safer environment (Wijaya & Davies, 2019, p. 163) and the ability to use memes to create bottom-up pressure on the government (Horvath, 2021). Furthermore, despite the lack of geographical boundaries, LGBT activism in social media is still heavily affected by a nation's culture, as it was found to be more successful when it upheld the dominant ideology (Wijaya & Davies, 2019). Countries with a more liberal ideology tend to have similar values to LGBT activists, thus they are more easily accepted. For example, Belgium, as a country that has established legal frameworks for the LGBTI community since the 2000s, earned the title of "paradise for LGBT rights" from the European Union's (EU) Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) (Verhoeven et. al., 2022, p. 4). Aside from that, according to a survey conducted by the Williams Institute about the social acceptance of LGBTI people (2022), Iceland is ranked first with the highest rate of acceptance. In other countries, LGBT activists are often silenced by the government and other people. For example, the Russian government threatened to make memes illegal as a response to the Putin gay icon meme made by LGBT+ activists in Russia in 2016 (Baker et al., 2020, p. 228). Similarly, MyKali activists in Jordan faced numerous serious threats, forcing them to strike a balance between being subversive and staying safe in their attempt to counteract the media's moral panic to enforce social control in Jordan (Mahadeen, 2021, p. 93).

There has been a lot of research that studies LGBT social media activism in various countries, LGBT activism in Indonesia, and discourse analysis on how the media portray LGBT issues in Indonesia. However, none of them discusses how they intersect with each other. Many studies examine LGBT social media activism in various countries, two of them being Russia and Jordan (Baker et.al., 2020; Mahadeen, 2021). Furthermore, some research does not focus on LGBT activism in social media, but rather on LGBT activism in Indonesia. One example is the research done by Ridwan and Wu (2018), which studied how young Indonesian LGBT people mobilize to fight for LGBT rights while battling the rising homophobia and increasingly anti-LGBT political atmosphere. They also unraveled the strategies used by young LGBT people in Indonesia, including public education, community organizing, and legal support. Similarly, Wijaya and Davies (2019) also studied the history of LGBT activism in Indonesia. In particular, they studied the LGBT movement during the New Order and its decline during the Reformation era due to the wave of conservatism and Islamic parties gaining more power and influence. Wijaya and Davies (2019) also compared LGBT activism in Indonesia with that in the United States and Singapore to see the different strategies used (p. 164).

Moreover, there are also some studies that use discourse analysis to examine news relating to LGBT issues in Indonesia. Utami (2018) examined the ideology behind *The Jakarta Post* and *The Jakarta Globe* news articles to find that the LGBT community is depicted as the defending party and an active agent in fighting for their rights. According to Utami (2018), this depiction revealed how *The Jakarta Post* appeals to the democratic ideology of Indonesia to raise the issue of LGBT discrimination. In contrast, Prastiwi (2021) examined Republika Online news articles and discovered that LGBT people are frequently stereotyped as sick and a threat to the nation. By doing so, Republika Online (ROL) reveals conservative Muslim ideology. Aside from that, Prastiwi (2021) also examined the ambivalent reaction from the audience.

Using Prastiwi (2021) and Utami (2018) as models, discourse analysis is applied to investigate the values underlying a digital media address of LGBT issues in Indonesia. According to Paltridge and Hyland (2012), discourse analysis refers to a study that focuses on language usage trends across texts and how language interacts with social and cultural environments. Furthermore, multimodal analysis studies refer to a branch of discourse analysis that studies how modalities like images are combined with text to convey meaning in discourse. In particular, social semiotic multimodal analysis studied how those modalities are utilized by people with a certain social context (Jewitt, 2016, p. 30). According to Jewitt (2016), "multimodality" refers

to approaches to communication and representation that acknowledge the multiplicity of modes that can contribute to meaning, including image, gesture, and body language (p. 4). Furthermore, Machin and van Leeuwen's (2016) social semiotic analysis proposed three stages that integrate language, semiotics, culture, history, and sociological theory (pp. 251-252). The first stage is analyzing the signifier, which refers to the object of analysis and the information that it provides, including verbal expressions and the meaning they carry. Next, the second stage focuses on the signified, which refers to what the object means to the audience. In this stage, images and text are interpreted to derive meaning. Lastly, the third stage analyzes the significance of the analyzed object from a wider perspective using abstract theories.

Since there are hardly any papers that analyze ideology in LGBT social media activism, it is necessary to look into papers on social media activism with issues other than LGBT. A study by Anapol (2022) examined how memes are used to criticize the UK government's "Stay Alert" policy during the COVID-19 pandemic. Anapol (2022) utilized recontextualization (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) to examine how memes reshaped discourse to make meaning by looking at the process of altering the image or changing the caption. Scholars argued that social practices go through a process of transformation called "recontextualization" according to the interest and underlying ideology of the context in which they are represented (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 96; Machin & van Leeuwen, 2016, p. 255). Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) proposed that the process of recontextualization go through the processes of addition, deletion, substitution, and rearrangement (pp. 96–98). The process of addition stood for the act of adding elements to the represented social practice, which includes reaction, evaluation, purpose, and legitimation. First, according to Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), reaction means additional information in the form of the author's emotions. Secondly, evaluation refers to adding the author's personal judgment of the discourse (Machin, 2013). However, evaluation does not contain an expression of emotions. Thirdly, purpose is adding external information to explain why an action is taken. Lastly, similar to purpose, legitimation aims to add information as to why an action is necessary. The information is added as a way to justify the action. In contrast, the process of deletion was described as the omission of information, which can take the form of the elimination of passive agents and participants. Furthermore, substitution was depicted as the process of substituting real elements of a social practice into signs, including generalization and particularization of agents. Moreover, rearrangement was proposed as the process of rearranging the order of a social practice to fit the values and interests of the speaker. In Anapol (2022), the concept of recontextualization (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) was used to investigate how memes recontextualize the "Stay Alert" policy in order to convey their message, as well as the use of legitimate.

Furthermore, a study by Howard and Adan (2022) examined how memes are used to create supportive discussion among women regarding victims of abuse. In their study, Howard and Adan (2022) utilized memes as speech acts (Grundlingh, 2018) to analyze the memes' underlying meaning and intention. According to Grundlingh (2018), speech acts, as they were studied in pragmatics, which focused on the intended meaning of an utterance by the speaker, were defined as a form of performing act by using utterances. Thus, Grundlingh (2018) proposed that the intended purpose of a meme can be interpreted by analyzing its meaning. The general purposes of memes can vary, but Grundlingh (2018) argued that memes can be used to convey humor, serious messages or criticisms, or questions. Furthermore, linguistic features used in the memes will be analyzed to help understand their pragmatic purpose. Linguistic features used include sarcasm, irony, satire, allusion, and metaphor. Sarcasm refers to intentionally using positive or intensified emotions to express displeasure (Bharti, et al., 2016, as cited in Kumar & Garg, 2019, p. 1). Meanwhile, irony refers to a literary device where the actual meaning, usually sad and concerning, is concealed under the surface meaning (Fubara, 2020, p. 80). Furthermore, according to Sheikh, Hassan, and Muzafar (2022), satire means mocking something in a humorous way with the intention of criticizing it (p. 100). Moreover, allusion is a literary device to mention pop culture or current event references (Souza & Passos, 2021, p. 234) and metaphor is mimicking an object or action with another object or action (Piata, 2016, p. 40).

Since its creation in 2020, there has not been one study using @WhatIsUpIndonesia as its research object, despite the account continuing to grow its influence and followers rapidly despite only targeting a small group of the Indonesian population as its audience. What Is Up, Indonesia? (@WhatIsUpIndonesia or WIUI) is an Instagram account dedicated to providing information and analysis of recent social and political issues in Indonesia. WIUI uses English as their primary language instead of Indonesian, and many memes accompany their recollection and analysis. Abigail Limuria, the co-founder of WIUI, explained that WIUI uses English as the primary language to reach and attract internationally-raised Indonesian citizens, a minority group from a privileged background that remains unaware and apathetic towards Indonesian social and political issues due to language inhibitions (Narasi, 2022). To fit the format of WIUI's posts, Machin and van Leeuwen's (2016) social semiotic analysis is used to study how modalities like images are combined with text to convey meaning and ideology in discourse. Therefore, this study aims to examine how WIUI negotiates the supported ideology with the dominant ideology in the textual and visual components of the Instagram posts about criminalizing LGBT posted by @WhatIsUpIndonesia using social semiotic multimodality (Jewitt, 2016) to see how modes can reveal underlying values and ideologies. To that end, the following research questions are addressed in this study: First, how does @WhatIsUpIndonesia recontextualize LGBT issues through the two cases? Second, how does @WhatIsUpIndonesia use memes to support their arguments regarding LGBT issues through the two cases? This research uses recontextualization (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) and social semiotic multimodality (Grundlingh, 2018) to answer the research questions.

METHOD

This research uses a multimodal discourse analysis method to analyze @WhatIsUpIndonesia's two Instagram posts using Machin and van Leeuwen's social semiotic analysis (2016). In this study, the writer is going to analyze Instagram posts as the corpus. The corpus contains two Instagram posts about criminalizing LGBT people (*Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* and *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?*) with ten slides and five memes for each post. The corpus used in this study was directly collected from the @WhatIsUpIndonesia Instagram account on 26 August 2022. There are two steps of analysis in this study: textual analysis and visual analysis. First, the writer analyzes the information provided in WIUI's Instagram posts using recontextualization (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) to examine how WIUI negotiates the two opposing ideologies by recontextualizing the two cases regarding criminalizing LGBT. Pieces of information on WIUI's Instagram posts that will be analyzed are news recollections of each case and further analysis from WIUI, excluding the memes on the post. Secondly, the memes used in WIUI's Instagram posts are analyzed using memes as speech acts analysis (Grundlingh, 2018) to unravel how WIUI uses memes to support their arguments. The memes are examined for their pragmatic purpose to determine how they communicate and their purpose by separating them into two categories proposed by Grundlingh (2018), which include memes as jokes and memes with serious messages (pp. 17-19). In addition, the figurative language used in memes is also examined to help better interpret the meme's purpose.

DISCUSSION

Textual Analysis

According to Ledin and Machin (2017, p. 64), unraveling underlying values in a text could be done by understanding the "re-contextualization of social practice" (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999), as it focuses on the "scripts" or sequences of behavior, such as activities, that can be correlated to a discourse. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999, as cited in Machin, 2013) proposed that the participants, settings, processes, and causality of a discourse go through a recontextualization process, which includes addition, deletion, substitution, and rearrangement (pp. 352-353).

Addition

Recontextualized text can include new elements. There are two additional elements found in the post about rumors about criminalizing LGBT people: the context for the proposed revision of the Criminal Code controversy and how LGBT rights are perceived in Indonesia. Machin (2013) proposed three forms of addition that play an essential role in analyzing representation: purpose, legitimation, evaluation, and reaction (p. 352). However, this analysis does not reveal instances of reactions in the sample that the informative nature of the samples might cause. The additions used for the recontextualization of the *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b) post are shown in the Table 1.

Table 1. Additions in *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b)

Addition		Form	
RKUHP or RUU KUHP (the Criminal Code) definition.		Purpose	1. to provide context. 2. establish the shifting focus from LGBT discrimination issues to RKUHP (the Criminal Code proposed revision).
Why the Criminal Code needs to be revised.			
The reactions and the problems of the proposed Revision of Indonesia's Criminal Code discussion.	RKUHP (The proposed Revision of Indonesia's Criminal Code)	Legitimation	the Criminal Code proposed revision (RKUHP) is portrayed as a controversial issue.
Indonesia's Criminal Code Revisions progress since 2019.			
The proposed Revision of Indonesia's Criminal Code is not all bad therefore we need a nuanced discussion.		Evaluation	ambivalent views towards the Criminal Code proposed revision (RKUHP).
LGBT in the current Criminal Code.		Purpose	to show liberal values that view LGBT issues with human rights perspective.
Homophobic quotes from government officials.	LGBT in Indonesia	Legitimation	the LGBT community is portrayed as a discriminated minority.

The additional elements are determined by identifying additional information outside of recounting each event. It needs to be noted that the additional elements analyzed are strictly textual information and do not include visual elements. It can be seen from the additional elements that the issue of criminalizing LGBT is controversial considering the homophobic nature of the Indonesian government and civilians. In the text, the proposed revision of the Criminal Code is portrayed as a controversial issue, which overshadows the legitimacy of the LGBT criminalization statements by Mahfud MD. Furthermore, the LGBT community in Indonesia is only seen through the lens of human rights, portraying itself as a minority group that faces constant discrimination and harassment. These findings show that the additions are made as an argument against criminalizing LGBT people through discriminatory issues and the delegitimation of the proposed revision of the Criminal Code. However, despite these arguments, the conclusion of the post stated an ambivalent view towards the proposed revision of the Criminal Code by saying it is not "all bad." In addition, ambivalence can also be found in the shifting focus from the issue of criminalizing LGBT individuals to a bigger and more controversial legislative issue of the proposed revision of the Indonesian Criminal Code. In short, although the additional elements regarding the context of LGBT discrimination in Indonesia support WIUI's argument against the proposed law, the overabundance of additional elements regarding the context of the proposed revision of the Criminal Code shifts the focus to a bigger and more general legislative issue, which can be interpreted as ambivalence shown by WIUI.

Table 2. Additions in *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community (2022a)*

Addition		Form	Form
Statistics on regional regulation that both explicitly and implicitly targets the LGBT community in 2018.		Purpose	to inform the audience that discrimination against the LGBT community is still prevalent.
The lack of anti-discriminatory law in Indonesia.	LGBT discrimination in Indonesia		
Statistics on victims of discrimination based on sexuality and gender identity in 2018.		Legitimation	the LGBT community is portrayed as a discriminated minority.
Outright Action International: Most Indonesians do not perceive discrimination against LGBT people as violence.			
Law that prohibits regional regulation to contradict public interest and/or higher laws or regulations.	How this law is incompatible with human rights	Purpose	to show liberal values that views LGBT issues with human rights perspective.
Bivitri Susanti: this regional regulation violates the constitution.		Legitimation	the law is portrayed as a violation of human rights.
According to the Constitutional Court decision in 2017, ministry of home affairs can no longer revoke regional regulations.			
The plan to form a Commission for the Prevention and Combatant of Sexually Deviant Behavior to carry out prevention and countermeasure acts.	Agents for implementing the regulation and budget source	Purpose	to show how the government plans to implement the regulation and use people's tax money.
These initiatives will be paid by Bogor's Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah or APBD), which comes from tax money.		Legitimation	this plan is portrayed as illogical and inappropriate spend of taxpayers' money.

Unlike the first post, the *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community (2022a)* post is more straightforward on the recontextualization. This post focuses on how Bogor's regional regulation discriminates against the LGBT community and only adds necessary context to the post. The additions used for the recontextualization of the *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community (2022a)* post are shown in the Table 2.

From the additional elements mentioned above, it can be seen that WIUI wants the audience to see that Bogor's regional regulation on sexually deviant behavior is discriminatory towards the LGBT community. WIUI supports this argument by using expert opinions about how the regulation violates human rights and the constitution and by portraying the regulation as unnecessary and excessive spending on taxpayers' money. It needs to be noted that all expert arguments used in the post are based on human rights arguments, which are part of liberalism. In addition, WIUI also provides factual information by including statistics on victims of discrimination based on gender and sexual identity in 2018. Furthermore, unlike the previous post, the focus does not shift from LGBT discrimination issues to another controversial political issue such as the proposed revision of the Criminal Code. However, these findings do not reveal an evaluation form of addition, as all the information provided is taken from outside sources and WIUI does not provide any concluding remarks.

Deletion

Van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999) argued that recontextualization could result in deleting some elements of a social practice due to the inability of representation to represent all aspects of social practice (p. 96). Machin

(2013) proposed that deletion could be actualized as the omission of actions, participants, and settings (p. 352). In the post *'Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b), the most obvious aspect deleted in the recontextualization is the arguments as to why some people in Indonesia demand the criminalization of LGBT. The Instagram post informs us of Mahfud's statements regarding the alleged plan to criminalize LGBT individuals and Anwar Abbas' homophobic comment regarding LGBT individuals as worse than atomic bombs. Furthermore, statistics on discrimination against the LGBT community and expert arguments against the plan are also included in the post. However, the other side of the argument is completely abandoned. As previously discussed, Indonesia's intolerance towards the LGBT community is rooted in religious norms and morals. Thus, many conservative religious politicians and activists believe that criminalizing LGBT people is not against human rights. This deletion might be done to suit the audience's liberal values. As previously mentioned, WIUI's target audience is internationally-raised Indonesians, who, unlike the Indonesian majority, tend to value human rights over religious norms, leaning toward liberalism rather than conservatism. Moreover, Limuria also said that WIUI's audience also includes foreigners who are interested in Indonesian sociopolitical issues.

Similarly to the previous post, the *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a) post does not provide arguments from the people on the opposite side. While the post provides Bima Arya's defense for implementing this law, it omits a group of participants who support this regulation. By doing this, WIUI alienates a group of people with conservative and religious political views in Indonesia, which make up the majority of people. Despite this, many people with opposing views from WIUI commented on both this and the previous post to argue their case. However, this attempt at a discussion was met with silence. Aside from that, this post also lacks any suggestions for further actions and concluding remarks. In other words, although one post is relatively more argumentative than the other one, both posts do not actively fight for LGBT rights; they only protest against criminalizing the LGBT community. Thus, by maintaining the status quo, WIUI displays an ambivalent attitude toward the LGBT community.

Substitution

In a recontextualized text, elements of social practice could be substituted by signs that signify a particular aspect of those elements (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 97). According to Machin (2013), substitutions could take the form of generalizing complex actions or participants as well as particularizing them (p. 353). The use of substitutions in *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b) is shown in the Table 3.

Table 3. Substitutions in *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b)

Substitution	Text
	<i>The Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security</i> Mahfud MD
	<i>Senior human rights lawyer</i> Asfinawati
	<i>Director of the Institute for Criminal Justice (ICJR)</i> Anggara
	<i>Anwar Abbas, Deputy Chairman of Indonesia's Ulama Council (MUI)</i>
Particularization	<i>Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR) researcher</i> Maidina Rahmawati
	<i>Public Lawyer from the Community Legal Aid Institute (LBHM)</i> Ma'ruf Bajammal
	<i>Riska Carolina from the Crisis Response Mechanism (CRM)</i>
	<i>the Deputy Minister of Law and Human Rights</i> Edward Hidariej
	<i>Chairman of Commission III of the DPR,</i> Bambang Wuryanto
Generalization	<i>We need to demand that</i> the government <i>consult with</i> the public
	<i>The DPR said that they aim to ratify RKUHP in the beginning of July 2022</i>
	<i>The Constitutional Court is very clear in saying that in drafting the law there needs to be</i> substantial public participation <i>first before ratifying it</i>

It can be seen from the substitutions made in the post that some participants are particularized and some are generalized. However, there are more particularized participants than generalized ones. The particularized participants include Mahfud MD, who created this issue of criminalizing the LGBT community through the proposed revision of the Criminal Code with his statements, and a handful of experts who directly contributed to the discourse, both supporting and arguing against the notion. In particularizing participants, WIUI included both their names and qualifications. Furthermore, WIUI incorporated their argument by using direct translated quotations instead of paraphrasing. It needs to be noted that seven out of nine particularized participants are experts who oppose the notion of criminalizing LGBT individuals, while the other two are government officials who are in favor of the law. In contrast, the generalized participants did not directly contribute to the discourse, yet they are relevant agents involved in the general scheme of lawmaking. Most of the generalized participants use signs that signify government institutions, such as the Constitutional Court, the government, and the DPR (People's Representative Council of Indonesia).

As previously mentioned, unlike the first post, *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a) is more straightforward in expressing their argument against the discriminatory regulation. Thus, the distribution of substitution differs from the previous post. The substitutions used in the *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a) post are shown in the Table 4.

Table 4. Substitutions in *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a)

Substitution	Text
Particularization	<i>As a response to the criticisms, Bogor's Mayor Bima Arya said that this perda is a result of the DPRD's initiative</i>
	<i>A lecturer at Jentera Indonesian Law College, Bivitri Susanti</i>
	<i>a civil society coalition for Rights of Gender and Sexual Diversity (Kami Berani) released a statement against this Perda.</i>
	<i>In a 2016 study entitled "Creeping Criminalization" published by the non-governmental organization Outright Action International,</i>
Generalization	<i>On Dec 21st 2021, the city government of Bogor and DPRD Bogor passed a Regional Regulation</i>
	<i>On March 17th 2022, Komnas HAM said that they will send an official letter to Bogor's city government and DPRD to ask for an explanation, and ask the provincial government of West Java to get to the bottom of it.</i>
	<i>Bima Arya did publicly say, "We strive with the DPRD to make clear, strong, and solid regulations..."</i>
	<i>According to Indonesian Family Planning (PKBI),</i>
	<i>LBH Masyarakat's report "Monitoring and Documentation Series 2018: The Acute Danger of LGBT Persecution"</i>

It can be seen from the findings that the substitutions used in the second post differ from the first post. The substitutions in the first post are dominated by particularization. Meanwhile, in the second post, particularization only takes up a little less than half of the substitutions. Similar to the previous post, some particularization is used for describing someone's qualifications before stating their name. In addition, most of the particularized individuals are experts who disagree with the regional regulation. Aside from that, in this post, particularization is not only used to describe individuals but also organizations that also oppose the regulation. In contrast to the use of particularization, generalizations are mostly used to describe participants who are in favor of the regulation, such as the city government of Bogor and the provincial government of West Java. Therefore, mimicking the previous post, the generalized participants who are in favor of the regulation are mostly part of

the government. Moreover, the use of generalization can signify the argumentative tone of the post, which contrasts the informative tone of the first post.

Rearrangement

Van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999) addressed how a represented social practice does not always follow the exact chronological order of events (p. 97). Through recontextualization, a text could be rearranged according to the writer's values, goals, and interests (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999, p. 97). In the *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b) post, context about the proposed revision of the Criminal Code and problems regarding Mahfud's statement about taking the law to court should one disagree are put before context about the LGBT community in Indonesia and criticisms toward criminalizing LGBT. Despite their argument against criminalizing LGBT people, this demonstrates the writer's intention to focus on the problematic legal elements of the discourse rather than advocating for LGBT rights. Furthermore, on the last slide of the post, the writer highlights the need for nuanced discussion about revising the Criminal Code and transparency from the government as the concluding remarks. This further proves the ambivalent view of LGBT rights and the main focus on the problems of the proposed revision of the Criminal Code.

The arrangement in the *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a) post is a little different from the first post. The post started with a few slides of information about the regulation itself. After that, the post continues with criticisms of the regulation. However, before continuing with how the regulation contains discriminatory practices that defy human rights and the constitution, the post talks about the mayor's defense of the regulation. With this slide, WIUI gives the audience a glimpse of the other side's argument. However, WIUI is not committed to presenting the full picture, as there is only one slide about the conservative's argument compared to the three slides criticizing the regulation. Therefore, this post cannot be classified as an informative and objective post. However, despite the blatant argumentative tone, this post does not have a conclusion that leads to a call for further actions like the previous post. This lack of conclusion also lessens the argumentative tone, which might be interpreted as ambivalence.

In short, the process of recontextualization, which includes addition, substitution, deletion, and rearrangement, can show how the posts display ambivalence in their ideology when it concerns LGBT activism in Indonesia. According to Ledin and Machin (2017, p. 64), the process of recontextualization could reveal the speaker's values by analyzing the script and sequences of behavior. From the use of additions, deletions, and substitutions, the posts focus on criticizing the notion of criminalizing same-sex relationships by using arguments based on private rights and limitations in government involvement, which is a part of liberal ideology. The additional elements of the two posts show how WIUI is committed to show how the notion of criminalizing the LGBT community is discriminatory and against human rights. The two posts also backgrounded representation from the opposite side by omitting arguments as to why some people support the notion. However, despite this, the arrangement of the posts shows how WIUI pulls back from fighting for LGBT rights to settle for maintaining the status quo. This is also proven by the constant focus shift from the issue of criminalizing LGBT individuals to a bigger legislative issue. For example, in *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b) post, there is a focus shift from how the law should not criminalize LGBT activities to the discussion of the proposed revision of the Criminal Code. The post ends with a call to ask for a nuanced discussion of the Criminal Code revision instead of asking for LGBT rights. In contrast to the previous post, *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory Toward the LGBT Community* (2022a) post lacks any call to action or concluding remarks, despite being more direct in its argument against criminalizing same-sex relationships, demonstrating how WIUI prioritizes maintaining the status quo.

Visual Analysis

Although the traditional purpose of memes is humor and sarcasm, Grundlingh (2018) proposed that memes can either contain humorous content or convey a serious message hidden under humor (p. 17). Memes can also be used to ask questions and provoke discussions. However, none of the memes used in the two posts fall into this category. The memes used in the two samples are shown in the Table 5.

Table 5. Memes used by @WhatIsUpIndonesia on criminalizing LGBT

Purpose	Number of Occurrences
Humor	4
Serious message	6

From the Table 5, it can be seen that most of the memes incorporated in the two posts contain serious messages. However, the number of serious memes is not that much bigger than the number of humorous memes.

Humorous Memes Analysis

Humorous memes can deliver a joke or sarcastic comment with a macro meme or take the form of reaction memes. A macro meme refers to a type of meme that consists of an image with a funny caption, which is the most popular type of meme (Grundlingh, 2018, p. 9). The two memes in the *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b) post include a man screaming with the text "confused screaming" and a boy looking at a complicated math formula with the text "How RKUHP is gonna criminalise being LGBTQ+" as the context. The first meme can be categorized as a reaction meme, which can be ambiguous as it does not provide context. Grundlingh (2018) addressed how humorous memes typically rely on ambiguity, which allows for misinterpretation, but they can also use a bridge to connect context schemas to successfully convey the message (p. 17). The two humorous memes in Figure 1 are used in the post to convey a shared feeling about how the proposed Criminal Code will criminalize the LGBT community. Interestingly, the feeling WIUI decided to convey is confusion. Interestingly, the conveyed feeling of confusion in the first meme in Figure 1 is explicitly stated with the text "confused screaming." Without the text, the meme can seemingly convey a more hostile and negative emotion by looking at the expression of the screaming man. However, WIUI decided to soften the reaction by explicitly writing the word "confused." Unlike the previous meme, the confusion conveyed in the second meme is not as explicitly stated. Instead, it is deduced from the boy's body language as he examines the complicated math formulation. The boy has one of his hands on his hip and the other on his head, as if he were scratching his head in confusion. This meme also works as a metaphor to compare criminalizing the LGBT community to solving a difficult math problem. The confused memes show WIUI's relatively neutral standing, as it has neither a positive nor a negative emotion to convey.



Figure 1. Humorous memes in *Is the RKHUP Really Going to 'Criminalize LGBT'?* (2022b)
Source: Instagram.com/WhatIsUpIndonesia

Unlike the first post, the humorous memes in the *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a) post are more complex. The memes

in Figure 2 consist of not only a reaction meme but also a macro meme. The macro meme jokes about the regional regulation by satirizing a situation where a combatant of the Sexually Deviant Behavior Commission forcefully enters a house saying “Moshi Moshi,” which means hello, when hearing “hentai” (Japanese anime porn) noises. This meme uses a more traditional format for a humorous meme, where the line above establishes context to lead to the punchline that is placed on the line below. The image that the meme uses is of two fish police from *Spongebob Squarepants*. Looking at their expressions and poses, it looks like they are ready to punish someone. The meme is a satire of a hypothetical situation where the regulation takes place. While the meme directly makes fun of the regulation, it strays from the issue of discrimination toward the LGBT community. Instead, it focuses on a government body that is made to reinforce the regulation. In contrast to the previous meme, the second meme conveys a confused feeling like the memes in the previous post. This meme shows a man who is reading a book titled “New Bogor Regional Regulation,” which contains the “Prevention and Management of Sexually Deviant Behavior” rule, and the man cries after reading it. While the image of the man alone might seem like the meme conveys a sad emotion, the question marks put near the head of the man shifted the conveyed emotion from sadness to confusion. This meme also supports WIUI’s ambivalent standing by using the whole regulation as the object that causes shock or sadness instead of pointing out the problem of the regulation. By doing this, it can seem like the whole regulation is problematic, even though it also criminalizes pedophilia, incest, and necrophilia. Thus, WIUI does not separate the parts of the regulation that people find problematic from those that they support.



Figure 2. Humorous memes in Bogor’s Regional Regulation on “Sexually Deviant Behavior”: Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community (2022a)

Source: [Instagram.com/WhatIsUpIndonesia](https://www.instagram.com/WhatIsUpIndonesia)

Memes with Serious Message Analysis

As mentioned earlier, memes can also be used to express an opinion or criticism towards an event or people in power, such as politicians. This type of meme does not merely express a reaction or satirize something. Instead, it actively criticizes it. In the *Is the RKHUP Really Going to ‘Criminalize LGBT’?* (2022b) post, there are three memes that criticize the notion of criminalizing LGBT activities through the proposed revision of the criminal code. However, all three memes focus more on the ambiguity of Mahfud’s statement and the technicalities of criminalizing LGBT activities than on the issue of making LGBT activities illegal. The first meme criticizes Mahfud’s suggestion for people who disagree with a policy to go to the constitutional court by making a reaction from the constitutional court. The meme shows a boy with an annoyed expression submerged in a swamp sitting in a desk that mimics an office. By using an image of a boy submerged in a swamp, the meme works as a satire of the real situation. It seems that WIUI attempts to show that the constitutional court is

already swamped with other more important cases to deal with an issue that can be prevented. The second meme uses two images of Kevin Hart with confused expressions, along with text that shows the context. This meme uses allusion to refer to the reaction of the Deputy Minister of Law and Human Rights' when being asked about Mahfud's statement on criminalizing LGBT activities. Through this meme, WIUI uses the confused expression to criticize Mahfud's statement for being so nonsensical that even another government official gets confused by it. Lastly, the third meme shows a picture of a cartoon character from Tintin who is holding two cigars captioned "2019 RKUHP" and "2022 RKUHP after being 'reviewed'" and commenting on how the two are identical. With this meme, WIUI uses sarcasm to actively criticize the government's empty promises for reviewing the 2019 proposed revision to the Criminal Code and revising it. It also criticizes the government's lack of action in revising problematic laws by comparing it with the 2022 proposed revision draft, which is very similar. Furthermore, picturing the proposed revisions with cigars signifies how WIUI believes that they are dangerous for people.

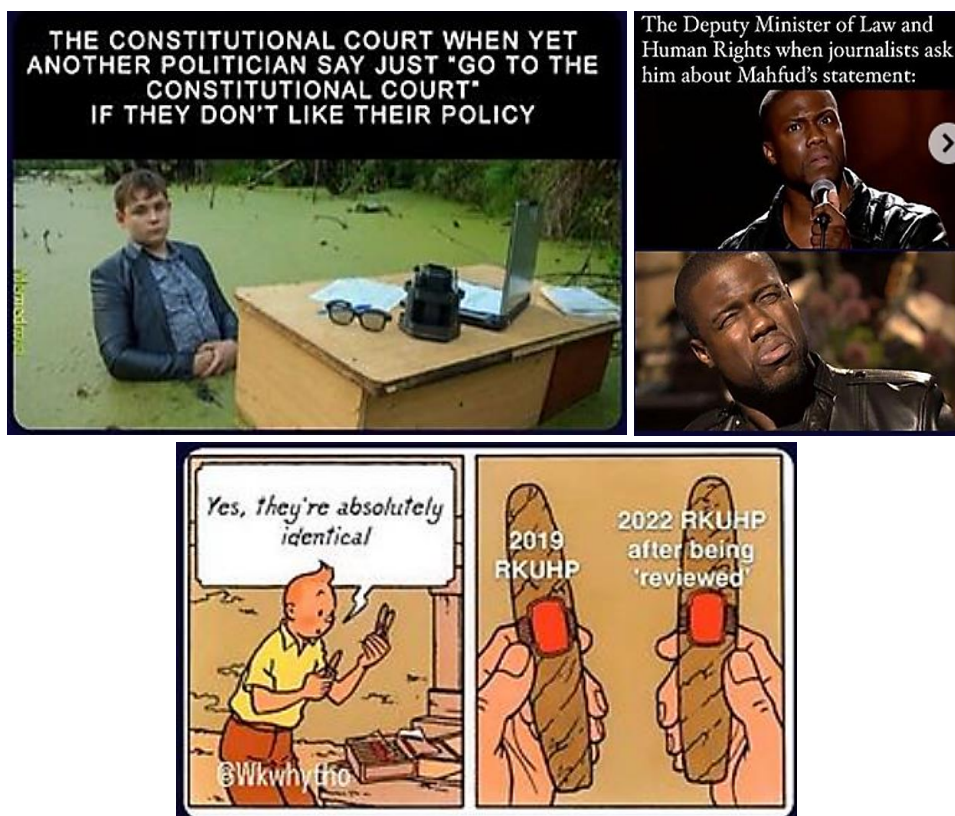


Figure 3. Memes in is the RKHUP Really Going to ‘Criminalize LGBT’? (2022b) with serious message
Source: Instagram.com/WhatIsUpIndonesia

Similar to the memes in the previous post, the memes in *Bogor’s Regional Regulation on “Sexually Deviant Behavior”: Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a) are more straightforward with their criticisms. The first meme consists of two men: the man captioned “Bima Arya in 2018,” who is looking at another man captioned “Bima Arya in 2022” disappointingly. With this meme, WIUI creates a parody to call out Bima Arya’s hypocrisy for going back on his words in 2018. The post cited Bima Arya’s words for ensuring that the regulation is intended to protect the LGBT community instead of discriminating against it. The post also included a quote from Bima Arya’s 2018 statement about working with the regional government to eradicate LGBT from its roots. Therefore, with the meme and the quoted statements, WIUI delegitimizes Bima Arya’s insurance of the law for protecting the LGBT community. Next, the second meme criticizes the discrepancy between what people want and what they are given by creating a parody. In the meme, WIUI compared pollution-free air and smooth traffic, which Bogor people demanded, with “horni

(horny) police,” or a force that regulates people’s sex lives, which they are given. By comparing initiatives to face climate change with something that regulates people’s sex lives, WIUI ridicules the regulation by making it seem unnecessary and unserious. However, it needs to be noted that the term “horni (horny) police” overgeneralizes the regulation and thus strays from the issue of discrimination towards the LGBT community. This meme can also be interpreted as an act of resistance, deliberately shifting the gaze from the LGBT (the object of the surveillance or the policing gaze), to the police itself by sexualizing the police. Regardless of that, this meme still shifts the focus away from LGBT discrimination. Lastly, the third meme, unlike the previous two, criticizes the majority of Indonesians instead of the government. The third meme provides satirical text about how most Indonesians react to the fact that the LGBT community in Indonesia faces unfair treatment and discrimination as context, along with a picture of Tobey Maguire in the Spiderman movie saying, “I missed the part where that’s my problem.” With this meme, WIUI criticizes how discrimination against the LGBT community is overlooked by the majority of Indonesian citizens.

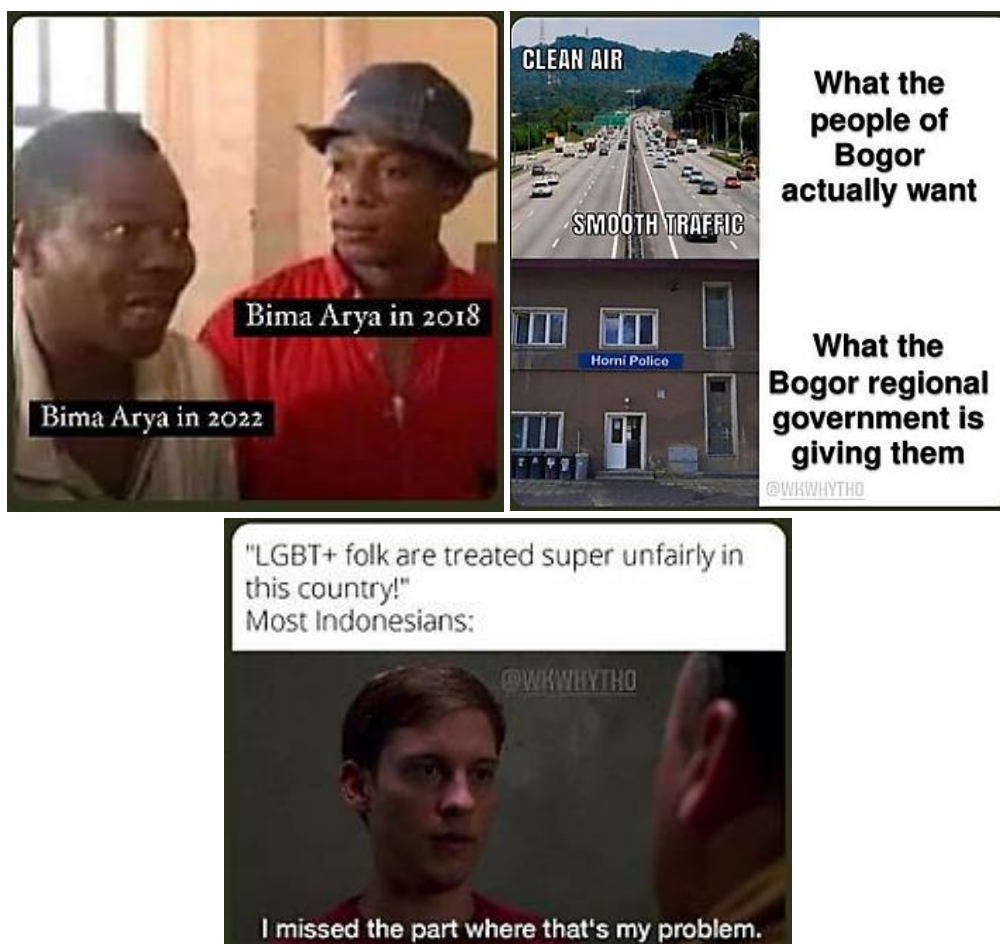


Figure 4. Serious memes in *Bogor’s Regional Regulation on “Sexually Deviant Behavior”*: *Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a)

Source: [Instagram.com/WhatIsUpIndonesia](https://www.instagram.com/WhatIsUpIndonesia)

In short, the memes used by WIUI in the two posts are both used to express feelings through jokes and criticize issues related to criminalizing LGBT activities. However, the memes used in *Is the RKHUP Really Going to ‘Criminalize LGBT’?* (2022b) are more ambivalent compared to the ones in *Bogor’s Regional Regulation on “Sexually Deviant Behavior”*: *Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a). The two humorous memes are reaction memes conveying confused emotions. Aside from that, they also problematize the technicalities of criminalizing LGBT activities more than the issue itself. While it is obvious that WIUI does not support the notion, they are not straightforwardly against it either. The criticizing memes also mostly

try to be ambivalent with their critics. Neither of the three memes directly criticizes the issue of criminalizing LGBT activities, they tend to focus more on Mahfud's statement and the issue of revising the criminal code. Furthermore, there is a meme that uses confusion to criticize Mahfud's statement. In contrast to the previous post, the memes in *Bogor's Regional Regulation on "Sexually Deviant Behavior": Accused of Being Discriminatory towards the LGBT Community* (2022a) convey a clearer message of WIUI's stance on the matter. Even though the humorous memes still use confusion as the conveyed emotion and stray from the issue of LGBT community discrimination, there is one serious meme that directly criticizes Indonesian citizens' ignorance towards the discrimination. But aside from that, the memes still tend to focus on the politician's statement and stray from the issue of discrimination.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study do not support the notion that LGBT representation in media and activism needs to conform to dominant cultural values (Wijaya & Davies, 2019; Prastiwi, 2021) or contain a solely one-sided agenda from the opposing supported ideology (Utami, 2018). Instead, WIUI negotiates its relatively liberal values with the dominant conservative ideology in Indonesia by choosing ambivalence through recontextualization. While they disagree with the notion, they are ambivalent about advocating for laws that protect the LGBT community. Instead, they aim to maintain the status quo. The ambivalence can be seen in the constant shifting of focus from the issue of criminalizing LGBT through the two cases to a bigger and more general issue, such as the revision of the Criminal Code. WIUI also tends not to make concluding remarks that demand a law that protects the LGBT community. Instead, the concluding remarks focus on a bigger legislative issue, or there are no concluding remarks at all. Furthermore, the memes used in the two posts help support WIUI's position regarding the issue of criminalizing LGBT individuals by conveying negative opinions, negative reactions, and indirect criticism (Grundlingh, 2018; Howard & Adan, 2022), but ambivalence can still be found in how WIUI tries to keep the memes neutral. WIUI uses confusion as the main emotion conveyed through reaction memes. From the conveyed confusion, we can see that WIUI continues to stray from the issue of criminalizing the LGBT community by fixating on its technicality. Aside from that, although WIUI uses a lot of critical memes, they tend to overgeneralize the issue, which takes the focus away from criminalizing LGBT people specifically. In addition, WIUI uses serious memes to mostly criticize the government rather than the core issue of LGBT discrimination.

In short, social semiotic multimodal analysis provides a way to study how ideology is negotiated in social media activism. Through this method, the ideological ambivalence can be proven by analyzing how WIUI recontextualized two cases of criminalizing LGBT people and how WIUI used memes to support their arguments. Hence, this paper contributes to the field of multimodal discourse studies, which focuses on the textual and visual elements used to construct meaning in discourse, by utilizing recontextualization analysis by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) and memes as speech acts by Grundlingh (2018). This study shows how memes can be used as a tool to support arguments in social media activism instead of as the main medium to convey opinions (Baker et al., 2020; Anapol, 2022). In addition, this research shows how ambivalence can be the result of the negotiation of two opposing ideologies in a discourse instead of favoring only one ideology (Utami, 2018; Wijaya & Davies, 2019; Prastiwi, 2021). Furthermore, while social semiotic multimodal analysis helps this study to deeply examine and understand how ideology, or two conflicting ideologies, affects social media activism, there are parts of the discourse that are not covered due to the limitations of the theories used. This study only covers the textual and visual aspects of WIUI. Therefore, the analysis of how WIUI deals with and interacts with the audience is not thoroughly explored. This limitation can affect the study's generalizability. Conducting an audience analysis on WIUI might be a promising direction for further research on this discourse, as it can further illuminate how WIUI interacts with two opposing ideologies.

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