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Religion, Media, and Moral Panic: Challenging Homonormativity in Minangkabau People 2016-2017

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that homonormativity is a moral panic for the Minangkabau people produced by the power. This kind of moral panic emphasizes the disposition of the understanding of *adat*, religion and traditions around public discourse. This paper identifies that the narrative of moral panic has four stages: suggesting that the rejection of homonormativity is against the cultural values of Minangkabau ethnic identity, reducing the social and *adat* (local wisdom) of Minangkabau people, considering homonormativity is a threat and a social disease that affects the young generation of Minangkabau, and assuming homonormativity is a form of decline for Islamic values that are considered embedding in the local tradition of society. Through the employment of critical discourse analysis, this paper explored the narrative presented by LGBTQ opponents depicted in the online mainstream media, social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, personal web blog, etc. To build the argument, this paper will start from presenting the context of heteronormativity in Indonesia and then discuss the context of Minangkabau people in West Sumatra. This research examines the complex relationship between religion, media, and public moral in the context of Muslim majority region in Indonesia. This paper concludes that the majority of Minangkabau people who embrace Islam do not necessarily make people feel safe from various threats of moral problems. In fact, moral threats such as the challenge of homonormativity are getting stronger and become the moral panic of the Minangkabau People. It means that this moral panic framework is a reproductive attempt to strengthen exclusive and conservatism trend of religion in contemporary Minangkabau People and patriarchal influence which claim their attempts to maintain matrilineal values.

INTRODUCTION

Fort de Kock Society and Social (Forsis) in 2016 reported that the existence of Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender and Queer (abbreviated as LGBTQ) groups in West Sumatra showed a significant number. Following the report of the existence of homonormativity in Minangkabau People 2017, the local media, personal blog of public figures, official media social of local government, and several leaders of *adat* (local wisdom), religious leader, some civil societies responses assess to the new challenges for the decreasing of the cultural and religious norm of Minangkabau people (Harian Haluan, 2017; Antaranews, 2018; Detik, 2018; Jawapos, 2018). This report encourages most of *adat* leaders, *ulama* (religious leaders), local government and civil society in West Sumatra to demonstrate their opposition. The report stated that the representation of LGBTQ groups in the public space was caused by the new media which is considered to give easy access to the society to be influenced of LGBTQ as a disease. In the study of media and sexuality, the boundaries between production, distribution and consumption have shifted dramatically, and the politics of representation have similarly been extended. Within the digital landscape of networked communication systems, LGBTQ people are able to both produce and consume representations, of themselves and of each other (Mowlabocus, 2018, p. 53). Through the mainstream media, gay people can reflect and see themselves represented. The new media give space for the cultural expression of people. New media such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter has increased LGBTQ representation and visibility where such kind of representation seems to not be publicly tolerated instead of being hated and rejected. (Campbell & Carilli, 2017)

The study of queer representation emerged as something of a niche interest in the 1970s, licensed and inspired by feminist criticism and the burgeoning gay liberation movement. Now, a rough half-century later, it has developed into a field in its own right, filling hundreds of books and dedicated journals. Debates about queer representation have also flourished beyond the academy, in magazines, in documentaries and online (Kagan, 2018). What unites all these discussions is the shared assumption that representation matters. This is the notion that representations have implications for social life – those images and narratives, both fiction and non-fiction, offer the stories, symbols and myths through which we form a common culture, including what it means and how it feels to inhabit a sexed, gendered and sexually coded body. The nineteenth-century witnessed accelerating efforts among medical and legal fraternities to displace the church as the official authority on the sexual behavior of populations. Practices that once fell into the category of ‘sin’, such as sodomy, masturbation, and cross-dressing, were increasingly defined as crimes or as inherited or acquired physical or mental abnormalities. In pre–Vatican II Catholic Practice, the act of confessing to a heterosexual male was a must. (May & Bohman, 1997). The idea of the importance of identifying and regulating primary sexuality attractions has only been around since the 19th century. Exploring the faith-based sexuality market reveals a new phenomenon in the modernization of sexuality.

Many studies have been conducted on looking at the relationship between religion and the media. Campbell argued that new technology such as television has provided a new space for carrying out religious activities such as proselytizing and preaching. Campbell also highlighted the complexity of religious groups and religious individuals in responding to any information in the media which often weakens the established religious system (Campbell & Carilli, 2017). Often

the massive media coverage encourages people to see the social developments of society that lead to setbacks. A study conducted by Christie Barron and Dany Lacombe (2005) said that the relationship between media coverage of cases of violence against women is considered a marker of increasing naughty women in the public sphere. This study is based on the emergence of moral panic in certain societies because the clash of cultures represented in the media space has intertwined an impact on people's attitudes in real life. The media's portrayal of an event that sparked a moral panic turned out to be successful in campaigning for changes to certain laws. Critcer (2002) claimed the existence of a moral panic as the basis for the government to formulate a law on the crime of pedophilia. Several previous studies do not seem to have looked at the relationship between religion, media, and moral panic. This study will look at the representation of LGBTQ in the media and the responses shown by religious communities in West Sumatra. In particular, this research is focused on the contemporary representation of homonormativity in Minangkabau societies through media. I examined the Anti-LGBTQ representation in West Sumatra based on media sources. Therefore, this study argues that there has been a new social change in Minangkabau People in seeing the phenomenon of LGBTQ as a new moral panic.

Generically, in the case of the representation of the heteronormativity in the context of Minangkabau people in West Sumatra, the study of gender in matrilineal societies has been dominated by androcentric analysis of kinship, inheritance and marriage. This has resulted in an increasingly closed space for people outside the normal to be publicly active. The new finding from this research is that at least the reaction to LGBTQ in West Sumatra has entered various lines of time. To build this argument, I use the theory of moral panic. This theory assumes that there have been collisions of moral values, the rules of society that are commonly regarded as norms are then opposed because they cannot be accepted in society. According to Angela McRobbie, moral panic is seen as a form of response and rhetoric that arises in an unusual or emergency atmosphere. Moral panic is commonly used by politicians to arrange agreements, by businesses to promote sales in certain niche markets, and by the media to make homes and social affairs worthy of news, moral panic is built every day (Mcrobbie & Thornton, 1995, pp. 572–573).

This study emphasizes the representation of moral panic: how the media voices the aspirations of religious elite groups, traditional leaders, local government, and civil society groups in provoking the emergence of LGBTQ in the people of West Sumatra. The focus of this article will not reveal how homonormativity empirically happens. However, the existence of a lot of news about LGBTQ in West Sumatra has succeeded in attracting the attention of influential people in the Minangkabau People. They have various responses. In 2016-17 there were many diverse responses about the phenomenon of increasing LGBTQ in West Sumatra. Based on data obtained from the media, it was found that various responses to LGBTQ led to the rejection of this group because it was considered not in accordance with the standards of religious and cultural norms that developed in society. This research implies the complexities of the relationship between religion, media, and public morals in the context of the Muslim majority region in Indonesia. The majority of Minangkabau people who embrace Islam do not necessarily make people feel safe from various threats of moral problems.

METHODS

This is qualitative research includes library research. It divides the data sources into two things, namely primary data and secondary data. This paper explored the narrative presented by LGBTQ opponents depicted in the online mainstream media, social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram, personal web blog, and etc. Primary data is information obtained from mass media reports on the response of religious leaders, traditional leaders, community leaders, and leaders in Minangkabau People to issues regarding LGBTQ in West Sumatra. Meanwhile, secondary data comes from several sources that are indirectly related to LGBTQ, such as news in the mass media which opposes changes in the normativity of the concept of gender in Minangkabau such as the roles of men and women in the public sphere. To analyses the sources, I will use critical discourse analysis. Here, I discussed the process of reproducing the anti-LGBTQ society and the community response that I reviewed in this paper. Discursive practices that vegetate and consolidate state forces affect the state apparatus and the powerful technologies that make up the body. This discourse analysis will help in seeing the power relations that develop in every action regarding issues on LGBTQ in the media. Here, I expected to find out how knowledge and power exist in the discourse on LGBTQ in Minangkabau People.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Heteronormativity in Indonesia

In the case of Indonesia context, LGBTQ is a contested term. Various terminologies such as gay, lesbian and homosexual are part of a fairly new discussion in Indonesia. Previous studies revealed that the term refers to the terminology of homosexuality in identic local languages with the religious traditions and practices of most people in Indonesia. Boellstorff argues that the position of the subject defined by the embodiment of the meaning of homosexuality and transgenderism cannot be equated with a western understanding of sexual identity (Boellstorff 2005, 9). The basis for this concept is important to be discussed because the understanding of anti-LGBTQ in Indonesia is often considered to be parallel to the pejorative and negative meaning as constructed in the west.

Many Indonesians are not familiar with the term LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) as if they do, they sometimes assume it as an English version of the better-known terms *banci* and *bencong* (male transvestites, for whom the more respectful term is *waria*). Among those Indonesians who do know of their gay fellow citizens, many portray them as selfish and exclusive. In reality, most gay Indonesians are working class and learn of the concept of gay through mass media or friends, rather than from travelling outside Indonesia or meeting gay Westerners. Given this situation, it is not surprising that anthropological work on Islam in Indonesia has paid virtually no attention to homosexuality (Boelstroff, 2005, p. 577).

Boellstorff categorizes two forms of sexual non-normative identities and gendered subject positions namely transvestites and gay and lesbi subjectivities (Boellstorff, 2005, p. 57). *Waria* is a euphemistic term derived from the abbreviation of *wanita* (woman) and *pria* (man). *Waria* not sexual identity but gender identity. Meanwhile, the terms gay and lesbian in a subjective context in Indonesia have different meanings than those meant by the same derivation in the West. Boellstroff revealed that the difference between gay and lesbian in Indonesia is the perception

that heterosexual marriage is the key to being a whole person. Therefore, heterosexual marriage and having children are seen as part of the whole life of a gay or lesbian couple.

At this point, Boellstroff's explanation can be an entry point for understanding the anti-LGBTQ context in Indonesia. The ideal concept of marriage in Indonesia is a heterosexual form of marriage. The government's economic and political agenda, especially during the Soeharto regime, also translated the normal values in the context of Indonesian society. Various policies were carried out by the government during the New Order period such as defining families, the division of roles and tasks between men and women to the rules related to the domestic domain. The new order regime translates the principle of kinship based on normal families. In Indonesia, the State tries to identify women in the domestic domain while men are in the public domain (Boellstorff, 2005, 75). This is supported by the dominant Islamic discourse that puts women ideal as a mother and wife, while men as household heads (Blackburn, 2004, p. 139).

Julia Suryakusuama defines the New Order's ideology as the mother-ism state, a construction that underlines the importance of the role of women as mothers (Suryakusuma, 1996, p. 101). In Indonesia, the government classified women as moral guards and household managers in an effort to support women's ideology as "national reproducers"(Robinson, 1989). Men are categorized as "providers" and "guards" who play a major role as leaders (Langenberg, 1986) and heads of households (Chodorow et al. n.d.). Thus, all forms of sexual practices that are outside heterosexual marriage can be seen as being contrary to the character of Indonesian citizens.

Emphasis on the importance of families consisting of fathers, mothers, and children in Indonesia, at least in the new order era after 1965, was the impact of developing economic practices which were products of European and American history and social conditions at that time. Family becomes something very essential because the character of the division of labor finally separates between public space and domestic space (Foster, 1991). Public spaces are filled by workers who demand wages and are rewarded with material, usually, they are among men. Meanwhile, domestic affairs are fully handed over to women who are in charge of taking care of children (Chodorow et al., n.d.).

Blackwood addresses the ways in which the Indonesian government has created new gender categories through what she refers to as the "discourse of the domestic, "though her larger concern is the contradictory relationship between "traditional, "homegrown representations of gender on the one hand, and gender representations emanating from contemporary Indonesian state policies and programs (both secular and religious) on the other (Blackwood, 1995). Local perception of the role and division of labor between men and women is part of the development project between men and women initiated by the government.

Suzanne Brenner (2011) mentions gender and sexuality as a post-democratic discourse contestation space. Thus, representing queerness as a family problem is a reflection of the pressure of "forced heterosexuals" in the context of Indonesian culture which was forced by the state and also strengthened by religious authority, especially during the long period of Soeharto's new order regime (1966-1998) (Maimunah, 2010, p. 115)

Furthermore, the development of discourse and discourse on sexuality in the context of modern Indonesia cannot be separated from the dominant factors of religious identity as part of national identity. In contemporary political and religious climates in the Indonesian context, the idea that Islam embraces nearly 90 percent of the debate surrounding what contributes to "Islamic morality", and efforts to have moral values institutionalized as the basic principles of the nation play an important role in the democratic process (Brenner, 2011, p. 479). Here, Tom Boellstorff underlines that public norms make gays and Muslims "ungrammatical" with each other. Islam in Indonesia is not only an issue that is merely in the private sphere but also forms the public domain including the affairs of the nation itself (Boellstorff, 2005, p. 575). In this case, sex between men or gay is something that is considered incomprehensible.

Boellstroff said that the incommensurability between Islam and male homosexuality in Indonesia was formed by local and national spatial scales (Boellstorff, 2005a, 576). Muslim gays face special challenges because for them being a Gay is incommensurable with ethnolocality. The level of the countryside becomes so important to be a symbol of the community and the selfhood of Islamic ideas in the contemporary archipelago. Religion, nation and gender-sexuality, represent three points in a triangle that posits the heteronormative nuclear family household as the foundational unit of the nation, the ability and proper citizen selfhood (Boellstorff, 2005a, p. 577).

Homonormativity in West Sumatra

To understand the anti-LGBTQ phenomenon in Minangkabau in West Sumatra, I will describe local experiences, perceptions and representations that form the core of the Minangkabau discourse and gender practices. This discourse will depart from an understanding of the factors that make up homonormativity in the Minangkabau People. Speaking of aspects of homonormativity in Minangkabau People, it is important to talk about matrilineal principles. This matrilineal relationship is the core that forms the conception of the relationship between men and women in Minangkabau. In simple terms, matrilineality is perceived as a rule that governs offspring and inheritance derived from women's paths. Speaking of gender issues and social stratification in Minangkabau People, it should also mention the strategic position of women in *adat* and social environment. Unlike women in other parts of Indonesia, who have little room to speak in the dominant male discourse in their society, Minangkabau women are not silent. Many studies explain that women in Minangkabau have the right to voice guaranteed in customary and democratic laws and traditional traditions. However, this egalitarian and democratic principle is at the level of normative ideal. Some current studies state that gender equality in Minangkabau in practice has suffered a setback (Jufri & Watson, 2007).

In the matrilineal kinship system in West Sumatra, the vocational line of the female side usually consists of a large family of three to four generations who live and live in a *rumah gadang* (linage house). In one group this has an inheritance and a title inherited from ancestors. This then forms a group of people who form a separate legal or customary territory.

Previously it had been explained that the government and capital agents were involved in giving moral standards and normal social ideals for local people. So, in the context of Minangkabau People, the role of women and men is more precisely defined by national discourse than the fact of Minangkabau culture which gives a large portion in the division of women's work. This matrilineal system is central in understanding the normal and customary concepts in Minangkabau

that distinguish it from most other existing systems in Indonesia. Minangkabau became the largest matrilineal society in the world, also understood as an ethnic group that was strongly influenced by its Islamic identity. In the Minangkabau case, which is symbolized as Islam attached to their ethnicity, this measure of morality is increasingly considered a collective moral responsibility. No wonder there is an assumption that LGBTQ has become very rejected because it is considered to be more than adultery.

In the context of matrilineal societies such as in West Sumatra, religious and political values bring the changes of matrilineal culture that affect more specifically in the perception of youth about sexuality. Lyn Parker (2013) reveals that the appropriate marriage and family imposed on Minangkabau women is the main reason for the restriction of Minangkabau women in various domains outside the domestic. Here, various disciplinary and regulatory structures are constructed in society and cause the matrilineal tradition in Minangkabau People to retreat. Even, it became worse when local politicians try to maintain power by exploiting this moral panic. At this point, I argue that the strengthening of patriarchy, on the one hand, and the decline of matrilineal society on the other hand occurs when such moral panic like pre-marital sex, LGBTQ, is more religiously constructed than culture. This also makes people tend to find a solution to solve the social paradox of society when faced with moral problems. Instead of maintaining the matrilineal tradition, it is actually the reproduction of religious values that are highly biased patriarchal.

The above description has explained that the standard moral and social appropriateness in Minangkabau People move in two parallel directions. On the one hand, culture influences the increasing of Islamic customs. On the other hand, this confirms the national discourse that has taken place so far. In Minangkabau People, which maintains the matrilineal tradition, there is a paradox when Islam influenced by patriarchal tradition begins to define the culture of Matrilineal. One of the factors that contribute greatly to the change is the contestation of various interests, especially politics and religion.

Anti-LGBTQ through Media in Minangkabau People

At present, the LGBTQ issue in Indonesia is being discussed frequently. Many consider that LGBTQ is contrary to Indonesia's cultural base. It seems that such a practice is considered in contrast with Indonesianness (*keindonesiaan*) and Eastern culture (*budaya timur*). Indonesia has a fairly good experience in accepting and having an open attitude towards differences. Some important writings about gender diversity and sexual orientation in Indonesia (Blackwood, 1998; Boellstorff, 2005b; Platt, Davies, & Bennett, 2018; Wieringa, 2012) shows that in some cases, Indonesian people are actually quite tolerant of them with multiple gender identity or alternative sexual orientation. Dewi Chandraningrum (2015) reveals several models of gender and sexuality diversity in the traditional structure of Indonesian society. Chandraningrum revealed several examples among Bugis community leaders, there were even five different genders. The same analog is *oroane* (male) and *makkunrai* (female), and the other three are referred to as *bissu, calabai,* and *calalai. Bissu* represents aspects of women and men, who became spiritual leaders after the pilgrimage. *Calabai* represents aspects of being born as a male and then becoming a woman. Whereas *Calalai* represents aspects that are born as women and then become men (Candraningrum, 2015, p. 5).

In West Sumatra, LGBTQ representation in the public sphere was also raised by Evelyin Blackwood (2011) who studied the Minangkabau folktales. He suggested that in some traditional performances in West Sumatra there were some indications of the practice of transgressive gender. This can be seen from the tradition *Randai* which is considered special in Minangkabau People. Through singing and dance movement all-male *randai* performers enact classic Minangkabau tales. In this tradition, men who played women's roles were often called *bujang gadih*, a Minangkabau term meaning feminine man or girly boys. Many of them were rumored to become *anak jawi*, a regional term for a younger man in an erotic relationship with an older man (54). Concern was expressed that the man who attended the all-night *randai* performance became infatuated with the performers, particularly the young males playing the female roles. Based on historical tracking by Blackwoods, in the year 1939, a group of Islamic leaders met in Padang to discuss these performances. Agreeing on their harmful quality, they issued fatwa on all *randai* that forbade men performing as women and women performing as men. Including wearing the clothing of moving, or acting like the other sect.

Symptoms of opposition to LGBTQ groups explain that the political framework and heteronormative social context make those who have different gender and sexual orientation, become outsiders, marginalized groups, even they are often chased and punished by law enforcement officers. For example, in the daily report, we often read and hear social gossip and utterances that harass LGBTQ groups. Homosexuality is not legal in Indonesia, but law enforcement agencies such as the National Police still frequently conduct raids on this group. In this case, research conducted by Sari Andjani et al. on media reports in Indonesia on LGBTQ raids revealed that the discourse on the agenda of upholding community morality and the exploitation of the mass media with spooky, disrespectful, abusive language actually preserves the social stigma against LGBTQ groups. (Andajani et al., 2015, p. 100).

Various responses to LGBTQ Issues in West Sumatra can be seen through the representation of several mainstream media that portray the government, community groups, and religious leaders and so on. The rejection of LGBTQ was most intensively carried out by the Council of Indonesian Ulama of West Sumatra Province. In the Declaration signed by the chief of the Council, Gusrizal Gazahar and the Representative of the MUI of the Regency / City in West Sumatra, the religious groups strongly opposed the LGBTQ phenomenon in West Sumatra. Of the 5 points of this declaration, 2 points specifically affirm the ulama's rejection of LGBTQ, namely first, the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) of West Sumatra Province agrees to condemn lesbian, gay, sodomy and sexual abuse in all forms and reasons. Second, the West Sumatra MUI is determined to fight lesbian, gay, sodomy and sexual abuse behavior by mobilizing the potential of the people and restoring the function of the household as the first madrasa for children (Dakwahnews, 2017). Representatives from religious circles were also continued by opposition from the West Sumatra Dai Association. In its instructions, IKADI Sumbar requires material on LGBTQ to be reproduced in preaching, sermons, and lectures. (Republika, 2018). In particular, the Chairperson of Padang's MUI also stressed his refusal to consider LGBTQ, sodomy, sexual abuse and illness to be a violation of religious, customary, legal and humanitarian law that must be anticipated. He revealed that LGBTQ actors must be healed (Harian Haluan, 2018).

The opposition of the Minangkabau People to other LGBTQ people can be seen from several reports that represent the government's response to the LGBTQ phenomenon in West Sumatra.

The Governor of West Sumatra said that the existence of LGBTQ in the Minangkabau People is a form of addressing Minang's traditional Islamic philosophy and culture (Prayitno, 2018). In this case, the most assertive statement was expressed by West Sumatra Deputy Governor Nasrul Abit. He mentioned that LGBTQ is not in accordance with Minangkabau philosophy and Islamic religion. The people of West Sumatra uphold custom and religion in their daily lives. Nasrul Abit even said that LGBTQ groups were required to leave West Sumatra (Jawapos, 2018). Parties from other governments were also represented by the Assistant Secretary of the Provincial Secretariat of West Sumatra, Syafruddin revealed that LGBTQ if in Minangkabau and Islam was a sin. He said the need for rules to give sanctions. In fact, Syafruddin emphasized the importance of the regulation on the anti-LGBTQ act in West Sumatra (Republika, 2018, Harian Haluan, 2018; Harian Singgalang, 2018).

Meanwhile, the *Adat* group also represented the response to the LGBTQ phenomenon in West Sumatra which emphasized that the eradication of LGBTQ practices must be carried out with a strong legal umbrella. Chairperson of LKAAM West Sumatra, M. Sayuti Dt. Rajo Panghulu mentioned the importance of including LGBTQ as part of a community disease. Furthermore, sanctions against these acts are strengthened and the enactment of customary law (*adat*) against perpetrators. The statement of the *adat* leader confirmed that the rules regarding LGBTQ had never existed before in West Sumatra. He even details the rules for the application of customary law which is termed D4 (the *passive form of* di-), namely first, discarded (*Dibuang*) throughout *adat*, second, ostracized (*Dikucilkan*), third, fined (*Didenda*) and fourth, forgiven (*Dimaafkan*). The application of sanctions depends on what kind of fatigue is done (Covesia, 2018).

From the above explanation, I have shown the four stages of the narrative of anti-LGBTQ in Minangkabau societies including The narrative has four stages: suggesting that the rejection of LGBTQ is against the cultural values of Minangkabau ethnic identity, reducing the social and *adat* of Minangkabau people, considering LGBTQ is a threat and a social disease that affects the young generation of Minangkabau and assuming LGBTQ is a form of decline for Islamic values that are considered embedding in the local tradition of society. This research argues that LGBTQ is a moral panic for the Minangkabau people produced by the power. This kind of moral panic emphasizes the disposition of the understanding of *adat*, religion and traditions around the public discourse. It means that this moral panic framework is a reproductive attempt to strengthen exclusive and conservatism trends in contemporary Minangkabau People and patriarchal influence which claim their attempts to maintain matrilineal values.

CONCLUSION

The aspect of their identity is seen as "indigenous" indicates that this category of ethnic-influenced identity is too traditional and intolerant of the value of sexuality diversity. Here, the assumption that anti-LGBTQ in West Sumatra shows the weakness of the democratic movement and the strengthening of the Islamic movement can be considered as a new form of moral panic in the Minangkabau People. In the context of West Sumatra, there are local traditions that show tolerance for sexual diversity that still exists today. In contrast to this, strengthening the new moral panic in society that has been rejecting LGBTQ phenomena is considered a difficult part to accept. If previously, there were rules that forced and restricted women to interact with men, then in this anti-LGBTQ case, the form of restrictions was deemed to have actually gone out of the normal

rules of society. The anti-LGBTQ phenomenon in West Sumatra in the Minangkabau People can be understood as a reaction that is contrary to the traditional values of traditional communities. Furthermore, understanding the anti-LGBTQ context in West Sumatra also shows a form of social and political transformation in West Sumatra that is unbalanced between Islamic conservatism and the progressive movement. Some religious actors, government, civil society and even some social organizations in West Sumatra showed a relatively dominant attitude in opposing some forms of heteronormativity phenomena in their society

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