Human Rights and Peace in Southeast Asia Series 2

# DEFYING THE IMPASSE

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# CREATING PEACE THROUGH PEACE JOURNALISM AS AN ALTERNATIVE NEWS FRAMING

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People most likely read about news on war or conflict from newspapers. Reading the articles on conflicts often provokes hatred or anger rather than empathy or sympathy. This may lead to revenge or other reactive action that harms other people. Actually, this negative effect can be mitigated if the news is framed with other way of framing.

This paper offers alternative news framing for journalists in news on war or conflict to prevent and reduce negative effects on their readers. This paper starts with the way media influences and moulds readers' opinion on many things that happen around them. Opinions that are shaped by printed media are based on how journalists frame the news. One event can be framed differently depended on how journalists emphasize the event chronologically and pick the angle of reporting the news. As alternative news framing, the peace journalism can be used by journalists to contribute to create peace in readers' communities.

Some news regarding certain religious conflict in Indonesia will be analysed in this paper. News framing analysis will be revealed to show how framing news is important to reduce negative effects. In addition, this paper will discuss about the important role of journalists as peacemakers. Thus, peace journalism is the alternative news framing for journalists to take part in creating peace for communities undergoing conflict.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 People and Mass Media

Printed or broadcast media reports a lot of new or updated information that is needed by the public on daily basis. To fulfil the public's need for news or updated information, media always try to report news that "sells." Thus journalists are competing among themselves every day to produce interesting, valuable, and catchy news. McQuail (2000) and Wolfsfed (2004) showed several points to ponder for journalists to write these kinds of news. These points are the news' magnitude, timing, proximity, and straightforwardness. Magnitude means the importance of the incident or events reported. For example, the news about Rohingya community has become one of the top issues in almost all media. Timing means journalists should always cover fresh news; the public want new information every day. Readers hope to read fresh incident or event that just happens. Proximity means how well the public know about the place or people in the news. The news about celebrities, for example, is always interesting for many readers because they know who the celebrities are. Straightforwardness refers to the simplification of complicated or ambiguous events by the media that will generally work to single out the ambiguous attributes within a complex story. For example, the media singles out only actions, which are more direct and clear-cut, rather than explaining the more complicated causes and contexts of those actions (Watson 2003). Besides, journalists have limited time and space to report an event or incident in its intricacies. For example, the news about labour demonstration usually covers the demonstration itself and the labourers' demand without supplying further background information of the event. It means that readers will only get a part of the whole picture.

The previous explanation shows that media and readers have relation as news providers and users. Media plays an important role as a source of information for people (Olii and Erlita 2011). As providers and users, media and the public interact daily as a part of communication process that produces public opinion.

## 1.2 Public Opinion

For Panuju (2002), public opinion is compilation of images which is created by the communication process. Constructive processes of public opinion start from a factual reality or an event that is turned into discourses in the process of communication (Panuju 2002). The purpose of public opinion creation is to influence people or some groups among the public. Newspapers as one form of printed media moulds the public opinion through its articles. These articles contain facts which are used to create public opinion. In reality, facts described in the articles can reinforce, change, or influence the public opinion. The news from printed media like newspapers can thus modify people's behaviour. It can also bend pattern of behaviour or attitude of communities on certain issues (Rivers, et al. 2003).

River's (2003) opinion that news could modify people's behaviour is also supported by Perse (2001). Perse claimed that several studies on media effects onto reader population suggest that "media and their contents have significant and substantial effects" (2001). The result of this study points to three general effects from the media's reports: cognitive, affective, and behavioural effects. It means that media does more than just influence readers' behaviour. Cognitive effect, for example, is concerned with how people process the information to learn something from it; how people's belief are formed or reformed by the information and how the information could satisfy people's curiosity.

Affective effect is about the way readers react emotionally to the printed information from the media. Emotive reaction impacts significantly on readers' understanding of reported events and reinforces or changes their position towards more positive or negative ways about certain issues. Lastly, behavioural effect is about the way the reported information may provoke actions taken by readers after they process the information (Perse 2001). Thus, the media influences people's mind on certain issues by creating a public opinion. Although the media sometimes gives a very little information about the issue, many readers may receive it as the whole fact or truth. Based on this little knowledge, people react and take a position on certain issues.

## 2   Mass Media in Indonesia

In the New Order Era (pre-1998), the government tightly controlled the press with heavy censorship and difficult process in giving publication license. At this era, the government could arbitrarily with impunity close down or ban certain publications which were considered as disobedience to the regulation. Sensitive issues on ethnic, racial, and religion, for example, were strictly forbidden to report. The government argued that these sensitive issues could jeopardise the security and political stability of the whole nation. Fortunately, this condition changed during the Reformation Era (post-1998).

Reformation era was welcomed by the communities as the era of freedom especially for journalists. If in the earlier era journalists could only cover difficult issues with fear of getting dire warning from the government. Finally, they can cover almost any news which is interesting and "sell" for the Indonesian public. The media in Indonesia had waited for such freedom of press for more than three decades. As a result, many newspapers, tabloids, magazine, radio, and television stations emerged in the beginning of 1999. Increase in number of media's company was recorded by Newspapers Worker Union of East Java as quoted by Panuju (2002).

| Type of Media | Year 1997 | Year 1999 |
|---|---|---|
| Newspaper | 79 companies | 299 companies |
| Tabloid | 88 companies | 866 companies |
| Magazine | 141 companies | 491 companies |
| Bulletin | 8 companies | 11 companies |

Table 1: Growth of Mass Media Company (1997-1999)

Sense of freedom was enjoyed by the Indonesian public and publication companies that were drunk in a euphoria. Freedom 'euphoria'" encouraged many people (including the media) to set themselves free to cover all of the previously "forbidden or taboo" issues. Journalists used this changing situation to report the news around the issues which were considered forbidden or taboo earlier. Yet, the Indonesian journalists were not apparently fully prepared for this kind of freedom. The unpreparedness of Indonesian journalists with the freedom was also reported by Panuju (2002) who claimed that the journalists faced a culture shock. They did not change their 'old way' of covering news through what was termed as "opinion news" or "talking news." Panuju (2002) also claimed that the media started to focus on gaping differences among groups or among individuals. The journalists only covered "differences" and "conflicts" in many aspects, and they thus merely worsened the conflict itself (Panuju 2002).

In addition, the journalists had shown little capability or strategic skills in covering the conflicts associated with ethnic, religious, racial and inter-groups relations. The Indonesian journalists thus entered a new condition which is described by McGoldrick and Lynch as a "period of soul-searching about how to combine their new freedom with a sense of responsibility" (2000).

## 3   Conflict in Indonesia

Indonesia is an archipelago that consists 17,500 islands and a home for more than 200 million people. From Sabang to Merauke, Indonesia has various races, ethnic groups, and religions (Portal Nasional RI, 2010). Based on Presidential Decree Number 1 / PNPS/ 1965, the government acknowledged six religions in Indonesia: Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The data from population survey in 2010 by Bureau Statistic of Indonesia shows that Indonesians profess Islam (87.18 percent), Christian (6.96 percent), Catholicism (2.91 percent), Hinduism (1.69 percent), Buddhism (0.72 percent), and Confucianism (0.05 percent). Besides, Indonesia also has various traditions or cultures. Various religious beliefs, ethnic groups, races, traditions, and cultures have become interesting factors for tourism promotion. Yet, they also have become sensitive issues that may cause conflicts for the communities with such a different set of nuances.

Since the Reformation Era, Indonesia has undergone many conflicts related to these sensitive issues along with the events around May 1998. Within the month, chaos happened in Jakarta and spread to several other big cities in Indonesia. This chaos was related to differences in racial and religious background of the Indonesians. Later, in March 1999 conflict spread quickly to Ambon between Muslims and Christians. Then, several conflicts followed through in Poso, South Maluku (Mollucas), Sampit (South Kalimantan), and Pontianak (West Kalimantan). Several incidents related to issues on religious beliefs still happen until this day. It proves that this issue remains explosive enough as a sensitive issue by the communities. Wahid Institute reported around 64 cases related to violations against of freedom of religion in 2010 alone. The cases are varied from constraining believers to practice their religions, intimidating or threatening believers with violence, launching violent campaigns against the believers, banning certain religions or faiths, to sealing a place to stop religious practices (Wahid Institute 2010). An increasing number of case of violation against freedom of religion was also reported by Wahid Institute in 2011. There were 93 cases took place throughout this year (Wahid Institute 2011). Even in the beginning of 2012, Wahid Institute received a report of a violent incident related with religious issues. This incident broke in Madura Island (East Java) against the local Madurese Shi'ite[1] community (Hafiz 2012).

## 4   Peace Journalism

Indonesian communities have experienced many violent incidents and open conflicts from time to time. Unfortunately, the Indonesia media have failed to make any remedial action regarding this conflict-laden country. Instead, the media choose the most expedient way in dealing with conflicts. On the one hand, some of the journalists cover conflict by presenting bombastic, vulgar, and sometimes provocative news on conflicts. On the other hand, the other journalists act very carefully in covering the news related to conflicts then ending up with tight self-censorship or withdrawal from covering about the news at all (Sudibyo 2011). Howard (2003) pointed out that there has been an "inherent contradiction between the values of news and the importance of peace-building." The connection between the values of the news and high rating points, or mere circulation records, plays an important role in the process of printing the news. The notion of commercialism by the

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[1]   The Arabic word shi'a means 'party'; Shi'at Ali or "Ali's party" was the name given to those who sided with the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law Ali ibn Abi Talib (the fourth Caliph) in the conflicts surrounding the succession of the murdered third Caliph Uthman in 656 AD (Halm, 1991). Having blocked Ali ibn Abi Thalib from the caliphate, the anti-Ali Muslim factions withheld their allegiance when Ali came to rule. These groups crushed a nascent movement led by Ali's son Husayn whom they massacred in an Iraqi town Karbala in 680 AD. The essence of Shi'ism is its adherents' claim that Ali the Prophet Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law and his male descendants have rights to lead the Muslim communities as "Imams" (Kramer 1987, p. 1). Today, Shi'ites are majority only in few countries and in others are just minorities. What began as a dissident position on the matter of succession in the seventh century grew into a religious tradition, distinguished from majority "Sunni Islam" by its own reading of theology and sacred history. In most times and most places Shi'ites constituted minorities, occasionally persecuted and at best tolerated by the Sunni Islam ruling establishment (Kramer 1987, p. 2).

media is one of some impacts of this style of news reporting. In this case, the journalists' method of news framing has a role in the style of news report chosen by the journalists. Using news framing, the journalists will decide how and through what perspective they construct the news. One event can be seen from a variety of angles and the likely effects of each angle may not be the same. In other words, news framing are the way journalists 'give some interpretation to isolated items of fact' (McQuail 2000). Different journalists will make different coverage of the similar news when they report the news in different ways. To create the values of news, journalists seek immediacy, drama, and simple images (Howard 2003).

There are three most commonly used news frames noted by mass communication researchers. These are the episodic, thematic, and protest paradigm framings (Perse 2001).

| Episodic | Thematic | Protest Paradigm |
|---|---|---|
| Focusing on one individual to present the story for the readers or audiences | Focusing on only one individual to present the story but use the collective experiences and conclusions | Focusing more on how each individual is involved in a problem or protest |

Table 2: News Frames Typology

The common news framing used by Indonesian journalists in reporting the conflict is protest paradigm framing. The journalists describe the event of conflict and report who wins and who loses (Sudibyo 2011). The effects of news framing provoke a cognitive effect. Readers build up interpretation of certain issues after they watch or read the news. According to Price and Tweskbury:

> ... news frames have effects because of two separate, psychological processes. First, during message reception, salient message elements activate certain thoughts and ideas. Then, because these thoughts and ideas have been recently brought to mind, they are more accessible when people have to make subsequent judgments (1997).

This opinion emphasises the effects of news framing to influence readers' opinion regarding certain issues. Especially for the news about conflict, the journalists need to create an article which could provide holistic information. Readers need to know who stands in the conflict and what causes of the conflict.

A proper choice for news framing news on conflict is the peace journalism that offers different way of framing the news on conflict. Peace Journalism is ideas developed by Galtung in the 1970s (McGoldrick and Lynch 2001). In covering conflict through the printed news, the journalists are often trapped into making the news as a story of violence. To stop repeating this same mistake, Galtung (2003) suggested two ways of looking at a conflict: 'the high road' and 'the low road'. It really depends on the journalists whether

they want to take the angle on the 'conflict and its peaceful transformation' or on 'the meta-conflict that comes after the root conflict which is created by violence and war and questioning of who wins' (Galtung 1998). In Galtung's opinion (1998) most journalists have used war journalism in covering conflicts since this kind journalism focuses more on two conflicting parties or who wins and who loses. The peace journalism uses conflict analyses and transformation to emphasise balance, fairness, and accuracy in news reporting. This journalism builds a connection among the journalists, their sources, the stories they cover, and the consequences of their reports (McGoldrick and Lynch 2000).

Galtung (2002) compared the news coverage through peace journalism to war journalism through a journalist's writing news about health. On the one hand, a reporter on health-related news with peace journalism makes a report about a cancer patient from many angles such as the causes, the available treatments, and the available prevention. On the other hand, a war journalist is closer to a sports journalist who 'focuses on winning in a zero-sum game' (Galtung 2002). The following table will help to clarify differences between the "war journalism" and "peace journalism" which were developed from Galtung's Table:

|  | **War Journalism** | **Peace Journalism** |
|---|---|---|
| **News Angle** | Covering conflicts between two parties in arena battle ground and who wins or who loses | Exploring conflicts as an issue to find win-win solution |
| **Focus of the news** | Immediate effect of violence (how many people killed or wounded and material damage) | Undetectable effect of violence (traumas and glory, destroyed structure/culture) |
| **Sources of information** | Elite group such as government or military officers, religious leaders, community leaders, one side of the party involved in the conflict | All parties involved in the conflict (including the two conflicting parties, victims, and communities) |
| **News orientation** | Victory: focus on ceasefire and treaty | Solution: focus on reconstruction of the community structure/culture, resolution and reconciliation |

Table 3: Comparison between the War Journalism and Peace Journalism

The comparison shows that by using the war journalism, the journalists perceive conflict as the problem between only two parties. They hardly offer the readers or audience any information about the cause or the root of the problem. This news framing turns the conflict itself opaque (Galtung 1998).

Unlike in the war journalism, in the peace journalism it is important that the readers or audience understand conflict as the problem beyond what happens between just two parties. In this news framing, the peace journalists focus more on invisible effects of conflict for the community as a whole. This kind of news framing provides a new perspective about the conflict for the readers or audience. The journalists portray conflict as the problem involving many parties and issues. The idea of 'show different voices and articulate the range of interest in any given situation' (Galtung 1998) can help the journalists to present a broader understanding about the conflict itself.

## 5 Freedom of Expression and Freedom of the Press

The journalists are entitled to freedom of press and freedom of expression in reporting an incident or event. As part of the press, the journalists have freedom to report incident or event and this freedom is related to the freedom of expression. No one, not even government, could interfere with the process of reporting an incident or event. However, every freedom has limitation. In exercising every right, every rights-holder is limited by other people's rights. This condition is also applied to the journalists in their profession.

Limitations for the journalists are written in the Ethic Code for Journalist which has been published by the Indonesian Journalist Association. Article 2 of the Ethic Code states that journalists should not produce articles that offend certain belief system or religion (Kode Etik Jurnalistik 2008). Furthermore, this Code explains that Indonesian journalists should avoid producing news that could provoke conflict. Since most Indonesian journalists have chosen the protest paradigm framing to report a conflict, they tend to only portray two conflicting parties and who wins or who loses.

The protest paradigm frame tends to cover the news through merely one side of the battling parties and to leave out detailed information regarding the conflict itself. This protest paradigm framing does not help those communities involved in recurrent conflicts in Indonesia. Indonesian journalists have had enough experiences and lessons in reporting conflicts; therefore they should be able to learn from their habitual mistakes of heating up the tense situation. As stated by Hanitzsch, 'journalists became combatants; their media became inflammatory pamphlets' (2004). There is an urgent need in Indonesia that the journalists start to take part in building peace. This idea has been thrown by several researchers and observers whose have been analysing the ways the Indonesian journalists cover conflict as reported news.

It is the right of the people to obtain information. The information provided by the journalists should be accurate and comforting. This way, the journalists will not contribute to stir up the problems in the troubled communities but to help the communities to solve their problems. The urge for the journalists to take part in the process of peace building or to start using peace journalism is especially crucial for Indonesia. This opinion was offered by Governor of Aceh. In his speech before the Indonesian Journalists Association Conference (2011):

> Journalists have a big role in creating peace ... journalists should report news with fairness and should not take side. Being journalists they're should be doing not only their job but also thinking about their moral obligation. Journalism is a profession that supports development and democracy.

In relation with the media's function, Manoff (1998) explores media's roles in conflict prevention and management. According to Manoff (1998), there are several potential roles that media could take part in: (1) channelling communication between parties, (2) educating the public, (3) building confidence, (4) counteracting misperceptions, (5) analysing the conflict; (6) De-objectifying the protagonists before one another, (7) identifying the interests underlying the issues, (8) providing emotional outlets, (9) encouraging a balance of power, (10) framing and defining the conflict, (11) saving 'face' and building consensus, and (12) building solution. If the media has a potential role in conflict prevention and management, the journalists could naturally take part in it. Manoff's opinion (1998) is also shared by group of people at Common Ground (CG), the NGO that supports conflict transformation processes. CG itself has several projects in critical regions and areas with political tension. Its project is targeting the journalists and media contents. A CG's article by Melone, Terzis and Beleli (2000) explained that:

> Journalists should avoid presenting certain views or action of individuals as belonging to a whole ethnic group. Instead they should portray them as individuals inside the ethnic groups or as representatives of a specific interest group. At the same time they should offer various alternative concepts, frameworks, perspective, and interpretations (2002).

The journalists could contribute to peace building process with the right ways. Using the peace journalism is one choice of news framing which could contribute to peace. The journalists could also report news with complete data, accurate information, balanced sources, and independence in approach. By doing this, journalist could 'a play positive role in conflict' (University of Peace 2005).

## 6   Indonesian Media Covering Conflict

For the purpose of this paper, a case study was analysed through several printed articles related to the latest religious-related conflict in Sampang, Madura Island. Description of the incident will be given here the readers. The incident itself began on 29 December 2011

when a mob set fire to a place of worship, a boarding school and some houses in Karang Gayam Village, Sampang, Madura Island. Numerous versions on the cause of this incident appeared. Some people said that it was triggered by a conflict between two brothers over a girl. Some other people claimed the conflict was caused by the fact that the community members in Karang Gayam village are Shi'ites. Eventually the issue of the victims' belief in Shi'ism as the main cause of this incident spread. Afterwards, many people considered this religious issue as the main cause of the incident.

The articles for analysis have been taken from Daily *Radar Madura* which is local printed newspaper. All the articles have been analysed through the style of news framing used by the journalists, i.e., whether it is the war journalism or peace journalism. Besides, a textual analysis has also been used to dissect the collected articles since it is important to identify which words (i.e. adjectives, nouns, or verbs) that have been used by the journalists to portray the conflicting parties, victims, and perpetrators. The reason for taking Daily *Radar Madura* is because this newspaper has reported the incident rather intensively compared to the other newspapers.

Before analysing each article with news framing, this paper looks into the frequency of the news. The frequency of news about incident in Karang Gayam village reveals the journalists' dominant angle in reporting this incident.

| News | Frequency | Content |
|---|---|---|
| **Internally Displaced Persons' (IDPs) condition at the shelter** | 6 | - Condition of victims (IDPs) in the shelter.<br>- Stadium was not designed for refugee shelter.<br>- Many children in the shelter suffered upper respiratory infection and stopped going to school. |
| **Case Development** | 4 | - Determining the perpetrator.<br>- Investigation on Shi'ite religious leader<br>- Local Police transferred Shi'ite case to East Java Police Department |
| **Dispute of Shi'ism as a heretics** | 7 | - Banning of Shi'ism teaching in Sampang.<br>- Prohibition of Shi'ite practices in Sampang.<br>- Several Islamic organisations asked parliament to legislate control over Shi'ite.<br>- One of government bodies declared Shi'ism as heretical. |
| **Returning to the village** | 3 | - Shi'ite community members were asked to return to their village by the authority.<br>- Most of the IDPs refused to return without guarantee to safety.<br>- In the end the IDPs was transported back forcibly to their village. |

| News | Frequency | Content |
|------|-----------|---------|
| **Village's condition after the IDPs returned** | 3 | - Condition in the village was "heating up."<br>- Police swept the village for any weapon.<br>- Police were still patrolling around the village.<br>- Police destroyed several weapon confiscated from the anti-Shi'ite villagers<br>- Police kept a conducive situation at the village |
| **Related parties opinion about the incident** | 6 | - Brother of Tajul Muluk (leader of Shi'ite community) who provoked the incident said that he did not the incident to happen.<br>- Several Muslim leaders expressed concerns and demanded an end to violence in Sampang.<br>- NGOs expressed opinions about police's attitude toward the incident. |

Table 4: Frequency of news

The news articles shown here have been chosen from Daily Radar Madura from 31 December 2011 to 25 February 2012. This period has been chosen for it is the time frame where the incident of burning the village was taking place. The total number of news chosen is 29 articles. As presented in Table 4, the news articles that discussed about Shi'ism as blasphemy dominate the contents of information with seven articles. Investigation on the case itself was only covered by four articles. The journalists tried to cover the condition of the victims at the shelter with six new articles. Then it was continued with three articles about victims' condition after they returned their village. The rest of the news was expressing the experts' opinion about the incident and the way the government managed it. Unfortunately, no article discusses and reveals the underlying causes of this incident.

## 6.1 News Framing Analysis

Analysis of all articles will be presented in the following table using the news framing theory. The table contains several articles that discuss the same or similar idea. The first analysis will be started from the news about the victims.

| | Articles Description |
|---|---|
| **News Angle** | Several people burned the village where Shi'ite community live (Kampong Karang Gayam, Sampang, Madura Island). |
| | A group of people attacked Shi'ite community who live in Kampong Karang Gayam, Sampang, Madura Island. |
| | Children did not feel comfortable at the shelter. |
| | All children of Shi'ite community were forced to live in the shelter. |
| | Their houses burned, many children lost their uniform, stationery, books and other important things and the shelter is far from their school. |
| **Focus of the News** | Many houses burned down, Shi'ite community hid in the forest then was transported to the shelter. |
| | Shi'ite community were forced to move out from their village. |
| | Most of the children felt miserable at the shelter. |
| | Many toddlers have upper respiratory infection for living in the shelter. |
| | All children cannot go to school. |
| **Sources of Information** | One of the Shi'ite community members. |
| | One of the Shi'ite community members. |
| | One of the children of Shi'ite community. |
| | Medical personnel. |
| | One of the children of Shi'ite community and NGO staff. |
| **News Orientation** | All people in Kampong Karang Gayam left their houses and the village became a 'ghost village.' |
| | Shi'ite community felt uncomfortable to live in the shelter which is a stadium. |
| | All children suffered bad life condition at the shelter. |
| | Children, especially toddlers started to get sick. |
| | Children wanted to get back to school. |

Table 5: News about the victims

Table 5 shows that the journalists have tried to show the plight of the victims of this incident. Unfortunately, the journalists are still using the war journalism framing in their reports. The article analysis shows that the journalists still describe about two conflicting parties in this incident. One party is the mob that ransacked and burned down the village and the other is the Shi'ite community living in that village. Nevertheless, in reporting about the difficult condition of the victims, the journalists have made effort on showing

the effects not only on the material damage (houses and schools) but also on the victims' psychological condition. The article showing children's miserable situation and their obstacles to go back to school reveals the journalists' attempt to use the peace journalism as their news framing.

The articles on development of the arson case investigation are fewer than those on other aspects of the incident. As shown in the Table on the frequency of the news, there are only four articles reporting on the arson case investigation. The news articles on the process of development of case investigation are shown in Table 6.

| Articles Description | News Angle | Focus of news | Sources of Information | News Orientation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Police found the perpetrators who burned down houses. | Police wanted to reveal a suspect. | Police's Public Relation | Police pointed a suspect for this incident |
| | Sampang's Attorney gets involved in investigation. | Sampang's Attorney focuses its investigation on the Shi'ite members. | Sampang's Attorney | Sampang's Attorney office need to establish case for this incident |
| | The case was transferred to Provincial Level Police Department (Sampang is just a district). | Provincial Level Police Department continued to investigate the incident. | Head of Sampang Police | Sampang Police transferred the case to the Provincial Level Police |

Table 6: News about development of case investigation

The news articles on police investigation focus mainly on police's attempts to find the perpetrators. The war journalism framing is used in all of these articles because the journalists view the conflict merely as a battle between two parties; therefore, one of them should be punished for their fault. Moreover, the journalists rely on the 'elite' group as the sources of information, namely government and police officers as sources of information. As explained by Galtung (2003), the war journalism will focus on 'conflict arena, who threw the first stone and focus on elite peacemaker'. If the journalists use the peace journalism, they will try to uncover truth from all perspectives and explore the conflict deeper. They will try to investigate for more details of the causes and to explore deeply on the roots of the conflict.

Since the issue of religion is considered as the main cause of the problem, the journalists inquired and reported mostly information regarding this issue. The articles on whether Shi'ism or Tajul Muluk's personal teaching blasphemy or not dominate the discourse of this incident.

| Articles Description | News Angle | Focus of News | Sources of Information | New Orientation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Bangkalan Head of Regency, Bangkalan Head of Local Police Department, and Bangkalan Religious Leaders hold a meeting to discuss about Shi'ism | Decision of whether Shi'ism is considered a blasphemy or not | Bangkalan Head of Regency, Head of Local Police Department, and Religious Leaders | Result of this meeting is Shi'ah should not be spread in Bangkalan Madura Island. |
| | Indonesia Islamic Council met with parliament member and urged them to issue local legislation to forbid Shi'ism in Madura Island | Local legislation to forbid Shi'ism in Madura Island | Head of Indonesia Islamic Council in Madura | Local legislation is needed for contain the chaos. |
| | Board of Nahdatul Ulama Branch at Sampang, Madura Island release a *fatwa* (a ruling in religious matter) that Shi'ism is blasphemy | Shi'ism is blasphemy according to Board of Nahdatul Ulama Branch of Sampang, Madura Island | Board of Nahdatul Ulama Branch of Sampang, Madura Island | Board of Nahdatul Ulama Branch of Sampang, Madura Island asked for immediate issue of local legislation for forbid Shi'ism. |
| | Supervision Body of Community Faith Ideology released a decision that Tajul Muluk's teaching is a blasphemy | Supervision Body of Community Faith Ideology decided the teaching is a blasphemy | Supervision Body of Community Faith Ideology | Decision that Tajul Muluk's teaching is a blasphemy issued by government through Supervision Body of Community Faith Ideology. |

| Articles Description | News Angle | Focus of News | Sources of Information | New Orientation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Board of Nahdatul Ulama Branch released another statement that Tajul Muluk's teaching is not Shi'ism | Tajul Muluk's teaching is a blasphemy and it is not Shi'ism | Board of Nahdatul Ulama Branch of Sampang, Madura Island | Board of Nahdatul Ulama Branch of Sampang stated that Tajul Muluk's teaching is not Shi'ism; therefore it is a blasphemy. |
| | Supervision Body of Community Faith Ideology thought that officials should make further action to control Tajul Muluk's teaching | Tajul Muluk's teaching had provoked unrest in the community | Supervision Body of Community Faith Ideology | Action should be taken to control Tajul Muluk's teaching as a follow up action from Supervision Body of Community Faith Ideology's decision |

Table 7: News about Dispute of Shi'ism as a blasphemy

Similarly on the articles on the development of police investigation, on the articles discussing the status of the local Shi'ism as blasphemy the journalists mainly depend on the 'elite' group as sources of information for discussion. The journalists wait for statements from certain groups which are considered as having the authority to judge. This type of framing is also part of the war journalism since the articles focus on "us-against-them." "Us" here is the group of people as the source of information and "them" is the Shi'ite community. By using this journalism style, the journalists emphasise that in this incident "them" is the underlying problem. Failure to cover the incident from both sides produces the implication that the Shi'ite community as the guilty one. This implication definitely impacts the Shi'ite community. Tajul Muluk as the local Shi'ite leader has been criminalised for blasphemy against the Prophet/Islam. There is little effort from the journalists to find information from the Shi'ite community itself. The 'truth' that has been exposed here is 'truth' from the "us." Actually, there is no single accurate information related to whether Tajul Muluk's teaching is really the root of the problem or not.

Since the police have found the perpetrators and Tajul Muluk is the one who faces the accusation as blasphemous, the police conclude that there is no more problem in the village. As a result, Commander of Sampang Police Department asked the IDPs to return to their village.

| Articles Description | News Angle | Focus of News | Sources of News | New Orientation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Police had withdrawn from the village. | The IDPs should go back to their village | Head of Sampang Police | Police started to prepare for bringing the IDPs back to their village |
| | IDPs asked the police to guarantee their safety when they arrive to the village | The IDPs refused to go back to their village | One of the IDPs and Regency Chief of Staff | Police offered no guarantee for the IDPs' safety when went they back to their village |
| | Local Body of Disaster Control negotiated with the IDPs who agreed to go back the their village | The IDPs were transported back to their village | Head of Local Body of Disaster Control | Finally, the IDPs agreed to leave the shelter and went back to their village |

Table 8: News about Return to the village

In reporting this issue, the journalists focus on 'ceasefire'. This term used by Galtung (2003) in describing that the journalists who use the war journalism often focus on victory in a way that peace is victory and ceasefire. These articles throw an impression that there is no more problem for the IDPs if they return to their village. The readers are driven to believe that the problem is over. Everything is fine and once again the police are able to control the order of the conflict area. Although some journalists wrote one article on the IDPs' reaction to this request by the police but this article is buried by other new articles whose sources is the police's own statement. Moreover, there are no information provide on the definite resolution between the conflicted parties and the action that should be taken to prevent similar incident in the future.

Shortly after the Shi'ite community returned back to their village, the journalists reported that the situation in Karang Gayam village was heating up again. The Shi'ite community thus prepared self-defence on their own by preparing weapons in their houses.

| | Articles Description |
|---|---|
| **News Angle** | The situation heated up after several people visited Karang Gayam village by brandishing weapons. |
| | Several heads of small hamlets and their officers asked the community to lay down their weapon |
| | Police watch over the village including one of the school which only 100 meter from the burning houses |
| **Focus of the news** | Situation at the Karang Gayam Village heated up and intense |
| | Weapon surrender |
| | School was guarded by police |
| **Sources of information** | Villagers and Head of Local Police |
| | Several head of small village in Karang Gayam area |
| | Head of school in Karang Gayam village |
| **News orientation** | Five days after the IDPs went back to the village; the situation is heating up again because there is an issue that there will be new leader replacing Tajul Muluk |
| | Several weapons was given to the police |
| | Police is still maintain the situation in Karang Gayam village |

Table 9: News about Situation after the returning

Actually, this incident has proven that the journalists used the war journalism as their news framing. Without any complete information on the real cause of the problem, the agreed resolution, and the prepared prevention, the incident was recurring only in the matter of days. Although no open conflict with victims took place this time, the incident proved that the problem was still far from resolved. The journalists were not able to support peace in this incident. They preferred to use the war journalism again in reporting this case. The journalists once again portrayed a two-party conflict and focused their sources of information on elite peacemaker, in this case the police officers. If the journalists wanted to use the peace journalism to frame this incident, they would focus not only to elite peace maker but also local peacemakers and introduced the peace initiative to prevent more outbreak of conflict.

## 7   Discussion and conclusion

This paper emphasises that media can influence readers' and people's opinion and behaviour on certain issues. Therefore, media has a role in shaping public opinion on issues in the communities. Most of the time, the media report incidents with limited information. From this limited information, people and readers build their reaction and take a position toward the burning issues.

Peace journalism is alternative news framing that leads journalists to use "another language, a language rooted in non-violence and creativity in thinking about conflicts" (McGoldrick and Lynch 2001). In peace journalism, there are some concepts which can change readers' perspectives on reading the news articles about conflict. These concepts are "voice to the voiceless," "non-violence," "transparency," and "exploration deeply on conflict to find causes and offer solutions." Using these concepts, the journalists present to the readers a different style of news reporting. Peace journalism offers more than just a simple story of two parties involved in a conflict. It gives the reader a 'bigger picture' of the incident. Journalists cannot just write a story of two parties fighting against each other. They need to give a comprehensive report on the incident and to cover the incident through the interests of many groups or parties.

As explored in this paper, journalists only have limited information about the real cause of incident in Sampang. They fail to dig deeper to find the root of the problem. The journalists only find information from an easy source like the police, the government officers, and other people/groups which represent the 'elite' group. Although in one of the articles cited the journalists try to give voice to the victims, it is insufficient just only through description of the impacts of the incident to the victims. The journalists should follow up the articles with explanation from the victims' perspective on what has happened in victims' own words. Lack of information on the underlying cause of the incident appears when people or readers outside the Shi'ite community get impression that this community takes the blame. Relying on information from only certain groups and reports that Tajul Muluk's teaching is blasphemous also encourages the readers and the public to think that Tajul Muluk's followers are equally misfits in a society where the Shi'ites are minority.

Besides, the journalists refuse to get information from the Shi'ite community, Tajul Muluk, or the leaders of the refugees. These sources should be able to create a balanced news coverage for this conflict. The unbalanced news produced by the journalists on this conflict indirectly supports the majority of people who quickly blame the Shi'ite community. The incomplete and imbalanced series of newspapers articles provoke another attack that takes place in August 2012 in Karang Gayam, Sampang, Madura Island against the Shi'ite community after they come back to their village. One member of Shi'ite community was killed. Another one was badly injured and still in the hospital. This untoward incident should motivate the local journalists to change their way of reporting the ongoing conflict. The Indonesian public has been dealing with a lot of ethnic and religious conflicts for such a

long time. As one of the stakeholders in the society, the media including the journalists should start to pay a role as an agent of change. The influence of the media over people and readers' points of view and attitudes toward certain issues can be seen as one advantage for the media. The media has the opportunity and capability to end conflicts and support the peace process through their printed news. The media can change the public's point of view and attitudes toward ethnic and religious conflicts.

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