From TOLERANCE IS BUSINESS to TOLERANCE IS CLOTHING: Conceptual metaphors of religious tolerance in online Islamic mass media

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Abstract

So far, religious tolerance in the mass media has never been studied using metaphors in a cognitive linguistic approach. In fact, through conceptual metaphors, the framing of the mass media will emerge on the issue of religious tolerance. This qualitative descriptive research collects data on news and articles about religious tolerance in online Islamic mass media from 2018–2023. Data was analyzed using metaphor identification procedure, conceptual metaphor theory, and mixed metaphor. The results of the study show that there are 9 source domains, namely 1) TOLERANCE IS A CLOTHING, (2) TOLERANCE IS A SPACE/BUILDING, (3) TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN, (4) TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN BODY, (5) TOLERANCE IS A PLANT, and (6) TOLERANCE IS A THING, (7) TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY, (8) TOLERANCE IS WAR, and (9) TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE. Generally, the metaphor of tolerance in online Islamic mass media is classified into three tones: positive, negative, and neutral. Online Islamic mass media that have a positive tone are NU Online and Alif.id, mass media with a mixed tone (positive-neutral) is Suara Muhammadiyah and (positive-neutral-negative) is Hidayatullah.com, and mass media with a positive tone negative are Portal Islam, Suara Islam, VOA Islam, and Era Muslim.

Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

Dari TOLERANSI ADALAH BISNIS hingga TOLERANSI ADALAH PAKAIAN: Metafora konseptual toleransi beragama pada media massa Islam online

Selama ini toleransi beragama pada media massa belum pernah diteliti dengan pendekatan linguistik kognitif pada kajian metafora. Padahal, melalui metafora konseptual akan muncul pembingkaian media massa atas isu toleransi beragama. Penelitian deskriptif kualitatif ini mengambil data pada berita dan artikel tentang toleransi beragama pada media massa Islam online selama kurun 2018–2023. Analisis data dilakukan dengan menggunakan *metaphor identification procedure, conceptual metaphor theory,* dan *mixed metaphor.* Hasil penelitian menunjuukan terdapat 9 ranah sumber metafora toleransi beragama, yaitu 1) TOLERANSI ADALAH PAKAIAN, (2) TOLERANSI ADALAH RUANG/ BANGUNAN, (3) TOLERANSI ADALAH MANUSIA, (4) TOLERANSI ADALAH TUBUH, (5) TOLERANSI ADALAH TUMBUHAN, dan (6) TOLERANSI ADALAH BENDA, (7) TOLERANSI ADALAH KOMODITAS BISNIS, (8) TOLERANSI ADALAH PERANG, dan (9) TOLERANSI ADALAH KENDARAAN. Secara umum, metafora toleransi pada media massa diklasifikasikan dalam tiga *tone,* yaitu *tone* positif, *tone* negatif, dan *tone* netral. Media massa Islam online yang memiliki kecenderungan *tone* positif adalah NU Online dan Alif.id, media massa dengan kecenderungan *tone* campuran (positif-netral) adalah Suara Muhammadiyah dan (positif-netral-negatif) adalah Hidayatullah.com, dan media massa dengan kecenderungan *tone* negatif adalah Portal Islam, Suara Islam, VOA Islam, dan Era Muslim.

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1   Introduction

In conflict studies, the media plays a role in the conflict. The media can influence public opinion as an involved actor. As an actor, the media presents a picture of the role of igniting conflict, spreading conflict, framing grand narratives, propaganda, or being a producer of peace narratives. In this condition, the media is at the forefront of conflict situations (Shawa et al., 2023). The media not only presents the facts and realities that occur but also carries out the process of reproducing facts (Komova, 2017). This means that the facts have the potential to be different from the news presentation depending on the angle used by journalists in presenting the news. This is called factual. In addition to the angle chosen by journalists, news is also presented based on ideology and media favoritism.

The media should be a public space that carries the spirit of deliberative democracy by carrying four media functions: to inform, educate, control, and entertain (Nuswantoro, 2017). This is interesting to study more deeply because observing the reality of society, the media appears in a variety of contents. The media not only distributes information but also produces information (Syas & Rusadi, 2021). It is at this point of information production that the layers behind the media play their role. Robert Baowollo states that at the very least, an examination of the media must explore the elements behind the influential layers, namely media ownership, bandwagon effect (the tendency of people to believe in the media because the majority believe in it), infection (the ability of the media to influence to create conflict), and media language (Nuswantoro, 2017).

Media ownership, bandwagon effect, and infection may not be visible on the surface of the news content, but it will be different with the language in the media. The language in the media embodies the tendency of infection, the influence on the majority, and the framing that wants to be built (Meneses, 2021). Language in the media serves to display the function of the media itself. Knowing this, some mass media utilize it to strengthen the infection of certain issues, which need to be explored more deeply. Metaphor analysis can be used for that. Previously, studies of media framing and the dismantling of mass media ideology were limited to using critical discourse analysis, such as those conducted on the framing of religious violence in the Madura Shia group (Zakiyah & Rohmah, 2022), related to the Alibaba marketplace on the internet (J. Wang, 2022), framing in interpreting political analysis (Van Hulst et al., 2024), and framing on multimodal texts, such as on social media (Oprea, 2019).

The metaphors that emerge demonstrate the power of entertaining, broad and varied meanings. The novelty of metaphors is important because the richness of expressions contained in metaphors can be interesting and important as a broad description of information. Using metaphors to convey information enhances communication by making it more engaging and offering expressive alternatives. Metaphors are not just the preserve of writers, but can also be created by policymakers, politicians, engineers, educators, and anyone else who communicates their ideas(Wyatt, 2021).

A metaphor as a thought gives meaning to an object that has cognition and is directed at its source domain. Metaphor analysis is one aspect of language that can be used to reveal the influence of language by the media. Griffin's research reveals that the rhetorical power of metaphors can further explore the impact of a particular speech, talk or discussion (Syas & Rusadi, 2021). This rhetoric will affect how communicators relate to communicants and build certain arguments and thoughts. (Sukirman et al., 2022). This rhetoric will influence how communicators relate to communicants and build certain arguments and thoughts, including messages that lead to conflict. (Syas & Rusadi, 2021). Conceptual metaphors can reveal how mass media shows its ideology through the metaphorical depictions used in framing news and articles (Antonova, 2014). Metaphors in mass media can also shape public perceptions and emotional responses to events (Sun, 2023). The mass media has a

tendency not to provide balanced information and even favor certain groups according to their ideology (Y. Wang, 2024). In this case, the metaphor can be used to highlight one aspect and hide another (Komatsubara, 2024).

If in critical discourse analysis, media framing can be analyzed through three stages of analysis, namely microstructure (text) analysis, superstructure analysis, and macrostructure analysis (Putriyanti et al., 2020)Media framing analysis with conceptual metaphor theory is carried out with metaphor identification procedures (Falck & Okonski, 2022) and mixed metaphor tests to test the metaphor identification procedures (Dunn, 2015). Words or phrases that have metaphorical meanings related to certain domains will be analyzed for their textual meaning and contextual meaning and then classified for the formation pattern of the source domain and target domain, and the similarity relation between these two domains Furthermore, tolerance metaphors are subsequently reclassified based on the tone of the metaphors used. This metaphorical tone can show the alignment and ideology of the mass media. The positive tone on the issue of tolerance shows that the Islamic mass media is in favour of the issue of tolerance. Meanwhile, the negative tone shows the opposite direction. This means that the mass media whose tolerance metaphors are dominated by negative tones show that the mass media are against the phenomenon of tolerance. Finally, the neutral tone shows that the related mass media attempts to present tolerance as something neutral.

Amid the diversity society, such as Indonesia, and the level of digital mass media consumption, the media plays an important role in anticipating conflict (Zahoor & Sadiq, 2021). The media in Indonesia should be present as part of managing conflicts so that they do not escalate or even ignite them. However, this needs to be studied more deeply, considering that some conflicts easily arise in Indonesia, one of which is a conflict based on religious differences (Daus, 2023). The issue of tolerance should be a message contained in the digital mass media to minimize conflict. Mass media plays a role in generating various positive and negative impacts. The positive access that the media has is a strategic role to promote interfaith dialogue, tolerance, mutual understanding, and mutual respect for interfaith harmony. Conversely, the media also has the opportunity to deflect the direction of inter-religious relations towards corridors that tend to be negative and have the potential to create disharmony (Halwati & Alfi, 2022).

One of the issues frequently represented in the media through symbolic language representations and extensive linguistic codification is the issue of Islam. Islam and Muslims are portrayed within the dominant media framework, often framed distinctively when discussing this issue: conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, political responsibility, and controversial discriminations(Corpas-Aguirre, 2021). The correlation between truth-news-metaphors used to shape trends is an important aspect to consider. The imbalance between trends and reality will affect the reader's knowledge of the information that occurs. The trends that emerge due to mass media are the desired speed and trends but often ignore the facts and realities that they want to report. Currently, digital media is very easy for readers to consume.

Islamic mass media has emerged in Indonesia, in line with the emergence and development of digital mass media. Although digital mass media differs in form and appearance from conventional print media, its influence extends far more broadly. In Indonesia, recorded by the Nielsen Consumer and Media View Survey, the growth of conventional mass media users (newspapers) has continued to decline over the past four years. Although it has not yet fully migrated, the tendency of the world community towards digital media consumption has increased (Respati, 2014; Salaudeen & Onyechi, 2020). Especially during the pandemic, it was noted that digital mass media users experienced a significant increase, the number of users rose 20% (Cho et al., 2023; Junawan & Laugu, 2020). In addition, in Indonesia, total gadget users have reached approximately 78.19% of the 275.77 million population (Kholili et al., 2024)

The development of the use of online mass media is also a concern for religious groups, one of which is as a medium for da'wah (Kholili et al., 2024; Malik, 2018; Murodi et al., 2023). Effective religious preaching, according to the Special Staff of the Indonesian Minister of Communication and Information Technology, must adapt to this development. Effective digital preaching can be done by considering the content of digital media with a certain religious sect (Ismail et al., 2024; Khamim, 2022). In particular, it is appropriate for the Islamic mass media to become an intermediary between ulama or preachers to create a positive atmosphere (Hureri et al., 2019) and encourage the active involvement of Muslims in efforts to implement Islamic values, including respecting the existence of fellow human beings, in this context, tolerance (Fitriansyah & Lubis, 2023).

As far as the search has been done, there is research that examines religion in mass media, such as research on religious broadcasts that are more concerned with sociological idealistic considerations than materialistic pragmatism considerations that give rise to more religious attitudes and behaviors (Sarbini, 2018), research conducted on the Riau Pos mass media (Amrun & Khairiah, 2017) which found that the mass media had provided insights into tolerance, but on social media various acts of religious intolerance occurred (Khaerun Rijaal, 2021), on the issue of blasphemy in social media and digital media as carried out by Muhammad Kece, a framing study was conducted which showed that some media showed favoritism to Muhammad Kece, while other media showed favoritism in the opposite direction (Setiabudi et al., 2022), and research on blasphemy that feeds into political discourse, public piety, and social order, rather than potentially enhancing individual piety and religious practice (Epafras et al., 2019). Meanwhile, research related to conceptual metaphors and mass media that has been carried out is research related to the comparison of metaphors in male and female writing (Utami, 2019) terrorism metaphors in the mass media (Asprillia, 2023)(, political metaphors (Surip et al., 2024; Surip & Lubis, 2022), the development of metaphors in mass media (Ilchenko et al., 2021), the development of metaphors in digital media (Scolari, 2023), and metaphors related to the corona virus (Sarjono & Bram, 2021). Meanwhile, other conceptual metaphor research was conducted on corona-themed songs (Rahmawati & Zakiyah, 2021), on Japanese idioms (Rachman et al., 2023), and on the Quran (Fathurrohim & Nur, 2024).

However, no research focuses on revealing the meaning of tolerance through a cognitive linguistic approach, especially on metaphors. The issue of religious tolerance and religious violence is very interesting in Indonesian society, especially for Moslem society. Religious tolerance is always debated about its meaning and practice in society (Hambali, 2023). Some groups consider certain activities, such as wishing Muslims a merry Christmas as a form of tolerance (Faidi, 2021), others see it as a form of *toleransi yang kebablasan* 'tolerance that is excessive', even as a form of intolerant activity (Hidayat et al., 2020). Muslims have different interpretations of religious tolerance and the definition of religious tolerance. This diverse religious interpretation is based on diverse religious ideologies. The mass media will present news and articles that are in line with the ideology of the owner (Gaurav Singh & Nity, 2017). Due to differences in religious understanding, especially Islam, Islamic mass media presents tolerance with different tones to show their alignments and their ideology. As the majority community in Indonesia, the perspective of the Muslim community is important to consider as the largest market share. Moreover, Indonesia is a country with the highest level of religiosity (Gebauer et al., 2014).

On the other hand, in Islamic teachings, there is a belief that da'wa (propagation of Islamic values and Islamic laws) is an obligation and earns great rewards (Jaffar, 2022), so da'wah is one of the main goals of Islamic mass media (Yusuf & Boletbekova, 2022). Moreover, one of the focuses of da'wah in Indonesian Moslem society is religious tolerance. The use of the terms *merawat toleransi* 'caring for tolerance' and *toleransi yang kebablasan* 'over-tolerance' is a metaphorical form that is often used by Islamic mass media in Indonesia to describe the phenomenon of tolerance in Indonesia as

well as showing a different tone in the depiction of tolerance. In the phrase caring for tolerance, tolerance is considered as something valuable that needs to be cared for. The tone used in this metaphor is positive and shows the partiality of the Islamic mass media towards the phenomenon of tolerance. However, the phrase *toleransi kebablasan* 'over-tolerance' describes tolerance as a vehicle that can be 'missed' on the way to the main destination. In this example, tolerance is described as having a negative tone and indicates the ideology of mass media that tends to be radical. Furthermore, this study focuses on the explanation of the source domain and the target domain as well as the tone in the metaphor of the term tolerance used in online Islamic mass media news in the 5 years, namely 2018-2023.

Therefore, this research explored the meaning of tolerance metaphors contained in digital mass media, especially on Islamic religion-based digital mass media platforms. By knowing the metaphor of tolerance, the form of understanding and attitude towards tolerance can be known. This research will reveal several problems (RQ); (RQ1) what is the source domain of the target domain of religious tolerance in Islamic mass media, (RQ2) how the tone classifications framed by online Islamic mass media, (RQ3) why is the tone and domain of the source chosen by the mass media to metaphorize tolerance? Based on these research questions, the objectives in this study are (RQ1) to identify the source domain of the target domain of religious tolerance in Islamic mass media, (RQ2) to describe the classification of tones framed by online Islamic mass media, and (RQ3) to explain the reasons why tones and source domains are chosen by mass media to metaphorize tolerance? This descriptive qualitative research uses a cognitive linguistic approach, especially in metaphor studies. This research can contribute to the phenomenon of abstract religious tolerance in the mass media in a metaphorical form, thus enriching cognitive linguistic studies that have only discussed issues that are not debated. In the study of religious tolerance and mass media, this research can enrich the study of tolerance in the mass media to media framing through conceptual metaphors that have never been done before. Finally, this research is expected to be able to provide policy inspiration in efforts to sow religious tolerance through the mass media.

2   Methods

This descriptive qualitative research uses a cognitive linguistic approach, especially in metaphor studies. The metaphor used in this research is conceptual metaphor. In conceptual metaphors, metaphors indicate the way humans understand and think about one domain of experience through another. Metaphors are believed to shape the way we think and interact with the world. Conceptual metaphors reflect our cognitive structures and influence the way we categorize and interpret experiences. This is what distinguishes conceptual metaphors from ordinary metaphors, which are limited to being stylized or beautiful expressions, but do not necessarily relate directly to the way we think.

The research began by collecting data in the form of news containing issues related to Islam. Data were obtained from online Islamic mass media with the characteristics of (1) representing Islamic organizations in Indonesia or including the Islamic label in its name, (2) being an active online mass media for at least 5 years, and (3) being a national online mass media or a sub of international mass media. Based on these criteria, seven Islamic mass media were selected, namely NU Online, Suara Muhammadiyah, VOA Islam, Era Muslim, Alif.id, Hidayatullah.com, Portal Islam, and Suara Islam on news and articles with the theme of religious tolerance or relations between religions. Data was obtained during the period 2018–2023. This period was chosen to limit the depth of the issue and its relevance to the context that occurred. Society, in general, experienced changes in habits during the pandemic; namely, the use of gadgets was more massive during the pandemic and the next. So, the assumption is that online news consumers are also like that.

After the data is collected, the process of data reduction, data classification, data analysis, and conclusion drawing is carried out. The data were then analyzed with the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) initiated by Praggelajaz (Group, 2007) and then the results of metaphor identification were analyzed for themes and concepts through two theories, namely conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003) and retested through frames and construction in metaphorical language (Sullivan, 2019) which is also called mixed metaphors theory to test the classification of themes that have been found through CMT. In conceptual metaphor theory, metaphors are not just linguistic expressions but are part of the basic structure of our thinking. In other words, the way we talk about something in everyday language often reflects the way we think about it. The procedure of MIP is to identify words or phrases that have literal and figurative meanings; check whether the use of the word or phrase is used in a more abstract context; then identify whether the use of the word or phrase is metaphorical; and finally, the structure of the existing conceptual metaphor is identified. Meanwhile, mixed metaphors theory is an approach to assess the extent to which a metaphor used in communication is able to convey its intended meaning in various social, cultural, or linguistic contexts. In this approach, metaphors are seen for their success in creating imagination and emotion aesthetically. It also looks at the consistency and relevance of metaphors used in communication, as well as social and cultural contexts.

The data analysis technique carried out in detail is done by reading the entire discourse, determining the contextual meaning of lexical identity, determining a more basic or concrete meaning (lexical meaning) by using the online version of the Big Indonesian Dictionary, marking lexical units that have different meanings at the level of contextual meaning and more basic meaning. These lexical units have metaphorical meanings. After that, lexical units that have metaphorical meanings are identified with metaphor formation strategies using conceptual metaphor theory through metaphor identification procedure and retested with the mixed metaphors test. After the data is analyzed using the metaphor identification procedure and the mixed metaphor test, data interpretation is carried out based on the tone found and the relationship between metaphor tone and mass media ideology. Finally, the data that has been analyzed and interpreted is then concluded.

3 Results

The metaphor of religious tolerance in online Islamic mass media has not been widely researched. In fact, through metaphors we can illustrate how the online Islamic mass media frames the issue of religious tolerance. In Indonesia, religious tolerance is a hot issue that has the potential to become a political hot potato every political year. Therefore, religious tolerance framed by online Islamic mass media through metaphors can be one of the origins of the emergence of societal divisions, and in extreme conditions can be the cause of conflict. Based on data analysis, it was found that there are 73 data of religious tolerance metaphors in online Islamic mass media with details of NU Online 28 data; Suara Muhammadiyah 5 data; Portal Islam 6 data; Era Muslim 13 data; Hidayatullah 6 data; Alif.id 4 data; VOA Islam 6 data; and Suara Islam 4 data. Furthermore, it was found that religious tolerance in Islamic online mass media is metaphorized as (1) TOLERANCE IS A CLOTHING, (2) TOLERANCE IS SPACE/ BUILDING, (3) TOLERANCE IS HUMAN, (4) TOLERANCE IS BODY, (5) TOLERANCE IS A PLANT, (6) TOLERANCE IS A THING, (7) TOLERANCE IS BUSINESS COMMODITY, (8) TOLERANCE IS WAR, and (9) TOLERANCE IS VEHICLE. These are categorized into three metaphorical tones: positive, negative, and neutral.

In general, the three tones of the tolerance metaphor can be indicators of the ideological tendencies of Islamic digital mass media. These three tones are found in all domains of the source of the tolerance metaphor. The percentages of these three tones are 52% positive, 5.5% neutral and 42.5% negative, respectively. Positive tone means that religious tolerance in online Islamic mass media is metaphorized as something positive and considered good. Positive tone comes in several

forms, such as TOLERANCE IS A VALUABLE THING, so the metaphors that emerge are respect, appreciation, kindness, kindness, caring and upholding. Meanwhile, a negative tone means that religious tolerance is metaphorized as something that has negative value and is even considered not good, as TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY and TOLERANCE IS WAR. Examples of metaphors that appear in this tone are inconsequential tolerance, tolerance being used as tools, tolerance going too far, tolerance is ignoring, tolerance is a weapon used to attack, and sellers of the issue of tolerance. Lastly, a neutral tone means that tolerance is metaphorized as something that is neutral, neither good nor negative. Examples of metaphors of tolerance with a neutral tone are the level of tolerance, the limits of tolerance, the key to tolerance, the value of growing tolerance, and the meaning of tolerance. The following table presents the classification of research findings.

Table 1 The Data Classification

Online Islamic mass media	Amount of data	Domain of Metaphors	Tone
NU Online	28	TOLERANCE IS A SPACE/ BUILDING; TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN; TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN BODY; TOLERANCE IS A PLANT; TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY; TOLERANCE IS WAR; TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE	Positive
Era Muslim	13	TOLERANCE IS A CLOTHING; TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN; TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN BODY; TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY; TOLERANCE IS WAR; TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE	Negative
Hidayatullah	6	TOLERANCE IS A CLOTHING; TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN; TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN BODY	Negative; neutral
Portal Islam	6	TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN; TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY	Negative
VOA Islam	6	TOLERANCE IS A SPACE/ BUILDING; TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN; TOLERANCE IS WAR; TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE	Negative
Suara Muhammadiyah	5	TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN; TOLERANCE IS A THING; TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE	neutral; positive
Suara Islam	4	TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN; TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE	Negative
Alif.id	4	TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN BODY; TOLERANCE IS WAR	Positive
Total	73		

Table 2 The Percentage of Data

Data Classification		Amount of Data
Domain of Metaphors	TOLERANCE IS A CLOTHING	4.7%
	TOLERANCE IS A SPACE/BUILDING	3.2%
	TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN	25.3%
	TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN BODY	6.4%
	TOLERANCE IS A PLANT	6.4%
	TOLERANCE IS A THING	23.8%
	TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY	9.6%
	TOLERANCE IS WAR	9.6%
	TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE	11%
Tone	Positive	52%
	Negative	42.5%
	Neutral	5.5%

The table reveals that online Islamic mass media is predominantly characterized by the metaphors "TOLERANCE IS A THING" and "TOLERANCE IS HUMAN." Another finding is that the TOLERANCE metaphor has slightly more positive tone than negative tone. Meanwhile, neutral tone

is the least used tone. Based on mass media, it is found that NU Online and Alif.id only use positive tone in describing tolerance. In contrast, Era Muslim, VOA Islam, Portal Islam, and Suara Islam only use negative tone. Meanwhile, Suara Muhammadiyah uses positive and neutral tones, while Hidayatullah uses negative and neutral tones in describing tolerance.

Online Islamic mass media uses various sources of metaphors for tolerance, but with certain tonal tendencies. This means that the metaphor TOLERANCE IS A THING can contain positive tones, negative tones and neutral tones. These three tones are not limited to one realm of metaphorical sources, but contain certain tendencies, for example, TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY all have a negative tone and TOLERANCE IS A SPACE has a neutral tone. In each source domain there are at least two tones, either negative, positive and/or neutral tones. For example, in TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE there are various tones. In sentence (23), the sentence fragment of tolerance amidst the heterogeneity of society must not stop (NU Online) contains a positive tone. However, in sentence fragment (24), the practice of tolerance has been implemented since the organization was founded (Suara Muhammadiyah), the tone that appears is neutral. Even in sentence fragment (25) the concept of tolerance ridden by intolerance (Muslim Era) has a negative tone. Likewise in TOLERANCE IS THE BODY, the tone that appears is negative and positive. The positive tone appears in the word care in sentence (11), while the negative tone appears in the word hurt in sentence (14).

4 Discussion

4.1 TOLERANCE IS A CLOTHING

The metaphor of religious tolerance framed by Islamic online mass media is that TOLERANCE IS A CLOTHING.

1. *Kemlu mengatakan bahwa aksi tersebut merupakan penistaan kitab suci serta melukai dan **menodai** toleransi umat beragama.* 'The Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the action was a blasphemy of the holy book and hurt and tarnished religious tolerance.'
2. *Menag Yaqut harus paham tentang ini. Sesungguhnya Menteri Yaqut **tipis** sekali pemahamannya tentang toleransi.* (Era Muslim) 'The minister of religion, Yaqut, must understand this. Indeed, Minister Yaqut has a very thin understanding of tolerance'

In sentence (1), the word *menodai* 'tarnish' has the contextual meaning 'to give a bad impression' and has a more basic meaning of 'to make a stain', something that is stained is usually clothing. In sentence (2) the word *tipis* 'thin' means that the Minister of Religion's understanding of the issue of tolerance is lacking. The word 'thin' has a more basic meaning in the form of 'little between one surface and another (about flat items), such as cloth or paper'. Since there is a difference in the more basic meaning and the contextual meaning, the *menodai* 'tarnishing' and *tipis* 'thin' have metaphorical meaning.

Table 3 Metaphor of TOLERANCE IS CLOTHING

Clothing	Tolerance
May be stained by dirt	May be stained by intolerant activities, such as violence
May come from fabrics that are not thick	May be a lack of understanding/practice

4.2 TOLERANCE IS A SPACE/ BUILDING

Furthermore, the Islamic mass media frames TOLERANCE IS A SPACE / BUILDING. Like a building, tolerance

3. *Toleransi itu bukan harus **memasuki ruang** orang lain.* (Era Muslim) 'Tolerance is not about entering other people's space.'
4. ***Kunci** sikap toleransi adalah memiliki referensi keilmuan yang cukup.* (NU online) 'The key to tolerance is to have sufficient scientific references.'

The phrase *memasuki ruang* 'entering the space' in sentence (3) has a contextual meaning that tolerance does not mean combining one religion with another. The more basic meaning of the word *memasuki* 'entering' is 'to go inside' and the word space means 'between two (rows of) pillars or between four pillars (under the house)'.

In sentence (4), the word *kunci* 'key' has the contextual meaning of 'condition'. Meanwhile, the more basic meaning of 'a tool for buttoning doors, chests, and so on, consisting of a key and a master key'. The difference in contextual meaning and basic meaning shows that the sentences are metaphorical. The source domain in this case is the room/building used to understand the concept of religious tolerance.

Table 4 Metaphor TOLERANCE IS A BUILDING

BUILDING	Religious Tolerance
Can be entered by living beings	Can enter the human mind
Have a key to be able to open the door of the room/building	Having conditions to be categorized as tolerant or not

4.3 TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN

Furthermore, TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN manifest in the form of being friendly, walking hand in hand, giving birth, and facing.

5. *... menciptakan preferensi algoritma yang ramah akan toleransi.* '… to recommend tolerance accounts to social media users in order to create tolerance-friendly algorithm preferences.' (NU Online)
6. *Berbeda ... mengatur ritme untuk tetap berjalan beriringan.* 'Different … sets the rhythm to keep going hand in hand.' (Nu Online)
7. *... pendapat mereka yang bisa melahirkan sikap intoleran.* '… their ideas, ideas or opinions that can give birth to intolerant attitudes'.

Table 5. Metaphor of TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN

8.	
HUMAN	RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
Can be friendly or get friendly attitudes from other humans.	Can get many algorithms from internet searches.
Can step and move forward using legs	Can mobilize to support their religion or other religions
Can walk together with other humans	Can mobilize to support each other with other religions.
Being born by his parents	May arise through dialog and other activities.

In sentence (5), the word *ramah* 'friendly' has the contextual meaning 'contains a lot of tolerance content'. In sentence (5) it has the basic meaning of 'kind and attractive in language' which refers to the attitude between humans to other humans. In sentence (6), the words *berjalan* 'walking' and *beriringan* 'hand in hand' have a contextual meaning that religious differences should be addressed by supporting each other between people of one religion and people of other religions. Based on a more basic lexical meaning, the word *berjalan* 'walking means' 'stepping forward' and *beriringan* 'hand in hand' means 'walking in a row'. In sentence (7), the word *melahirkan* 'giving birth' has a contextual meaning of 'can make an intolerant attitude'. Lexically, *melahirkan* 'childbirth' means 'to bring out a child (from the womb)'. The difference in contextual meaning and lexical meaning in

sentences (5), (6), and (7) makes the words *ramah* 'friendly', *berjalan* 'walking', *beriringan* 'hand in hand', and *melahirkan* 'giving birth' have metaphorical meanings.

4.4   TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN BODY

Tolerance in Islamic mass media is further metaphorized as a body. TOLERANCE IS A HUMAN BODY is depicted in the flesh, caring, maintaining, injuring, and harming.

9. *Sikap saling bantu pada saat perayaan hari besar keagamaan telah mendarah daging di sana.* 'The attitude of helping each other during the celebration of religious holidays has been ingrained there.' (NU online)

10. *Merawat Toleransi, Dosen UNIMUDA Sorong Lakukan PKM kepada Pengurus Rumah Ibadah* 'Caring for Tolerance, UNIMUDA Sorong Lecturer Conducts PKM to the Management of Houses of Worship.' (Suara Muhammadiyah)

11. *... perbuatan yang menciderai semangat kerukunan antar umat beragama yang selama ini sudah berjalan dengan cukup baik.* '… an act that harms the spirit of inter-religious harmony that has been running quite well.' (Hidayatullah)

In sentence (8), the word '*mendarah daging*' 'ingrained' has the contextual meaning of 'has become a habit'. Lexically *mendarah* 'bleeding' means 'to be red like blood' and *daging* 'flesh' means 'a soft bundle consisting of veins in the human or animal body (between the skin and bones)'. In sentence (9), the word *merawat* 'care' has the contextual meaning 'to make tolerance continue'. Lexically, *merawat* 'caring' means 'taking care of people'. Furthermore, the words *menciderai* 'injure' in sentence (10) have the contextual meaning of 'causing problems' in interreligious relations and the lexical meaning of 'causing wounds' and 'causing injury' to the body. The difference in contextual and lexical meanings shows that the words *mendarah daging* 'ingrained', *merawat* 'care', *melukai* 'injure', and *mencederai* 'injure' have metaphorical meanings.

Table 6. Metaphor of TOLERANCE IS HUMAN BODY

HUMAN BODY	RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
Has internal organs of blood and flesh	Become a habit done from self-awareness
Maintained with exercise and healthy eating	Maintained by dialog and mutual support between religious communities
Can be injured and harmed by accident	Can be harmed by conflict and acts of intolerance between religious communities

4.5   TOLERANCE IS A PLANT

The next metaphor that appears is TOLERANCE IS A PLANT as in the following sentence.

12. *Sikap toleransi di Gang Luna ... sudah tertanam sejak dahulu kala.* 'The attitude of tolerance in Gang Luna … has been embedded since time immemorial.' (NU Online)

13. *... menyemai nilai moderasi dan toleransi yang diajarkan di pesantren ....* '…sow the values of moderation and tolerance taught in pesantren …' (NU Online)

Table 7. Metaphor of TOLERANCE IS A PLANT

A PLANT	RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
Buried in the ground	Instilled/realized within religious communities
Growing in the middle of rice fields, gardens, forests, or fields	Grow and develop in religious communities
Sown in fields, paddy fields, gardens, or forests so that they grow well	Disseminated to religious communities to develop and be carried out by as many religious communities as possible

The word *tertanam* 'planted' in sentence (11) has the contextual meaning of 'already existing' and the lexical meaning of 'already planted;' which comes from the word *tanam* which means 'to put (seeds, seedlings, cuttings, etc.) in the ground so that they grow'. In sentence (12), the word *menyemai*

'sowing' has the contextual meaning of 'spreading understanding' and the lexical meaning of 'planting (sowing) seeds (grains) in an available place to produce plant seeds that will be planted again in another place'.

4.6 TOLERANCE IS A THING

Furthermore, TOLERANCE IS A THING with the following metaphorical examples.

14. *... toleransi perlu kita junjung bersama-sama*. '… we need to uphold the spirit of tolerance together'. (NU Online)
15. *... toleransi yang dibajak*. '.. hijacked tolerance.' (alif.id)

The word *junjung* 'uphold' in a sentence (13) has the contextual meaning of 'do and honor' and the lexical meaning of 'carry on the head'. In sentence (14), the word *dibajak* 'hijacked' has a contextual meaning 'interpreted differently from its original meaning' and a contextual meaning 'to take over an airplane (ship, bus, etc.) by force with a specific purpose'.

Besides using the words *junjung* 'uphold' and *dibajak* 'hijacked', in the metaphor of TOLERANCE IS A THING, tolerance is also metaphorized as *dihormati* 'being respected', *dirawat* 'being cared for', *diruwat* 'being treated', *diperalat* 'being cheated', *dibiarkan* 'being left', and *ngawur* 'inconsequential'. In addition, to being metaphorized as a valuable object so that it is upheld, respected, and cared for, tolerance is also metaphorized as a worthless object so that it is easily used, judged as inconsequential, and plowed.

Table 8. Metaphor of TOLERANCE IS A THING

A THING	RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
If it is valuable, it is carried to be cherished to be venerated	Some groups consider tolerance to be a precious thing to be honored
If it is valuable, it will be guarded, cared for, ritualized, and honored	Some groups strive for tolerance to be maintained, exist, and be honored
Due to it being valuable, it is sometimes hijacked or forged by others for certain purposes.	Others think that tolerance is destabilizing and needs to be changed for certain purposes.
A good may be believed as something that is not important, so it is ignored or considered inconsequential.	For some people who believe religious tolerance is unimportant, religious tolerance is negligence, even a nuisance, and is therefore considered inconsequential.

4.7 TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY

Furthermore, tolerance is also metaphorized as a business commodity.

16. *... terus menjunjung sikap toleransi sebagai modal utama membentuk kehidupan yang rukun dan harmonis ....* '… continue to uphold an attitude of tolerance as the main capital to form a harmonious and harmonious life ...' (Nu Online)
17. *... kita hargai apa yang orang lain percayai...* '… we respect what others believe ...' (Nu Online)

In sentence (15), the word *modal* 'capital' has a contextual meaning of 'something used as a basis or provision for working (struggling and so on)' and a lexical meaning 'money used as a basis (parent) for trading, releasing money, and so on'. The word *hargai* 'appreciate' in the sentence (16) has the contextual meaning of 'respect' and the lexical meaning of 'the value of goods determined or represented by money'. The difference in contextual meaning in sentences (15) and (16) shows that *modal* 'capital' and *hargai* 'appreciate' have metaphorical meanings.

Other sentences that show the existence of metaphors in the word tolerance are the words considering the value of tolerance, selling tolerance issues, and using tolerance as selling material. It indicates that the Islamic mass media metaphorizes TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY.

Table 9. Metaphor of TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY

BUSINESS COMMODITY	RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
Requires money as capital to be able to trade	Requires diversity as capital/main condition for tolerance
Goods sold are priced	Other religious beliefs must be respected/respected
The goods considered for sale are merchandise	Something that is considered for discussion or issue is tolerance
Goods sold by traders/businesspeople to make a profit are merchandise or commodities	Something that certain religious groups take issue within order to gain rewards or other benefits are issues, discourses, attitudes, and practices of tolerance or intolerance.

4.8   TOLERANCE IS WAR

Furthermore, the metaphors that appear in Islamic online mass media related to tolerance are clashing, rioting, hostility, weapons, targeting, sacrificing, and attacking. If these diction choices are classified, they will converge on one word, war. Therefore, TOLERANCE IS WAR is a metaphor that appears in Islamic mass media.

18. *Berbeda bukan berarti bermusuhan*. Different does not mean hostile." (NU Online)

Sentence (17) contains the word *bermusuhan* 'hostile' which has the contextual meaning of 'attacking each other' and the more basic meaning of 'opposite'. The word *bermusuhan* 'hostile' is used for two people or two groups fighting. However, in sentence (17), it turns out that what is at odds is not two groups but different beliefs. Therefore, the word hostile in sentence (17) is a word that has a metaphorical meaning because it has a different meaning at contextual and lexical levels.

Apart from the word *bermusuhan* 'hostile', as stated previously, the word weapon also appears and is targeted at part of the sentence "*toleransi ... digunakan sebagai senjata…"* 'tolerance … being used as a weapon...', *mengorbankan* 'sacrificing' the sentence "*toleransi tidak berarti seorang harus mengorbankan kepercayaan…"* 'tolerance does not mean a person has to sacrifice the beliefs …', and *menyerang* attacked the sentence "*buzzer dan pendukung "toleransi" bukan saja menyerang fatwa haram mengucapkan selamat Natal …"* 'buzzers and supporters of "tolerance" are not only attacking the haram fatwa to say Merry Christmas ...'.

Table 10. The metaphor of TOLERANCE IS WAR

WAR	RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
Relations with war opponents are called hostile	Relations with other religions are considered hostile
Tools for attacking enemies are called weapons	One way/medium in relations with people of other religions is tolerance
Weapons are used to target/target the enemy	Tolerance is used to target/direct religious communities
One of the activities in war is attacking the enemy	One of the tolerance activities is attacking religious leaders' fatwas.

4.9   TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE

Furthermore, TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE is proven using the words stop, run, and ride which are commonly used in vehicles as in the following sentence.

19. *.. bagi Muhammadiyah praktek toleransi sudah dijalankan sejak organisasi berdiri.* '… for Muhammadiyah, the practice of tolerance has been implemented since the organization was founded' (Suara Muhammadiyah)
20. *Salah satunya adalah konsep toleransi yang tertunggangi intoleransi, ...* 'One of them is the concept of tolerance, which is riddled with intolerance, ...' (Era Muslim)

The word *dijalankan* 'walked' in sentence (18) has the contextual meaning 'carried out' and the lexical meaning 'made to run'. Meanwhile, the word *tertunggangi* 'ridden' has the contextual meaning 'affected by' and the more basic lexical meaning 'ridden'. Differences in contextual meaning and the more basic lexical meaning indicates the presence of a metaphor in the sentence.

In more detail, the following is the relationship between vehicle being the source domain and religious tolerance being the target domain.

Table 11. The metaphor of TOLERANCE IS A VEHICLE

VEHICLE	RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE
The vehicle may stop moving	Tolerance can cease to be practiced
The vehicle can be operated by a driver	Tolerance can be implemented/practiced by religious communities
The vehicle can be ridden/ridden by passengers	Tolerance can be driven/influenced by intolerant practices.

The finding of three tones in this metaphor of tolerance is in line with the existence of three main groups in religious society in Indonesia exclusive right, the liberal left, and the moderate, which can be seen as the source. The exclusive right is divided into two: conservative-exclusives, who follow early Islamic traditions strictly, and Islamic groups who want a state based on Islamic teachings. These two groups dominate the narrative of tolerance in the media. Meanwhile, left-liberal groups tend to interpret religion outside the limits of reason, tradition and generally accepted norms. Moderates try to maintain a balance between reason and revelation and mediate between the right and left to avoid extreme conflict (Aksa, 2017).

The different ideologies of the various groups reflect the socio-political conditions of Indonesian society in interpreting tolerance. Online Islamic mass media are not limited to the realm of certain sources but also have a distinctive metaphorical tone in writing articles and news about religious tolerance. That is, almost all mass media set the same tone in the discourse of religious tolerance in line with the ideology of online Islamic mass media. So far, the reading of mass media ideology has only been done using the critical discourse approach (Zakiyah & Rohmah, 2022).

In cognitive linguistic studies, conceptual metaphors exist based on the experiences of the society where the metaphor originates (Rahmawati & Zakiyah, 2021). The three tones of religious tolerance in online Islamic mass media reflect their experiences in dealing with the phenomenon of diversity tolerance and convey their understanding of tolerance through the frames of published articles and news. As the official mass media of the largest Islamic organization that claims to be a moderate Islamic organization, NU Online presents religious tolerance in a positive tone, in a narrative such as *menyemai toleransi* 'sows tolerance'. However, in a limited portion, NU Online also presents metaphors that have a neutral tone, such as *menciptakan toleransi* 'creating tolerance'. Apart from NU Online, the mass media that presents the metaphor of religious tolerance with a positive tone is Alif.id. This can also be understood from the editorial board of Alif.id which is also affiliated with the NU mass organization.

In contrast to NU Online and Alif.id which present a positive tone in metaphorizing religious tolerance, Suara Muhammadiyah and Hidayatullah use positive and neutral tones and additional negative tones in the Hidayatullah mass media in metaphorizing the discourse of religious tolerance. Suara Muhammadiyah uses the words *merawat keberagaman* 'caring for diversity', in presenting a positive tone of religious tolerance and using the words *jalin toleransi* 'establishing tolerance' to describe a neutral tone. Meanwhile, Hidayatullah uses the words *mencederai semangat kerukunan* 'harming the spirit of harmony' to give a negative tone and uses the words *berjalan dengan cukup baik* 'going well' to give a neutral tone. This diversity of tones can be understood because in this era

Muhammadiyah is experiencing a tug-of-war and struggle of ideas which has resulted in "increased efforts to marginalize groups considered 'too' modern and progressive, and even 'liberal'.

Meanwhile, Hidayatullah.com is an online Islamic mass media which is an Islamic media portal belonging to the Hidayatullah mass organization which has the tagline Proclaiming the Truth and is designed to provide a positive image of the Islamic religion and reject the negative stigma of Western orientalism (Wahyudi et al., 2021). Even though the Hidayatullah.com profile states that most of this site follows moderate and tolerant Islamic views, there is still a chance that a small portion of the content from Islamic mass media does not follow moderate and tolerant Islamic views. Therefore, it is understandable that Hidayatullah.com has three different tones in the metaphor of religious tolerance.

Furthermore, Portal Islam, Suara Islam, VOA Islam, and Era Muslim depict religious tolerance in a negative tone. The Islamic Portal uses satirical sentences, such as "*Kalau muslim banyak, toleransi adalah menghargai minoritas. Saat muslimnya sedikit,... Toleransi artinya mengikuti mayoritas.*" 'If there are many Muslims, tolerance is respecting minorities. When there are few Muslims, ... Tolerance means following the majority.' to describe the negative tone in the metaphor of religious tolerance. Unfortunately, the Islamic Portal editorial board does not appear on this mass media page. In addition, no scientific research examines the ideology of online Islamic mass media in depth. However, based on a literature search, there is a strong suspicion that Portal Islam is owned by a puritanical Islamic group that sees tolerance as negative propaganda, rather than as a middle way for diversity.

Suara Islam uses the word *toleransi kebablasan* 'excessive tolerance', in showing the negative tone of religious tolerance. This can be understood because Suara Islam clearly shows that this online mass media belongs to the Islamic Community Forum (FUI). FUI itself is an Islamic organization that has close ties to the thinking of Islamic organizations that understand Islamism, as evidenced by FUI's togetherness in supporting the Islamic Defense Action with FPI and HTI (Pamungkas & Octaviani, 2017). Meanwhile, VOA Islam describes religious tolerance in a negative tone, such as *toleransi yang menghancurkan* 'tolerance that destroys'. This negative tone is the ideology of the online Islamic mass media VOA Islam. This is in line with the findings of the Research and Development and Training Agency of the Ministry of Religion which categorized VOA Islam as mass media "which rejects democracy, accepts the Jakarta Charter version of Pancasila, and wants the establishment of an Islamic caliphate in the form of a Sharia-compliant Republic of Indonesia"(Mujibuddin & Riza, 2022). Lastly, the Muslim Era depicts Islamic tolerance in a negative tone, such as *toleransi yang tertunggangi intoleransi* 'tolerance that is riddled with intolerance'. The use of this negative tone is also a reflection of the ideology of the Muslim Era, which is mass media in the category "accepts Pancasila, democracy, but wants the Islamization of the country and Sharia Regional Regulations"(Mujibuddin & Riza, 2022). This finding also confirms that metaphors can be used to dissect mass media ideology by utilizing the tone depicted through metaphors. This is in line with research on metaphor as a rhetorical force in mass media editorials, which shows that through double rhetoric, metaphors can strengthen the persuasive dimension, which is the basis of mass media ideology (Syas & Rusadi, 2021).

5 Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that the metaphor of tolerance in Islamic digital media appears in various domains, namely TOLERANCE IS A CLOTHING, TOLERANCE IS HUMANS, TOLERANCE IS SPACE OR BUILDINGS, TOLERANCE IS HUMANS, TOLERANCE IS THE BODY, TOLERANCE IS PLANTS, TOLERANCE IS OBJECTS, TOLERANCE IS A BUSINESS COMMODITY, TOLERANCE IS WAR, and TOLERANCE IS A

Zakiyah, Z., Saraswati, D., Yulianto, & Fadly, A.M.H. (2025). From TOLERANCE IS BUSINESS to TOLERANCE IS CLOTHING: Conceptual metaphors of religious tolerance in online Islamic mass media. *LITE: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, dan Budaya* 21 (1), 149-167. https://doi.org/10.33633/lite.v21i1.11526

VEHICLE. Of the various metaphors, tolerance as a human appears more than other metaphors. This is proven using this metaphor in various media.

Metaphors can be categorized into three tonal types: positive, negative, and neutral. Each realm of metaphor does not automatically represent a certain tone, but the tone of each media can be mapped to its tendencies. From the media reports, the tone that appears more dominant is the positive and negative tone published by different media. Most media use more than one type of metaphor, so the tone that the related media wants to convey needs to be analyzed in depth to find the tone and other layers of media functions. Online Islamic mass media that has a positive tone tendency is NU Online and Alif.id, mass media with a mixed tone tendency (positive-neutral) is Suara Muhammadiyah and (positive-neutral-negative) is Hidayatullah.com, and mass media with a tone tendency negative are Portal Islam, Suara Islam, VOA Islam, and Era Muslim. The tonal tendencies that emerge can represent the influence you want to spread. Through this metaphor, the media's framing of certain issues can also be known.

Therefore, it can be concluded that this study reinforces the prevailing assumption that mass media, especially online media, can provide information with a certain tone, resulting in diverse reader perceptions. The emerging tones can be illustrated through metaphors with wide-ranging diversity, enriching the codification of language extensively. An interesting finding of this study is the presence of a neutral tone found in mass media. Tolerance, in this study, is found to convey a neutral tone that is not limited to positive or negative. Contextual interpretation becomes essential in media literacy, ensuring that the meaning obtained is accurate and appropriate

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