

FRAMING CONFLICT NEWS IN POSO INDONESIA: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE *MANADO POST*, *MAL*, AND *KOMPAS* NEWSPAPERS

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This thesis entitled
FRAMING CONFLICT NEWS IN POSO, INDONESIA: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE *MANADO POST*, *MAL*, AND *KOMPAS* NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract

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FRAMING CONFLICT NEWS IN POSO INDONESIA: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE *MANADO POST*, *MAL*, AND *KOMPAS* NEWSPAPERS (89 pp.)

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This thesis examines how two local newspapers (the *Manado Post*, based in a peaceful city, and *MAL* in a conflicted city) framed conflict news in Poso, Indonesia, from 1998 to 2003. In addition, the study examines the contribution of the national daily newspaper, *Kompas*, to conflict resolution in Poso. A content analysis of 403 articles from the three newspapers concluded that the local newspaper in a conflict city (*MAL*) tended to be more provocative than the newspaper in a peaceful city (the *Manado Post*) and the national newspaper (*Kompas*). Two indicators were the language and the images the newspapers used in reporting conflict news. Peace journalism training has influenced the journalists in all three newspapers in framing conflict news.

Approved:

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Chapter 1: Introduction

From 1998, Indonesia has encountered conflict in many places, especially in the eastern region, including the city of Poso, Sulawesi. Poso is well known as a conflict city since it has encountered conflict for more than 5 years and it caused the death of approximately 1000 people. By contrast, Manado, which is located on the same island as Poso, has a reputation as a peaceful city. I want to study this interesting phenomenon in greater depth.

One way to study the conflict is by analyzing newspapers. This paper investigated how the *Manado Post* (in a peaceful city) and *MAL* (in a conflict city), daily and weekly local newspapers in Sulawesi and *Kompas*, the leading Indonesian national newspaper, portrayed conflict news in Poso, Sulawesi from 1998 to 2003.

Figure 1. Map of Sulawesi and Poso



Map of Sulawesi and Poso (www.sulawesi-indonesia.com)

1.1 Background of the Conflict

After Suharto stepped down in 1998, different kinds of conflict, such as communal, ethnic and religious, occurred in Indonesia, especially in the eastern part of the country. One of the most serious ethnic and inter-religious conflicts was in Poso, in Central Sulawesi. This conflict caused the death of approximately 1,000 people, with more injured, and around 100,000 displaced (Human Rights Watch, 2002, p.2). The causes of the conflict in Poso are multiple and complex; they are an accumulation of economic, criminal, social and political factors. Furthermore, “religion and ethnicity became political vehicles for certain elite interests” (Human Rights Watch, 2002, p.9).

The United Nations Support Facility for Indonesian Recovery (UNSFIR) recently published a report, entitled "Pattern of Collective Violence in Indonesia between 1990-2003." Based on its research, UNSFIR distinguished four categories of collective violence: ethno-communal (inter-ethnic, inter-religious and intra-religious), the state versus community, economic (conflict over land, labor issues, etc), and others (lynching or vigilante killings) (Varshney, Panggabean, & Tadjoeuddin, 2004, p.12). It uses incidences of death, injuries, violations of freedom, and property loss as indicators of violence or conflict.

The research produced some key findings. First, the provincial distribution of group violence in Indonesia has two notable features, death and incidents. In terms of deaths, the regions of North Maluku, Jakarta, and West and Central Kalimantan have seen the worst violence of all provinces. Second, collective violence in Indonesia is not widespread. Third, group violence has high local concentrations. Fourth, youth violence

is the single most important trigger for group violence in Indonesia (Varshney et al. 2004, p.37).

Manado has the reputation of being a peaceful city. This is significant because Manado is located on the same island as Poso and it is very close to Maluku. In addition, just across the Sulawesi Sea lies the province of Mindanao, in the Philippines, which is well known as a conflict-ridden area. In short, Manado is a peaceful city surrounded by areas of conflict.

Figure 2. Map of Manado



MAP OF MANADO (www.pulisanresort-sulawesi.com)

Manado (North Sulawesi) has a larger population than Poso (Central Sulawesi).

Manado has a population of 416,000 (BPS Manado, 2004, p.74), while Poso has a

population of 164.414 (BPS Poso, 2004, p.52). In the last decade, there has been a rapid growth on an average of 3.04% per year with the birth average 1.50 % per year in Manado. Urbanization and immigration caused this rapid growth. Manado is very heterogeneous in terms of ethnic and religious background. Most of the population is from the Minahasa ethnic group, with others from the Sangihe Talaud, Mongondow, and Gorontalo ethnic groups. There are also Javanese and Batak living in Manado. In terms of religion, Muslims and Christians in Manado in 2004 each represented 41.24 and 59.43 percent of the population (BPS, 2004, p.115) Poso is located exactly in the middle of the province. In Poso, there are Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus. In 2004, Christian constitute the majority with 63.2%, next are Muslim (33.58%), the rest are Hindus and Buddhists (BPS Poso, 2004). According to Aragon, “[T]here are approximately 10 ethnic groups in Poso: Tojo, Bungku, Togian, Bugis, Javanese, Pamona, Mori, Napu, Besoa, and Bada” (Aragon, 2004, p.7).

The interesting point from a demographic perspective is that both Poso and Manado have various ethnicities and religions. The percentage of Muslims and Christians in Poso and Manado is quite similar. The ethnic population in both cities also varies. There is not much differentiation from a demographic perspective, except in total population. In spite of these similarities, Poso has been known as a conflict ridden city, while Manado has a reputation as a peaceful city. This important phenomenon is the focus of this study.

People rely on media to obtain information and to be informed about what is going on in the world around them. Often, the media-- newspapers, internet, radio, and television-- provide people with their first impression of current events and the causes of

a particular event or conflict such as the conflict in Poso. The Institute for Studies on Free Flow of Information Indonesia (ISAI, 2004) suggests that the media play a significant role in exacerbating violence through the use of inflammatory language by reporting violence in an aggressive way. Thus, it is important to understand how media reported the conflict, either it provoking or helping build peace in a conflict-ridden city such as Poso.

In my paper I have used the *Manado Post* and *MAL*, daily and weekly local newspapers in Sulawesi, to make comparisons of coverage. Besides these two local newspapers, I investigated how the leading Indonesian national newspaper, *Kompas*, portrayed conflict news Poso from 1998 to 2003. The choice of these three newspapers was made because they are popular, well circulated and widely read.

Varshney et al. (2004) suggest three points regarding the comparison between national and provincial newspapers. First, journalists on national newspapers are sensitive to the impact of their conflict stories, and are more likely to be responsible in their coverage and use of language. Furthermore, provincial newspapers are likely to be better at reporting provincial violence. In addition, provincial newspapers report on local knowledge through interviews with key local community actors (p.11).

1.2 Press Freedom after the Suharto Era

The fall of President Suharto has dramatically changed the state of press freedom in Indonesia. During his regime, Suharto placed heavy restrictions on the media. All news and information was required to support the New Order government. Pit Chen Low (2003, p.19) pointed out that “the press could not report issues like regionalism, religion, race,

and conflict, business interest of the Suharto family, or human right abuses by the armed forces.”

Philip Kitley (2001, p.256) examined the current press freedom in the context of the history of bans and repression of the media in Indonesia. He points out that Suharto banned *Tempo* magazine and *Detik* due to their critical towards on his regime. Furthermore, Kitley (2001) stated that, ”Freedom of the press needs to be understood broadly as a practical right to access information, to ask questions and to publicize complex and confronting issues; it is not just freedom from being banned” (p.268). Thus, banning the media was only one part of the lack of press freedom in New Order Indonesia.

The political environment following the downfall of Suharto allowed the Indonesian press to become more liberal and democratic. Many newspapers, magazines, and internet websites were formed. However, this freedom has had some unexpected and dangerous consequences. “The collapse of the new order opened a Pandora’s Box of so-called hate media exploiting ethnic and religious conflict in Ambon” (Makoto Keike, 2002, p.1). Buni Yani (2002) shows how media reflected sectarian interests. Yani (2002) stated that, “the politics of editorship in *Kompas* (Catholic affiliation) and *Republika* (Islamic affiliation) were driven by primordial and fundamental religious belief” (p.62).

This paper aims to discover how these three newspapers framed conflict stories in Poso and the effects of media in framing conflict news. Research for this paper was limited to coverage of news from 1998 to 2003, when conflicts occurred in Poso. The word “conflict” in this study is limited to violent conflict in which many people died, were injured, and some establishments were destroyed.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of how the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas* framed conflict news in Poso, Indonesia from 1998 to 2003. Another purpose is to analyze the effects of framing conflict news in these newspapers.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How do the *Manado Post*, *MAL* (Poso), and *Kompas* frame conflict in Poso, Indonesia from 1998 to 2003?
2. How do the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas* use local and national sources in conflict reporting?
3. Which themes of conflict are most frequently addressed?
4. What do the sources (interviewees) believe about the effects of the *Manado Post*, *MAL* and *Kompas* in framing conflict news in Poso?

1.5 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses guide this analysis:

1. There are differences and similarities between the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas* in framing conflict in reporting conflict news:
 1. a. *MAL* covered less Christian sources than the Muslim sources, compared to *Kompas* or the *Manado Post*.

1. b. *MAL* has more provocative headlines compared to the *Manado Post* or *Kompas*.
1. c. The national newspaper, *Kompas*, has more stories on the theme of “positive resolution efforts” compared to the two local newspapers, *MAL* and the *Manado Post*.
2. *MAL* and *Manado Post* have more local sources, while *Kompas* has more national sources.
3. The “religious conflict” theme appears more frequently in *MAL* than in *Kompas* and the *Manado Post*.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is to explore the way that conflict news has been described in these newspapers and whether the framing of conflict news in the *Manado Post* was one of the factors that helped people in Manado reduce conflict and keep their community peaceful. In addition, there is no previous research on framing conflict news in Poso. Thus, this study will be useful for Indonesian media studies.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Media Framing

2.1.1 Definition of framing

A number of studies have defined the concept of framing. Robert Wicks (2000) states, "Framing means that the media choose to focus attention on certain events and then place them within a field of meaning" (p.75). Thomas E. Nelson (1997) defines framing as, "The process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy"(p.567). Kahneman and Tversky write, "A frame is defined as a decision maker's conception of the acts, outcomes, and contingencies associated with a particular choice" (quoted in Putnam and Holmer, 1992, p.131).

Framing can be understood as a selection process, as Robert Entman (1993) states: "Framing essentially involve selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, moral evaluation or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Watkins, 2001, p. 84). Gitlin (1980) also notes that "frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed about what exists, what happened, and what matters" (p.6).

2.1.2 Media framing

Research has been conducted on media frame studies. Edelman and Entman state: “A media frame is a particular way in which journalists compose a news story to optimize audience accessibility. This research assumes that journalists unavoidably frame or structure their representations of political events to make them accessible to a larger audience” (quoted in Patti et al, 1999, p.550). According to Esrock et al. “a media frame is the way journalists interpret and compose to help audiences make sense of events and to maintain audience interest” (Esrock et al. 2002, p.210).

Current media framing literature proposes two level of analysis; the individual frame which is defined by Entman as “mentally stored clusters of idea that guide individuals’ processing of information,” and a frame that is used to describe the central idea of news stories. (Esrock et al. 2002, p. 211) Thus, there are two ways of analyzing the framing of stories. One is by seeing news from the point of view of the creator or messenger. The other is to see how receivers interpret the stories according to their own beliefs, values and pre-conceptions. There are a variety of reasons for framing news. Esrock et al. state, “the framing of the story may be driven by ideology and prejudice, by an interaction of journalist norms, and the influence of social groups” (Esrock et al. 2002, p.211).

Tankard (2001) mentions several news features that commonly convey frames. They are “headlines and kickers, subheads, photographs, photo captions, and leads, among others. These features are the means through which news frames are made salient” (Bantimaroudia & Ban, 2001). Most commonly, the first paragraph of a news story

functions as the lead, but subheads often serve in the capacity also” (Zillmann et al, p. 60).

2.1.3 Role of journalist and editor in framing news

Journalists and editors play a crucial role in framing news. Pan and Kosicki, (1993) assert, “News reporters and editors are trained to communicate information that unfolds across the time of history using standardized selection and presentation criteria” (Wicks, p. 76). Message framing may influence the content of the news. According to Bird and Dardene “journalists use conventional rules to gather information that focuses on the who, what, where, when, how, and why. The intent of news is to link citizens with occurrences in their environments that they cannot experience firsthand” (Wicks, p. 76).

Watkins points out that “journalists also make framing judgments, which are decisions regarding how to render a real world phenomenon intelligible. The frames created by journalists can be organized and communicated verbally (i.e., radio, television), visually (i.e., television, newspapers), or in print (i.e., newspapers, the internet)” (Watkins, 2001, p. 84). Gitlin adds, “frames enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences” (p.7).

2.1.4 Effect of framing

Significant research has been conducted on the effects of framing. For instance, Iyengar investigated the effects of case-focus, as he writes “Media stories typically exemplify either an episodic frame or thematic frame, with important consequences for how viewers make attributions about the cause of, and solution to, such social problems” (Nelson, p.568). Somerich and Valkenburg (2002) give examples of five news frames

identified in earlier studies on framing and their effects: “Attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality” (p.93).

Esrock suggests that “News frames influence an audience’s interpretation and evaluation of a story. This framing and media language used to describe events play a key role in shaping public views” (2002, p.211).

2.1.5 Peace and war: two competing frame

There are two competing frames in covering conflict news: peace and war journalism. Lee and Maslog (2005) cite the now classic definition by Galtung (1998):

Peace journalism and war journalism are two competing frames in the coverage of conflict. Galtung’s classification of war and peace journalism is based on four broad practice and linguistic orientations. Peace journalism is oriented to truth, people, and solutions. In contrast, war journalism is oriented to violence, propaganda, elites, and victory. Peace journalism approaches include taking a preventive advocacy stance—for example, editorials and columns urging reconciliation and focusing on common ground rather than on vengeance, retaliation, and differences—and emphasizing the invisible effects of violence (e.g. emotional trauma and damage to social structure). In contrast, war journalism plays up conflict as an area where participants are grouped starkly into two opposing sides (them vs. us) and focused on visible effect of war (casualties and damage to properties). (Seow Ting Lee and Crispin C. Maslog, 2005, p.314).

According to Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, p.5), “Peace journalism uses the insight of conflict analysis and transformation to update the concepts of balance, fairness, and accuracy in reporting. It builds an awareness of non-violence into the practical job of everyday editing and reporting.”

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, p.6) describe the classification of war and peace journalism. The classification is in the Table 1:

Table 1. Peace and War Journalism

Peace/ Conflict Journalism	War /Violence Journalism
<p><i>I. Peace/conflict oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issue general ‘win, win’ orientation • Open space, open time, causes and outcome everywhere, also in history and culture • Making conflict transparent • Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding • See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity • Humanize of all sides • Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurred 	<p><i>I. War/violence oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on conflict arena, two parties, one goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation • Closed space, close time, causes and exist in arena, who threw the first stone • Making war opaque/secret • ‘Us-them’ journalism, propaganda, voice, for ‘us’ • See “them” as the problem • Dehumanization of ‘them’ • Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting
<p><i>II. Truth-oriented</i> Expose untruths on all sides/uncover all covers-up</p>	<p><i>II. Propaganda-oriented</i> Expose “their” untruth/ help “our” cover-ups/lies</p>
<p><i>III. People-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on suffering all over; on woman, aged, children, giving voice to voiceless • Give name to all evil-doers • Focus on people peace-makers 	<p><i>III. Elite-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on “our” suffering; on able-bodied elite males. Being their mouth-peace • Give names of ‘their’ evil-doer • Focus on elite peace-makers
<p><i>IV. Solution-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highlights peace initiatives, also to prevent more war • Focus on structure, culture and peaceful society aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, and reconciliation 	<p><i>IV. Victory-oriented</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceal peace initiatives, before victory is at hand • Focus on treaty, institution, and the controlled society leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again

2.1.6 The significance of study of framing

The significance of framing analysis study as pointed out by Watkins, “Consider[s] not just what the producers of the news talk about or insert into the issue attention cycle, but how problem selection, emphasis, and definition facilitates what become most recognizable about the phenomena receiving media attention” (p.84). He adds “what is perhaps most important about frames is their capacity to make certain aspects of a problem appear more salient than others” (p.85).

In this study, framing analysis is used to analyze the ways that the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas* newspapers described the Poso conflict from 1998 to 2003- for example the roots of Poso conflict described in those newspapers, the themes of the conflict that appear most frequently in the stories, and the topics of the stories.

2.2 Indonesian Newspapers and Conflict

Many studies on Indonesian newspapers have been done by scholars, students, and NGO activists who worked on media and conflict. Some significant studies are: Thomas Hanitzsch (2004), ISAI and IMS (2004), UNSFIR, (2004), Pit Chen Low, (2003), Michiel van Geelen (2002), Patrick Barron and Joanne Sharpe (2005).

In addition, a study on Indonesian newspapers was conducted by Buni Yani in 2002. Yani explores the politics of editorship in two daily national newspapers, *Kompas* (Catholic affiliation) and *Republika* (Islamic affiliation) in covering conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Maluku. He uses two approaches: hermeneutics and the political economy, which shaped the two newspapers.

My study is different from Yani's study. By using content analysis and qualitative interviewing, this paper looks at the framing of the media and place emphasis on how the

two local newspapers (the *Manado Post*, based in a peaceful city, and *MAL* in a conflicted city) and *Kompas* (the national newspaper) described the Poso conflict from 1998 to 2003.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses content analysis as a research method and the difference between content analysis and thematic analysis. It includes a discussion of sampling procedure, unit analysis, development of codes, intercoder reliability, development of an interview guide and interviewee selection. In addition, it discusses the data analysis and some difficulties encountered in the research.

3.1 Content Analysis

The three methods typically used to study framing news are surveys, content analysis, and correlation data of national surveys. Stempel (2003) clearly defined content analysis as:

A research technique for objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. Objectivity is achieved by having the categories of analysis defined so precisely that different person can apply them and get the same result. Systematic means, first, that a set procedure is applied to all the content being analyzed. Second, it means that categories are set up so that all relevant content is analyzed. Finally it means the analysis is designed to secure data relevant to a research question and hypothesis. Quantitative means simply the recording of numerical values or frequencies with which various defined types of content occur. Manifest content means the apparent content, which means the content must be coded as it appears (Stempel, p.210).

According to Barelson (1966), three assumptions in content analysis make it useful:

First, content analysis assumes that inferences about the relationship between intent and content or between content and effect can validly be made. Second, content analysis assumes that study of manifest content is meaningful. Third, content analysis assumes that the quantitative description of communication content is meaningful (p. 264-265).

The difference between thematic analysis and content analysis is that in thematic analysis the themes come from the articles, while in content analysis the researcher has to create the categories or code book prior to the data collection.

This study uses content analysis and qualitative interviewing. Therefore, it combines quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data consists of 403 articles on the Poso conflict from three newspapers: the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas*. The qualitative data are in-depth interviews using open-ended questions to gain deeper understanding of themes or categories that have more coverage than others. In addition, in-depth interviews were used to gather views on the effect of the framing of conflict news.

3.2 Sample and Unit of analysis

This study did not sample because I wanted to study all articles covering conflict during the time period of the Poso conflict (1998 – 2003). The unit of analysis is an article which covers the Poso conflict between 1998 and 2003. I found 403 articles covering the conflict; 75 from the *Manado Post*, 199 from *MAL*, and 129 from *Kompas*.

3.3 Developing Codes

According to Babbie (2004, p.318), “Content analysis is essentially a coding operation. Coding is the process of transforming raw data into a standardized form.” The categories are mentioned in the codebook. My categories are:

- a. Headline
- b. Page numbers
- c. Length of the stories (by inches)
- d. Sources
- e. Root of Poso conflict
- f. Theme of Poso conflict
- g. Topic of the articles

3.4 Inter Coder Reliability

A reliability check was conducted in which three Indonesian students and myself read a total of 15 articles. I distributed the coding book that contained the definitions of the terms used in this study. The coding enables coders to understand the language by referencing the coding sheet.

I randomly selected five articles from each of the three newspapers --the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas*. The expectation for intercoder reliability is about 75 percent. My intercoder reliability test resulted in a 78.80% percent agreement level among the three students and me. This means that the instrument of the data collection is good enough to collect the reliable data for this study.

3.5 Interview Guide and Interviewee Selection

According to Babbie (2004, p. 300), “Qualitative interview is an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of

inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked with particular words and in particular order.” Rubin and Rubin added: “The continuous nature of qualitative interviewing means that the questioning is redesigned throughout the project” (Babbie, 2004, p.300)

Steiner Kvale (1996) described seven stages in a complete interviewing process:

1. Thematising: clarifying the purpose of the interview
2. Designing: Laying out the process through which you will accomplish your purpose, including a consideration of the ethical dimension
3. Interviewing: doing the actual interviews
4. Transcribing: creating a written text of the interviews
5. Analyzing: determining the meaning of gathered materials in relation to the purpose of the study
6. Verifying: checking the reliability and validity the materials
7. Reporting: telling others what you have learned (Babbie, 2004, p.302)

The main purpose of the qualitative interviewing in this study is to gain better understanding of what was occurring in Poso from 1998 to 2003. In addition, I wanted to see what the sources thought about the role of media in a conflict area and the impact of the framing of conflict news in Poso

Based on Kvale’s steps, prior to the research project, I thematized and designed the interview guide based on the purpose of my study as the first step. I had an IRB certificate and I considered the ethical issues of qualitative interviewing. For instance, I had to get permission to record the interviews, and I would be the only person with access to any audiotapes; any data to be shared with committees would be in transcribed form.

In the second step, I interviewed people face-to-face. While interviewing people, I sometimes added questions which were prompted by interviewees’ answers to my pre-established list. I also did some interviews via telephone because some of people who I

wanted to interview were not available in person. After the interviews, I transcribed and translated from Indonesian to English.

Then, in the third step, I analyzed the interviews based on the themes or topics. In some cases, I re-checked with interviewees when I found I did not quite understand what they meant in the interview. The last step was reporting, which I did in chapters 4 and 5.

The people I interviewed were mostly people who became priority sources or the first people contacted by the *Manado Post*, *Kompas*, and *MAL*. I also asked local journalists and some media experts in Manado and Poso to recommend people I should interview. I interviewed 18 people: government officials, police officials, conflict resolution experts, educational officials, NGO activists, journalists, editors, and religious leaders.

3.6 Data Analysis

Two data analyses were used in this study. First, chi-square was used for the content analysis. Second, for the interviews I used qualitative analysis based on the themes or topics that the interviewees described. I used the qualitative interviewing data to answer research question number 4 (What do the interviewees believe about the effects of the *Manado Post*, *MAL* and *Kompas* in framing conflict news in Poso?). In addition, I analyzed and reported the qualitative interviewing data in Chapter 4 (Background of the Newspapers and Background of the Conflict).

3.7 Some Difficulties with Collecting Material

Some difficulties that I faced when collecting material were:

- a. The availability of the local newspapers. The *Manado Post* only had 75 articles covering conflict from 1998 – 2003. It took a long time to get the copies. The newspapers did not have electronic sources and the files were incomplete. *MAL* documented its newspapers well and had almost all the stories on the Poso conflict.
- b. Expenses. To spend a month (a week in each city) in Manado, Palu, Poso, and Jakarta for a research project was costly, especially because it was in summer (holiday). Airfares were double. Because of this limitation, I could not stay more than a week in each city.
- c. Safety. Just five minutes after I arrived in Poso, a bomb exploded. Because I was operating in unfamiliar territory, two local journalists acted as my guides while I was in Poso, Palu, and Tentena.

Chapter 4: Background of the Newspapers and Poso Conflict

4.1 Background of the Poso Conflict

4.1.1 History and demography of Poso

Poso, situated in the center of Central Sulawesi, has 21 districts. In 2003, the population of Poso was about 416,000. There were 414 mosques and about 392 churches, mainly Protestant or Catholic. Poso itself has approximately 515 Christian religious leaders. The Christian population is concentrated in Tentena (57 km from Poso).

Figure 3. Map Poso and Tentena



MAP Sulawesi: Poso and Tentena (www.sulawesi-indonesia.com)

People in Poso have suffered for a long time, especially in the period from 1988 to 2003. The conflict is still ongoing.

Prevent Conflict, an organization that focuses on humanitarian policy and conflict research, provides this background account:

The lowlands of Central Sulawesi have historically been dominated by the Pamona peoples, feared for their reputation as head-hunters. Over the course of the past century, however, the Pamona image has changed significantly as a majority of Pamonas have converted to Christianity. This shift is largely the result of Dutch control which began in 1892 and was accompanied by a large number of Christian missionaries.

Once the Dutch had opened this previously isolated area, Muslim migrants from elsewhere in Sulawesi arrived, particularly fishermen who settled along the coast. After independence, this trend continued as the government furthered its transmigration policies by sending Javanese Muslims, among others, into Central Sulawesi. By most accounts, the 20th century did not witness much inter-religious conflict between Christians and Muslims in Sulawesi. Despite the general calm, however, some Christians have expressed the feeling that their ancestral homelands have been usurped (<http://www.preventconflict.org>).

4.1.2 Background of the Poso conflict

The Poso conflict can be divided into five phases. Conflict began on December 24, 1998, during a tense local political campaign when a drunken young Christian man, Roy Basalemba, attacked Ahmad Ridwan, a Muslim activist, during Ramadhan (fasting month). The news then spread quickly around the town. A local journalist in Palu explained in an interview (July 2005) that there was a rumor, “a young man was killed and his head cut off in the mosque”. In fact, it was Ridwan’s hand, which was cut, but it was not separated from his body. Nonetheless, people were mobilized. The next day, Muslims attacked stores, bars, and other places which sell alcohol because they believed that alcohol was the root of the conflict (Revolutionary Front for Islamic Solidarity, p.2). The December 1998 incidents are well-known as the first phase of the Poso conflict.

The second phase of the conflict occurred in April 16, 1999. Lasahido (2003, p.47) stated that “the conflict happened because of fighting between young people from two different religions, Islam and Christian,” adding that “the political situation prior to the local election also affected the tension in Poso.”

A local journalist who experienced the conflict, explained: “In April, 1999, Dedi, who was drunk, told his brothers that he was sliced (by Christians). He had been punished for his behavior which started the conflict” (interview, July 2005). According to

the Revolutionary Front for Islamic Solidarity (2000), on April 15, 1999, there was fighting among young people from Lumbogia (mostly Christian) and Kayamanya (mostly Muslim) villages, located in Poso. The conflict spread after people heard that two young Muslims had been attacked and injured. Some people from the Muslim area then destroyed churches and Christian houses. Lasahido (2003, p.50-51) stated that four people died in the second phase of the conflict.

Prevent Conflict reported: “Muslims began to burn down churches and Christian homes, culminating in the second phase of the Poso conflict in April, 1999, in which hundreds of Christian homes were destroyed.” According to Aragon (2001), “The brawl quickly deteriorated into a religiously polarized battle in this formerly quiet, multiethnic region. Police and military forces could not, or would not, stop the arson and attacks between the two communities.” The conflict ended on April 22, 1999 with the help of Islamic and Christian religious leaders, local government officials, police, and the Indonesian military.

The third phase, in May, 2000, was the largest conflict. “In the third phase, there were two groups fighting: a Christian group called *kelompok merah* (the Red Group) and a Muslim group called *kelompok putih* (the White Group)” (Lasahido, 2003, p.51). From May 24 to May 30, 12 groups of Christians, led by Fabianus Tibo, attacked people in Poso. In fear for their lives, approximately 8,000 people went to the local military compound. Many others went to Palu, a city near Poso (Lasahido, 2003, p.51).

The third phase began in May, 2000, when the retaliation began in earnest as Christian “ninjas” terrorized and tortured Poso Muslims. Calling themselves “Black Bat” raiders, the Christians attacked Muslim villages. Illustrative is the case of Sintuwulemba, a Muslim village in which a large percentage of the men disappeared or were killed. It is estimated that 300 people were killed although authorities have claimed that it is difficult to

produce definitive numbers of the deaths, as the bodies of many victims have supposedly floated out to sea under cover of darkness by way of the Poso River (www.preventconflict.org).

One victim described the Red Group attack on the Walisongo Islamic School:

I was one of the victims who are still alive from the massacre of Walisongo Islamic School. I jumped from the truck that was carrying my friends. All of our hands were tied and our eyes were closed. The attackers wore black masks and clothes, just like the ninja, with the red headband. Almost one hundreds people were slaughtered in that Islamic School, included my friends who were still in the truck. After jumping from the truck, I had to swim along the river of Poso for fourteen hours. My left thigh was shot and my back was seriously injured because of the blade. The red army kept shooting at me from the edge of the river, at last I arrived to the Thanks to Allah that I'm still alive (Muhammad Ilham, 23 years old, a teacher at the Walisongo Islamic School)

The death toll in this phase according to local government officials was 200.

Some people said only 100 were killed. Many Muslims said that approximately 1,000 Muslims were killed (Islamic Front for Solidarity).

Figure 4. Images on Poso Riots



The Situation during Poso Conflict (news.bbc.co.uk)

The fourth phase of the Poso conflict occurred in July, 2001 (Lasahido, 2003, p.56). This phase was dominated by local political issues. The Pamona ethnic group, who are considered *penduduk asli* (the original people) from Poso, were disappointed because they thought that the new government did not want to share power with them. They wanted a representative of the Pamona people to be the *sekwilda* (local government secretary). According to Lasahido, 14 Muslims and one Christian were killed on July 3, 2001, and 235 houses were burned.

The fifth phase of the conflict occurred in late November, 2001. According to Prevent Conflict, “The Muslim-Christian fighting flared up once again. Spurred on by the introduction of thousands of *Laskar Jihad* (an Islamic fundamentalist group in Indonesia) members in Poso, armed Muslim gangs attacked and burned Christian villages around Poso. An estimated 15,000 Christians had fled from the attacks by early December” (www.preventconflict.org). Aragon (2001, p.2) added that over a hundred more people were killed at the end of December 2001.

In December 2001, the Indonesian government brought together people who were involved in the conflict in a peace agreement known as the Malino Declaration. Prevent Conflict stated:

In an attempt to bring about a long-term solution, the parties of the conflict met in December 2001 in government-sponsored peace talks. The resultant declaration of peace, known as the *Malino* Declaration, was signed by both parties, and calls for all parties to end all disputes and to abide by the due process of the law. It remains to be seen whether the declaration marks an end to the conflict, as this is the latest of five such agreements. More than 300 people have died since May 2000, and tens of thousands have been displaced (www.preventconflict.org).

4.2 Background of the Newspapers

There are many kinds of media available in Central Sulawesi, including print, alternative, and visual media. The print media available are: *Radar Sulteng*, *Nuansa Pos*, *Koran MAL*, and *Poso Post*.

This study uses two local newspapers, the *Manado Post* (located in Manado, North Sulawesi) and *MAL* (Poso). In addition, the Indonesian national newspaper, *Kompas*, was used to compare its coverage of the Poso conflict with that of the local newspapers. I collected data from previous research and have some additional information from the journalists and editors I interviewed.

This section will describe the historical background of each newspaper and its editorial policy.

4.2.1 The Manado Post

Historical background

The *Manado Post* was founded in 1897 by Max Simaramis. Over time, as the people of North Sulawesi became better educated they needed better media. Since the *Manado Post* had only limited funds, it became part of the Java Post group in 1991. With the help of Java Post, the *Manado Post* expanded, and the daily circulation is now 40,000 (Monday –Thursday) and 30,000 (Friday – Sunday).

As Dino Gobel, the founder of the *Manado Post* online, stated in an interview (May 3, 2006), a recent survey by A.C. Nielsen showed that the *Manado Post* has the largest newspaper circulation in all of eastern Indonesia. It also has the highest number of advertisements in that area.

The *Manado Post* has 64 journalists and 12 editors, with an average monthly salary of approximately 1 million Rupiah (\$110) or higher. All the journalists have been trained in peace journalism, or what they call ‘*Jurnalisme Kasih*.’ The training was conducted by the British Council in Manado in 2001. In addition, according to Gobel (interview, May 3, 2005), the *Manado Post* has a peace journalism internship program. During the Poso conflict, the *Manado Post* promoted peace journalism and its use in the coverage of conflict news.

Since 2002, the *Manado Post* has had a new section called “*Teropong*.” It reports on conflict resolution and inter-religious dialogue. For example it covered the background of conflict, how the conflict spread, and recommendations to resolve the conflict.

Editorial Policy in the *Manado Post*

According to Gobels (May 3, 2006), there were two ways for the *Manado Post* to obtain news about the conflict: by contacting other journalists in Palu or Poso, such as *Radar Sulteng* (also part of the *Java Post* group) journalists, and by sending its own journalists into the field when the conflict got worse.

Specifically, the editorial policy on covering conflict news was stated by the *Manado Post* journalist, Tenny Assa:

We did some interviews with religious leaders (Muslim, Christian, Hindu and Buddhist) during the Poso conflict. People realized that there was conflict in Poso, but people in Manado did not respond to it emotionally because of the religious leaders who always projected peaceful messages. We provided the facts, and we tried to report as objectively as possible. We did not pay more attention to one particular group or religion. We reported the facts as they are and we always gave space to the religious

leaders, especially when they wanted to keep the community in North Sulawesi peaceful and united. (Interview, July 2005)

It is clear that the *Manado Post* supported religious leaders in projecting peaceful messages. It is also important to mention that the *Manado Post* has tried to maintain balanced reporting by contacting Christian and Muslim sources and by not giving disproportionate emphasis to any religion.

4.2.2 MAL

Historical background

MAL is one of the Islamic newspapers in Indonesia. The largest Islamic newspaper *Republika* was established in 1993 by ICMI (the Indonesian Muslim Scholar Association). Most of the Islamic newspapers in Indonesia aim to give voice to Muslims and their views. Moderate Muslims use the newspapers to build civil society and others use them for political reasons. Since the fall of Suharto, more Islamic newspapers have been established.

MAL is under *Yayasan al Khairat*, the biggest Islamic organization in eastern Indonesia which also administers an Islamic School. *MAL* was established in 1971 as a weekly newspaper. ISAI (2004, p.21) reported that: “*MAL* counts itself as one of the first publications in Central Sulawesi. *MAL* was initially printed as handouts and run by the Chairman of *Al Khairat*, HS Saggaf Al Djufrie.” The original name of *MAL* was *al-Chairat*, inspired by the name of an organization, *Yayasan al Chairat*. *MAL* stands for *Mingguan Al Chairat (al Chairat weekly)*.

MAL consists of 16 pages and its weekly circulation is approximately 2,500. The office is in Palu (the capital city of Central Sulawesi) and it is distributed to Palu, Poso, cities nearby, Kalimantan and Jakarta.

Fifteen journalists work for *MAL*: eight in Palu and seven outside Palu (interview with Rafiq Yahya, July, 2005). Most are university students and members of the Indonesian Alliance of Journalists (*Aliansi Journalis Indonesia, AJI*). Ninety percent of the journalists and editors had journalism training organized by the British Council in 2002. In line with other journalists in Palu, a *MAL* journalist's salary is approximately \$25 to \$30 a month. They may earn a bonus if they get a company or individuals to advertise in *MAL*. In addition, Rafiq explained "The journalists would get the incentive if they wrote more stories, so it depends also on how many stories that the journalists wrote weekly" (interview with Yahya, May, 2006). Yahya added that the salary increased in 2006, from \$30 to \$50. This low salary is probably one of the problems they are facing. I do not want to go deeper in this issue, but it probably helps to explain the journalists' situation.

Editorial policy of *MAL*

Rafiq Yahya, an editor at *MAL* explained that "MAL is under *Yayasan Al Khairat*, and *Yayasan al Khairat* gives freedom to the editors and journalists so that *MAL* can keep its independence. We provide space to moderate and hard line Muslims as well as Christians. When the Poso conflict occurred, Christians were happy with *MAL* because *MAL* gave them space in the paper" (interview, July 2005).

He added that during the Poso conflict, *MAL* formed teams with good journalism skills to report conflict stories. The journalists in the team had good relations with both

Muslims and Christians. He stated, “After the teams wrote a report, the editor collected the news and edited only a few words in order to give a better report” (interview, July 2005).

A local journalist who experienced conflict in Poso and is now working as a correspondent for Trans TV, stated that as a *MAL* journalist, he and his colleagues always went to the area of conflict. He met the victims. He interviewed the perpetrators, the refugees, and other people who knew the conflict well. As he pointed out, “I do not want to have second hand sources who did not know about what is going on in Poso. We did not depend on telephone interviews, but we have to make sure that the sources were in Poso when the conflict happened” (interview July 2005).

4.2.3 Kompas

Historical background

Kompas was founded in 1965 by Ojong and Jakob Oetama. According to Hill (1994, p. 83), “*Kompas* was established by a number of Chinese and Javanese Catholic journalists in an attempt to voice Catholic interest.” Hill and Sen added, “*Kompas* started its publication with a 5,000 daily circulation (Sen and Hill, 2000, p.57). Yani (2002) explained that “In 1995, *Kompas* was the largest quality newspapers in Southeast Asia with around half million in daily circulation. Currently, *Kompas* has approximately 550,000 readers and is the largest national newspaper in Indonesia (www.kompas.or.id).

Kompas was known in media circles in Jakarta for playing it safe by avoiding criticism or direct confrontation with New Order leaders (Yani, 2002, p.10-11). It has a variety of features such as “news, science and technology, art and culture, lifestyle,

fashion, advice and so forth which were carefully edited before coming to print” (Yani, 2002, p.12).

UNSFIR reported that: “Not all newspapers may be trustworthy in such countries, but typically, countries with a free press also tend to have a newspaper or two, which can be called journal of record” (2004, p.10). William Liddle (1999, p. 25), a leading contemporary scholar of Indonesian politics states that for Indonesia, “[I]t is sometimes argued that *Kompas* is the journal of record.” It is the source to which scholars, economists, politicians, and other concerned citizens go to learn in depth, about events and crisis in the country and internationally. It is also the forum thinking people choose to write to express their views. In addition, Sen and Hill stated that, “*Kompas* earned a reputation for analytical depth and polished style” (2000. p.57). Sen and Hill also quoted Ben Anderson that “*Kompas* was the New Order newspaper par excellence (Sen and Hill, 2000, p.57).

Editorial Policy in *Kompas*

I did not have the opportunity to meet the editor of *Kompas*. I had a chance to talk to Alam, a journalist who also went to Poso during the conflict. Alam explained his experiences of the editorial policy in *Kompas*:

So far, my reports were not edited at all. This is because many friends of mine and I got peace journalism training. We had a guideline in our mind. For instance, in reporting conflict news we should not enlarge the problem and we should avoid using provocative language. On the contrary we should help to resolve the conflict by interviewing the religious leaders and government officials who would send peaceful messages. Then, because of the limitation of the space, sometime the editor cut some of the reporting, but the editor still keeps the substantial content of the news. (Interview, July 2005).

As stated by Alam, *Kompas*, as a national newspaper, was careful in portraying conflict news. Using peace journalism skills, *Kompas* journalists avoided provocative language and sent more messages that are peaceful.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1 Description of the Themes or Categories Found in the Newspapers'

Coverage

Based on 403 articles covering conflict in Poso from three newspapers, the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas*, I established categories; headlines, page number, length of the stories (by inches), sources, roots of Poso conflict, themes of Poso conflict and topics of the articles.

In relation to the framing study, four categories will be described. These are: headlines, roots of the Poso conflict, themes of the conflict, and topics of the articles.

a. Headlines

In the headline, I examined whether the headlines of the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas* were provocative, neutral or peaceful. The coding was based on the language used by each newspaper. According to the coding criteria, a “provocative” headline employs aggressive words that may cause emotion, hatred, and other negative expressions. Some examples of aggressive words are: “torture” (*penyiksaan*), “barbaric” (*biadab*), “stab” (*penghianatan*), “bloody” (*berdarah darah*), “wreak” (*membalas dendam*), and “attack” (*menyerang*).

The “neutral” headline does not contain any aggressive words but also does not contain peaceful messages. The “peaceful” headline contains peaceful or non-violent messages and holds out hope for a better situation. Examples include “peace agreement”,

“no religion allows people to kill civilians,” “help from NGOs and people,” and “Muslims help Christians.”

The descriptive statistics of the headlines are:

Table 2. Number and Percentage of Headlines in Newspapers

		Headlines			Total
		Provocative	Neutral	Peaceful	
Newspapers	<i>Manado Post</i>	5 6.7%	46 61.3%	24 32%	75 100%
	<i>MAL</i>	125 62.8%	62 31.2%	12 6%	199 100%
	<i>Kompas</i>	6 4.7%	89 69%	34 26.4%	129 100%
Total		136 33.7%	197 48.9%	70 17.4%	403 100%

Table 2 shows the percentage of types of headlines for each newspaper. Most of the stories in *The Manado Post* had neutral headlines (61.3%); 32 % were peaceful headlines and a small number (6.7%) were provocative. Most of the stories in *MAL* had provocative headlines (62.8 %). The percentage of neutral and peaceful headlines in *MAL* was 31.2% and 6% respectively. *Kompas* had mostly neutral headlines (69%) with 26.4% peaceful headlines and 4.7% provocative headlines.

Table 2 shows that *Kompas* and the *Manado Post* mostly reported the Poso conflict with neutral headlines. On the contrary, *MAL*, which is located in a conflict city, used mostly provocative language.

An explanation of why local media such as *MAL* tend to use provocative language came from Tahmidi Lasahido, a conflict expert from Palu:

Local media in a conflict area such as local media in Palu or Poso tend to be provocative compared to national media. In addition, local media also have biased reporting. As you can see from the local news coverage on conflict in 2000 or 2001, the headlines, the language and the images were aggressive and caused hatred. For example Christians are barbarians, mass killing toward Muslim. I said to the local journalists that the local media have spread out the conflict. People got mad while reading the provocative news using aggressive language. The reason that local media tend to be provocative is that the journalists did not have any skills in peace reporting. They thought that the best way to report the conflict is to report the news as it is. Thus, the journalists did not consider the effect of their reporting. After having peace journalism in 2001, there was a change in reporting the conflict in the local media in Poso and Palu. (Interview, July 2005).

Arianto Sangadji, an NGO activist, shared Lasahido's view that the local media in a conflict ridden city like Poso tend to be provocative, but that this changed after local journalists had an opportunity to learn the skills of peace reporting in training held by the British Council. Yahya, an editor at *MAL*, explained that "the psychology of the journalists also affected how they reported the conflict news. During the conflict, the journalists saw their families, friends and many people becomes victim. It was really a hard situation for them. Thus, some of the conflict news used aggressive words as an expression of their feelings" (Interview, May 2006).

b. Roots of conflict

As noted in the code book, the roots of conflict are: individual fighting, attacks by people from different religions, alcohol, immigration policy, local politics such as elections, provocateurs, gossip or rumor, fighting between villages, revenge, Christian and Muslim extremist group attack. The explanations are noted in the code book.

Figure 3 provides a comparison between the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas* regarding to the roots of conflict:

Figure 3. Root of Conflicts

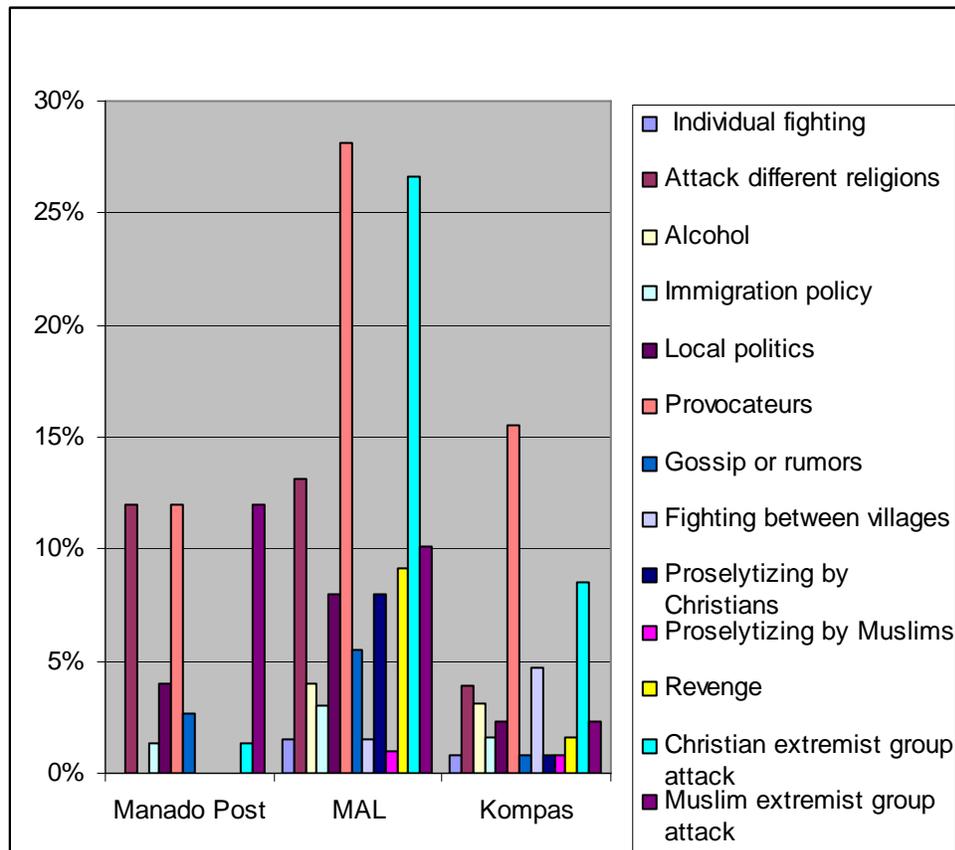


Figure 3 shows that for each newspaper provocateurs were identified as the most common cause of conflict. The *Manado Post* had 12%, *MAL* 28.10% and *Kompas* 15.50%. Conflict experts, researchers, and journalists such as Aragon, Lasahido, Gbua, Michael Mamentu, and Alam also pointed out that provocateurs played a role in spreading the conflict and making it worse. Some of the provocateurs were put in jail.

Other significant roots of the conflicts were Christian extremist group attacks (26% of *MAL* coverage and 8.50% of *Kompas* coverage), attacks among people from different

religions (13.10% of the *MAL* and 12% of the *Manado Post*), revenge (9.10% of *MAL* coverage), and local politics (8% of *MAL* coverage and 4% of *Manado Post* coverage).

c. Themes of the Poso conflict

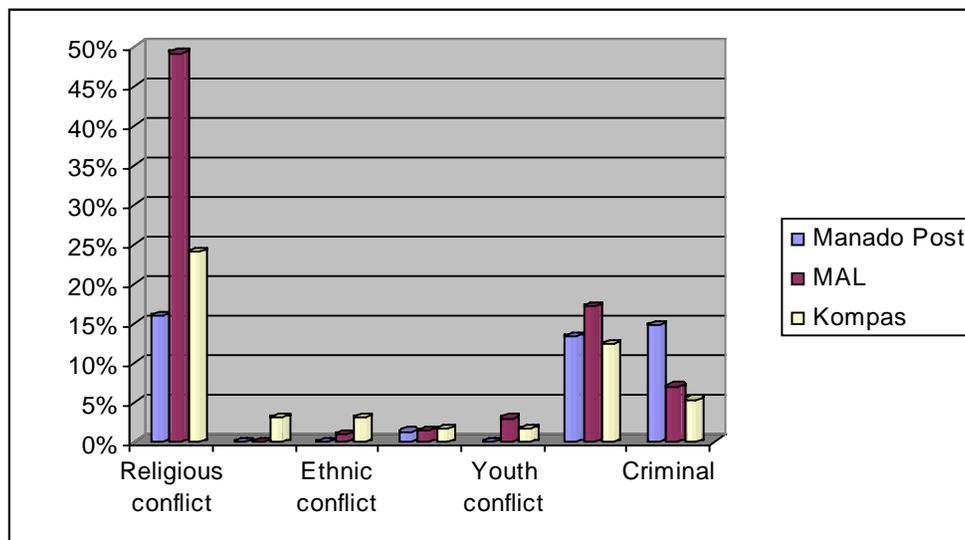
This category refers to the identification of the conflict according to news sources. The themes are divided into: religious conflict, economic conflict, ethnic conflict, individual conflict, youth conflict, political conflict, and criminal activity.

Table 3 and figure 4 describe themes of conflict coverage:

Table 3. Themes of Conflict

	<i>Manado Post</i>	<i>MAL</i>	<i>Kompas</i>
Religious conflict	16%	49.20%	24%
Economic conflict	0%	0%	3.10%
Ethnic conflict	0%	1%	3.10%
Individual conflict	1.30%	1.50%	1.60%
Youth conflict	0%	3%	1.60%
Political conflict	13.30%	17.10%	12.40%
Criminal	14.70%	7%	5.40%
Total	33.3%	78.8%	51.2%

Figure 4. Themes of Conflict



It is clearly shown in Table 3 and Figure 5 that religious conflict was the most common theme in the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas*. The percentage was 16% for the *Manado Post*, 49.20% for *MAL*, and 24% for *Kompas*. Other relevant themes are: political conflict (13.30% in the *Manado Post*, 17.10% in *MAL*, and 12.40% in *Kompas*), and criminal activity (14.70 % in the *Manado Post*, 7% in *MAL*, and 5.40% in *Kompas*).

d. Topics in the Stories

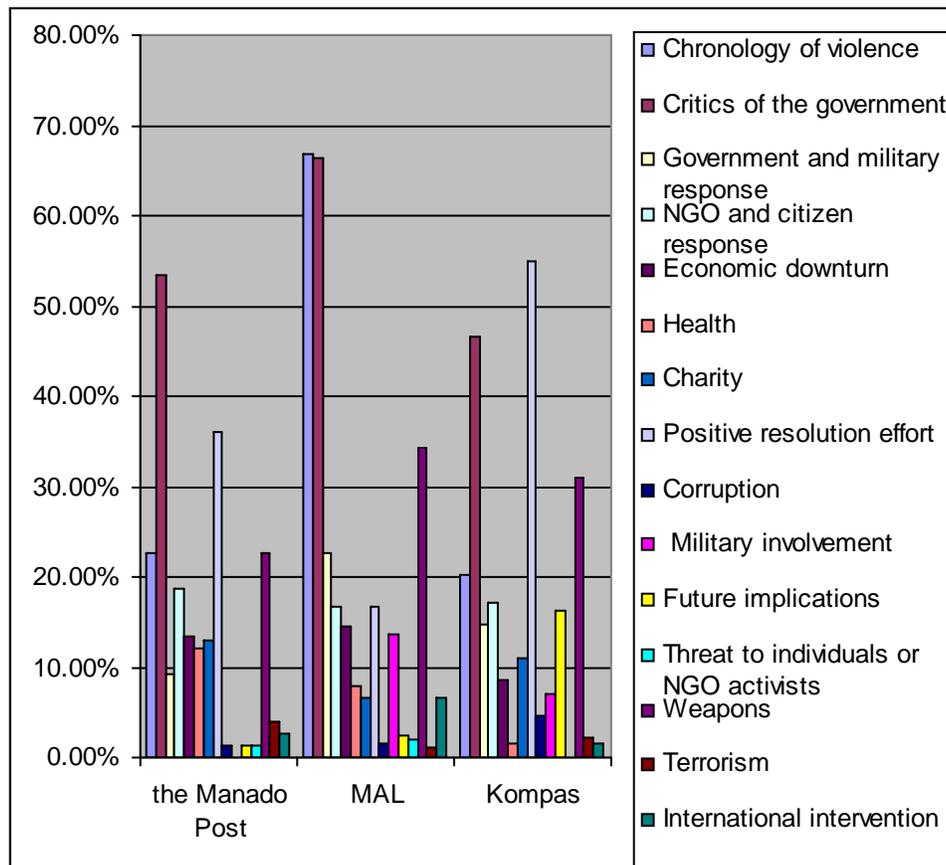
Sixteen different story topics were identified. Each story can have one, two or more topics. The topics are:

- Chronology of violence or conflict victim/refugee/evacuation
- Victim/refugee/evacuation
- Critics of the government (government inaction) including Indonesian military
- Government's response and military response
- NGO and citizen response

- Economic downturn, including poverty
- Health
- Charity
- Positive resolution effort
- Corruption
- Military involvement
- Future implications
- Threat to individuals or NGO activists
- Weapons
- Terrorism
- International intervention

Figure 5 describes the percentage of the topics in the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas*.

Figure 5. Topics of the Articles



5.2 Analysis of Framing of the Manado Post, MAL and Kompas Coverage of Poso Conflict from 1998 to 2003

This will be based on the research questions and will answer the hypothesis. The data analyses used are: Chi-square (χ^2) and Contingency Coefficient (C) for quantitative data, and qualitative interviewing data for qualitative data. Research questions 1, 2, and 3 based on quantitative data and research question number 4 on qualitative.

The research questions are:

1. How did the *Manado Post*, *MAL* (Poso), and *Kompas* frame conflict in Poso, Indonesia from 1998 to 2003?
2. How did the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas* use local and national sources in conflict reporting?
3. Which themes of conflict are most frequently addressed?
4. What do the sources (interviewees) believe about the effects of the *Manado Post*, *MAL* and *Kompas* in framing conflict news in Poso?

The following hypotheses guide this analysis:

1. There are differences and similarities between the *Manado Post*, *MAL*, and *Kompas* in framing conflict in reporting conflict news:
 1. a *MAL* covered less Christian sources than Muslim sources, compared to *Kompas* or the *Manado Post*.
 1. b *MAL* has more provocative headlines compared to the *Manado Post* or *Kompas*.
 1. c The national newspaper, *Kompas*, has more stories on the theme of “positive resolution efforts” than the two local newspapers, *MAL* and the *Manado Post*.
2. *MAL* and *Manado Post* have more local sources, while *Kompas* has more national sources.

3. The “religious conflict” theme appears more frequently in *MAL* than in *Kompas* and the *Manado Post*.

To test hypotheses number 1 through 3, I used Chi-square (χ^2) calculation and Contingency Coefficient (C). The Chi-square model used is from Bruning E.Kurtz. Each formula described below:

The formula of the Chi-square is:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

The Formula of Contingency Coefficient (C) is:

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}}$$

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1a aims to test the null hypothesis that *MAL* cover fewer Christian sources than Muslim sources, compared to *Kompas* or the *Manado Post*. Therefore, I compared *MAL* with *Kompas* and *MAL* with the *Manado Post*. Table 4 provides the data for the hypothesis 1a:

Table 4. Chi-square Table for Hypothesis 1a

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>Kompas</i>
Christians	A 37	B 24
Muslims	C 60	D 17

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>MP</i>
Christians	A 37	B 12
Muslims	C 60	D 7

The chi-square (χ^2) in hypothesis 1a for comparison of *MAL* and *Kompas* is 4.859 and 4.074 for *MAL* and the *Manado Post*. Both are significant at $p < 0.5$. Therefore we can reject the null hypothesis. The contingency coefficient (C) is 0.034 (*MAL* and *Kompas*) and 0.184 (*MAL* and the *Manado Post*). These value numbers tell us that that there is correlation, but the correlation is a weak one because the strongest relation is 1.

Hypothesis 1b is to test the null hypothesis that *MAL* did not have more provocative headlines than the *Manado Post* or *Kompas*. The Chi-square table is described below:

Table 5. Chi-square Table for Hypothesis 1b

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>Kompas</i>		<i>MAL</i>	<i>MP</i>
Provocative	A 125	B 6	Provocative	A 125	B 5
Non Provocative	C 74	D 123	Non Provocative	C 74	D 70

The Chi-square (χ^2) is 110.375 (*MAL* and *Kompas*) and 68.868 for *MAL* and the *Manado Post*. Both are significant at $p < 0.5$. This means that we can reject the null hypothesis. The contingency coefficient (C) is 0.5 (*MAL* and *Kompas*) and 0.447 (*MAL* and the *Manado Post*). These value numbers showed that correlation is moderately strong.

Hypothesis 1c is to test the null hypothesis that the national newspaper, *Kompas*, did not have more stories on the theme of “positive resolution efforts” than two local newspapers, *MAL* and the *Manado Post*. The Chi-square table is described below:

Table 6. Chi-square Table for Hypothesis 1c

	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>MAL</i>		<i>Kompas</i>	<i>MP</i>
Topic Non 9	A 319	B 542	Topic Non 9	A 319	B 168
Topic 9	C 71	D 33	Topic 9	C 71	D 27

The Chi-square (χ^2) is 4.86 (*Kompas-MAL*) and 1.77 (*Kompas - the Manado Post*). Therefore we can reject the null hypothesis for *Kompas* and *MAL* because the difference is significant at $p < 0.5$. We cannot reject the null hypothesis for *Kompas* and the *Manado Post* because it is not significant at $p > 0.5$. The contingency coefficient (C) is 0.184 (*Kompas-MAL*). These numbers indicate that there is correlation, but the correlation is weak.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 is to test the null hypothesis that *MAL* and *Manado Post* did not have more local sources, while *Kompas* did not have more national sources. The Chi-square table described below:

Table 7. Chi-square Table for Hypothesis 2

	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>MAL</i>		<i>Kompas</i>	<i>MP</i>
Local	A 95	B 201	Local	A 95	B 44
National	C 59	D 44	National	C 59	D 32

The Chi-square (χ^2) found is 20.453 (*Kompas-MAL*) and 0.036 for *Kompas- the Manado Post*. This means that there is a significant difference at $p < 0.5$ between *Kompas* and *MAL*. Thus, we can reject the null hypothesis and we cannot reject the null hypothesis for *Kompas-the Manado Post* because it is not significant, $p > 0.5$. The contingency coefficient (C) is 0.238. These value numbers tell us that that there is correlation, but the correlation is weak.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 is to test the null hypothesis that the “religious conflict” theme did not appear more frequently in *MAL* than in *Kompas* or the *Manado Post*. The Chi-square table is described below:

Table 8. Chi-square Table for Hypothesis 3

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>Kompas</i>		<i>MAL</i>	<i>MP</i>
Religious	A 98	B 31	Religious	A 98	B 12
Non-Religious	C 59	D 35	Non-Religious	C 59	D 22

The Chi-square (χ^2) is $x^2= 4.549$ (*MAL* and *Kompas*) and $x^2= 8.420$ for *MAL* and the *Manado Post*. Both are significant at $p < 0.05$. Thus, we can reject the null hypothesis. The Contingency coefficient (C) is 0.141 (*MAL* and *Kompas*) and 0.260 (*MAL* and the *Manado Post*). These value numbers indicate that there is correlation, but it is weak.

In addition, research question number 4 does not have a hypothesis because it used qualitative interviewing data. Research question number 4 asked what the sources (interviewees) believed about the effects of the *Manado Post*, *MAL* and *Kompas* in framing conflict news in Poso. To answer this question, I compared the interviewees' views on the effect of framing conflict news in the *Manado Post*, *MAL* and *Kompas*.

Tahmidi Lasahido who teaches at Tadulako University Palu and *the* author of "*Suara dari Poso*" (The Voice from Poso) pointed out that local media reporting on conflict has affected people in a conflict area. He gave as an example that "[P]eople get mad when they read the news that was provocative, judged Muslims or Christians as the doer or the suspected. People who already read the newspapers then gave it or made more copies for others. In the beginning of the conflict, media seemed not to be an informational media, but a tool of provocation." (Interview, July 2005).

An Islamic leader from Poso, stated that he was not happy with the conflict reporting by local newspapers and TV journalists. Journalists were still biased in their reporting and sometimes their reporting made conflict worse. For example, they reported that A was the person who in charge at the mass killing in 2000. But that was not true. Also, journalists often reported this violence done by Muslims or that violence done by Christians. Their statement made people think that the Poso conflict was a religious one (interview, July 2005).

In Manado, the local media did not provoke Muslims or Christians, though Michael Mamentu explained that Manado media gave the Poso conflict much attention. The problem was the objectivity of the media itself. Some local media were provocative, but the *Manado Post* had more balanced reporting. If the reporting was biased, it would

create a problem for people in Manado, but fortunately, people in Manado realized that they all wanted to keep the city peaceful. Many religious leaders were encouraged by the *Manado Post* to give their views on conflict resolution in the newspaper (interview, July 2005).

Alam, a *Kompas* journalist who went to Poso, said that *Kompas* was more careful in reporting the conflict. He explained, “It was December 27 when I wrote conflict news in Poso. Surprisingly *Kompas* did not publish it, until two or three days later. The reason for the delay was that *Kompas* did not want to get the image of provoking people because of the conflict news. Thus, *Kompas* wanted to avoid this negative image and wait until other media reported the conflict. I was disappointed by my chief editor’s policy that *Kompas* did not want to publish the news right away. In fact, I was in Poso when the conflict happened and therefore I got the main source” (interview, July 2005). From his explanation, it is clear that *Kompas* was watchful in reporting conflict. But probably *Kompas* should not delay its reporting; if it is regarded as a journal of record, it should report the news immediately.

The last significant view was from a local government official. He pointed out that media can play two roles in the conflict area; to solve the conflict, or spread the conflict and make it worse. He stated that “The journalist should pay attention to the professionalism of reporting, the ethics of journalism. Many people asked me to tell the journalists not to dramatize the conflict news. People were disappointed in the local media reporting, both newspapers and TV” (interview, July 2005).

According to the interviewees, the framing of conflict news affected people in a conflict area because of the provocative language and the images. Also, as one of the

interviewees mentioned, it seemed that the local media dramatized the conflict news. In my opinion, it must be difficult for journalists who experienced the conflict, who lost their families and property during the conflict, to present neutral or balanced coverage. But framing news in a way that provokes people in a conflict area caused problems for even more people.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1 Conclusion

I want to highlight some points as the findings of this study. First, the findings answered the first research question of whether there are differences and similarities between how *MAL* framed the conflict news, compared to the *Manado Post* and *Kompas*. The study showed that compared to the *Manado Post* and *Kompas*, *MAL* gave less space to Christian sources than Muslim sources. Based on an interview, a local journalist in Poso explained that during the conflict it was difficult to get access to Christians sources compared to Muslim sources. Thus, there were more Muslim sources in *MAL*. Another comparison is that *MAL* used more provocative language than the *Manado Post* and *Kompas*. The description statistic also showed that most (62.8 %), of the stories in *MAL* during the conflict had provocative headlines, while most stories in the *Manado Post* and *Kompas* had neutral headlines 61.3% and 69% respectively). It is also important to mention that *Kompas*, as a national newspaper, had more stories on “positive resolution efforts” compared to *MAL*. There was no significant difference between *Kompas* and the *Manado Post* in covering “the positive resolution efforts” theme. In the descriptive statistic, the percentage of positive resolution effort themes are: 55% (*Kompas*), 36% (the *Manado Post*) and 16.60% (*MAL*).

Second, the findings answer the second research question of whether *Kompas* had more national sources, while *MAL* had more local sources because *Kompas* is based in Jakarta and it has more access to national sources, while *MAL*, is located in the conflict area and had more chance of interviewing local people. On one side, *MAL* was better in

providing information from first-hand sources. It interviewed the refugees, the suspects, perpetrators, and other people who were involved in or experienced the conflict.

Therefore, *MAL* had longer stories than *Kompas* and the *Manado Post*. The problem is probably that the language used was provocative or aggressive, even though this changed after the peace journalism training held by the British Council. For comparison, *Kompas* and the *Manado Post*, showed no significant difference with the local and national sources. Based on the interview with Dino Gobels, the founder of the *Manado Post* online, the *Manado Post* relied on other journalists in Palu in reporting conflict news; and only when the conflict got worse did the *Manado Post* send journalists to Poso.

Third, the findings provide the answer to the third research question regarding which themes of conflict appear most frequently in the three newspapers. Statistically, there is a significant difference: *MAL* had more religious themes compared to *Kompas* and the *Manado Post*. Some local people believed that the Poso conflict was a religious one after the mass killing in 2000 in Poso and after some mysterious killings toward the Christian leaders and some religious buildings were burned. In addition, extremist groups, both Muslims and Christians, were involved in the violence. Different views were given by many people I interviewed. Many of them agreed that the Poso conflict was not a religious conflict. It was an accumulation of political, criminal and religious tension. The provocateurs used mosques and churches to give the impression that it was a religious conflict.

Fourth, according to the interviewees: local government officials, conflict experts educators, religious leaders, and journalists, indicated that how the newspapers portrayal of the conflict (framing) may affected the people in Poso. The local newspapers, which

reported in an aggressive way, caused hatred among people. The judgmental reporting of “Christians” and “Muslims” as persons involved in the conflict has separated the two communities and created a feeling of distrust among people from different religious backgrounds.

Another important finding was about the root of the Poso conflict. The most significant root of the Poso conflict identified by the *Manado Post*, *MAL* and *Kompas* was provocateurs. This means that the provocateurs were involved in spreading rumors and made the conflict worse. If the government, police and Indonesian military had been able to stop the provocateurs, the trouble would not have worsened. But because the local government was weak and could not stop the violence the conflict continued into phase five.

To sum up, the framing of news can be one of the factors that can both help to reduce the conflict or spread the conflict. The framing in the *Manado Post* could have been one of the factors that kept the community peaceful. Another significant factor was the efforts of religious leaders who are respected by people in Manado. On the other hand, the provocative framing of conflict news in Poso could be one of the factors in spreading the conflict. It is also important to recognize that peace journalism has improved the way that journalists and editors reported conflict news. For example *Kompas* journalists who had peace journalism training used more peaceful messages to help reduce the conflict. It can also be argued that after local journalists in Poso had peace journalism training, there was a significant change in the way they reported the conflict.

6.2 Recommendation

Based on the findings, the journalists and editors played a significant role in framing conflict news. Peace reporting skills are a must, especially for journalists who report conflict news. Moreover, it is also important to have “a Peace Reporting Center” that will help local journalists improve news conflict reporting, and avoid reporting bias. Most importantly, is having the Center as an independent forum for both Muslim and Christian journalists, where they can build dialogue and consult about problems on peace reporting. I believe that if local journalists are provided with peace journalism training and have a center for peace reporting, their reporting will improve because they have local sources, skills, and the opportunity to share their news to others at the Center for peace reporting.

Learning from past experience, the government also should pay more attention to Poso. Building peace is not an easy task. The government has established peace agreements, but many times these have failed. Building peace awareness should begin with the people themselves. NGOs and religious, as well as local leaders, can contribute their best for a peaceful Poso. The government, police and military should be aware that the conflict in Poso has resulted in approximately 2,500 deaths, and a great loss of property. Many people were traumatized by the violence. Thus, there should be an extra effort to keep Poso as a peaceful city or at least to prevent future conflict.

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Appendix A. Code Books

A. Number assigned:

B. Date: - Month/date/year for *the Manado Post* and *Kompas* daily

Newspapers

- Week/month/year for MAL weekly newspaper

C. Newspaper:

1. *The Manado Post*

2. *MAL*

3. *Kompas*

D. Headline

1. Provocative: A “provocative” headline employs aggressive words that may cause emotion, hatred, and other negative expressions. Some examples of aggressive words are: “torture” (*penyiksaan*), “barbaric” (*biadab*), “stab” (*penghianatan*), “bloody” (*berdarah darah*), “wreak” (*membalas dendam*), and “attack” (*menyerang*).
2. Neutral: The “neutral” headline does not contain any aggressive words but also does not contain peaceful messages.
3. The “peaceful” headline contains peaceful or non-violent messages and holds out hope for a better situation. Examples include “peace agreement”, “no religion allows people to kill civilians,” “help from NGOs and people,” and “Muslims help Christians.”

E. Page Number (Based on the location of the articles, defined by page number. *The Manado Post* and *Kompas* has 32 pages, and *MAL* has 16 pages)

1. Front page
2. Non-front page

F. Length of the stories (by inches)

G. Sources

1. Indonesian National government official: These people work at the national level or work for the president. This includes the president, vice president, minister, and so forth
2. Provincial government official: People who works at the Provincial level. In this case the province is Central Sulawesi. This will include the Central Sulawesi government officials, province's police department, the Province legislative members and other people who work as government official.
3. Local government official and local police: These are people who work as local government officials or at the "*kabupaten*" level and the lower level such as "*kecamatan*" and "*kelurahan*."
4. Indonesian Military official: All people who are affiliated with the Indonesian military
5. Citizen: Indonesian citizens who are not affected by conflict
6. Victim: People who are affected by conflict
7. Witness: people who see the violence with their eyes
8. Suspect: people who suspected of involvement in the conflict or violence

9. Perpetrator: Person who commits violence, kills people, attacks people, burns buildings and houses, and so forth.
10. NGO and Youth activist: Member of NGO and youth organizations
11. Conflict expert: People who have knowledge and experience in conflict resolution
12. Christian leader
13. Muslim Leader (Ulama, Islamic Scholars, and so forth)
14. Education official: People who work as educators at a University
15. Foreign sources such as foreign government officials, foreign journalists, and foreign religious officials
16. Anonymous source: people who do not want their name to be written in the newspaper
17. Other: People who are not included in the sources categories
18. No Mention: There is not any source in the articles.

H. Roots of Conflict:

1. Individual fighting: fighting among individuals - a conflict that results from personal reason.
2. Attacks among people from different religions: This category describes Christians and Muslims who are fighting
3. Alcohol: This refers to people who are drunk and do violence, such as attacking other people.

4. Immigration policy: There are many people who migrate to Poso, and this category explains the conflict between the immigrants and the people who are originally from Poso. The conflict can happen because of land and economic problems.
5. Local politics, such as power sharing and elections. For example conflict between Christian and Muslim political elites.
6. Provocateurs: People who provoke others, giving them the wrong information and trying to make Christians and Muslims attack each other
7. Gossip or rumor: The wrong information that people hear and which causes hatred and leads to conflict.
8. Fighting between villages: Fighting between people from two or more villages, but not affiliated with religion.
9. Proselytizing by Christians: An effort of Christians to convert people from other religions to be Christians.
10. Proselytizing by Muslims: Muslims who want other people from different religions to convert to Islam
11. Revenge: The conflict happened as a result of a previous conflict
12. Christian extremist group attack. This refers to any kind of groups who do mass killings, burn buildings, torture people etc. This group is organized, has religious affiliation, and has weapons. For example: *pasukan merah* (red troop), *pasukan ninja*, *pasukan kelelewar* (bat troop), *pasukan kupu kupu* (butterfly troop)

13. Muslim extremist group attack : Refers to the involvement of *lasykar Jihad* in conflict Poso

14. Other : Root of conflict not mentioned in this category

15. N/A: The article did not provide the root of the conflict

I. Theme of Poso conflict: The identification of the conflict according to the news sources

1. Religious conflict: Identification of two religions (Muslims and Christians) that are involved in the conflict. For instance Muslims attacked people in Christian villages, Christians burned mosques and Islamic boarding school, and so forth.
2. Economic conflict: Identification based on the economic situation. For example the economic gap between immigrants and the people who are originally from Poso.
3. Ethnic conflict: Conflict among different ethnic groups in Poso, it could be conflict between the original ethnic group in Poso and the immigrants who settled in Poso.
4. Individual conflict: The conflict between two people or among a limited number of people with no connection with their religious or ethnic background. Mostly because of personal reasons.
5. Youth conflict: Conflict between young people with no connection to religion.
6. Political conflict: Conflict among politicians, political parties and their members.

7. Criminal: Violence done by a person or people with connection to religion; sometime involving a gun and other weapons.
8. N/A: The sources do not mention the theme of conflict.

J. Topic of the Article:

1. Chronology of violence or conflict: Explains how the conflict or violence happened, from the beginning until the end.
2. Victim/refugee/evacuation: This includes number of people dead, and injured, and property destroyed.
3. Critics of the government (government inaction) including Indonesian Military: Any action that criticizes the government policy regarding the Poso conflict. For instance, how the government resolves the conflict, why the government did not punish the provocateurs and other doers, why many conflict were not yet resolved.
4. Government's response and military response: Any effort that has been made by the government (national, provincial and local), the police and the military in order to help the victims or refugees. For example to save them from the conflict or violence. Also, their effort in finding the provocateur, the doer, the suspected, and taking weapons or guns from people who are not allowed to have them.
5. NGO and citizen response: Any effort that has been made by NGO and citizens to help the refugees in health, economic, and psychological treatment.

6. Economic downturn, including poverty: Explains the economic condition of the victim and refugee, for instance the refugee may have little food, not enough clean water. Also, some refugees have to go the forest and live for several days without food.
7. Health: Provides an explanation of the health of the refugee. For example when they get injured or sick. This is also including the traumatic feeling that the victims have because they experienced conflict for about 4 years.
8. Charity: Any help from people, including international help.
9. Positive Resolution Effort, for example: religious tolerance, peace talk, and conflict resolution.
10. Corruption: Explanation on any kind of charity (money, food and so forth) that has been corrupted by governments or others.
11. Military involvement: Explains the support of the military to keep the conflict going. For example the military may be selling or giving the weapons to civilians or extremist groups. Another example could be a mysterious killing using firearms that only the military has.
12. Future implications: An analysis by conflict experts, educators, and other news sources of what should be done in order to stop conflict and not have conflict in the future
13. Threat to individual or NGOs' activist
14. Weapon: The use of guns, ammunition, and bombs

15. Terrorism: describes any action that is related to terrorism. The key word will be “this is terrorism” or explicitly the sources gave their views on the relation between conflict Poso and terrorism
16. International intervention
17. Other

Appendix B. Interview Guide (English)

The questions addressed to journalists and editors in the *Manado Post*, MAL, and *Kompas*

1. When the Poso conflict happened, did you have any priority sources (the first people that you contacted) that you wanted to interview? And why?
2. Did you interview all sources in the same amount of time or do you have a preference to have interview with one or more particular sources longer? And why?
3. What sources did you trust more in sending their messages?
4. How much prominence did you give to the conflict news when violence erupted in Poso?
5. Did Kompas report the Poso conflict news the same as the provincial newspapers in terms of tone and the length of articles?
6. Did your newspaper have any particular way to help people in Poso in conflict resolution?
7. What is Kompas' role as the national daily newspaper in conflict resolution?

The questions addressed to sources (religious leaders, government officials, and the conflict experts)

1. When the Poso conflict happened, were you contacted by the newspaper or did you contact the newspaper?

2. How did you describe the Poso conflict to the readers?
3. What is the root of the Poso conflict?
4. Were you quoted? If so, were your views correctly represented by the newspaper?
5. How did you respond towards conflict Poso? Did you identify the conflict as the local or national conflict?
6. Did you identify the Poso conflict as a religious conflict or another kind of conflict?
7. Did you give suggestions on how people should take action when the Poso conflict happened?

Appendix C. Interview Guide (Bahasa Indonesia)

Pertanyaan untuk wartawan, redaktur, dan editor

1. Ketika konflik Poso terjadi, apakah koran anda punya prioritas sumber atau orang pertama yang Bapak hubungi? Mengapa?
2. Apakah anda memberikan setiap orang yang anda wawancarai waktu yang sama atau ada yang anda berikan waktu yang lebih? Mengapa ?
3. Siapa yang lebih bapak percayai untuk memberikan pendapatnya di koran anda? Mengapa?
4. Seberapa banyak tempat (halaman, rubric, space headline, jumlah berita) yang anda berikan untuk liputan konflik Poso ?
5. Apakah anda mengontak sumber berita (sources) atau mereka yang mengontak koran anda? Berapa percentage nya?
6. Apakah koran anda memberikan kebebasan kepada sumber berita untuk mengungkapkan pendapatnya atau tidak ? mengapa ?
7. Bagaimana koran anda memberitakan konflik Poso? Apakah ada teknik tersendiri yang membedakan dengan koran yang lain?
8. Untuk koran Manado Post: Saya membaca ada kolom *teropong* di Manado Post? Apakah ada misi khusus dengan di adakannya kolom *teropong*? Bagaimana Bapak menentukan wartawan/redaktur yang bertanggungjawab pada kolom ini?
9. Untuk koran Manado Post: Bagaimana tanggapan masyarakat dengan adanya kolom *teropong*?
10. Apakah koran anda punya cara khusus untuk *membantu* penyelesaian konflik Poso?
11. Untuk Manado Post: Apakah ada usaha khusus dari koran anda untuk menjaga agar konflik Poso tidak berdampak ke Manado?
12. Apakah Bapak melihat ada effect atau tanggapan (positive dan negative) dari masyarakat atas pemberitaan konflik Poso di koran anda?

13. Apakah ada kendala kendala yang anda hadapai dalam memberitakan berita berita konflik?
14. Ada hal lain yang ingin anda tambahkan? Terutama bagaimana koran anda berperan menjaga perdamaian?

Pertanyaan Untuk Pimpinan dan Editor

1. Bagaimana sejarah berdirinya koran anda?
2. Bagaimana *struktur* keorganisasian nya?
3. Bagaimana proses pemberitaan berita di koran anda? Siapa yang punya hak untuk menentukan isi berita? (perencanaan pemberitaan dan sistem evaluasinya)
4. Berapa oplah koran anda?
5. Siapa yang mendanai koran anda? (perusahaan pers-nya)
6. Berapa jumlah wartawan? (jumlah redaktornya?)
7. Bagaimana posisi koran anda di banding Koran local lainnya?
8. Apakah koran anda punya link ke nasional sources atau organisasi lain?
9. Penghargaan apa yang sudah diperoleh koran anda?
10. Apakah koran anda memiliki Litbang, dan bagaimana perannya dalam manajemen news?
11. Ada hal lain yang ingin anda sampaikan?

Pertanyaan untuk tokoh agama, polda, dan ahli konflik:

1. Ketika konflik terjadi, apakah anda dihubungi oleh pihak koran atau anda menghubungi mereka?
2. Bagaimana anda menghubungi atau dihubungi? Telphon ? fax? Email? Face to face communication ?
3. Bagaimana anda/Bapak *menggambarkan* konflik Poso kepada para pembaca?
4. Ketika anda di wawancarai atau ketika anda memberikan pendapat anda kepada pihak koran, apakah pendapat anda dimuat seperti yang anda inginkan?

5. Bagaimana anda merespon konflik poso? Apakah konflik poso ini termasuk konflik local atau nasional?
6. Menurut pendapat Anda/Bapak Apakah yang sebenarnya menjadi penyebab atau akar konflik di Poso?
7. Menurut pandangan Bapak, apakah konflik Poso ini ada kaitannya dengan konflik yang terjadi di daerah lain, misalnya Ambon?
8. Apakah anda menggolongkan konflik poso ini sebagai konflik antar agama atau ethnic atau termasuk jenis konflik lain, konflik politik local misalnya?
9. Apakah anda selalu memberikan saran kepada pembaca Manado Post dalam menyikapi konflik Poso?
10. Apakah Anda/Bapak pernah memberi saran/pendapat kepada Manado Post menyangkut pemberitaan2 konflik ?

Appendix D. Chi-square Calculation

Sources (*MAL-Kompas*)

Hypothesis 1a

Chi-square (x^2)

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>Kompas</i>
Christians	A 37	B 24
Muslims	C 60	D 17

$$x^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$x^2 = \frac{138(629-1440)^2}{(61)(77)(97)(41)}$$

$$x^2 = \frac{90765498}{18679969}$$

$$x^2 = 4.859$$

df = 1 . Critical Value= 3.841 at $\alpha=0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned} \phi &= \sqrt{\frac{x^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{4.859}{138}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.035} \\ &= 0.187 \end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned} C &= \sqrt{\frac{x^2}{N + x^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{4.859}{138 + 4.859}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.034} \end{aligned}$$

**Sources MAL – *the Manado Post* (MP)
Chi-square (χ^2)**

Hypothesis 1a

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>MP</i>
Christians	A 37	B 12
Muslims	C 60	D 7

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{116(259-720)^2}{(49)(67)(97)(19)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{24652436}{6050569}$$

$$\chi^2 = 4.074$$

df = 1 . Critical Value= 3.841 at $\alpha=0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned}\phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{4.074}{116}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.035} \\ &= 0.187\end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned}C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{4.074}{116 + 4.074}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.033} \\ &= 0.184\end{aligned}$$

Headlines (MAL-Kompas)
Chi-square (χ^2)

Hypothesis 1b

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>Kompas</i>
Provocative	A 125	B 6
Non Provocative	C 74	D 123

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{328(15375 - 444)^2}{(131)(197)(199)(129)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{73122601608}{662491497}$$

$$\chi^2 = 110.375$$

df = 1 . Critical Value = 3.841 at $\alpha = 0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned} \phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{110.375}{328}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.336} \\ &= 0.579 \end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned} C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{110.375}{328 + 110.375}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.251} \\ &= 0.5 \end{aligned}$$

Headlines (MAL-MP)**Hypothesis 1b****Chi-square (χ^2)**

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>MP</i>
Provocative	A 125	B 5
Non Provocative	C 74	D 70

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{274(8750-370)^2}{(130)(144)(199)(75)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{19241485600}{279396000}$$

$$\chi^2 = 68.868$$

df = 1 . Critical Value = 3.841 at $\alpha = 0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned}\phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{68.868}{274}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.251} \\ &= 0.5\end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned}C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{68.868}{274 + 68.868}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.2} \\ &= 0.447\end{aligned}$$

Topic (*Kompas* – *MAL*)

Hypothesis 1c

Chi-square (χ^2)

	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>MAL</i>
Topic Non 9	A 319	B 542
Topic 9	C 71	D 33

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N (AD - BC)^2}{(A+B) (C+D) (A+C) (B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{965 (10527 - 471)^2}{(861) (104) (390) (575)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{97583826240}{20080242000}$$

$$\chi^2 = 4.86$$

df= 1, Critical Value= 3.841 at $\alpha=0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned} \phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{4.86}{965}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.005} \\ &= 0.070 \end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned} C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{4.86}{965 + 4.086}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.034} \\ &= 0.184 \end{aligned}$$

Topic (Kompas – MP)**Hypothesis 1c****Chi-square (χ^2)**

	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>MP</i>
Topic Non 9	A 319	B 168
Topic 9	C 71	D 27

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{585(8613-11928)^2}{(487)(98)(390)(195)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{6428696625}{3629562300}$$

$$\chi^2 = 1,77$$

df = 1 . Critical Value= 3.841 at $\alpha=0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned}\phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{1.77}{585}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.003} \\ &= 0.055\end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned}C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{1.77}{585 + 1.77}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.003} \\ &= 0.054\end{aligned}$$

Local and National Sources (*Kompas* – *MAL*) Hypothesis 2

Chi-square (χ^2)

	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>MAL</i>
Local	A 95	B 201
National	C 59	D 44

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{399(4180 - 11859)^2}{(296)(103)(154)(245)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{23527849359}{1150312240}$$

$$\chi^2 = 20.453$$

df = 1 . Critical Value = 3.841 at $\alpha = 0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned} \phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{20.453}{399}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.0512} \\ &= 0.226 \end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned} C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{20.453}{399 + 20.453}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.056} \\ &= 0.238 \end{aligned}$$

Local and National Sources (*Kompas* – *MP*)**Hypothesis 2****Chi-square (χ^2)**

	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>MP</i>
Local	A 95	B 44
National	C 59	D 32

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{230(3040 - 2596)^2}{(139)(91)(154)(76)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{45341280}{148043896}$$

$$\chi^2 = 0.306$$

df = 1 . Critical Value = 3.841 at $\alpha = 0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned} \phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{0.306}{230}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.001} \\ &= 0.036 \end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned} C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{0.306}{230 + 0.306}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.001} \\ &= 0.036 \end{aligned}$$

Theme of Conflict (MAL - Kompas)**Hypothesis 3****Chi-square (χ^2)**

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>Kompas</i>
Religious	A 98	B 31
Non-Religious	C 59	D 35

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{223(3430 - 1829)^2}{(129)(94)(157)(66)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{571593823}{125649612}$$

$$\chi^2 = 4.549$$

df = 1 . Critical Value = 3.841 at $\alpha = 0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned} \phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{4.549}{223}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.020} \\ &= 0.142 \end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned} C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{4.549}{223 + 4.549}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.019} \\ &= 0.141 \end{aligned}$$

Theme of Conflict (MAL – MP)**Hypothesis 3****Chi-square (χ^2)**

	<i>MAL</i>	<i>MP</i>
Religious	A 98	B 12
Non-Religious	C 59	D 22

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N(AD - BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{191(2156 - 708)^2}{(110)(81)(157)(34)}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{400470464}{47561580}$$

$$\chi^2 = 8.420$$

df = 1 . Critical Value = 3.841 at $\alpha = 0.05$

Contingency Coefficient (ϕ)

$$\begin{aligned} \phi &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{8.420}{191}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.020} \\ &= 0.044 \end{aligned}$$

Confidence Coefficient (C)

$$\begin{aligned} C &= \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N + \chi^2}} \\ C &= \sqrt{\frac{8.420}{116 + 8.420}} \\ &= \sqrt{0.067} \\ &= 0.260 \end{aligned}$$