



## FRAMING IN THE NEWS HEADLINES OF THE SHIA SAMPANG CONFLICT IN MASS MEDIA: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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### ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the news frame on the news title with the theme of the Shia conflict in Sampang. This qualitative descriptive research uses a critical paradigm. Data were obtained from Tempo.co, Kompas.com, Kabar Madura and Madura Indepth in 2011-2021. The media framed the Shia Sampang conflict in the government's frame, the Shia community's frame, and the case of intolerance. Tempo and Kompas frame the government as passive in dealing with conflicts and there is forced conversion of faith, but Kabar Madura and Madura Indepth frame the opposite. Furthermore, Tempo framed the government as being involved in intimidating Shia Sampang residents into converting their beliefs; Shia residents are framed as victims who suffer and are oppressed and peace initiators, and this conflict is a Sunni-Shia conflict. Meanwhile, Kompas framed that the government threw the responsibility for resolving the Shia Sampang conflict on other government institutions and did not anticipate the conflict; the Shia people of Sampang still empowered enough to resist; and this conflict is an internal family conflict. Kabar Madura and Madura Indepth framed that the Sampang Shia conflict had been completed, facilitated by the Sampang Regional Government and the Sampang Shia residents as citizens who were not persecuted and forced to convert.

### ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini fokus mengkaji bingkai berita pada judul berita bertemakan konflik Syiah di Sampang. Penelitian deskriptif kualitatif ini menggunakan paradigma kritis. Data diperoleh dari media massa nasional, Tempo.co dan Kompas.com dan media massa lokal Kabar Madura dan Madura Indepth pada tahun 2011–2021. Dengan memanfaatkan pendekatan wacana kritis, ditemukan bahwa media membingkai konflik Syiah Sampang dalam bingkai pemerintah, bingkai warga Syiah, dan bingkai kasus intoleransi. Tempo dan Kompas membingkai pemerintah pasif dalam menangani konflik dan terdapat pemaksaan perpindahan keyakinan, dan Kabar Madura dan Madura Indepth membingkai sebaliknya. Selanjutnya, Tempo membingkai pemerintah terlibat dalam intimidasi warga Syiah Sampang agar berpindah keyakinan; warga Syiah dibingkai sebagai korban yang menderita dan terdzolimi dan inisiator

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perdamaian, dan konflik ini adalah konflik Sunni-Syiah. Sementara itu, Kompas membingkai pemerintah melemparkan tanggung jawab penyelesaian konflik Syiah Sampang pada lembaga pemerintahan yang lain dan tidak mengantisipasi konflik dan warga Syiah Sampang merupakan korban yang masih cukup berdaya untuk melakukan penolakan. Konflik ini merupakan konflik internal keluarga. Kabar Madura dan Madura Indepth membingkai konflik Syiah Sampang sudah selesai difasilitasi Pemerintah Daerah Sampang dan warga Syiah Sampang sebagai warga negara yang tidak didzholimi dan dipaksa berpindah keyakinan.

## Introduction

News is a form of discourse in language activities. News, as a discourse, is said to convey facts. However, when facts are reported, are the facts reported as such, or are reproductions of facts and reality? In the constructivist approach, the news results from selection, choice, and highlighting of facts. Therefore, the same event can be reported differently through different frames by the media.<sup>1</sup>

One form of discourse reported is the discourse on violence in Sampang, which has occurred since 2011; the problem has not been entirely resolved. The violence in Sampang experienced by Shia residents that resulted in burning, expulsion, and even the relocation of Shia residents to Sidoarjo is one of the hot news presented. The national and local mass media reported on this event from 2011 to 2021.

Even now, this conflict cannot be said to be over. Residents in Omben District still live under intimidation and terror.<sup>2 3 4</sup> Various reports have narrated that the opposing groups

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<sup>1</sup> Santi, S. 2012. FRAME ANALYSIS: KONSTRUKSI FAKTA DALAM BINGKAI BERITA. *Forum Ilmiah: Jurnal Bunga Rampai*, 9 (3): 219-232.

<sup>2</sup> Hamdi, Ahmad Zainul. 2012. "Klaim Religious Authority dalam Konflik Sunni-Syi'ah Sampang-Madura". *Islamica*, Vol. 6/2, (hlm. 215-231)

<sup>3</sup> Munawaroh, Mundiroh Lailatul. 2014. "Penyelesaian Konflik Sunni-Syiah di Sampang Madura". Tesis Pasca Sarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga. Yogyakarta: Dokumen Tidak Diterbitkan

<sup>4</sup> Ahnaf, Mohammad Iqbal, dkk. 2015. Politik Lokal dan Konflik Keagamaan: Pilkada dan Struktur Kesempatan Politik dalam Konflik Keagamaan di Sampang, Bekasi, dan Kupang. Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies, Universitas Gadjah Mada



have made peace by pledging to return to Sunnis<sup>5</sup> and that many displaced Shiites have returned to their hometowns.<sup>6</sup>

However, based on the results of observations in July 2021, the arrival of researchers to the conflict location is still suspected, and the condition of the conflict location is like a dead village. This is also reinforced by Halili and Naipospos<sup>7</sup> and Ichlas<sup>8</sup> statements that the signatories of Islah when they were about to go home, were intercepted on the village road by an intolerant group, arguing that they were not allowed to infiltrate refugees.

Suspicion was also directed at the perpetrators of Islah, such as Iklil al Milal, Tajul Muluk, and his colleagues. Residents suspect that their return to Sunni is just a cover.<sup>9</sup> This shows that the condition of the ex-Shia residents of Sampang and other warring parties is not conducive. On the other hand, Mujtahidin, Mahmud, and Nurtamam see that this conflict is not merely a religious conflict but a personal conflict that causes revenge.<sup>10</sup> In the name of self-esteem, then this conflict occurs and in the name of religion.

One of those who played a role in framing the tapering and cooling of this case was the mass media. The mass media, as previously stated, have the power to select and sort out the issues that are reported and which angles are taken so that they can exacerbate conflict and help resolve conflicts.

In its reporting strategy, it turns out that local and national media have different framing.

*Soal Penyelesaian Konflik Syiah di Sampang, Rudi: Bukti Nyata Kinerja Bupati (Madura InDepth, 1/2/2021)*

Regarding the Resolution of the Shia Conflict in Sampang, Rudi: Real Evidence of the Regent's Performance (Madura InDepth, 1/2/2021)

*Tak Punya Solusi, Menag Pasrahkan Nasib Pengungsi Syiah ke Pemda (Kompas, 18/3/2017)*

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<sup>5</sup> Radar Madura. 2020. *Pembacaan Ikrar Tajul dan Pengikutnya Sukses*. 11 7. Accessed 12 12, 2021. <https://radarmadura.jawapos.com/sampang/07/11/2020/pembacaan-ikrar-tajul-dan-pengikutnya-sukses/>.

<sup>6</sup> Merdeka.com. 2021. *10 Tahun Tinggal di Kota Orang, Ini Kabar Terbaru Ratusan Eks Penganut Syiah Sampang*. Februari 4. Accessed 12 12, 2021. <https://www.merdeka.com/jatim/10-tahun-tinggal-di-kota-orang-ini-kabar-terbaru-ratusan-eks-penganut-syiah-sampang.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Halili dan Bonar Tigor Naipospos. 2014. *Stagnasi Kebebasan Beragama: Laporan Kondisi Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan di Indonesia Tahun 2013*. Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara; Setara Institute.

<sup>8</sup> Ichlas (2017) *Hertaning Ichlas, Ketua Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Universalialia (YLBHU), lembaga koordinator NGO advokasi kasus Sampang*, di Jakarta, 15 Maret 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Khusairi, tokoh Sunni Karang Gayam, Sampang, Juli 2021

<sup>10</sup> Mujtahidin, Mahmud, Nurtamam. 2017. *Peran Nilai Budaya dalam Membentuk Perspektif Toleran dan Intoleran di Madura: Studi Kasus Konflik Sunni-Syiah di Desa Karanggayam Kecamatan Omben Kabupaten Sampang – Madura*. Jurnal Pamator. 10 (2): 122-127



Having No Solution, Minister of Religion Leaves Fate of Shia Refugees to Local Government (Kompas, 18/3/2017)

*Bupati Sampang: Orang Jakarta Jangan Asal Bicara (Kompas, 2013/07/01)*  
Sampang Regent: Jakartans Don't Just Talk (Kompas, 2013/07/01)

Local media, in this case is Madura Indepth, framed this conflict to be resolved by the government. In contrast to Kompas.com, which sees the government, represented by the Ministry of Religion, as having no solution, and leaving it to the local government. The Sampang local government considers that the central government and the so-called 'Jakarta people' are just talking about the Shia conflict in Sampang. This difference is interesting to be investigated further.

The difference in news frames is caused by one who owns the media, owns capital, and has media income. This is what causes what events can be reported by certain media and where the media's reporting tends to be.<sup>11</sup> Like photography and cinematography, framing only shows a particular point of view and perspective from an event.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the facts in the news are not a reflection of reality as it is, but a window that allows us to see the world through the frame of that window. Therefore, news in the mass media is strongly influenced by the subjectivity of journalists and the internal and external situations of the mass media.<sup>13</sup>

This statement is in line with the critical paradigm in discourse studies. In critical discourse, discourse not only conveys messages or becomes a speech act (doing), but the discourse has a role (being) to convey ideology, direct readers covertly, and show partiality to certain parties.<sup>14,15</sup> The different ways of framing the news by Kompas.com and Madura Indepth can show where the news from the two media is reporting the Shia Sampang conflict.

This study analyzes the frame used by the national and local mass media in reproducing the reality of violent events in Shia Sampang from 2011 to 2021. This study utilizes the critical

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<sup>11</sup> Sudibyo, A. 2001, "Politik Media dan Pertarungan Wacana", Yogyakarta, LKIS.

<sup>12</sup> Mc Comb and Ghanem, 2001 in Alifahmi, H. 2010. "Media Framing sebagai Strategi Public Relations". Coverage: *Journal of Strategic Communication*. Vol. 1 No.1, September. Depok: Fakultas Komunikasi Universitas Pancasila, pp. 11-32.

<sup>13</sup> Santi, S. 2012. FRAME ANALYSIS: KONSTRUKSI FAKTA DALAM BINGKAI BERITA. *Forum Ilmiah: Jurnal Bunga Rampai*, 9 (3): 219-232.

<sup>14</sup> Subagyo, P.A. 2010. "Pragmatik Kritis: Paduan Pragmatik dengan Analisis Wacana Kritis". Artikel dalam *Jurnal Linguistik Indonesia*, Vol. 6, No.2, Oktober 2010, hlm. 24-35

<sup>15</sup> Zakiyah, M., Saraswati, D., Zulvarina. 2018. THE CRITICS AND POLITICAL EDUCATION OF THE FICTIONAL PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, NURHADI & ALDO (IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE AND SEMANTICS). *Jurnal Hastawiyata*. 3 (2): 23–31.



paradigm in Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis by analyzing news headlines related to the Shia Sampang conflict.

The previous framing of violent news was written by Sudarsono.<sup>16</sup> Sudarsono suggests that the mass media frame violent news with frames (1) the government/authority frame, (2) the law enforcement frame, (3) the community frame that is being provoked/pitted against each other, (4) the frame (still) of radicalism in society. Research that also utilizes this critical paradigm does not differentiate the mass media that frame the news.

Furthermore, Fauzi analyzed "Discourse on Terrorism in the Media: Framing Analysis of Kompas and Republika Daily in the Bali Bombing incident." In this study, Republika framed that the Bali bombing was foreign engineering, meaning that a foreign party was involved in the incident if it could not be identified as the perpetrator. Meanwhile, Kompas framed this event in the frame of humanism or humanity.<sup>17</sup>

News frame research was also conducted by Karman (2013) in *Mass Media and Reality Construction: Framing Analysis of the Ministerial Decree Reporting on Ahmadiyah in Indonesia in the Suara Pembaruan and Republika Daily Newspapers*. This research found that Suara Pembaruan and Republika framed their news differently. Suara Pembaruan frames its disagreement with the Ministerial Decree on Ahmadiyah, while Republika frames its news towards approval of the issuance of this Ministerial Decree.<sup>18</sup>

This qualitative research uses a critical discourse approach to find news frames related to the Shia Sampang conflict. The data used are news titles presented in national mass media, namely Kompas.com and Tempo.co, and local mass media namely Kabar Madura and Madura Indepth in the range of 2011 to 2021 related to reporting on the Shia Sampang conflict. The data obtained is analyzed by looking at diction, metaphor, actors, and news objects to determine where the media directly the news of the Shia conflict.

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<sup>16</sup> Sudarsono, C. 2018. *BINGKAI DALAM JUDUL BERITA SURAT KABAR LOKAL DAN NASIONAL TENTANG PENYERANGAN GEREJA SANTA LIDWINA DI YOGYAKARTA*. Makalah disajikan dalam Seminar Tahunan Linguistik. Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia: 777-781.

<sup>17</sup> Fauzi, A. F. 2003. *Wacana Terorisme dalam Media: Framing Analisis Pemberitaan Harian Kompas dan Republika dalam Peristiwa Peledakan Bom di Bali*. Thesis. Universitas Indonesia.

<sup>18</sup> Karman. 2013. *Media Massa dan Konstruksi Realitas: Analisis Framing terhadap Pemberitaan SKB Menteri tentang Ahmadiyah di Indonesia pada Surat Kabar Harian Suara Pembaruan dan Republika*. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi dan Media*. 17 (2): 173-186.



## Results & Discussion

Based on research on the news of the Shia Sampang conflict from 2011 to February 2021 on national and local media, namely Kompas.com, Tempo.co, Madura Indepth, and Kabar Madura, it was found that the media framed the Shia Sampang conflict in several frames, namely the government frame, Shiite's frame, and intolerance cases frame.

In the government framework, two significant frames were found, namely (1) a passive government frame, ignoring, throwing responsibility, and not seriously handling the Sampang Shia conflict and (2) an active government frame in resolving the Sampang Shia conflict and protecting its citizens, including members of the Shia community, as well as being the initiator of the reconciliation of the Shia Sampang conflict.

In the shiite's frame, it is found that (1) the frame of Shia citizens are victims who suffer and are oppressed (not treated relatively), (2) the frame of Shia citizens are citizens whose rights are not oppressed, and (3) the frame of Shia and Sunni citizens is the initiator of reconciliation. In the case of intolerance, the media framed this conflict as (1) a Sunni-Shia conflict, (2) not a Sunni-Shia conflict, but a family conflict in the name of religion, (3) imposition of belief on Shia residents, and (4) the return of the community Shia to Sunni is a must because Shia is a cult.

## Government's Frame

The government in the Shia Sampang conflict is framed in two big frames: the passive party in handling the Shia Sampang conflict even tends to be negligent, not serious, and not neutral in handling Shia Sampang conflict. The media that frame the government are the national mass media, Kompas.com, and Tempo.co.

- (1) *Pemerintah Tidak Selesaikan Akar Masalah* (Kompas.com, 29/08/2012)  
The Government Doesn't Solve The Root Of The Problem
- (2) *Pemerintah Dinilai Abaikan Penyebaran Kebencian* (Kompas.com, 29/08/2012)  
Government Judged Ignore the Spread of Hate
- (3) *Pemerintah Diminta Cepat Pulihkan Sampang* (Kompas.com, 28/08/2012)  
Government Requested to Quickly Restore Sampang
- (4) *Warga Syiah Sampang Tagih Janji Presiden* (Kompas.com, 16/6/ 2013)  
Sampang Shia Residents Collect President's Promise
- (5) *Minta Pulang, Warga Syiah Sampang 16 Hari Gowes ke Jakarta* (Kompas.com, 16/06/2013)



Asking to Go Home, Sampang Shia Residents  
Gowes to Jakarta for 16 Days

- (6) *Nasib Pengungsi Syiah Sampang, ke Mana Pemerintah?* (Kompas.com, 23/11/ 2012)  
Fate of Sampang Shia Refugees, Where is the  
Government?

In the news headline (1) the government is framed as not solving the Shia Sampang conflict from the root of the problem, while in the news title (2) the government is framed as a negligent party. The government's passivity in handling the Shia Sampang conflict is also implicitly indicated by request for a speedy recovery in Sampang in the headline (3). This request shows the government is implicitly framed not to hasten to resolve this conflict. The headlines (4) and (5) show that the Shiites are actively trying to resolve this conflict. At the same time, the government is only passive in dealing with it, which is manifested by choice of diction only "promise" in the news headline (6), the government is even framed absent with a rhetorical question "where is the government?" at a time when the fate of the Shia refugees was still unclear.

- (7) *Presiden Janji Pimpin Rekonsiliasi Syiah Sampang* (Tempo.co, 16/7/2013)  
President Promises to Lead the Reconciliation of Shia  
Sampang
- (8) *Rekonsiliasi Syiah, Pemerintah Mau Bedah Rumah* (Tempo.co, 24/7/2013)  
Shia Reconciliation, the Government Wants to  
Renovate the House
- (9) *Pemkab Sampang Tak Tahu Ada Piagam Perdamaian* (Tempo.co, 24/9/2013)  
Sampang Regency Government Didn't Know There  
Was a Peace Charter
- (10) *Menteri Agama Bahas Konflik Syiah di Bandara* (Tempo.co, 25/7/2013)  
Minister of Religion Discusses Shia Conflict at the  
Airport
- (11) *Tim Rekonsiliasi Syiah Sampang Belum Memiliki SK* (Tempo.co, 10/9/2013)  
The Sampang Shia Reconciliation Team Doesn't Have a  
Decree yet
- (12) *Mendagri Ogah Komentor Soal Konflik Sampang* (Tempo.co, 2/8/ 2013)  
The Minister of Home Affairs refuses to comment on the  
Sampang conflict

In the headline (7), the government's passivity is framed as "only" promising to lead reconciliation. Meanwhile, in headline (8) the government's inability to resolve the conflict is framed by the "far" relationship between reconciliation and the government's intention to



renovate the houses of Shia residents. Instead of being busy looking for the root of the problem and conducting reconciliation, the government is actually "busy" planning to reconstruct the houses of the victims of the Shia Sampang conflict. The government's lack of seriousness is then framed in news headlines (9) which do not know there is a peace charter initiated by Shiites and discuss the Shia conflict "only" at the airport, not during meetings in the meeting room or in other locations that show the seriousness of the meeting. The discussion of the Shia Sampang conflict at the airport shows that the government, in this case, the Minister of Religion, only discussed it in passing. This lack of seriousness was then reaffirmed in the Decree of the Shia Reconciliation Team, which was not yet in the news (11), and the diction "averse to comment" in the news title (12). The refusal to comment on the Shia Sampang conflict could form the Minister of Home Affairs' caution. However, instead of framing this caution, Tempo.co prefers to frame it by a reluctance to comment on the Minister of Home Affairs, which shows that the Minister of Home Affairs does not want to know about the Shia Sampang conflict.

Furthermore, apart from judging the government as passive, Kompas.com framed the government as throwing the responsibility for resolving the Shia Sampang conflict on other government institutions.

- (13) *Kasus Syiah, Wantimpres Lempar Tanggung Jawab ke Pemda Sampang* (Kompas.com, 1/7/2013)  
Case of Shia, Wantimpres Throws Responsibility to Sampang Regional Government
- (14) *Gubernur Jatim: BLSM untuk Warga Syiah Bukan Urusan Saya* (Kompas.com, 27/6/2013)  
East Java Governor: BLSM for Shias is Not My Business
- (15) *Wakil Ketua MPR Sesalkan Lemahnya Intelijen di Sampang* (Kompas.com, 29/8/2012)  
Deputy Chairperson of MPR Regrets Weak Intelligence in Sampang
- (16) *Pakde Karwo Minta JK Koordinasi Menag Soal Sampang* (Kompas.com, 6/10/2013)  
Pakde Karwo Asks JK to Coordinate the Minister of Religion on Sampang Soal
- (17) *Menag: Soal Syiah, Serahkan ke Kiai Sampang* (Kompas.com, 25/7/2013)  
Minister of Religion: Regarding Shia, Leave it to Kiai Sampang

In the headline (13), the Wantimpres is framed as throwing responsibility at the Sampang local government. Meanwhile, in the headline (14) the Governor of East Java stated that BLSM was not the authority of the East Java Provincial Government. The act of throwing





responsibility was then carried out by the Deputy Chairperson of the MPR, who blamed the weak intelligence in Sampang on the headline (15), the responsibility of the Governor of East Java on the Minister of Religion on the headline (16) and the Minister of Religion who threw the responsibility on the kiai in Sampang on news headline (17).

In addition to being framed as parties who throw responsibilities at each other, the government is also framed as a party that does not anticipate conflict.

- (18) *Polisi Tak Cukup Personel Cegah Kerusuhan Sampang* (Kompas.com, 30/08/2012)  
Not enough police personnel to prevent Sampang riots
- (19) *Wakil Ketua MPR Sesalkan Lemahnya Intelijen di Sampang* (Kompas.com, 29/8/2012)  
Vice Chairman of MPR Regret the Weak Intelligence  
in Sampang
- (20) *Pembiaran Oleh Negara, Suburkan Kekerasan Atas Nama* (Kompas.com, 27/08/2012)  
Agama

Ignorance by the State, Fertilize Violence in the Name of Religion

In the headline (18), state institutions, represented by the police, did not anticipate conflicts by preparing sufficient personnel to prevent the conflict. In the news title (19), state/government institutions, in this case is intelligence, was considered weak and did not anticipate the conflict in Sampang by the Deputy Chair of the MPR. Meanwhile, in the news title (20) the state is framed for omission so that violence in the name of religion thrives in Indonesia. Ignorance can be considered as not having a particular agenda to care for diversity so that there is no more violence in the name of religion. Because there is no special agenda, the state is considered not to prevent this conflict from happening.

- (21) *Konflik Sampang Bukti Negara Gagal Lagi* (Kompas.com, 28/08/2012)  
The Sampang conflict is proof that the state has failed  
again
- (22) *Pemerintah Gagal Lindungi Warga Syiah di Sampang* (Tempo.co, 27/8/2012)  
Government Fails to Protect Shiites in Sampang
- (23) *Bentrokan Syiah Sampang Akibat Ketidaktegasan Tokoh dan* (Tempo.com, 26/8/2012)  
*Polisi*  
Shia Sampang Clashes Due to Indecisiveness of Figures  
and Police
- (24) *Kasus Syiah Sampang, Pemerintah Akui Terpojok* (Tempo.co, 24/7/2013)  
Shia Sampang Case, Government Admits Cornered

In the headlines (21) and (22), the state and government are framed as failing to protect their citizens. In the news headline (23), the police and figures are framed not firmly in



preventing conflict. Likewise, in the headline (24), the government is considered weak by showing that it is being cornered. These four titles framed the government as the guilty party in the Shia Sampang conflict.

Tempo.co framed the government as the perpetrator of intimidation of Shia residents to convert to their beliefs.

- (25) Pemerintah Lokal Dituding Ikut Teror Warga Syiah (Tempo.co, 13/8/ 2013)  
Local Government Accused of Participating in Terror of Shiites
- (26) Menteri Agama Pastikan Tak Paksa Syiah Bertobat (Tempo.co, 13/8/ 2013)  
Minister of Religion Makes Sure Not to Force Shia to Repent
- (27) Kepolisian Tegaskan Tak Intimidasi Syiah Sampang (Tempo.co, 10/8/ 2013)  
Police Affirm Not Intimidating Shia Sampang
- (28) Wantimpres: Tak Ada Paksakan Agama bagi Warga Syiah (Tempo.co, 10/8/ 2013)  
Wantimpres: There is No Compulsion on Religion for Shiites
- (29) Pemerintah Sampang Bantah Paksa Syiah Kembali Ke Sunni (Tempo.co, 12/8/2013)  
Sampang Government Denies Forcing Shiites to Return to Sunnis

Although the headlines (26) to (29) show the denial of the central and local governments in forcing Shia Sampang residents to convert, the use of the title (25) Local Government Accused of Participating in Terror of Shia People shows Tempo.co's attempt to frame the government's involvement in coercion conversion of the Shia Sampang.

In contrast to the negative framing of the government by the national media, the local media framed the government as an active party in resolving the Sampang Shia conflict and even protecting the residents, including the Shia Sampang residents, as follows:

- (30) Soal Penyelesaian Konflik Syiah di Sampang, Rudi: Bukti Nyata Kinerja Bupati (madura indepth, 1/2/2021)  
Regarding the Settlement of the Shia Conflict in Sampang, Rudi: Real Evidence of the Regent's Performance
- (31) Ketua Lakpesdam NU Faisal Ramdhoni Urai Perjalanan Singkat Penanganan Syiah di Sampang (madura indepth, 4/2/2021)  
Chairman of Lakpesdam NU Faisal Ramdhoni Describes a Short Trip to Handling Shia in Sampang
- (32) Terima Penghargaan dari Bupati, Faisol: Jalan Penyelesaian Konflik Syiah Masih Panjang (madura indepth, 1/2/2021)  
Receives Award from Regent, Faisol: The Road to Solving the Shia Conflict is Still Long



In the news headline (30), the Sampang Shia conflict is framed as finished, and the contributing party is the Sampang Regional Government; the Sampang Regent. In line with the news headlines (30), in the news headlines (31) and (32), the party framed as the initiator of reconciliation is the government, although in this case, he is called the Head of Lakspesdam NU Sampang, considering that Faisol Ramdhoni is also the Public Relations Officer of the Ministry of Religion in Sampang.

Apart from being the party that is framed as actively reconciling and resolving the Shia Sampang conflict, the government is even framed as protecting the citizens, as follows:

- (33) *Ber-KTP Sampang, Pengungsi di Puspa Agro Sidoarjo Tetap Dijamin Bansos* (Kabar Madura, 19/11/2020)  
With Sampang KTP, Refugees at Puspa Agro Sidoarjo Still Guaranteed Social Assistance
- (34) *Khawatir Tanah Pengungsi Syiah Sampang Diserobot, Bupati Serahkan Sertifikat* (madura indepth, 3/2/ 2021)  
Worried that the Land of the Shia Refugees in Sampang Has Been Robbed, the Regent Hands Over the Certificate
- (35) *Pemkab Sampang Serahkan 2 Ribu Sertifikat Tanah, Termasuk Milik Pengungsi Syiah* (madura indepth, 5/1/ 2021)  
Sampang Regency Government Hands Over 2 Thousand Land Certificates, Including Shia Refugees
- (36) *Urus Kasus Syiah Gunakan Dana Pribadi, H. Idi : Hidup Saya Hanya untuk Ibadah* (madura indepth, 15/12/ 2020)  
Handling the Shia Case Using Personal Funds, H. Idi: My Life is Only for Worship

In addition to being framed to resolve the Shia Sampang conflict, the local mass media framed the government as protecting the Shia Sampang residents by guaranteeing social assistance (33), providing land certificates (34) and (35), even using private funds to take care of the Shia Sampang case and worship experts as in the case news (35).

### Shiites' Frame

The mass media framed the Shiite with (1) the Shia community as victims who suffer and being oppressed (not treated relatively), (2) the Shia community as a citizen whose rights are not oppressed, and (3) the Shia and Sunni community is the initiator of reconciliation.

The first frame, that framed the Shiite are victims who suffer and are oppressed (not treated relatively), is carried out by Tempo.co.



- (37) Jatah Makan Pengungsi Syiah Sampang Dihentikan (Tempo.co, 3/5/2013)  
Food Rations for Shia Refugees in Sampang have been Stopped
- (38) Salat 'Selamat Tinggal' Jamaah Syiah di Sampang (Tempo.co, 12/9/ 2012)  
Prayer 'Goodbye' Shia Congregation in Sampang
- (39) Pengungsi Syiah Sampang Diusir dari Pengungsian (Tempo.co, 12/1/ 2012)  
Sampang Shia Refugees Expelled from Refugees
- (40) 6 Warga Syiah Sampang Dievakuasi dari Hutan (Tempo.co, 28/8/ 2012)  
6 Shia Sampang Residents Evacuated from Forest
- (41) Seorang Warga Syiah Sampang Meninggal di Pengungsian (Tempo.co, 27/9/2015)  
A Shia of Sampang Dies in Refuge
- (42) Pengungsi Syiah Sampang, Madura, Terserang Tomcat (Tempo.co, 3/9/2012)  
Shia Refugees in Sampang, Madura, Attacked by Tomcat
- (43) Pengungsi Syiah Sampang di Sidoarjo Krisis Air (Tempo.co, 17/8/2015)  
Sampang Shia Refugees in Sidoarjo Water Crisis

The dramatic impression of suffering refugees is created by choice of diction in the headlines. Use of discontinued food rations in news headlines (37), 'goodbye' prayers which seem to adopt the sunnah of the prophet, Hajj Wada', 'farewell pilgrimage' in news headlines (38), expelled from refuge in news headlines (39), evacuated from the forest in the news headline (38), died in a refugee camp in the news (41), was attacked by a tomcat in the news (42), until the water crisis in the news headline (43) illustrates how suffering the condition of Shia residents, both as victims of the Shia Sampang conflict and refugees in Sidoarjo.

In contrast to Tempo.co which frames the Shia Sampang residents as victims of the oppressed who suffer, Kompas.com even though it also frames the Shia Sampang residents as victims, Kompas.com shows that the Shia Sampang residents are still empowered to refuse to intimidate them or urge the government to provide justice for them.

- (44) F-PDIP: Polisi Jangan Kriminalkan Korban Sampang (Kompas.com, 28/8/2012)  
F-PDIP: Police Don't Criminalize Victims of Sampang
- (45) Warga Syiah Sampang Terancam Kelaparan (Kompas.com, 24/11/2012)  
Sampang Shiites Threatened with Hunger
- (46) Gizi Buruk Dera Pengungsi Syiah Sampang (Kompas.com, 15/1/ 2013)  
Malnutrition Wracked Shia Sampang Refugees

In the news headlines (44), (45), and (46), Kompas.com framed Shia residents as victims who have the potential to be criminalized, threatened with starvation, and affected by malnutrition. However, in other news headlines, the Shia are framed as those who have the power to fight for their fate as follows.



- (47) Warga Syiah Sampang Minta Pemerintah Kembalikan Hartanya (Kompas.com, 1/6/ 2013)  
Sampang Shia Residents Ask the Government to Return Their Assets
- (48) Pengungsi Syiah Menolak Dipindahkan (Kompas.com, 5/9/2012)  
Shia Refugees Refuse to be Transferred
- (49) Umat Syiah Sampang Ingin Lepas dari Tanggung Jawab Pemerintah (Kompas.com, 1/6/ 2013)  
Sampang Shiites Want to Get Rid of Government Responsibilities
- (50) Minta Pulang, Warga Syiah Sampang 16 Hari Gowes ke Jakarta (Kompas.com,16/6/2013)  
Asking to Go Home, Sampang Shia Residents Gowes to Jakarta for 16 Days
- (51) Warga Syiah Sampang Tagih Janji Presiden (Kompas.com, 16/6/2013)  
Sampang Shia Residents Collect President's Promise
- (52) Anak-anak Pengungsi Syiah Bikin Pohon Harapan (Kompas.com, 28/8/2012)  
Children's Shia Refugee Make Hope Trees
- (53) Kelompok Syiah Desak Polri Tangkap Pelaku Tragedi Sampang (Kompas.com, 27/8/2012)  
Shia Group Urges Police to Arrest Perpetrators of Sampang Tragedy
- (54) Rayakan Maulud, Warga Syiah Sampang di Pengungsian Berharap Bisa Pulang (Kompas.com,18/12/2016)  
Celebrate Maulud, Shia Sampang Residents in Refuge Hoping to Go Home

In these news headlines, Shiites are framed as having a request to the government (news headlines 47 & 50), showing refusal (news headline 48), demanding a promise to the government (news headline 51), showing they still have hope of returning home (heading 52 & 54), urged the police (news headline 53), and even had a desire to escape government responsibility (49). News headlines frame the public perception that Shia citizens still have hope and strength to survive even though they are victims.

If the national mass media, Kompas.com, and Tempo.co frame the Shia Sampang as victims, then the local mass media will not. The local mass media framed the Shia Sampang as not oppressed citizens and not forced to convert their beliefs.

- (55) Penganut Syiah Sampang Kembali Berikrar ke Aswaja : Atas Kemauan Sendiri Madura indepth. 28/11/2020  
Sampang Shia Followers Return to Pledge to Aswaja: Of Their Own Will
- (56) Lagi, Tujuh Penganut Syiah Ikrar Kembali ke Aswaja Madura indepth 6/2/2021



- Again, Seven Shiites Pledge to Return to Aswaja
- (57) Pasca Tajul Muluk dan Pengikutnya Berikrar : Antara Pembinaan dan Kondusifkan Dua Kubu Madura indepth, 24/11/ 2020  
After Tajul Muluk and His Followers Pledge: Between Guiding and Conducive to Two Camps
- (58) Kemenag Sampang : Pengikut Tajul Satu Persatu Akan Menyampaikan Ikrar di Hadapan Kyai dan Saksi Madura indepth, 4/11/2020  
Ministry of Religion Sampang: Followers of Tajul One By One Will Deliver Pledge in Front of Kyai and Witnesses
- (59) Usai Ikrar Tinggalkan Syi'ah, Pengikut Tajul Muluk Belum Bisa Pulang ke Sampang Kabar Madura, 5/11/ 2020  
After Pledge to Leave Shia, Followers of Tajul Muluk Can't Return To Sampang
- (60) KPU Coret Hak Pilih Pengungsi Syiah di Sampang Kabar Madura, 4/3/ 2019  
KPU Strikes Shia Refugee Right to Vote in Sampang
- (61) Cabut Hak Politik Warga Syiah Diklaim Tidak Melanggar Kabar Madura, 22/3/2019  
Revoke Political Rights of Shiites Claimed Not to Violate
- (62) Warga Syiah Diterima Pulang dengan Syarat Kabar Madura, 7/2/ 2019  
Shia Residents Welcomed Home on Conditions
- (63) Tajul Tegaskan Tidak Ada Paksaan untuk Kembali ke Sunni Kabar Madura, 6/11/2020  
Tajul Affirms No Forced Return to Sunnis

In the news headlines (55), (56), (57), (59), and (63), the conversion of Shia beliefs is considered a natural and necessary thing because Shia is considered a deviant sect. The change of belief is considered not part of the form of intolerance. In addition, Shiite are not framed as victims, but parties whose rights have not been violated or oppressed as in the news headlines (61) and (63) even though the news headline (60) states that their right to vote has been revoked. In contrast to the local mass media frame, peace is a government initiative.

### Intolerance Cases Frame

The media framed this conflict as (1) a Sunni-Shia conflict, (2) not a Sunni-Shia conflict, but a family conflict in the name of religion, (3) imposition of belief on Shiites, and (4) the return of Shiites to the Sunni sect is a specific thing because Shia is a cult.

First, the Tempo.co mass media framed the Sampang Shia conflict as a Sunni-Shia conflict. The following news headlines evidence this.

- (67) Warga Sunni Usir Penganut Syiah Sampang Tempo.co, 7/5/2013



- Sunni Residents Expel Sampang Shiites
- (68) *Sunni-Syiah Sampang Siap Berdamai* Tempo.co, 21/7/2013  
Sunni-Shia Sampang Ready for Peace
- (69) *SBY Puji Penanganan Konflik Sunni Syiah di Sampang* Tempo.co, 6/12/2013  
SBY Praises the Handling of the Shia Sunni Conflict  
in Sampang
- (70) *Inisiatif Damai Warga Syiah-Sunni Sampang Dipuji* Tempo.co, 2/10/ 2013  
Sampang's Shia-Sunni Peace Initiative Praised

In the news headline (67), Tempo.co framed the perpetrators of the expulsion of Shiites as Sunnis. Likewise, in the news headline (68), Sunni-Shia is framed as ready to make peace. In the news title (69), Tempo.co explicitly frames this conflict with the label of a Sunni-Shia conflict. This framing is continued on the news title (70), which has the initiative of peace. These four stories show that the conflict in Sampang is a Sunni-Shia conflict.

- (71) *NU Sebut Syiah di Sampang Sesat* (Tempo.co, 3/1/2012)  
NU Calls Shia in Sampang Perverted
- (72) *NU Klaim Ikut Atasi Konflik Syiah Sampang, Madura* (Tempo.co, 13/9/2012)  
NU Claims to Participate in Overcoming Shia  
Conflict in Sampang, Madura
- (73) *LBH NU Advokasi Tersangka Penyerang Syiah Sampang* (Tempo.co, 28/8/2012)  
LBH NU Advocacy for Suspected Attacker of Shia  
Sampang
- (74) *PBNU Diminta Selesaikan Konflik Syiah Sampang* (Tempo.co, 13/9/2012)  
PBNU Asked to Resolve the Sampang Shia Conflict
- (75) *PBNU Bantu Rekonsiliasi Damai Sampang* (Tempo.co, 5/9/2012)  
PBNU Assists in Sampang Peace Reconciliation

Because the Shia Sampang conflict is a Sunni-Shia conflict, as a social organization affiliated with the Sunni, NU is framed by Tempo.co as the 'responsible' party in the Shia Sampang conflict and involved in the vortex of this conflict as follows.

These news headlines indicate that NU is responsible for this conflict, such as calling Shia heretical in the headline (71), NU's assistance in resolving the Shia Sampang conflict in the news headline (72) and (75), NU's advocacy for the suspected attacker of Shia Sampang, and the request for a conflict resolution by PBNU in the news headline (74).

In contrast to Tempo.co which frames the Shia Sampang conflict as a Sunni-Shia conflict and NU as a representation of mass organizations affiliated with the Sunni schools of thought in Indonesia involved in this conflict, Kompas.com frames this conflict not as a Sunni-Shia conflict, but as a family or family conflict. conflict in the name of religion.



- (75) Menag: Inti Masalah Sampang Ada di Rois-Tajul Muluk (Kompas.com, 8/9/ 2012)  
Minister of Religion: The heart of the Sampang problem is in Rois-Tajul Muluk
- (76) Mendagri: Kasus Sampang Bukan Masalah Agama (Kompas.com, 28/8/2012)  
Minister of Home Affairs: The Sampang Case Is Not a Religious Problem
- (77) Rektor UIN: Kekerasan di Sampang, Gagalnya Pendidikan (Kompas.com, 28/8/2012)  
UIN Chancellor: Violence in Sampang, Failed Education
- (78) Nuansa Konflik Keluarga dalam Kasus Sampang (Kompas.com, 28/8/2012)  
Nuances of Family Conflict in the Sampang Case

In the headlines (75) and (78), Kompas.com framed the Shia Sampang conflict as a family conflict. This is confirmed by the statement by the Minister of Home Affairs in the headline (76) that the Shia Sampang case is not a matter of religion or religious sects. In fact, in the headline (77), the Chancellor of UIN stated that this violence was evidence of the failure of education.

Furthermore, because it was not a Sunni-Shia conflict, Kompas.com framed that NU was not involved in this conflict.

- (79) Ketua PBNU: Konflik di Sampang Bukan NU-Syiah (Kompas.com, 2/9/2012)  
PBNU Chairman: Conflict in Sampang is not NU-Shia
- (80) PBNU: NU Tak Terkait Kasus Sampang (Kompas.com, 28/8/2012)  
PBNU: NU Is Not Related to the Sampang Case
- (81) PBNU: Kasus Sampang Murni Kriminal (Kompas.com, 28/8/2012)  
PBNU: The Sampang Case is Purely Criminal

In the headlines (79), (80), and (81) explicitly, Kompas.com frames NU as not being involved in the vortex of the Shia Sampang conflict, this conflict is not a Sunni-Shia conflict. NU, as a social organization with the most prominent Sunni madhhab in Indonesia, is not related to this Sampang Shia conflict.

Furthermore, in this conflict, there is a frame of coercion of belief for Shiite. Shia residents are framed as being forced to convert by Tempo.co and Kompas.com below.

- (82) Warga Syiah di Sampang Dipaksa Tobat (Kompas.com, 8/8/2013)  
Shia Residents in Sampang Forced to Repent
- (83) Menag Yakin Tak Ada Pemaksaan Keyakinan di Sampang (Kompas.com, 13/8/2013)  
Minister of Religion believes there is no coercion of belief in Sampang





- (84) Mendagri Sangkal Paksa Warga Syiah "Bertobat" (Kompas.com, 13/8/2013)  
Home Affairs Minister Denies Forcing Shiites to  
"Repent"
- (85) Kontras: 26 Warga Syiah Dipaksa Pindah Akidah (Tempo.co, 6/11/ 2012)  
Contrast: 26 Shias Forced to Change Faith
- (86) Kepolisian Tegaskan Tak Intimidasi Syiah Sampang (Tempo.co, 10/8/ 2013)  
Police Affirm Not Intimidating Shia Sampang
- (87) Pemerintah Sampang Bantah Paksa Syiah Kembali ke (Tempo.co, 12/8/2013)  
Sunni  
Sampang government denies forcing Shiites to return  
to Sunnis

In contrast to the local mass media's frame that Shia Sampang residents are not oppressed, the national mass media, both Kompas.com and Tempo.co, framed an attempt to force the conversion of faith to Shia Sampang residents. The local government is considered to be one of the driving forces for this 'conversion' effort. Because the frame building was the coercion of belief, Kompas.com and Tempo.co implicitly stated that the Shia Sampang residents were victims of the conflict of intolerance. The coercion of belief and "repentance" frame shows Kompas.com's disagreement over the heretical claims to Shia. Tempo.co did the same.

Furthermore, the local mass media framed this conversion of belief as a form of necessity, not as a form of coercion of belief and religious intolerance. This is because the local mass media implicitly point out that the Shia sect is a deviant sect, so that its adherents should return (not repent) to the true sect, namely Sunni.

- (88) Penganut Syiah Sampang Kembali Berikrar ke Aswaja : Madura indepth. 28/11/2020  
Atas Kemauan Sendiri  
Sampang Shia Followers Back to Pledge to Aswaja: Of  
Their Own Will
- (89) Lagi, Tujuh Penganut Syiah Ikrar Kembali ke Aswaja Madura indepth 6/2/2021  
Again, Seven Shiites Pledge to Return to Aswaja
- (90) Usai Ikrar Tinggalkan Syi'ah, Pengikut Tajul Muluk Belum Kabar Madura, 5/11/ 2020  
Bisa Pulang ke Sampang  
After Pledge to Leave Shia, Followers of Tajul Muluk  
Can't Return To Sampang
- (91) Tajul Tegaskan Tidak Ada Paksaan untuk Kembali ke Kabar Madura, 6/11/2020  
Sunni  
Tajul Affirms No Forced Return to Sunnis

The national mass media saw the conversion of faith as being carried out by coercion of belief and is considered an act of intolerance. Meanwhile, the local mass media saw the conversion of belief as natural because the Shia belief was considered heretical.



The framing of local media which states that the government is positive and views the Shia citizens negatively is due to the alignment of the mass media and local journalists towards the majority, namely Sunnis and discrediting the minority, namely the Shiites (Aziz and Matnin 2018). Another thing that can cause local mass media to take sides with the majority is the sociological aspect of the media and society (Mardikantoroa, Sirojb and Utamic 2019). The media considers the majority of their media readers. National mass media such as Kompas and Tempo, which have middle to high market share and nationally will report the news as their readers see it as a conflict of intolerance.

This is different from local mass media, such as Maduraindepth and Kabar Madura, whose readers are Madurese, who are predominantly Muslim and Sunni. Moreover, it is possible that these two media have a fairly large portion of advertising from local governments. This has forced the local mass media to report positively on the government and consider the Sampang Shia conflict to be over. Even the local mass media framed the conversion of Shia beliefs to Sunnis as inevitable because the Shiites were heretical. This is also one of the local media's efforts to reduce the internal conflict of the Madurese community. Moreover, the people of Sampang Madura are prone to conflict. Everyday the people of Sampang carry sharp weapons, not only because they are in conflict, but also because they are protecting themselves. So anything that triggers conflict is not minimized, conflict will easily break out again, especially for religious issues such as the Shia Sampang conflict (Latif 2017).

## Conclusion

Based on the description of the research results, it can be concluded that the news of the Shia Sampang conflict from 2011 to February 2021 on national and local media, namely Kompas.com, Tempo.co, Madura Indepth, and Kabar Madura, framed in several frames: the government frame, the Shiite frame, and the intolerance case frame.

In the government framework, two significant frames were found, namely (1) a passive government frame, ignoring, throwing responsibility, and not seriously handling the Shia Sampang conflict and (2) an active government frame in resolving the Shia Sampang conflict and protecting its citizens, including members of the Shia community, as well as being the initiator of the reconciliation of the Shia Sampang conflict.



In the frame of Shiite, it is found that (1) the frame of Shiite are victims who suffer and are oppressed (not treated relatively), (2) the frame of Shiite are citizens whose rights are not oppressed, and (3) the frame of Shia and Sunni citizens is the initiator of reconciliation.

In the case of intolerance, the media framed this conflict as (1) a Sunni-Shia conflict, (2) not a Sunni-Shia conflict, but a family conflict in the name of religion, (3) imposition of belief on Shia residents, and (4) the return of the community to Islam. Shia to Sunni is a necessary thing because Shia is a heretical sect.

Tempo frames the government as passive in dealing with conflicts, ignoring them, not being serious, and not neutral. In addition, the government is a party involved in intimidating the Shia Sampang to convert their beliefs. Meanwhile, Shiites are framed as victims who suffer and are oppressed (not treated relatively) and initiators of peace. Tempo sees this conflict as a Sunni-Shia conflict so that NU is considered involved and responsible for this conflict. Lastly, Tempo sees the forced conversion of faith as a form of intolerance.

Kompas frames the government as a passive party in handling the Shia Sampang conflict, even tends to be negligent, not serious, and not neutral in handling the Shia Sampang conflict and shifts the responsibility for resolving this conflict to other government institutions. In addition, the government is also framed as a party that does not anticipate conflict. Kompas frame the Shia Sampang residents as victims who are still powerless enough to refuse to intimidate them or urge the government to provide justice. Unlike Tempo.co, Kompas.com sees this conflict as an internal family conflict directed as a religion conflict. Therefore, NU is framed as not involved in this conflict. Kompas.com also assesses the existence of forced conversions that indicate acts of intolerance.

Kabar Madura and Madura Indepth frame the government as an active party in resolving the conflict and even protecting the residents, including the Shia Sampang residents. The Shia Sampang conflict is framed as finished, and the contributing party is the Sampang Regional Government. Finally, the government is framed as the party that protecting the Shiites. Kabar Madura and Madura Indepth frame the Shia Sampang as citizens who are not oppressed and are not forced to change their beliefs. Lastly, Kabar Madura and Madura Indepth frame this conversion as a form of necessity, not as a form of coercion of belief and religious intolerance. This is because the local mass media implicitly point out that the Shia sect is a deviant sect, so that its adherents should return (not repent) to the true sect, namely Sunni.



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