When Intolerance Is Hidden: Imagined Tolerant Society As Framed In Two Local Newspapers In Indonesia

by Mateus Yumarnamto

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Abstract

This study focuses on the discourse of tolerance and intolerance as represented in two local newspapers in Indonesia, Surya and Bali Post. The two media were selected because of their localities and their unique audience. Both were situated in tolerant areas in Indonesia, East Java and Bali. The audience was of two different communities, East Javanese, who are mostly moderate Moslems, and Balinese, who are mostly Hindus. The guiding questions for this research were: (1) how did the media frame the issues of tolerance and intolerance in their news reports in February 2018? (2) What imagined communities were claimed as reflected in the news reports? To answer the questions, eight articles related to the issues of tolerance and intolerance were selected purposefully, with four articles taken from each. The analysis was conducted in two stages: (1) framing analysis (Entman, 1993, 2007) and (2) content analysis by looking at imagined communities (Anderson, 2006). The results indicate that the news reports supported the idea of peace journalism to mitigate potential conflicts. This supports the government's agenda for Indonesian society to maintain peace and harmony but it might have also hidden the underlying intolerance in the two localities.

Introduction

Conceived by the Indonesia's founding fathers as a tool for unity, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika "Unity in Diversity" is the national motto addressing the reality of the country's multicultural identities (Suparlan, 2003; Lestari, 2015; Abdullah, 2003; Misrawi, 2013). It is the cherished motto of the country's unity. Originally it was taken from an old literature, Negara Kertagama ('Sacred State'), written during the golden days of Majapahit, the kingdom considered as one of the greatest and one that has seeded the very idea of the archipelago's unity. In the conception of Indonesian government, multicultural state should imitate Majapahit with different religions and different ethnic groups live peacefully and could express their cultural identities freely within one nation, united by history, national language, and geography.

Therefore, diversity has been part and parcel of Indonesia's conception as a country. The founding fathers realized that diversity could be a source of strengths as well as potential conflicts. This is in line with Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) who liken diversity as two edges sword that can bring about conflicts and peace. It can also be a transforming tool that can change the society, or a destructive tool that can ruin the social fabrics that unite a country. In short, it can be a positive transformation force that enables a community to develop or a negative one that can create commotion and crisis.

To curb the negative power of diversity the Indonesian government has experimented different strategies. The New Order Regime (1966-1998) coined the term SARA (suku 'ethnicity', agama 'religion', ras 'race', antar golongan 'social or political groups') to identify the potential sources of social conflicts (Suparlan, 2003; Lestari, 2015). It subsumes the sources of potential conflicts: ethnicities, religions, races, and different social and political groups. Therefore, in the past SARA was also used as a powerful tool to maintain power and to control the society. The term had become a magic word for the government to manage diversity as idealized by regime.

In relation to SARA, the term tolerance and its opposite, intolerance, had become key words to regulate public discourses. At school, students were taught to be tolerant and to be able to live harmoniously in a multicultural society. They were also taught to respect different ethnicities, races, religions and other social and political groups. Tolerance, then, was meant as mutual respects among different social groups in the society. It had become a buzz word echoed overtime to suppress the emerging threats of intolerance. Under the name of tolerance, talking about SARA was considered politically incorrect under the New Order repressive regime. More significantly, media were tightly controlled and the news printed in national and local media were highly censored. Failing to conform to the government's policies, media would be shut down and journalists could be sent to jail. Consequently, the Indonesian media at that time were expected to follow suit this government's effort to maintain unity in diversity as well as peace and

harmony at all cost—including censoring and limiting freedom of the press.

The reformation era that began in 1998, marked a new era for the press and media signified by "freedom of the press and a new dawn of democratization" (Sukmayadi, 2019: 59). Since the reformation, various media have flourished and various dissent voices have been freely circulated in public. This unprecedented freedom has brought about changes in Indonesian media landscape. While the mainstream media align themselves with what is called peace journalism (Fawcett, 2002; Hanitzsch, 2004; Lee, 2010; McGoldrick and Lynch, 2014; Galtung, 2016), the new media facilitated by the internet channel various issues and perspectives, including hatred and intolerance with almost no censor or filter. The freedom of the press and the "freedom to hate" (Lim, 2017) have become threats to peace and harmony and peace journalism is expected to deescalate any tensions and potential conflicts.

To counter the threat to the country's unity, the Indonesian government has promoted the cause of peace journalism. Contrary to war journalism that tends to escalate conflicts and promote wars, peace journalism is expected to frame sensitive issues in such a way that it will not incite conflicts and commotion. Instead, it will mitigate audience's negative reactions towards certain sensitive issues like SARA. The agenda of peace journalism has become the unwritten principle of most mainstream media in Indonesia.

Important mainstream media in Indonesia include not only the national media such as Kompas and Jawa Post (Lim, 2017) but also local media, which focus on local issues for local audience. These local media have becoming more important after the Reformation Movement in 1998 that forced Suharto to step down. The reformation has brought about wide autonomy for the local governments in Indonesia an unprecedented reformed after years of a strong central government.

Situated in the current contextual Indonesia, this paper focuses on understanding of how peace journalism works in framing news related to the issue of tolerance and intolerance. Two local newspapers were selected to represent their unique localities and audience. The first one, Surya, is a local newspaper based in Surabaya, East Java. The audience of the local newspaper is East Javanese in Surabaya and its surrounding areas. The readers are mostly Javanese Muslims affiliated with the moderate Muslim organization, Nahdlatul Ulama (Menchik, 2016). The second local newspaper, Bali Post, is based in Denpasar, Bali. The audience is mostly Balinese Hindus. In addition to the framing analysis, this paper also aims at understanding the tolerant imagined community (Anderson, 2006) which is encapsulated in the news reports as being framed by the two local newspaper.

Framing tolerance and intolerance

The term tolerance historically reflects willingness to accept differences of others. Habermas (2003) provided a historical perspective on the term tolerance in relation to religious relations, which

provide legal and conventional values of tolerance. The equivalent word for tolerance in German is Toleranz. In his own word, Habermas wrote that "we not only use the term Toleranz to designate the general disposition to treat another person or a stranger patiently and generously, more specifically we use it to refer to a political virtue in our dealings with citizens who are different or are of a different origin" (Habermas, 2003: 3).

In Western countries such as the US, which is liberal, religious intolerance is still an issue. The study by Stewart et al. (2017), indicates that negative attitude towards religious out group still exists, indicating historical traces of prejudices. In of their findings, it is indicated that "private religiosity associates with higher tolerance, but public religious expression clearly associates with higher intolerance" (17). In this fashion, there is what is called conditional nature of religious tolerance in which a general tolerant society may also bring its own prejudices towards those considered as out-groups.

A different study in the context of Canada and the USA conducted by Wright, Johnston, Citrin, and Soroka (2016) focused on tolerance in multicultural society. In the study, it was assumed that Muslims were less tolerant in regards to the religious out groups and similarly it was assumed that native born North American had a negative perspective on Muslim. It was found that the political multiculturalism might have brought about changes in the view. The negative perspectives of Muslim to other religions and vice versa had been mitigated by the intensive multicultural education and political multiculturalism in the society. The increasing tolerant was "the apparent effect of political multiculturalism on tolerance of Muslim accommodation among native-born majority members" (102). The political multiculturalism in some way could mitigate prejudices and intolerance towards religious out groups.

In Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, tolerance is highly promoted and intolerance is considered a threat for the unity of the social fabric of the multicultural and multi-religious society. In Singapore, for example, to regulate diversity the government promotes an equality based on multiculturalism policy, the policy that the Singaporeans believe to have brought about its separation from Malaysia (Holman and Arunachalam, 2015). Singapore even justifies the restriction of freedom of speech for the sake of unity, stability, and multiculturalism policy.

Malaysia, on the other hand, sees diversity and multiculturalism in a different perspective after the ethnic riots and violence occurred in the 1970s. The conflicts were assumed to be rooted in the economic gap among different ethnic groups. To close the economic gap between Malay, the majority but considered as a disenfranchised group, and the ethnic Chinese, a minority but economically a powerful group, the government accommodates a preferential economic treatment. This policy is meant to empower and to support Malay so that they can compete with the Malaysian Chinese in business so as to close the economic gap.

Using this policy, Malaysian government maintains unity, peace, and multiculturalism by a preferential option for the majority, which for many it is often considered as legalizing race discrimination. As described by Lai Fong and Ishak (2015), racism has been institutionalized in Malaysian governmental system. In their own words, they describe this situation as follows.

... racism has been part of Malaysian political, economic, social, and cultural realities since colonial times. Today, race has been so deeply institutionalized that it is a key factor in determining who benefits from governmental development policies, bids for business contracts, receives discounts for purchasing houses, and enters educational institutions (Lai Fong and Ishak, 2015: 3)

In such cultural, political and economic policies, religious unity and stability is enhanced by controlling minority groups in the society, often costing tolerance values. In some cases tolerance is often interpreted as a one directional attitude, the attitude of the minority towards the majority. An example of a preferential option undermining tolerance was the contentious public debate related to the use of the word Allah in a weekly Catholic newspaper in 2010. The debate that ended in court was among the notorious example of how the minority was treated unfairly to keep peace and harmony in Malaysian society.

Similar to Malaysia, Indonesia has also enacted discriminating cultural, political, and economic policies. Under Suharto, the New Order Regime required the naturalization of Chinese names, banned the teaching of Mandarin at schools, limited the opportunities for Chinese descendants to pursue careers in military, public services, and bureaucracies, and in some local areas, limited the property ownership. Interestingly, under the limiting and discriminating environment many Chinese Indonesians excel in business. In fact, with their well-known strong work ethics and business acumen, Indonesian Chinese have a strong present in the current economy, undermining years of discrimination and suspicions regarding their nationalism.

The reformation, which toppled Suharto in 1998, has brought about great changes. Democracy was burgeoning and the new government was critical to the discriminating policies established by its predecessor. The new President, Abdulrahman Wahid, known as Gus Dur, was the one promoted anti-discrimination policies by allowing the teaching of Mandarin at schools, by allowing Chinese names to be used, and by allowing Chinese cultural performances such as Barongsai in public.

The increasing power of the local governments all over the country as the results of the reformation has also brought about different challenges. While the national government supports a new vision of Indonesian multicultural society, local governments have more power than before resulting in various discriminating policies at local level. More local governments have enacted discriminating policies, not only to Chinese descendants but also to women and people of different religions. In Yogyakarta, for example, the local government still restricts the right of land ownership of

Chinese descendants. Aceh, the only local government that has enacted the Sharia Law into practice, have banned women from wearing trousers and jeans in public and have enacted canning for those violating Sharia law.

The tension and competing powers in the burgeoning democracy and the freedom of the press in the post Suharto era have also marked with growing radicalism, conflicts, intolerance, and hate speech. The emerging new media have also become a factor in the rising and circulating of hate speech and fake news that promote conflicts, intolerance, and violence. Lim (2017) documented how hate speech and fake news was out of control in the new media environment, costing Ahok, the Chinese Indonesian governor of Jakarta, his reelection. Her conclusion, while it is sobering it also brings fears: "Within these multiple online enclaves, social media users claim and legitimize their own versions of nationalism by excluding equality and justice for others" (Lim, 2017: 1). The rising intolerance against the out groups along with religious intolerance incited by fake news and hoaxes have become a political tool to gain votes of the people and to get the power.

Menchik (2016) sees tolerance in Indonesia by looking at the contextual history that has shaped the relations among different social groups and religious organizations. Different from the standard Western perspectives that consider tolerance as the consequence of secularization and liberalization, he situated tolerance in Indonesia in the local history and the conceptions of difference by the groups and the organizations. In his own words, he suggested that:

"Tolerance is not a consequence of secularization, theology, or rational calculation but is due to interactions between Islamic groups, interaction between Islamic groups and Christian missions, the influence of modernizing states, and Islamic organizations' own ideas about how to accommodate religious difference."(Menchik, 2016: 14-15)

In this way, tolerance and intolerance in Indonesia can be understood as the results of the historical dynamics in which various groups has interacted, influenced each other and competed for power. Central in the dynamics are religions and ethnicity as they are historically have been active participants in the conception of Indonesia as a united nation.

In this complex realm of Indonesia, with its growing democracy and freedom of speech but also with growing intolerance and hate speech, this study is situated to see how local printed media in Indonesia follow suit the government's efforts to maintain the unity and enhance more tolerant society.

Imagined communities and media discourses

Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. Javanese villagers have always known that they are connected to people they have never seen, but these ties were once imagined particularistically as indefinitely stretchable nets of kinship and clientship (Anderson, 2006: 6).

Like imagined communities as described by Anderson (2006) in the quotation above, the imagined readers are not seen and they create a stretchable nets of ideas and ideologies. They share schemata as they read the same media. Their shared background knowledge is the resources for them to ascribe and affiliate themselves to certain cultural, political, and social identities. In this way, media influence the readers and facilitate the formation of the imagined and shared identities as well as persuade the readers to give consent of what to believe and what perspective to follow. Readers may not be fully free to agree or disagree to a certain perspective as they are reshaped by the media framing on reported facts and reality. In this way, the role of media may not directly shape people's mind but they set the agenda of what the readers may read and discuss in public—creating the space and time for the media to become the manufacturers of consents (Herman and Chomsky, 2010).

Printed media as the product of modern culture create their own imagined readers and expect their readers to reside in a certain imagined space with a certain ideology that serve the agenda of the power behind the media. The imagined readers are imagined communities (Anderson, 2006), in which reports and stories are framed to meet either the market demand i.e. what the readers want to read to entertain themselves and to satisfy their curiosities, or the agenda set by the producers i.e. what ideologies and perspectives the editors want the readers to embrace. In the case of two local newspapers in this research, the local readers are imagined in certain frames by news report producers. In the meantime, the imagined local community readers have their own expectations, which may or may not be fulfilled by the media.

Imagined communities promoted by the media, therefore, can influence the way people think about reality (Entman, 1989; Entman et al., 2009). Why the local media report positive news, for example, can be triggered by perceived threats to the imagined communities. They may see the communities of readers are being under attack or threatened by negative forces such as radicalism, intolerance, discrimination and suspicions. On the other hand, negative issues that tend to escalate into bigger conflicts are curbed and their unwanted impacts are mitigated by framing the issues in alignment with the peaceful journalism principles.

The media can shape reality as perceived by the readers or audience as provocatively suggested by Herman and Chomsky (2010). In the seminal book, Manufacturing Consent; The Political Economy of the Mass Media, they highlight the power of the mass media to influence and shape public discourse. The mass media, then, can become the propaganda tools of those hold in power. The propaganda and the agenda setting can be put in the mass media not by crude influence but by soft power which may not easily be identified.

The representatives of these interests have important agendas and principles that they want to advance, and they are well positioned to shape and constrain media policy. This is normally not accomplished

by crude intervention, but by the selection of right-thinking personnel and by the editors' and working journalists' internalization of priorities and definitions of newsworthiness that conform to the institution's policy (Herman and Chomsky, 2010: xi).

In this way the power of mass media can contribute to the creation of imagined communities for the readers, of which they want to be members and by which they want to be acknowledged. Purposefully, we borrowed the concept of imagined community, which originally to show the conception of new nations and nationalism, to the conception of tolerance society as promoted by the government and the peace journalism agenda in the mainstream media. In this conception, imagined community can be influenced by the hegemonic power of the government which may also influence the editorial decisions of the national and local media in Indonesia.

Methods

This study is best described as a content analysis on issues of tolerance and in tolerance in two local newspapers in Indonesia. The two newspapers, Surya and Bali Post, which are published and circulated in West Java and Bali, were selected as the two local media for this study. They were selected because of their localities and unique audience. Surya is based in Surabaya and the readers are East Javanese, who are known as tolerant Muslims. It is part of the largest media conglomerate in Indonesia, Kompas Gramedia Group (KGG). In the heyday of printed media in Indonesia, Surya was

circulated up to 100,000 daily in 1998. Currently, it is printed about 50,000 per day.

Bali Post is a local newspaper published in Bali and the readers are mostly Balinese, who are Hindus. It belongs to Media Bali Post Group (KMB), a media conglomerate, which owns various local newspapers, such as Bali Post, Bisnis Bali, Suluh Indonesia, Harian Denpasar Post, and Suara NTB (Lim, 2012). The media group also owns local TV stations such as Bali TV Network, Jogja TV, Semarang TV, and Sriwijaya TV. The media group leader is Satria Narada, who inherited the business network from his father, Ketut Nadha. In the peak of its popularity in 1988, the newspaper was printed about 39,000 daily.

In February 2018 the issues of religious tolerance and intolerance were the main vocal points of news in the two newspapers. Three main events occurred in the month had become the precursors of various news reports. The three events were the attack of an Islamic cleric in West Java, the vandalizing of sacred statues at Pura Mandara Giri in Banyuwangi, and the blatant attack of a Catholic priest in Yogyakarta. Therefore, articles that present the issue of tolerance and intolerance published in February 2018 were collected and four articles were selected purposefully from each newspaper for further analysis. The selection criteria for the eight articles were (1) the articles reported issues of tolerance and intolerance at local level, (2) the events reported in the articles occurred in February 2018, (3) the events were salient and gained national attention.

The selected eight articles were analyzed using the Entman's (1989; Entman, 1993; Entman, 2007; Entman et al., 2009) framing tools. According to Entman (1993), "framing essentially involves selection and salience" (Entman, 1993: 52). In bringing up the salience, a process of selection and identification can be done by defining problems, diagnosing causes, identifying moral judgements, and suggesting solutions or remedies. In his own words he wrote:

Frames, then, define problems—determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; diagnose causes—identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments—evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies-offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects (Entman, 1993: 52).

Using the Entman's framework, the selected articles were analyzed in terms of problems, causes, effects and the underlying justification. In doing so, the unwritten perspectives and power relations represented in the articles could be revealed. More importantly, Entman's framing analysis could bring up the underlying competing discourses and salient cultural image which did not appear clearly in the printed articles.

Further analysis to identify the tolerant imagined communities was conducted by looking at explicit and implicit entailments in the contents in the articles. Two major types of issues were identified, positive and negative ones. Positive issues were those which bring good news to the readers.

Negative issues, on the other hand, were those which bring bad news to the readers.

From the positive and negative issues, the analysis of imagined communities was conducted by looking at how the news reports portray various communities involved directly and indirectly in the events being covered. The communities could be identified as local and national as well as certain religious and ethnic communities. These communities can be imagined as tolerant or intolerant, in danger/threatened or dominating.

Findings and discussion

From the eight news reports in the two local newspapers, an aligned identified problem can be drawn. Following Entman's framing analysis (Entman, 1993; Entman, 2007; Entman et al., 2009) the salient problem was the growing intolerance in the society. This main problem was considered a threat to the Indonesian society's ideal, which favors harmony over conflicts. The causes of the problem, however, were complex. The growing division and political tension at national and local scope could be identified as the major causes. The moral judgement echoed in the reports could also be drawn in one line: intolerance was a threat and should be lessened as it was understood that a total eradication of intolerance was unrealistic.

Regarding evaluating the causal agents, it was interesting that the salient issues were related to tolerance and intolerance, especially the relations among religions, in this case Islam with other religions. Different operatives and agencies,

however, played important roles in building the relation. The fact that Muslims are the majority in Indonesia made them central in deescalating conflicts and in lessening intolerance. The remedies, as framed in the reports, were collaborations and building harmonious relations among different religious groups.

From the analysis, these aligned frames can be plotted in two types based on the nature of the news reports. News reports that covered events supporting tolerance fall into the category of positive coverage. On the other hand, those reported events that threatened peace and tolerant society fall into the category of negative coverage. The general findings can be seen in Table 1 and 2, which analyzed the negative and positive issues covered by the two local newspapers.

Table 1: The Framing Analysis of Positive Issues

Media	News Reports	Parties Involved	Problem	Causes	Moral Judgement	Solution	Salience Frame
Surya (February 5th, 2018)	*Masjid Cheng Hoo Surabaya Rayakan Imlek Secara Islami* (Cheng Hoo Mosque in Surabaya Celebrated Chinese's New Year in Islamic Way)	Religious leaders, Chinese, Islam	Tacit: growing intolerance	Social division, social envy	Tolerance is good.	Be tolerant, reaching out to minority.	Enhancing harmonious society
Surya (February 25th, 2018)	*Rumah Toleransi di Desa Sembulung Banyuwangi – Umat Hindu dari Bali Bisa Menginap Gratis* (The house of Tolerance at Sembulung Village Banyuwangi – Balinese Hindus Can Stay for Free)	Religious leaders, Islam, Hindu	Tacit: growing intolerance	Religious conflict	Tolerance is good.	Be tolerant, reaching out to minority.	Enhancing harmonious society
Bali Post (February 17th, 2018)	*Koster hadiri Imlek di Vihara Dharmayana Kuta* (Koster Attended Chinese's New Year at Vihara Dharmayana)	Political leader, Hindu, Chinese	Tacit: growing intolerance	Social division, social envy	Tolerance is good.	Be tolerant, reaching out to minority.	Enhancing harmonious society

Table 2: The Framing Analysis of Negative Issues

Media	News Reports	Parties Involved	Problem	Causes	Moral Judgement	Solutions	Salience Frame
Bali Post (February 7th, 2018)	*Sidang Ujaran Kebencian Nyaris Ricuh* (Court for Hate Speech almost Broke in Broil)	Local leaders, followers/mob, Islam	Hate speech	Political conflict	Intolerance is dangerous; hatred is bad.	Be tolerant; stay calm; find legal solution.	Threatening harmonious society
Bali Post (February 12th, 2018)	*Ada Gerakan Adu Domba* (There is Movement to Divide)	Religious leaders, hidden operatives, society.	Divisive movement and conflicts	Political conflict, religious hatred	Intolerance is dangerous; hatred is bad.	Be tolerant; be alert; government should act above all parties.	Threatening unity
Bali Post (February 20th, 2018)	*Tiga Arca di Pura Mandara Giri Semeru Agung Dirusak* (Three Statues Vandalized at Mandara Giri Semeru Agung)	thieves (unknown agents), religious leaders, Islam, Hindu	Vandalism on religious artifacts	Religious hatred	Intolerance is dangerous; hatred is bad.	Be tolerant; stay calm; don't make hasty judgement, involve religious leaders and media to mitigate conflicts	Threatening harmonious society
Surya (February 18th, 2019)	*Kaum Radikal dan Liberal, Sama-Sama Salahi Makna Quran* (The radicals and liberals both Misinterpreted the Quran)	politicians, media, Islam, radicals, liberals	Misinterpretations of Islam	Political and religious conflict	Intolerance is dangerous; hatred is bad.	Be tolerant; be alert; work together with the law enforcement	Threatening unity
Surya (February 21st, 2018)	*Banser Siaga di Rumah Kiai* (*Banser* is Guarding Clerics' Houses)	unknown operatives, religious leaders, law enforcement	A threat to religious leaders	Political and religious conflicts	Intolerance is dangerous; hatred is bad.	Be tolerant; be alert; work together with the law enforcement	Threatening unity

Framing positive issues

Positive issues are framed in terms highlighting the harmonious communities (see Table 1) in which tolerance is considered good things and serves the common good. The emphasis on tolerant society serves both the agenda of peace journalism and of the government. They are framed to counter the flooded negative issues that suggested otherwise. The news value of a positive issue may not be high in terms of newsworthiness or in drawing readers' attention. However, the good news, which is often ignored, is considered valuable in the contemporary conditions where harmony in a diverse community was threatened. This agenda is in line with the peace journalism embraced by many mainstream media, including the two local newspapers. Peace and harmony were the unstated purpose of covering positive issues.

The first article, *Cheng Hoo Mosque in Surabaya Celebrated Chinese's New Year in Islamic Way*, wants to highlights the Muslim tolerant to Chinese Indonesian. As a minority, Chinese descendants in Indonesian often become the scapegoats and victims of social unrest. Islam in Indonesia is often described as against Chinese culture and the article wants to tell the readers that it is not true. Islam is tolerant to foreign culture. The article is also intended to counter the threat of rising intolerance by focusing on harmonious relation between Muslims and the Chinese Indonesian.

Positive issues are the counter attacks of hatred and hoaxes that threaten Indonesia's unity in diversity—the ideal imagined community. In the second article

Rumah Toleransi di Desa Sembulung Banyuwangi – Umat Hindu dari Bali Bisa Menginap Gratis (The house of Tolerance at *Sembulung* Village Banyuwangi – Balinese Hindus Can Stay for Free), the frame of the positive event is intended to counter the beliefs that Islam is intolerant to other religions. The intolerant image of Islam caused by the rise of intolerant organizations and terrorism are countered by reporting the fact that Islam is very tolerant towards other religions, in this case Hinduism. Tolerance and harmony have become repeating key words in the news report.

Similarly, the last article, *Koster Attended Chinese's New Year at Vihara Dharmayana*, reports the relation between Hindus and Chinese. Koster, the governor of Bali Province, represents the Balinese Hindus, who are tolerant to Chinese Indonesian. Attending the Chinese New Year was not a taboo and it could bring forward the idea of tolerant society where the majority, in this case Hindus, reached out to the minority.

The three positive reports are framed in the alignment of the government's agenda to improve tolerance and harmony and to keep the nation's unity. It is also the agenda of peace journalism that brings forward peace messages. Repeating the frames over and over again in journalistic coverage can enhance future cultural images of peace and harmony as suggested by (Entman et al., 2009). In their words, they suggest that framing can have a long lasting effect in the minds of the society:

"Repeating frames over time in multiple texts gives a politically significant proportion of the citizenry a chance to notice, understand, store and recall the mental association for future application." (Entman et al., 2009: 177)

This is the process of cultural reproduction in the framework of a multicultural society. In this way, the two local newspapers have been working hand in hand with the government on strengthening the policies of multiculturalism by means of the cultural reproduction in the public discourse. As a caveat, however, the expected cultural reproduction of the multicultural values may hide dissent voices and intolerance.

Framing negative issues

Negative issues are framed in terms mitigating the underlying threats: intolerance and hatred. In the news reports, intolerance and hatred are often manifested in two types of threat: (1) the hidden threats by unknown operatives who want to divide and create conflicts, both inter- and intra-religions and (2) the open threats as a result of religious and political leadership rivalry. The reports that fall into the first group include *There is a Movement to Divide, The radicals and liberals both Misinterpreted the Quran,* and *Three Statues Vandalized at Mandara Giri Semeru Agung.*

From the reports, it is clear that the threats on unity and diversity of the country were described as the work of invisible hands, hidden operatives, and other unknown parties who wanted to disintegrate the nation and the society. The unknown agents involved in the events were somewhat generalized and hidden to highlight the seriousness of the threats. It is not important who did all the mischievous deeds (attacker to religious leaders and clerics, thieves, groups of radicals and liberals). They were anonymous and they were used to warn the readers about the existential threats on the society's harmony and the nation's unity not only to particular religious leaders.

Those reports are warning calls to all parties. Attacks on nation's unity and the harmonious multicultural society are serious. If not addressed properly, they could escalate and threaten the fabric of social harmony. In this frame, the news reports try to mitigate violence and to avoid horrible consequences of conflicts and hatred.

The second group of reports marked by the intolerant and hatred incidents occurred at local level. These incidents, such as *Court for Hate Speech almost broke in Broil* and *Banser is Guarding Clerics' Houses,* brought up sensitive issues related to conflicts between religious leaders and attacks on Islamic clerics from certain denomination. How to stop the conflicts from escalating? The two local newspapers put the emphasis on law and order. All parties involved in the conflict should work in the framework of legal solutions and they should work together with the law enforcement.

In short, negative issues were framed in terms of de-escalation of conflicts through legal solution and anticipating future threats on tolerance, society's harmony, and

nation's unity. Two consequences may be drawn from these framing. First, they may provide a short term solution and de-escalation of conflicts and violence but at the same time they may hide grievances and real problems that should be addressed immediately outside the legal process. The hidden grievances occurred because the legal solution could not satisfy all the involved parties but it was the best solution at the time to deescalate conflict and to avoid violence. Second, the legal solutions, which often could not satisfy all parties, could bring about hidden grievances and suppressed dissent voices. Therefore, legal solutions could bury potential conflicts and closed the door for open discussion and long term solutions.

Imagining Indonesia through local newspapers

Tolerance and intolerance issues are framed in terms of mitigating conflicts and enhancing tolerance in the society. The frames provide a tool to reproduce knowledge and to expose readers with the ideology of multiculturalism and unity in diversity. In this perspective, looking deeper to the news reports, there are two underlying imagined communities suggested by the two local newspapers. Communities can be imagined as dominating or threatened.

Threatened communities are those victimized and often ostracized and blamed for bad things happened in the society. From the news reports, threatened communities identified were mostly minorities such as the Chinese Indonesian and the minor religious groups. The relation between the Chinese Indonesian and other communities such as Muslim and Hindus is characterized by their existence, which continuously under an imagined threat from the majority.

Communities can be imagined as dominating and threatening when they are imagined as powerful and seek for domination. The news reports from the two local newspapers indicate that the dominating society was Hindus in Bali and Muslim di East Java. They are central in building relations to other communities. Interestingly, the dominating communities are framed to support the government's agenda of multiculturalism and unity in diversity. Hindus, represented by its political leaders gave an example by attending the Chinese New Year. Muslim in East Java similarly showed their kind outreach to minorities putting their tolerance, support to peaceful co-existence and multicultural society in front.

The relation among the dominating communities and the minorities as appearing in the news reports can have at least two roles in promoting the agenda of peace journalism as well as the government's agenda of unity in diversity: (1) the role as a conflict moderator and (2) the role as the promoter of peace and unity. The two roles are important in that they counter the growing radicalism and intolerance. The majority with their dominant culture and power is open to differences and ready to work with the government apparatus to maintain peace and unity. The danger, however, truth and long term solutions may not be the utmost interest as they are more interested in keeping peace and the society's harmony with their

hegemonic power. This may solve a short term problem but at the same time may hide potential conflicts and tensions in the society.

Conclusions

The discourse of tolerance and intolerance in two local newspapers in Indonesia indicated that they support the peace journalism agenda as well as the government's agenda to maintain peace and harmony at local levels. The good news related to tolerance events was framed to respond to the growing intolerance while intolerance related events were framed to avoid further conflict and divisiveness related to *SARA*. The frames used in reporting events promote the reproduction of multicultural values that favor tolerance, peace and unity.

The agenda of peace journalism and the government's agenda of unity in diversity seem to be similar in that both seek peace and harmony. However, they are not the same. Peace journalism focuses on seeking truth in order to maintain peace and harmony while the government may not always be truthful to achieve the same result. Therefore, the findings of this study should be seen in this perspective. Galtung (2016: 178) said, "Good reporting on conflict is not a compromise a little from the left hand column, a little from the right". In this line, media embracing peace journalism should be aware of various conflicting goals and the hegemonic power of the government, which could hijack their peace missions.

Answering the research questions related to framing tolerance and intolerance may not directly answer the real problems faced in the society. It may not answer directly the question about the role of media in contributing the advancement of multi-cultural values in Indonesia either. As indicated by Entman and his colleagues (1989; 2009), media may not be able to change people's mind but it can make people think about certain issues.

Finally, this paper does not intend to be representative of all local media in Indonesia. The two local media and their framing were particular cases that could exemplify how the media align themselves with the agenda of peace journalism by promoting and reproducing multicultural values of tolerance, peace, and unity in public discourse. The caveats, however, the promotion of peace and harmony by the media may hide potential conflicts and tensions in the local communities as they are imagined as threatened and dominating.

Acknowledgements

Disclosure statements

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests in conducting and reporting this research.

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