

# **Newspaper Language in Representing Ethnic Violence: Textual Analysis of Kompas dan Republika Newspapers**

**Prayudi<sup>7</sup>**

**Abstract:** *The reconceptualization of ethnicity came to its peak when the New Order regime introduced the policy of 'suku' (ethnic), 'agama' (religion), 'ras' (racial) or 'antar golongan' (inter-group). The policy, known as SARA, was meant to limit and control public interpretation over all socio-political conflicts that may endanger national stability and to restrict languages used in the news media. The policy had become the main foundation of all government policies related to society. Conflicts should be avoided and difference within society was intolerable. The Indonesian press then faced a dilemma when it came to reporting issues of ethnicity. On one side, they had an obligation to report the news to public; on the other side, the concept of SARA had become an unwritten law to restrict the press from reporting the issue. Further, the government could revoke the publishing permits without any warning it thought that the press had broken the law. The objective of the research was to define and analyze the usage of language in national newspapers in representing ethnicity issues. The analysis focused on the 1997 ethnic violence in West Kalimantan.*

**Key words:** newspaper language, ethnic violence, SARA

Language plays significant role within the context of ethnic pluralism. It can unify as well as divide people of various ethnic backgrounds. Newspaper

---

<sup>7</sup> **Prayudi** is a lecturer at the School of Communication Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, the University of Pembangunan Nasional 'Veteran' Yogyakarta.

ability in influencing its readers has brought to surface the issue of language used by newspaper institution in representing issue of ethnic violence. How the newspaper presents the issue, the perspectives used and reporting style all lead to the usage of newspaper language.

An attempt to analyse how Indonesian newspapers used the language in representing the issue of 1997 ethnic violence strongly relates to some arguments. They include political context, press policies and news orientation. The 1997 ethnic violence itself occurred in West Kalimantan. It was claimed to be the biggest ethnic violence that involved the Dayak community as indigenous people and the Madura community, migrants of Madura Island. It is noteworthy that the violence occurred during the New Order era.

First argument is the introduction of SARA policy as part of Suharto's development political policy. SARA policy was introduced by the New Order regime in the early 1970s in order to limit and control public interpretation of all socio-political conflicts that may endanger national stability. The SARA acronym represents *suku* (ethnicity), *agama* (religion), *ras* (race) and *antargolongan* (inter-group) issues. Although ethnic, religious, race and inter-group diversity was integral to the character of Indonesian society; SARA issues were labeled as the 'embryo' of disintegration. SARA policy was underpinned by the notion that conflict between groups within society will provide an opportunity for particular groups to secure their own interests, which might be at the expense of the national interest. Further, the conflict may lead to subversive actions (Katjasungkana, Kartika and Mahendra 1999). The state apparatus then created conditions to suppress issues of ethnic identity, religion, races and inter-groups. Meetings, discussions and writing about SARA were considered threats toward national integrity and were therefore banned. Krisnamurthi (2002) argues that the politics of SARA introduced by the New Order regime through repressive power, either directly or indirectly, was a politics of isolation of the elements of ethnic, religion, race and inter-group within the life of nation and state.

SARA was used to ban any discourse of ethnicity as part of Suharto's idea of reshaping Indonesia into a 'big Java'. In the context of Javanese culture, ethnic groups outside Javanese are considered lower status. Therefore, they have no right to express their ethnic identity and purpose or make requests of their ruler. Meanwhile, the hierarchical system in Javanese culture has also created a condition where Javanese people from lower classes must, as part of their ethnic identity, obey their rulers. Thus, culturally there have already been some limitations on issues of ethnicity which were later legalized by Suharto's introduction of SARA.

The policy of SARA had also affected the life of the press in Indonesia during the New Order era. A range of topics through which the discourse of SARA could surface was widely recognized as being off limits. Further restriction included prohibition of news that refers to anything deemed as seditious (*menghasut*), insinuating (*insiniasi*), sensational (*sensasi*), and speculative (*spekulasi*) (see, Hill. 1990). Thus, the policy of SARA had become a very effective instrument for the New Order government to pressure both ethnic groups and the press. In 1975, there was a clash that involved Chinese ethnic group and claimed many lives and properties. However, few newspapers reported the issue. If the press had to report SARA issues, they were required to report from the government point of view. This indicates the strength of the New Order regime which was fully supported by the military.

Press policies as the second argument relates to how newspaper institution reports the issue of ethnicity. Principally the newspaper institutions should have been fair and objective in representing the violence and focused its coverage on public interest basis. However, government strong policy on ethnicity still restricted the press from presenting the news in a more objective way. In reporting the violence, the press still did not dare to report the issue explicitly. I conducted a content analysis of *Kompas* and *Republika* dailies in 2001 and found that principally both *Kompas* and *Republika* played a role as storyteller in reporting SARA issues or other sensitive issues. I found that the way the press reports news strongly relates to the interplay of various levels of influence from within press institutions (such as mission, vision, goals) and from political economy factors outside the press institutions (like government policy on SARA). The facts of events are thus written as information based on a set of frameworks which state that the news reported should not mislead its readers or condemn people or parties involved in the matter. It should hold the pre-assumption of innocence, place the matter in the way it really stands, involve the choice of relevant and balanced news sources, and always try to confirm the information gathered.

The third argument is the orientation of news coverage. Issue of ethnic violence has high news values like frequency (time-span taken by an event), threshold (size of an event), meaningfulness (events that accord with the cultural background of the news gatherers) and so on (see, Hartley, 1995). Consequently, newspapers will certainly report the issue. Nevertheless, the orientation of news coverage strongly influenced by the interests the newspaper institutions have to serve. If they orient the news coverage based on public interest, it is likely that the newspaper institutions will use language that reduce rather than intensify the violence. However, if they orient the coverage to increase the newspapers exemplar, it is possible that the newspaper institutions

will use language that either purposely or not purposely contributes to the violence. In an interview with the editor in chief of a local newspaper in West Kalimantan province, I found that it was difficult for the local newspaper to be fair and balance in the coverage. Even if the newspaper institution had used the language that would not exacerbate the issue, still it had to face demands and demonstration from some ethnic groups who thought that the newspaper had taken aside to one particular ethnic group.

In sum, the interplay of these arguments led to the newspapers institution perspectives in reporting issue of ethnicity. These perspectives were then reflected in the language used. To support this claim, two Indonesian national newspapers had been analysed: *Kompas* and *Republika*. The time period to be examined was from January until mid February 1997 which included the period of ethnic violence and its aftermath. Using textual analysis, I examined how the language was used by both newspapers in representing issue of ethnic violence, considering the complicity of the New Order regime. The analysis focused on the language and meanings implied in the headlines and text. This analysis was then followed by comments from editors of the respective newspapers and other sources to strengthen the arguments. The next section focuses on analysis of how the language was used by *Kompas* and *Republika* newspapers in representing the 1997 ethnic violence.

## **PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA**

Ethnic Violence in West Kalimantan is a series of events which can be seen as a discourse over which many institutions contest the various approaches to the violence. Arguments regarding the source of the violence included surrounding political arguments, marginalisation, deforestation, and transmigration. The violence occurred as the result of the politics of development under the New Order regime, which incorporated the policy of SARA in its practice (see, Prayudi, 2003).

The 1997 ethnic violence occurred in *Sanggau Ledo* sub district, which later spread to *Ledo*, *Bengkayang*, *Samalantan* and *Tujuh Belas* sub districts, all within Sambas Districts. In particular, the fighting that occurred over women indicated how fragile inter-ethnic relations within society were. Although the violence was related to the implementation of politics of ethnicity (SARA) associated with the New Order regime's politics of development, newspaper items were restricted to coverage of youth fighting amongst both ethnic groups and the proposal that the solution could be found through a traditional peace ceremony.

From the analysis of more than a hundred articles of both newspapers that related to the issue, it was hardly to find language that tended to intensify the violence. Rather, both of the newspapers used the language intelligently to represent the issue from different perspective that put them in a neutral position. Within the context of reporting ethnic violence, newspapers basically can focus their coverage on the following perspectives: implication, causes and solution of the violence. It has to be admitted that many newspapers would prefer to report the process of the violence which may be full of bias and difficult to be fair and objective. These kinds of newspapers usually orient the reportage to enhance its newspaper selling, rather than informing the public through fair and balance coverage.

*Kompas* tended to report ethnic violence from the humanitarian perspective. This is signified by the coverage of lives and properties lost in the violence, the condition of victims and the uncertain future they faced. The choice of this perspective strongly related to *Kompas'* editorial policies and vision to develop understanding within plural society. In particular, the influence came from the founder of *Kompas*, Jakob Oetama and late P.K. Ojong (About the humanism of Kompas newspaper, see Sindhunata in St. Sularto, 2001). Further, it was another way to cover the issue without being afraid of control from government agencies like *KOPKAMTIB* or military headquarters as, since the beginning of the coverage, *Kompas* had already been told not to exacerbate the issue. By bringing up the human side of the unrest, which usually was abandoned by the press, *Kompas* presented the impact of the violence through the description of the victims. This can be seen from some of *Kompas* headlines, such as *Keamanan Di Sanggau Ledo Terkendali*(02/01/1997) *Pengungsi Di Singkawang Kekurangan Pangan*(04/01/1997), *Kami Harus Tinggal Dimana?* (12/01/1997), *1.094 Bangunan Rusak, Akibat Kerusuhan Di Sanggau Ledo* (13/01/1997), and *Kerugian Sanggau Ledo Rp 13,56 Milyar* (28/01/1997). The emphasis on a humanitarian perspective, was evident in *Kompas* news items as follows:

*Pengungsi di Singkawang Kekurangan Pangan*

*Pengungsian ribuan penduduk dari beberapa desa di wilayah Kecamatan Bengkayang, Samalantan dan Kecamatan Tujuh Belas ke Kota Singkawang, masih terus berlangsung, sementara pengadaan pangan untuk para pengungsi mulai menipis....*

*Anggota DPRD II Sambas Haji Zainal selaku koordinator Posko Penanggulangan Pengungsi di Singkawang mengatakan, masalah besar yang dihadapi saat ini adalah kekurangan pangan, terutama beras.*

*Sejauh ini posko penanggulangan pengungsi di Singkawang baru menerima bantuan beras dua ton dari Pemda Kabupaten Sambas, juga gula, kopi dan mie instant dari para dermawan. Padahal untuk memberi makan seluruh pengungsi yang sudah berjumlah 5.678 orang, Posko Singkawang harus menyediakan beras 2,8 – 3 ton per hari dengan lauk seadanya seperti ikan asin. “Karena itu saya menghimbau semua pihak termasuk pemerintah untuk dapat meringankan beban para pengungsi,” ujarnya.*

*Dijelaskan Zainal, karena terbatasnya persediaan beras yang dimiliki Posko, pada Jum’at siang kemarin pengungsi di Singkawang terpaksa hanya diberikan makanan dengan bubur.*

*(Kompas, 04/01/1997)*

*Kami Harus Tinggal di mana?*

*Ketika diperbolehkan kembali melihat rumahnya di Dusun Sindu, Desa Beringin, Kecamatan Samalantan, Kabupaten Sambas, Minggu (5/1) lalu, Haji Abdullah (42) hanya bisa termenung lesu melihat rumah dan harta bendanya tinggal puing-puing belaka....Padahal menurut pengakuan Haji Abdullah, selama ini pergaulan sehari-hari antarpenguduk desa itu sangat baik dan hidup rukun.*

\*\*\*

*“Secara jujur sulit saya memahami mengapa kerusakan ini terjadi, sebab antara masyarakat Dayak, Madura dan Melayu di desa ini tidak ada masalah. Bahkan di antara warga kami sudah ada yang kawin campur,” kata Frans Adam, Kepala Desa Bagak Sahwa, Kecamatan Tujuh Belas. Frans Adam yang seorang tokoh masyarakat Dayak Bagak, sangat menyesalkan terjadinya peristiwa ini.*

*(Kompas, 12/01/1997).*

To achieve the humanitarian perspective, *Kompas* emphasized the interview with the opinion leaders and victims of both ethnic groups, the local government in terms of the total lives lost and properties damaged, and also the head of the coordinating post for refugees. From the two news items above, *Kompas* explicitly highlighted that principally both parties involved suffered from the violence. Further, the implied meanings of this representation are the failure of the New Order government politics of development and its security approach in preventing the violence from occurring and also the slowness in helping the victims of the violence. Thus, instead of using newspaper language

to describe the violence, Kompas preferred to use the language to describe the impact of the violence. The implied meaning of some of the news items above does signify this. Jakob Oetama, General Manager of Kompas argued,

*Information is not just presented. It is presented in such a way that its meaning and significance will gain clarity. Context, therefore, is the key word if one is to be able to present such information. There must always be a background, a process, the interrelationship, and the context. Context is two-sided. First, it directly relates with events and problems which constitute the sources of news and information. Context is also interrelated with a frame of reference. If context in this sense can be combined smartly and proactively and supplemented with critical reflection, it may help newspapers read and present trends.*

*(Kompas Information Media. Kompas: A Friend in Changing Times)*

It is clear that in understanding the language used in the newspaper, readers must see the context of the event being reported in attempt to understand the issue. Sometimes the meaning has to be understood implicitly.

Unlike *Kompas*, *Republika* represented ethnic violence by emphasizing the current situation and steps taken by the government in managing the unrest. This was done through interviews with military officers and civil officials. These representations can be analysed from some of *Republika* headlines that state *Komnas HAM Saksikan Perjanjian Damai di Sambas* (06/01/1997), *Panglima ABRI: Persoalan Sanggau Ledo Sudah Selesai* (07/01/1997), *Sanggau Ledo: Rusuh di Kampung Jagung* (13/01/1997), *Bupati Sambas Taryo Aryanto: Empat kali Kerusuhan Hanya Antardua Suku Itu* (13/01/1997), and *Kasus Sanggau Ledo Tak Ada Kaitan dengan Transmigrasi* (27/02/1997). Most of the *Republika* headlines are statements made by both local and centre government officials, military and civil. News items exhibiting current situation and steps taken by the government in managing the unrest, for instance, are as follows:

*Komnas HAM Saksikan Perjanjian Damai di Sambas*

*Pihak-pihak yang bertikai di Sanggau Ledo, Kabupaten Sambas, Kalimantan Barat, Ahad siang mengadakan upacara perjanjian perdamaian secara adat. Pelaksanaan perjanjian tersebut disaksikan dua anggota Komnas HAM, Asamara Nababan, SH dan Muhammad Salim SH...*

*“Kami harapkan perdamaian semacam itu akan ditindaklanjuti sampai Pemda tingkat II,’ harap Pangdam XII/Tanjungpura Mayjen TNI Namuri Anoem S setelah menerima laporan adanya upacara itu, kemarin di Singkawang*

*Dalam perjanjian tersebut – seperti yang dilakukan di Desa Pangmilang – antara lain disebutkan bahwa kejadian tersebut sebagai kesalahpahaman akibat informasi dan berjanji tidak akan saling dendam...*

*(Republika 06/01/1997).*

#### *Panglima ABRI: Persoalan Sanggau Ledo Sudah Selesai*

*Panglima ABRI Jenderal TNI Faisal Tanjung menyatakan, masalah kerusuhan antarkelompok yang terjadi 29 Desember 1996 di Sanggau Ledo, Kabupaten Sambas, Kalimantan Barat, sudah selesai. Aparat keamanan sudah dapat mengatasi sepenuhnya. ‘Sudah selesai, sudah selesai’” kata Pangab kepada wartawan di Jakarta, Senin, ketika ditanyai tentang perkembangan kasus tersebut.*

*...Saat menjawab pertanyaan apakah ABRI melihat aksi kerusuhan massa akhir-akhir ini yang merebak di berbagai daerah, terdapat pola yang mengorganisasinya, Feisal mengatakan, “Pola apa, tidak ada pola-pola.” Meskipun demikian, Pangab minta wartawan menyampaikan berita yang benar.”Kalian dengar tadi apa yang dikatakan Pak Harto. Kalau tulisan kalian ‘ngaco’, itu sangat mempengaruhi orang lain, memutarbalikkan kenyataan. Janganlah memutarbalikkan pendapat orang,” katanya....*

*...Ditanyai tentang suasana saat ini, menurut Nababan, sudah jauh lebih baik dan bila meminjam istilah Pangdam VI/Tanjungpura, kondisinya makin mendekati titik nol. Adanya upacara adat sebagai peringatan perdamaian dari kedua kelompok yang bertikai, menurut dia, menunjukkan suasana yang menyejukkan bahkan di sebagian anggota kelompok sudah melepaskan ikatan kepala. Namun baik Nababan maupun Muhammad Salim sependapat bahwa untuk menyelesaikan persoalan tersebut secara tuntas tidaklah mudah. Upacara adat sebagai tanda perdamaian yang dilangsungkan di beberapa desa saat ini, semua itu sifatnya baru sampai tahap menyejukkan, kata Nababan. “Tindakan lebih lanjut harus ada partisipasi nyata dari kedua pihak.”*

*(Republika 07/01/1997).*



Based on the two news items above, *Republika* stressed the government attempts to bring peace between the two groups through traditional peace ceremonies. The implied meaning signifies the unpreparedness of the military in analysing the violence before it occurred or when the violence was still in progress. Short statements from the commander of the armed forces also represented this. The facts later proved that the violence lasted for one and a half months. Whereas the quotation of statements from member of NHCR signifies that the government should not rely on traditional peace ceremonies to stop the violence without searching for the root of the problem. Although it did not clearly and directly criticize government efforts to solve the problem, *Republika* had tried to see the issue from critical perspective.

The publication of the statement from the commander of the armed forces indicates that press must report the issue carefully. The policy of SARA had become a very effective political and legal instrument for the military to control the press. It is noteworthy that the military were active censors toward the press and did not merely rely on KOPKAMTIB and BAKIN which politically represented military monitoring and controlling bodies over political activities within societies, including the press. Nevertheless, there had been an attempt from the newspaper institutions to use the language cleverly and meaningfully in representing the issue.

In summary, the use of covered, polite and euphemistic reportage style, as shown by *Kompas*, and the dominant use of government news sources whilst implicitly criticising the government, as shown by *Republika*, signify how the Indonesian newspapers institutions accommodated the political situation during the New Order government into their editorial policies in reporting ethnic violence. It is then reflected in the newspaper language.

Another finding from the textual analysis of newspaper language in both *Kompas* and *Republika* newspapers was how both newspapers used the language to represent the causes of the violence. Basically, both newspapers portrayed two aspects of the violence. First, was the root of the violence, which was based on the New Order government politics of development that incorporated the policy of SARA. Second, was the way the government handled the violence.

*Kompas* first coverage of the violence was on 2 January 1997 entitled '*Keamanan di Sanggau Ledo Terkendali*' concentrated on the military approach to handling the violence. *Kompas*' care in reporting the issue can be seen from the placement of the article in page 15, which was set for national news articles, and the content of the article, which includes statements from government (military officers) and steps taken to prevent greater violence. At the end of this

article *Kompas* emphasized the existence of government companies in the area of violence as follow:

*Komoditas utama Kalbar tercermin di Sambas. Di situ ditemukan perkebunan karet, kopra, lada dan sawit. Sebagian perkebunan ini dikelola PT Perkebunan Nusantara XIII yang antara lain memiliki kantor di Kecamatan Samalantan. Hari Rabu malam banyak telepon yang masuk ke kantor redaksi Harian Kompas. Mereka umumnya menanyakan situasi di Sanggau Led.*

*(Kompas, 02/01/1997).*

Here, *Kompas* used covered, euphemism newspaper language which contained implied meanings. Rubber, copra, white and black pepper and oil palm plantations represented government development projects, which had overtaken tribal land of indigenous people through the Agrarian Law No.5. PT Perkebunan Nusantara XIII (a government-owned company) represented the government extension hand in exploiting the natural resources for the benefit of elite in Jakarta. In running the project, instead of using indigenous workers, the government preferred to use migrants (Madurese people) as workers. Thus, the policy had marginalized indigenous people and created social and economic gap between migrants and indigenous people. Meanwhile calls accepted at the editorial desk signifies that *Kompas* was pressured to carefully report the violence.

Another way of reporting news about government complicity in the violence was by publishing opinions of political analysts or other sources like member of NCHR (National Commission of Human Right). Some of the news items are *Amien Rais: People No Longer Stand with Economic Tyranny* (06/01/1997), *Kompleks, Ada Keterkaitan Berbagai Kerusuhan* (19/02/1997), and *Kekerasan Massa dan Kekerasan Struktural* (20/01/1997). One of the news items above read as follow,

*Amien Rais: People No Longer Stand with Economic Tyranny*

*Ketua Umum Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Dr Amin Rais menyatakan, "...Republik ini yang berdasarkan kemajemukan agama, etnis, dan ras seperti sangat terancam. Sumbernya bukan SARA (suku, agama, ras dan antargolongan) itu sendiri, tapi kesewenang-wenangan dan kezaliman ekonomi yang berlangsung cukup lama sehingga rakyat banyak sudah tidak tahan lagi."*

*Amien melihat kerusakan hanya bisa terkendali jika ada program-program yang jelas untuk memberdayakan ekonomi masyarakat banyak. Menurut dia, program-program yang ada sekarang seperti proyek Jimbaran dan penyisihan dua persen dari keuntungan perusahaan memang akan berjalan, tapi kemungkinannya, "Doesn't make any difference."*

*(Kompas 06/01/1997)*

From the news item above, *Kompas* use newspaper language to represent the complicity of the New Order regime in the violence. Through opinions from some political analysts, *Kompas* implicitly criticized the New Order development SARA policies that had created the gap within society as the trigger of mass violence. Whereas Amien Rais, a figure that openly criticized the Suharto leadership and military involvement in the government structure, was represented as the leader of one of the biggest Moslem organization in Indonesia instead of a political analyst. By doing this, *Kompas* expected that the government would pay more attention to the issue being presented in the news. Thus, in using newspaper language to portray the government complicity in the violence, *Kompas* combined its reportage through formal, polite, covered and euphemistic reportage style and utilized the opinions of political analysts and other non-government sources.

*Republika*, on the other hand, used different newspaper language in representing government complicity in the event. *Republika* represented this through the reportage of previous violence that involved both ethnic groups which had occurred several times. The reportage also emphasized the violence that occurred in places where many government projects were situated. To achieve this, *Republika* did not merely report what government news sources said. Rather, it used contradictive newspaper language by quoting statements from government officials regarding the violence to signify the possibility of political interests involved in the issue. Thus, quotation of government officials by *Republika* in its reportage of the violence contains two arguments: first, to deal with government policy in reporting SARA issues; and second, to represent the government as the source of ethnic violence. What is also significant is that *Republika* was founded with the involvement of Habibie, who was Suharto's trusted man during the New Order era.

In one of its news items entitled *Sanggau Ledo: Rusuh Di Kampung Jagung* on 13 January 1997, *Republika* emphasized on how small cases of youth fighting could turn into mass SARA violence. Some parts of the news item states,

*Bagi Uray Faisal Hamid, orang Sambas yang menjadi anggota DPR RI dari daerah pemilihan Kalbar, akar persoalan adalah kesenjangan sosial yang menganga antara suku setempat dan pendatang...*

*Melihat tiga peristiwa serupa pada 1977, 1979 dan 1983, memang tampak pertikaian selalu saja terjadi antara warga suku Dayak dan suku pendatang yang sama. Meskipun pertikaian selalu diakhiri ikrar damai, bara d iantara mereka rupanya tak pernah benar-benar padam.*

*(Republika, 13/01/1997).*

By writing about violence that had been occurred for several times for quite long time, *Republika* sent a message to the government to seriously pay attention to this ethnic violence issue.

In summary, both newspapers had represented the government complicity in the violence. From the two analysed newspapers, the press demonstrated how they set particular newspaper language in order to convey their message without transgressing government controls. This is what Jakob Oetama, the chairman of *Kompas*, said the press must know how to play. In relation to government's management of the violence, *Kompas* and *Republika* quoted statements from military officers and other figures like the Chairman of MPR and local opinion leaders. Both dailies avoided writing opinions and let its readers construct the meaning of the violence through the presentation of facts and contextual information which appeared in the language used.

## **CONCLUSION**

The usage of language in newspaper in representing issue of ethnicity principally relates to many factors. Some of them, as identified in this research, are political context, editorial policy, and news orientation. The interplay of these factors leads to perspective of a newspaper institution in representing the issue.

The coverage of issue of ethnic violence is not merely about the position (intensify, neutral or diminish) of a newspaper in the violence. There are many other perspectives to report the issue of ethnic violence without exacerbating it.

*Kompas* and *Republika* newspapers emphasized on humanitarian and sources of violence in representing the issue. The policy of SARA introduced by the New Order regime, editorial policies which were influenced by mission and vision of newspapers institutions, and orientation of news coverage which avoid to directly report the process of violence had resulted in the variety of language used in reporting the issue.

However, it was done through cautious, polite and closed reportage style due to the maintenance of strong control over the press. The ramification of these findings is, in fact that the language used by the newspaper institutions during the New Order regime had been engaged in the struggle to give more balanced and fair coverage of the issue.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Hartley, John. 1995. *Understanding New.*, London: Routledge.
- Hill, David. 1990. 'Publishing within Political Parameters'. *Inside Indonesia*. Melbourne. No. 23, June, pp.16-7.
- Katjasungkana, Nug. 1999. 'Konteks Sosial Historis SARA' dalam Sandra Kartika & M Mahendra (Ed.). *Dari Keseragaman Menuju Keberagaman*, Jakarta: Lembaga Studi Pers dan Pembangunan.
- Kompas Information Media. Kompas: A Friend in Changing Times.
- Krisnamurthi, Indra. 2002. *Kerusuhan, Stigma SARA, dan Partai*, [Online]. Available at: <http://ww.bubu.com/kampus/juli98/lipsus.htm> [2002, December 20]
- Prayudi. 2003. *Press Coverage of Ethnic Violence*. Unpublished Thesis. RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia.
- Sindhunata. 2001. 'Menatap Masa Depan Humanisme di Indonesia Bersama Kompas' dalam St Sularto. *Humanisme dan Kebebasan Pers*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.

**Kompas' news items:**

Keamanan Di Sanggau Ledo Terkendali	(02/01/1997)
Pengungsi Di Singkawang Kekurangan Pangan	(04/01/1997)
Kami Harus Tinggal Dimana?	(12/01/1997)
1.094 Bangunan Rusak, Akibat Kerusuhan Di Sanggau Ledo	(13/01/1997)
Kerugian Sanggau Ledo Rp 13,56 Milyar	(28/01/1997)
Amien Rais: People No Longer Stand with Economic Tyranny	(06/01/1997)
Kompleks, Ada Keterkaitan Berbagai Kerusuhan	(19/02/1997)
Kekerasan Massa Dan Kekerasan Struktural	(20/01/1997)

**Republika's news items:**

Komnas HAM Saksikan Perjanjian Damai Di Sambas	(06/01/1997)
Panglima ABRI: Persoalan Sanggau Ledo Sudah Selesai	(07/01/1997)
Sanggau Ledo: Rusuh Di Kampung Jagung	(13/01/1997)
Bupati Sambas Taryo Aryanto: Empat Kali Kerusuhan Hanya Antardua Suku Itu	(13/01/1997)
Kasus Sanggau Ledo Tak Ada Kaitan dengan Transmigrasi	(27/02/1997)