

Analysis of conflict:

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Analysis of conflict: Online media coverage of the St. Lidwina Church incident

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ABSTRACT

News about religious intolerance in Indonesia lacks the appropriate nuances to minimise and resolve conflicts. Further, unbalanced coverage can have an impact on conflicts that recur. One of the events that attracted widespread attention in Indonesia was the St. Lidwina Church incident in Yogyakarta. This study used the perspective of peace journalism from McGoldrick and Lynch and applied the framing method from Entman to look at the exaggeration of certain aspects of reality by four online media outlets (Cnnindonesia.com, Republika.co.id, Detikcom, Tribunnews.com). The analysis of 118 news articles show that these media implemented the principle of peace journalism in some aspects: (1) they avoided a conflict involving two parties fighting on one particular problem; (2) they avoided treating the conflict as if it only occurred at the particular time and place of violence but, failed to avoid (a) highlighting the chronology of the incident; (b) the use of emotional words; (c) the use of adjectives such as "cruel", "brutal", and "barbaric"; (d) the use of labels such as "terrorist" and "extremist". This study encourages journalists who cover conflicts to understand that local values can be employed as an emerging conflict resolution. Further, it is crucial to understand and use cultural values in reporting on conflicts as a part of peace journalism.

Keywords: **Framing, news, peace journalism, online media, local values**

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a multicultural country consisting of various religious and ethnic groups. The government of Indonesia recognises six official religions. According to government data, Islam with 87.2% of religious adherents is the main religion. The other religions include Protestantism – 6.9%, Catholicism – 2.9%, Hinduism – 1.7%, Buddhism – 0.7%, and Confucianism – 0.05% (Republic of Indonesia Official Page, 2020). Due to its diversity, Indonesia is vulnerable to sporadic intolerance incidents between religious communities. Intolerance arises in various forms, ranging from insulting other religions, the prohibition of celebrating certain religious practices, and conflicts between religions. The Setara Institute survey reported that throughout 2018, there were 160 incidents concerning violations of freedom of religion and belief (*Kebebasan Beragama dan Keyakinan/KBB*) in 25 provinces (Rachman, 2019). Some of these cases occurred in Yogyakarta.

Azca, a researcher from the Centre for Security and Peace Studies at Gadjah Mada University, stated that conflicts in Yogyakarta began in the 70s and escalated in the 80s. The various ethnicities led to many problems. The government then began to organise inter-ethnic events as a conflict resolution measure. Yogyakarta is an important place because it is a student city, a place for diverse students who are smart come to build an academic community. Thus, every community is represented in Yogyakarta as it demonstrates a high level of activism, from cultural to religious activism. It is also seen as a tolerant city, but lately, because of the massive media exposure, it is now perceived to have become intolerant (Azca, M. N., personal communication, July 29, 2019).

Non-Muslim students were not allowed to choose boarding places in certain areas. There was also an attack on a pastor during mass on February 11, 2018 (Media, 2018). This incident occurred at the St. Lidwina Church in Gamping, Trihanggo, Sleman, Yogyakarta. Twenty minutes after the incident, the police secured the situation by shooting the perpetrators. In this incident, three people, a priest and two policemen, were injured.

The issues of intolerance that have taken place in Yogyakarta have received widespread attention from several local and national media. According to the Setara Institute, various cases of religious-based intolerance in the community occurred because the government could not control the source of conflict. This particular incident carried news value because it contained elements of conflict, proximity, physical closeness and beliefs. Oftentimes, incidences of intolerance in the Yogyakarta region that are polemical qualify as news (BBC Indonesia, 2019).

Various media reported this incident with different frames, especially the national media. In framing events, the media highlights certain aspects while obscuring others. The media tends to be subjective and constructs reality according to the interests of the media itself. Thus, the media is never deemed as entirely neutral in observing and framing a reality because each media has different ideologies and interests. Nevertheless, the media plays a significant role in constructing the reality that occurs in society, including conflicts. Conflict is a social reality with news value that attracts public attention, but the media constructs the reality of the conflict differently based on its ideology and editorial policy.

Several inter-ethnic and religious conflicts in Indonesia have not gone unnoticed by the media. For example, a documentary titled "*Television and TV One News Conflict*" which reported on the Mesuji conflict and the South Lampung conflict was broadcasted by TV One. Religious diversity, ethnic identity, and culture have unwittingly created hindrance that can potentially disrupt the harmony of social cohesion and interrelation (Ariestha, 2012). The conflict in Mesuji has been ongoing since 2000. However, the polemic later developed into friction between residents, including migrants, who felt they had the right to manage the forest area there (Permana, 2019).

The media chosen for this study were four online media: Cnnindonesia.com, Republika.co.id, Detik.com and Tribunnews.com. These media outlets frequently report on intolerance-based incidents. Furthermore, each news site has a different ideology and tradition of journalism. Republika.co.id was chosen because it brings the nuances of Islam in its coverage. It is interesting to study how the construction of Islamic media looks at cases of religious intolerance in the news. Cnnindonesia.com was chosen because it is managed by an international company. In comparison, Detik.com and Tribunnews.com are both national online media and widely accessed by Alexa, a web traffic information, metrics, and analytics provider.

This paper examines the role and competence of intercultural ethics of journalists in covering cases concerning intolerance. The findings are linked and discussed within the concept of peace journalism, which was initiated by Galtung (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2021) and developed by McGoldrick and Lynch (2016). The competence of journalists determines how well facts are covered and whether the news is written objectively with the nuances of reporting on problem-solving or not. However, it has been observed that the media in Indonesia tends to report conflicts without examining the cause of the conflict and without considering peaceful solutions. Based on this background, the research questions formulated are: How did the media frame the incident at St. Lidwina Church? And how did the media apply peace journalism in the news reporting?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Framing media and public

D'Angelo (2017) described media frames as written, spoken, graphic, or visual message modality used by communicators to contextualise topics such as people, events, episodes, and issues in text that are communicated to recipients through mediation. The term communicator may refer to an individual or a group of people who are not connected or belong to a formal organisation. In this case, the communicator is a news media that provides factual information to the public. In the simplest sense, news framing means that each media can present the same topic through different perspectives, emphasising only a particular aspect or part of the topic whilst downplaying other aspects. Framing studies have demonstrated an effect on the evaluative direction of thoughts, interpretations, attitudes, perceptions, and levels of support on issues and behaviour (Schuck & Feinholdt, 2015).

At times, news coverage are not objective in reporting an event. The same event could be treated differently in different publications. It presents the press a composition of norms and values that permeate the journalism process of news agencies, which is related to their social identity. Thus, "reality" is not the event that is waiting to be reported, instead it is built on the interaction between the event and the media (Shahin, 2015).

Peace journalism

The concept of peace journalism was first echoed by Galtung and has continued to develop. Peace journalism has widely raised awareness about war coverage and physical violence in conflicts. The function of peace journalism is to provide a practical presentation of global issues for the media and the community, through a democratic perspective. This approach is expected to raise awareness and encourage behavioural changes and attitudes to better understand global, regional, and local governance in various parts of the world.

Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2021) argued that Galtung's peace journalism provides the media outlets and journalists an option to avoid the traps of propaganda and to contribute to peace rather than war. However, in the historical context of the global war on

terror and conflicts, it is time to reconsider Galtung's original proposal and subsequently, newer versions of peace journalism. Ntulumbe (2021), however highlighted the limitations of the peace journalism mode, where conflict-sensitive coverage that focuses on journalists can decide whether the media helps resolve or intensify conflicts. It also enables or hinders media that are obliged to report. Thus, peace journalism is the work of journalists and all stakeholders related to the conflict.

Peace journalism provides readers and viewers with different perspectives composed of multiple actors and purposes as well as the alternative picture that emerges in a series of violent events. This form of journalism reveals that there is always more than one side of a story. Often at the sub-elite level, no matter how small, it underscores the peace initiative constantly underway in conflict, showing pictures and stories of peace and war (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2016).

McGoldrick and Lynch (2016) later extended the concepts of peace and war journalism. Peace journalism is based on the proposition that decisions made by journalists when covering conflicts should not intensify any version that leads to war or peace. In other words, peace journalism is defined as the approach used by editors and reporters to decide what to report and how to promote a non-violent response to a conflict. The journalist must avoid blaming one side, or emphasise on the violence aspects only, or label the victims. In summary, journalists have to promote peace and reduce the intensity of the conflict (Ersoy & Miller, 2020; Yang & Heng, 2019).

Intercultural ethics

The practise of journalism in reporting incidents of inter-religious conflict in Indonesia needs to involve the dimensions of intercultural ethics and local wisdom. Guided by these dimensions, journalists can adapt messages to people and contexts and become "mindful" of how their reporting can influence others. Dimensions of intercultural ethics include:

1. Respect for Others — ethical standards require respect for each individual. Journalists must show respect for the dignity and feelings of others.
2. Seek Commonalities — cultural similarities must also be considered because these similarities can serve as ethical guidelines. It helps journalists decide how to treat other people regardless of race, ethnicity, gender and age.
3. Recognize and Respect Cultural Differences — the importance of recognising, understanding, and respecting cultural differences.
4. Being Responsible — the ability to exercise free choice and the need to be "cautious" because our communicative behaviour choices can lead to desirable and undesirable consequences for others (Samovar et al., 2017).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach and framing analysis method on four media, namely Cnnindonesia.com, Republika.co.id, Detik.com, and Tribunnews.com. The reason for the selection is based on preliminary research conducted by the researchers looking at the number of reports on the St. Lidwina Church case. These four online media gave more coverage to the case compared to other media outlets.

News articles were retrieved using purposive sampling to identify the media frames used. A keyword search was done on the St. Lidwina Church attack and a total of 118 articles were gathered: Cnnindonesia.com – 16 texts; Republika.co.id – 30 texts; Detik.com – 34 texts, and Tribunnews.com – 38 texts.

RESULTS

Table 1. Framing analysis of St Lidwina Church incident in Yogyakarta

Frames analysed	Cnnindonesia.com	Republika.co.id	Detik.com	Tribunnews.com
Define problems	a. Cnnindonesia.com defined this incident as a form of assault/violence/terror committed by someone blindly. b. The events that occurred at the beginning of 2018 were more related to the issue of religious harmony or the teachings did not lead to intolerance between religious communities. c. This incident was framed by several keywords such as 'terror' or 'terrorism', 'cer', and 'radicalism' which come under the government's responsibility, especially the police, which was even considered negligent. d. The media did not link the attack to political issues, primarily the election held simultaneously in 2019. This frame was confirmed by several articles uploaded into the national channels, especially the Event, Law and Criminal sections.	a. Republika.co.id consistently referred to this incident as an attack. Although was also termed as a terrorist act in the news. b. The resource persons used for the story did not reflect diversity, and were dominated by the police and people's representatives, as well as Muslim institutions or organisations such as MUI, PBNU, PB PMII, GP Ansor. c. Republika.co.id also wanted to look at the context of the events of the attack more broadly by using information related to the attack given by other religious leaders.	a. The news presented by Detik.com consistently led to the attack at St. Church Lidwina. b. The use of words such as 'assault' or 'attack' was common. At times, 'stabbing' was also used. c. Detik.com often gave context of the attack not only in Yogyakarta but also in various regions where religious leaders were targeted. Some reports linked this incident to terrorist acts and radical activities.	a. Tribunnews.com defined this incident as an attack with various other expressions such as raging, blind, brutal, and outrageous. It also described the incident in detail using the term 'hit,' 'shook', and 'slashed'. b. The perpetrator was also considered as a terrorist, an unknown person. Inconsistent mentions of perpetrators occurred repeatedly. Sometimes, the perpetrators' names were clearly revealed. c. This media also linked the incident to the interfaith meeting that had just taken place.
Diagnose causes	a. The problem in this incident was Sulistyono as the perpetrator of the attack, who was described as someone who practised an incorrect understanding of the teachings of his religion, in this case, Islam.	a. The violence at the St. Lidwina Church was caused by the government, in particular the police, which was considered negligent in maintaining the security of the worshippers.	a. Detikcom used several terms such as strangers, assailants, or directly mentions Suliyono when referring to the perpetrators of the attack.	a. The cause of the incident was not strongly associated with preaching. Only a few stories associated preaching with the incident. Perpetrators were considered to have learned from religious teachings that had deviated.

Table 1. (con't)

Frames analysed	Cnnindonesia.com	Republika.co.id	Detik.com	Tribunnews.com
	b. Cnnindonesia.com also illustrated that the government, through the police, had not succeeded in carrying out its role in maintaining freedom of religion. c. Moreover, religious leaders failed in spreading the message of tolerance to their respective followers.	b. As well as religious leaders who were not diligent in spreading the message of tolerance and monitoring erroneous religious teachings. c. Republika.co.id identified the source of the problem as Sulyono, the perpetrator of the violence at the St. Lidwina Church. The frame formed was that the perpetrators were not entirely at fault because they were influenced by radical religious teachings.	b. In some articles, this media defined this incident as an act of terrorism or that the actor had psychiatric disorders. c. On the other hand, Detikcom raised the issue of government accountability through the police and regional governments which should have helped protect the community's right to worship.	
Make moral judgement	a. Moral assessments of the perpetrators and their actions did not reflect any teachings, especially the teachings of the religion that the perpetrators adhered to. b. Such incidents are considered capable of destroying the religious harmony in Indonesia. c. Some articles emphasised that worship activities are the right of every citizen. The spread of radical ideas is still ongoing in Indonesia, and the authorities' actions are deemed as not significant enough to deter the perpetrators. d. The portrait of religious harmony that exists today is only symbolic.	a. Republika.co.id repeatedly raised criticisms of several parties, including the central government, regional governments, the DPR and DPRD, the police, religious organisations and religious leaders. But they also affirmed that the act of violence in the St. Lidwina Church was a cruel crime that deserved condemnation. b. This act was described as not reflective of any religious teaching. The perpetrators were referred to as terrorists, who were considered to be following a radical figure, and a common enemy.	a. This incident was considered a criminal act (violence and assault). This action was considered an act of intolerance that should be condemned and does not reflect the values of specific religious teachings. b. Two news items on this incident presented a positive example in addressing it. The Sultan apologised for being negligent in securing the safety of the worship activities of the Yogyakarta community. Prior also admitted as a party who took part in this incident because he did not secure himself. In line with this news, other news also emphasised the call to remain calm in the face of this attack.	a. Yogyakarta is a city associated with tolerance and cultural values. In other reports, Tribunnews.com highlighted the value of cooperation that could be seen in the clean-up of the St. Lidwina Church. Several times the value of forgiveness of the victim was raised by emphasising the teachings of love. These values were raised as a reflection of the harmony that represented the people of Yogyakarta.

Table 1. (con't)

Frames analysed	Cnnindonesia.com	Republika.co.id	Detik.com	Tribunnews.com
		c. Sulyono's actions were described as the result of wrongful interpretations of Islam, which were then put into action. d. Republika.co.id also quoted information relating to the strength of cultural values such as tolerance, cooperation that are not aligned with the violence that occurred		b. However, two reports linked the meeting of the religious leaders with the president, which took place shortly before this event. It illustrated that problems still occurred even in society, even though religious and government leaders frequently maintained communication.
Follow-up recommendation	a. Cnnindonesia.com recommended that the authorities take decisive action against the perpetrators of violence in the Church of St Lidwina. b. Religious leaders were also asked to teach the values of tolerance to their followers. c. The media advised the public not to allow themselves be provoked and retaliate. Moreover, to be more sensitive to activities that are considered suspicious.	a. Republika.co.id explicitly recommended follow-up actions that the police and the community must carry out. b. The community was also asked not to be easily provoked by participating in spreading inaccurate information to maintain harmonious conditions in Yogyakarta. c. The expected role of the police and religious leaders in this matter was to spread the message of tolerance in daily life.	a. Detik.com focused on appeals to the police to investigate this incident transparently and to be able to resolve this case and maintain calm and security. b. At the same time, another article appealed to the people to remain calm and wait for the results of the initial investigation.	a. Tribunnews.com did not provide any recommendations regarding this incident. However, in several reports, Tribunnews.com emphasised on encouraging the police to investigate the incident thoroughly. b. Also, the dialogue or communication carried out by Sultan Hemengkubuwono X was one of the recommendations to prevent future incidents of intolerance. Through dialogue with several agencies and organisations, the Sultan hopes that intolerance issues will not happen again in the future.

For the four media chosen, the study found that the concept of peace journalism was demonstrated when attempts were made to avoid treating conflict as and when violence occurred. Thus, all four media reported on several similar incidents that had happened

before. They also tried to connect the incidences with political issues that were happening at the time. For example, in Detik.com's report, *PKS Curses Attack on Lidwina Sleman Church*, the Chairperson of the Prosperous Justice Party faction, Jazuli Juwaini (a resource person), gave the context of the government's responsibility for the violence that not only occurred in the case of St. Lidwina. Juwaini (Mardiastuti, 2018) contended that attacks on religious leaders and people does not only happen to Christians. Previously in West Java, there were similar attacks against figures/*ulama* from Islamic organisations, including the death of Ustaz Prawoto from Persis.

The media also emphasised on threats to religious figures, which means that the attacks are not confined to only one religion. Tribunnews.com and Cnnindonesia.com highlighted on the meeting between the President and religious leaders that had taken place before the incident at the St. Lidwina Church. This suggests that the meeting had no effect on the freedom of religious activities. These media also highlighted activities that emphasised on local Indonesian values, such as the value of *gotong royong*, which could be seen in activities such as cleaning up the church together after the incident. *Gotong royong* means working together to achieve a desired result. Through *gotong royong*, everyone can get the job done, and the results are shared evenly (Gischa, 2021).

All media also avoided the portrayal that a conflict consisted of only two parties fighting over a particular issue by offering recommendations or conflict resolution to all parties including the government, police, political leaders, as well as religious and community leaders. Unfortunately, Tribunnews.com provided minimal recommendations to prevent protracted or recurring conflicts. Further, Detik.com consistently avoided forming opinions or claims. This was done by quoting other sources, who often state that "they cannot conclude", "motive is not yet known", and use the term "not speculating".

The concept of peace journalism directs journalists to avoid using adjectives such as "cruel", "brutal", and "barbaric" and avoid highlighting elements of violence and horror. However, some words like brutal, heinous action, rampage, blindness, and anarchist still find their way into the reporting of this incident. In some reports, the media described the incident in detail, for example, "drawn out a sword", "slashed and bloodied", or "blood-splattered". The peace journalism concept also emphasises the avoidance of labels such as the words "terrorist", "extremist", "fanatical group", or "fundamentalist". Nevertheless, the use of the terrorist label and the term terrorism was still found in the news coverage of these media.

DISCUSSION

News reporting is expected to be objective without being influenced by journalists' opinions. In this regard, McGoldrick & Lynch (2016) stressed that the role of journalists in reporting on such events is to focus on describing the conflict that occurred rather than the violence. By describing what the perpetrator did to the victim(s), the emphasis of the news is placed on the violence instead of the conflict. Hence, Eroy (2017) stressed that peace journalists must convey all aspects of the conflict to be discussed and resolved. However, he also cautioned that a peace journalist must also understand that conflicts that are not addressed with the aim of resolution can end in violence again. Journalists must also understand the consequences of disseminating information on violence. For instance, Plaisance in Wilkins & Christians (2020) revealed that consumption of information about violence can increase the likelihood of aggressive behaviour in readers, both in the short term and long term.

In this case, the findings reveal that journalists who reported on this incident emphasised on the broader picture and not just the attack. Republika Online and Detik.com repeatedly gave a summary of the events before the attack. They also implemented

the peace journalism concept and avoided treating the conflict related to the incident as if it only occurred at that specific time and place. In this respect, the journalists explored the relationships and consequences for people in other places at present, and in the future. This aligns with Galtung & Fischer (2013) who encouraged journalists to focus on the solution — peace-oriented, people-oriented and truth-oriented.

In the context of Indonesia's diversity, ethnic and religious differences must be tolerated by allowing good intercultural understanding so that the local diverse values can be accepted. In regard to the operationalisation of the framing analysis of Entman, aspects of conflict resolution come under the theme of follow-up recommendation. The four media emphasised on recommendations to three parties who should work on conflict resolution. They were the police, religious and community leaders, and the people. At the same time, the media offered a conflict resolution method by asking their readers to respond to conflict situations calmly and leaving it entirely to the police. Yang and Leong (2017) asserted that the media ought to seek the feelings and perspectives of citizens and grassroots associations for their point of view or possible solutions to address the inter-ethnic clashes/ conflicts. Likewise, they ought to seek consensus from citizens whether the stances expressed by their leaders or the government representatives are the ideal way of resolving any conflict.

However, recommendations do not always appear in every news article. As an example, out of 38 news pieces by Tribunnews.com, more than 20 did not provide any recommendations for solving the problem it reported. The absence of recommendations in the news indicates that the news framing only tends to sensationalise the events without providing any solutions. Galtung (2015) characterised the application of peace journalism to four main points, one of which refers to providing solutions. Meanwhile, if it is more representative of attack or violence description, it can be deemed as war journalism. Thus, according to Galtung (2015), peace journalism must focus on peace in conflict resolution.

In some reports, the media tried to describe the situation in the Yogyakarta area as something far removed from the actual conflict. Tribunnews.com tried to raise the values of tolerance by using the word *adem ayem* (peaceful situation) and local values, namely *gotong royong*. There was also a narrative of the culture of community service, tolerance, and cooperation. Although it was not emphasised, cultural or local values were also raised. Yogyakarta is very rich in cultural values that are still inherent today. On several occasions, the media also described the incident as not being in line with the culture in Yogyakarta. Further, Ersoy (2017) emphasised that media has a significant role in supporting the development of culture and the language of peace. Unfortunately, the concept of peace journalism is not linked to the reporting of the local cultures or values.

As the findings demonstrate, we believe that peace journalists must understand local cultural values as the foundation of the peace journalism process. If the journalist is not familiar with the local cultures or values, then the description of an issue or the label(s) used in news coverage will not be clear and becomes inaccessible to the local community. This finding corroborates with Ogunyemi's article on the framing of conflicts in Africa by the African diasporic press which demonstrates the importance of journalistic expertise, diversity and identity in obtaining more accurate media accounts (Knupfer & Entman, 2018). Thus, this study strongly believes in the importance of an in-depth understanding of diverse identities such as the local culture or values when reporting on conflicts.

Peace journalists should also demonstrate intercultural communication competence, especially those who focus on conflict issues. Culture and communication play an essential role as cultural communication is a dominant component that serves as the vehicle for conflict resolution (Samovar et al., 2017). In the same way, conflict specialists believe that framing is essential in determining how people perceive issues through the language used

(Ersoy & Miller, 2020). Therefore, journalists play a role in the word selection (sensitivity as an essential value of intercultural competence) to spread information. They pick words and pictures that can impact how crowds decipher and assess issues or strategies (Yang & Leong, 2017). Especially in a diverse society, the media can help exacerbate intergroup tension and violent conflict or promote national unity and stability with their selection of language (Demarest & Langer, 2018). Intercultural competence is a fundamental trait for those living in a multicultural society. With intercultural communication competence, journalists of different cultural values and upbringings can communicate and interact effectively, limiting negative stereotyping and harmful ethnocentrism (Eko & Putranto, 2019). In peace journalism, a strong focus on the words used in describing the conflict is essential. Peace journalists must avoid good or bad labels or the use of emotional language (Yang & Mohd Ishak, 2016). Additionally, to help resolve conflicts, peace journalists need to be closer to the community to understand the culture and values of the local region.

The basic argument of the current research is that peace journalists must know the local culture and local values, especially those well-versed in intercultural competence. The source of information is also part of the frame that the media needs to build up. Peace journalism emphasises on sources of information from various parties to find solutions. So, in this case, the media should avoid disseminating information without sources or only highlighting one or two particular sources. Gamson (as cited in Mazumdar & Luther, 2020) stressed that specific sources, primarily political, socio-political, and modern associations, work effectively to impact the news. Meanwhile, Mazumdar and Luther (2020) emphasised that a difference in the information is conveyed when the voices of the government and ordinary citizens are included in the news.

The framing built from this conflict focused on the brutal violence that occurred in the church. This issue is far removed from the local values that are rich with tolerance. Further, the audience responses to peace journalism suggest that peace journalism should make viewers think and feel differently. Peace journalism should lessen anger and disgust, promote hope and empathy and allow for cognitive exploration of problems that arise from intertwining causes, thus opening up receptivity to a range of remedies (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2016). In conflict studies, peace journalism and framing media also seek the framing effect on consumer opinion. Research conducted by Ette & Joe (2018) compared the framing of Boko Haram, a terrorist group, in four Nigerian newspapers and Twitter. Their results show the different framing between newspapers and people's conversations on Twitter. Kwon et al. (2018) investigated audience and media frames on Twitter during the Boston Marathon bombing and Brussels Airport attack. Another research by Boesman et al. (2016) also highlighted the frame perspective of the media or journalist, as seen from the influence of newsrooms on the frame building process in the Dutch newspaper, *de Volkskrant* and the Belgian newspaper, *De Morgen*.

Sunardi, a scholar from Sanata Dharma University, emphasised that Yogyakarta faces numerous challenges in practising pluralism as not all societies are equipped with a pluralistic attitude. Therefore, religious and ethnic conflicts can still occur (Sunardi, S. personal communication, July 29, 2019). In this regard, the media can play a role in educating the existing diversity and should apply peace journalism in informing conflict reporting.

CONCLUSION

While the four media chosen did not fully reflect the principles of peace journalism from McGoldrick and Lynch (2016) in their coverage of the conflict at St. Lidwina Church, they did avoid: a) portraying that the conflict consisted of only two parties fighting one particular

problem; b) treating the conflict at that particular time and place by tracing the current and future relationships as well as consequences for people elsewhere; c) forming fixed opinions or claims. Unfortunately, they failed to avoid: a) highlighting the chronology of events as a selling point for information; b) using emotional words that do not accurately describe what happened to a group of people; c) using adjectives such as “cruel”, “brutal”, and “barbaric”; and d) using labels such as the words “terrorist” and “extremist”.

The media still emphasised the use of labels and expressive words that could provoke adverse reactions from readers; in this case, they could target a specific religion. It is crucial to use framing related to intolerance, violence and interfaith conflict through the perspective of peaceful journalism to help create a harmonious atmosphere in the state. In general, the frame that was built focused on the violence committed by someone with a particular religious background.

Several parties influential in selecting and packaging information must be aware of the impact after the information reaches the public. Journalists who influence the formation of information must understand conflict reporting, the peace journalism concept and the cultural values that can inform the emerging conflict resolution. The incident at the St. Lidwina Church was one of the many intolerant events that occurred in Yogyakarta in 2018. Previously known as the most tolerant city in Indonesia, Yogyakarta has become infamous as an intolerant city in 2019 as a result of this and other similar events. In summary, the media plays an important role and should be a driver in strengthening tolerance so that similar conflicts do not recur.

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