

**Proceeding**

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**THE IDEOLOGY OF GUS YAQUT AS INDONESIAN MINISTER OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS IN CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

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**Abstract**

An ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs, and attitudes held consciously or unconsciously that reflect or shape an understanding or misunderstanding of the social and political world. Act to encourage, legitimize or advocate collective action aims at maintaining or changing political practices and institutions. A person's ideology can be seen through his speech, way of thinking, and actions. Speech is one of the oral communications that is frequently utilized, and it is a type of public speaking that has become an essential component of official proceedings. One of the government leaders who used the speech to communicate with people is Gus Yaqut, the Minister of Religious Affairs of Indonesia. He caused controversy with his speech that likened mosque loudspeakers to a dog barking, causing various reactions from the public who considered it blasphemy. The purpose of this study is to find out what ideology is contained in Gus Yaqut's speech and what context triggers the ideology. In conducting this study, the writer used a qualitative method with data collection including observation and note-taking. The method of data analysis used the critical discourse analysis method by Norman Fairclough. The data result showed that the writer found institutional context, situational context, and cultural context that supported the ideology of tolerance and the ideology of harmonization of Gus Yaqut.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Contexts

**INTRODUCTION**

To meet various needs in life, humans must interact with others. This is because humans are social beings, so they cannot possibly live alone without interacting with others (Iffah and Yasni, 2022). To be able to interact, humans need language to communicate. Therefore, language is one of the most crucial factors affecting human life. Language is very important in life because it becomes the main communication tool. As a communication tool, language can be expressed in written or oral. Written communication is communication carried out through writing carried out in correspondence activities via post, telegram, fax, email, etc (Kusumawati, 2016). Whereas oral communication is face-to-face communication using the mouth or oral in delivering information when talking to colleagues face-to-face, in meetings, phone calls, interviews, speech, etc (Rasmiyatun et al., 2021).

One of the oral communications that is often used is speech, where the use of speech is a form of public speaking that has become an integral part of official proceedings. The significance of speech isn't always for the overall populace but additionally for the authorities due to the fact, it is able to be applied as a device for social control and regulation (Arvianti et al., 2021). One of the government leaders who used the speech to communicate with people is Gus Yaqut, the Minister of Religious Affairs of Indonesia. In the usage of speech, we will see the usage of language by Gus Yaqut and the way it may shape an idea approximately context and ideology in critical discourse analysis.

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The choice of speech from Gus Yaqut as the object of research was motivated by the controversy of his speech that equated mosque speakers with dog barking, which was considered blasphemy, thus making various reactions from the public, especially Muslims, such as putting Gus Yaqut in prison, firing Gus Yaqut as Minister of Religious Affairs and Jokowi has to act. But some support his utterance because they assume that Gus Yaqut does not intend to equalize the mosque speaker with the dog barking, but according to them, Gus Yaqut intends to tell the public that if a sound is not regulated, it will disturb the surroundings. Gus Yaqut's controversial speech raises the polemic presented in the news, and the writer wants to find the context of Gus Yaqut's statement and his ideology.

An utterance is not absolute and depends on the situation and conditions. The situation and surrounding conditions in a conversation are referred to as language context. The context of language has a great influence on the fluency of the communication system. Differences in language context can also cause language meanings to be different. Thus, if you do not pay attention to the context of the language, there will be misunderstandings in communication. In language, a person must pay attention to the context of the language to understand the meaning of a sentence or speech clearly (Handoko, 2011). According to Sumarlam (as stated in Rahmawati, 2016), context is the internal aspects of a text and everything that externally surrounds a text. Discourse contexts are the internal aspects of discourse and everything that externally surrounds a discourse. Based on this understanding, the discourse context can be broadly divided into two groups: linguistic and non-linguistic. The context of language is known as co-text, and the context outside of language is known as the situational and cultural context, or simply context (Halliday & Hasan as stated in Rahmawati, 2016).

In addition to the linguistic context of a speech, there is also ideology in it. Ideology has two opposite meanings, namely positive and negative. Positive ideology is visible as a view that expresses the value of a particular social group in defending and advancing their interests. Meanwhile, ideology is viewed negatively as false consciousness, that is, the want to commit deception by distorting people's understanding of social reality (Ningsih et al., 2019). According to Van Dijk (as stated in Ningsih et al., 2019), ideology aims to regulate the problems of actions and practices of individuals or members of a group that is more general and abstract and make existing values as the basis of discourse more just natural. But, also as a set of ideas or beliefs held by a certain group that has a purpose that requires certain actions from the people who believe in it. Ideology is an organized mind, namely values, orientations, and tendencies that complement each other to shape the way of viewing ideas expressed through technological media and interpersonal communication (Sobur, 2004, p. 64).

This study used Fairclough's, (1989) theory of discourse analysis. In theory, it can theoretically be expressed as texts or talks produced to show power or dominance caused by social problems in society. In Fairclough's critical discourse dimension explains how discourse arises as a social process. He analyses how texts are created and how they are interpreted. Whereas, language as a socio-cultural practice is contextual and refers to dimensions such as social situations, institutions, and culture.

Several previous studies have also raised a similar issue by analyzing the ideology using critical discourse analysis. Rahmi et al., (2019) in their research figured out that Donald Trump's speech has an ideological meaning structure. The writer discovered seven ideological features of discourse structure at the level of meaning. Topics, implication, presuppositions, synonymy or paraphrasing, contrast, example, illustration, disclaimers, and description or detail.

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The same goes for Arvianti et al., (2021), in their research, also analyzed the ideology using critical discourse analysis. The writer figured out that the ideologies reflected in Jokowi's speech are ideology to honour the low, ideology of social justice, equality, national prosperity, hard-working, unity, prioritizing citizen, and the ideology in assertiveness.

Other research, Addae et al., (2022), in their research, the writer figured out that Nkrumah relies on language to produce ideologies of patriotism, nationalism, power, hope, national self-image, and dominance in his speeches.

Based on the previous studies above, although there have been several studies on the ideology that uses critical discourse analysis, this research has difference from previous studies, namely by using critical discourse theory from Norman Fairclough by analyzing the analysis of language, context, and ideology. The aim of this study is to find out what ideology is contained in Gus Yaqut's speech and what context triggers the ideology. This study's data is a speech containing the context and ideology of Gus Yaqut.

## **METHOD**

In this study, qualitative methods were used to examine the ideology of Gus Yaqut. Qualitative research is the use of various scientific methods to describe phenomena experienced by research subjects, including actions, motivation, perceptions, behaviours, etc, holistically and by way of description in the form of words and language, in a special natural context by utilizing various scientific methods (Moleong as stated in Kusumastuti and Khoiron, 2019).

According to Sugiyono (as stated in Nisa et al., 2022), qualitative research has two sources of data collection: primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary data sources are data obtained on-site directly from a source, while secondary data sources are data not obtained on-site but from libraries or other locations that have references and documents that contain data that has been verified to be valid. The main data sources already exist and are utilized as supporting data for primary data. The main data sources for this study are the speech of Gus Yaqut, and for the secondary data sources are journals and books.

The data source for this research was obtained from KOMPAS TV's YouTube entitled "Kata Menag Yaqut Cholil Soal Aturan Pengeras Suara Masjid Maksimal 100 Decibel" posted on February 23, 2022.

The writer used the observation method. The observation method used by the writer is Teknik Simak Bebas Libat Cakap (Sudaryanto, 1993, p. 133), which observes only the language utilized by the informant and does not immediately interfere withinside the event, and Teknik Catat (Sudaryanto, 1993, p. 133), in which the informant's information is acquired and recorded in a note. Therefore, in this part of the data collection, the writer will first examine the data obtained from a YouTube video. The writer noted the information used in the analysis of this study.

The writer used the critical discourse analysis method for the method of data analysis. The critical discourse analysis used in this research is a critical analysis approach from (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough focused his research that language is a social praxis, or practically social praxis is a phenomenon that occurs in society. For the method of data presentation, the writer used an informal method in which the data will be presented with a complete description of words, detailed and decomposed to make it less complicated for readers to apprehend the end result of the study.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The finding will discuss the analysis of language, institutional context, situational context, cultural context, and also the ideology of Gus Yaqut in his speech presented below. The following transcription of Gus Yaqut's speech, which has been translated into English: "We don't ban mosques (a building used for public worship by Muslims), *mushalla* (small mosques) to use speakers. Go ahead, because we know it's part of the Islamic religion. But it must be arranged. Set how the speaker volume is, it should not be too loud, 100 decibels maximum. It is set when they can start using the speaker, before the *adzan* (the call to prayer), and after the *adzan*. How to use the speakers inside, and so on. There is no ban. This rule was made solely to make our society more harmonious. Increase benefits and reduce non-benefits. Because we know, for example, we are in an area where the majority of Muslims, almost every 100m, 200m there is a *mushalla* or mosque, imagine if, at the same time, they all turn on the speakers what it was like? It was no longer *syiar* (acts or attempts to convey and introduce various things in Islam) but became a nuisance to the surroundings. Imagine if we who are Muslims living in a non-Muslim environment, have to listen to loud sounds 5 times a day at the same time, what does it feel like? Even more simply, if we live in a compound around which all dogs are raised, for example, barking at the same time, aren't we disturbed? Therefore, whatever the sound must be arranged, so that it does not become a nuisance, speakers in mosques and *mushalla* must be arranged so that no one feels disturbed so that the intention of using speakers as a means to *syiar* or perform *syiar* can still be carried out, without having to disturb those who may not be the same as our beliefs, we must be able to appreciate differences in beliefs. If there are many trucks around us, and if we stay in one place, then for example, there is a truck left right front behind us if they start the engine simultaneously, we will be disturbed. Those unregulated noises will be a nuisance for us."

From the speech above, we can know that Gus Yaqut asked the public to regulate mosque loudspeakers so as not to disturb others. Then in his speech, he also gave an example that the sound of dogs and the sound of trucks, if sounded at the same time, will disturb the surroundings. So, it is the same with the sound of the call to prayer that is so loud and unregulated. Thus, the point is unregulated sound will be disturbing the surroundings. Then is it true that in his speech, he likened mosque speakers to the barking of dogs? Thus, the writer does a language analysis below to find out.

### **1. Language Analysis**

Gus Yaqut's words were like this:

"We don't ban mosques, *mushalla* to use speakers. Go ahead, because we know it's part of the Islamic religion. But it must be arranged."

In his words, Gus Yaqut welcomes the public to regulate the problem of voices that have the potential to disturb their surrounding environment so that the sound does not interfere. And with the regulations regarding noise from the mosque's loudspeakers, it is hoped that it can make the surrounding community feel comfortable. So, his words can be known if Gus Yaqut aims to create a sense of comfort in the community environment so that harmony can be created between religious people in Indonesia.

Other Gus Yaqut utterances such as:

"Imagine if we who are Muslims living in a non-Muslim environment, have to listen to loud sounds 5 times a day at the same time, what does it feel like? Even more simply, if we live in a compound around which all dogs are raised, for example, barking at the same time, aren't we disturbed?"

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Where the speech intended to give an example to the public that unregulated sounds would disturb and did not intend to equate the sound of the call to prayer with the barking of dogs, but he wanted to equate the discomfort of the community with the sound of loudspeakers during the call to prayer.

In addition, Gus Yaquut also conveyed:

“Therefore, whatever the sound must be arranged, so that it does not become a nuisance, speakers in mosques and *mushalla* must be arranged so that no one feels disturbed so that the intention of using speakers as a means to *syiar* or perform *syiar* can still be carried out, without having to disturb those who may not be the same as our beliefs, we must be able to appreciate differences in beliefs.”

Gus Yaquut is a minister of religious affairs who is obliged to serve the benefit of all religions in Indonesia. And his utterances were based on the religious diversity in Indonesia. In Indonesia, there is not only Islam but there are seven other religions (Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddha, Confucius, and Baha’i) that must be appreciated as well.

Gus Yaquut also conveyed:

“If there are many trucks around us, and if we stay in one place, then for example, there is a truck left right front behind us if they start the engine simultaneously, we will be disturbed. Those unregulated noises will be a nuisance for us.”

In his words, Gus Yaquut wanted people, especially those who are Muslims, to understand and respect the feelings of people of other religions who often feel disturbed by the sound of mosque’s loudspeakers which are never regulated. So, Gus Yaquut tried to analogize the sound of unregulated loudspeakers to the sound of truck engines because those sounds can disturb the surroundings.

## **2. Institutional Context**

The writer finds two institutional contexts that influenced the speech of Gus Yaquut, namely:

### **Islam Religion**

The sound settings are based on the Hadith Al Bukhari and Muslim (as cited in Muntaha, 2022), which reads as follows:

“Oh, human beings, mercy on yourself when praying. Really, you are not calling substances that are deaf and supernatural. Really, you call Allah the All-Hearing and the Almighty? Allah blesses you.”

The above hadith (the record of the sayings of Prophet Muhammad) explicitly orders people to reduce the sound in prayer, dhikr (a human effort in getting closer to Allah by remembering God and remembering His majesty), and prayer, and implicitly forbids doing it hard. This prohibition also applies to loudspeakers, let alone those set at the maximum volume that is too loud and disturbs others.

Also, the use of loudspeakers that are not regulated can disrupt the concentration of worship, the activities of others, and the comfort of people who are resting or sick. Even though disturbing others is prohibited, both in the texts and the agreement of scholars. Prophet Muhammad said:

“Whoever interrupts others, then Allah will bother him, and whoever incriminates others, then Allah will burden him.” According to Hadith Ibnu Majah, and Ad-Daraquthni (as cited in Muntaha, 2022).

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Gus Yaqut is Indonesian's Minister of Religious Affairs, so his statement is in charge of all religions because his job is to maintain the harmonization of the whole community regardless of religion.

Article 2 of the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 83 of 2015 on the Ministry of Religious Affairs stipulates that the Ministry of Religious Affairs is tasked with handling government affairs in the field of religion and assisting the President in organizing state governments, and Article 3a states that the state ministry carries out the function of formulating the determination and implementation of policies in the field of guidance for the Islamic, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucius society (Kemenkumham, 2015).

From the regulations above, it can be concluded that the Minister of Religious is a minister of all religions in Indonesia, and also the Minister of Religious has the task of making regulations based on existing policies.

### **3. Situational Context**

The writer finds three situational contexts that influenced the speech of Gus Yaqut, they are:

#### **Indonesia is a Society of Pluralism**

Where Indonesians value differences in people's lives and allow different groups to maintain their culture as a characteristic. which can be interpreted as a willingness to accept diversity to live tolerantly in the order of the society of different tribes, groups, religions, customs, and views of life. According to Masduki, (2016), Indonesia consists of 13,667 islands (although not fully inhabited) and is divided into 358 ethnic groups and 200 sub-tribes. According to statistics, 88.1% are Muslims, 7.89% are Christians, and Catholics, 2.5% are Hindus, 1% are Buddhists and 1% are others (with a note that some Indonesians identify themselves as adherents of the government's official religion on the populations' card, although they adhere to beliefs that do not include the government's official religion).

#### **Circular Letter of the Minister of Religious Affairs in 2018**

Concerning the Instruction General of Guidance of the Islamic Community Number KEP / D / 101/1978 on guidance on the use of loudspeakers in Mosques, *Langgars*, and *Mushalla* (small mosques), which contains for Dawn Prayers, outside loudspeakers are used for a maximum of 15 minutes for the reading of the Qur'an. Then five minutes lead up to *Dzuhur* (midday prayer) and Friday prayer. Then, for *Asar* (afternoon prayer), *Maghrib* (dusk prayer), and *Isya* (evening prayer) it is used five minutes before the call to prayer (Dirjen Bimas Islam, 1978).

#### **Circular Letter of the Minister of Religious Affairs no. 5 of 2022**

Concerning Guidelines for the Use of Loudspeakers in Mosques and *Mushalla* (DetikNews, 2022).

- 1) Loudspeakers consist of internal and external loudspeakers.
  - a. Internal loudspeakers are loudspeaker devices that are functioned or directed into the mosque / *mushalla* room.
  - b. External loudspeakers are functioned or directed outside the mosque / *mushalla* room (small mosque).
- 2) The utilize of loudspeakers in a mosque or *mushalla* has the following purposes:
  - a. Remind the public by reciting the Qur'an, a blessing to the Prophet, and sounding the call to prayer as a sign of the beginning of the *Fardu* prayer (obligatory prayers are compulsory for every Muslim);

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- b. Convey the voice of the muezzin (a person who proclaims the call to prayer), the voice of the *imam* (typically the name given to the leader of worship in a mosque) to the congregation during the call to prayer, to the *ma'mum* (persons being led by an Imam) during congregational prayers, or the voice of the *khatib* (a person who delivers the sermon) and speaker to the congregation; and,
- c. Deliver da'wah ("making an invitation" the term is often used to describe how Muslims educate others about their Islamic beliefs and practices) to the community at large both inside and outside the mosque or *mushalla*.

From the statements and regulations above, it can be concluded that the condition of the situation in Indonesia which has a diversity of religions, tribes, and races makes us have to respect each other. In addition, we must also comply with applicable regulations to create a peaceful, comfortable, safe, and peaceful environment, so that people can live quietly without feeling restless, and less comfortable with the surrounding environment.

#### **4. Cultural Context**

In the cultural context, the writer finds two factors, namely:

##### **Tarhim**

*Tarhim* is the sound chanted from a mosque or *mushalla* to awaken Muslims in preparation for the *Fajr* prayer (Dawn prayer). Moreover, *tarhim* helps to awaken those who wish to do the *tahajjud* prayer (night prayer), because this prayer can be done at that time. It is hummed before prayer, *adzan* that echoes to the corner of a city or village, *Takbir* (a call echoed by Muslims to glorify the name of God) of Eid (an Islamic festival that marks the end of *Ramadan*) is a cultural practice that cannot be eliminated for Muslims in Indonesia. Especially during *Ramadan* (the holy month of fasting), loudspeakers are used to wake up *suhoor* (the breakfast eaten in the early morning by Muslims prior to fasting, before sunrise during or outside the Islamic month of *Ramadan*), and the notification of *iftar* (the name of the meal eaten by Muslims at sunset to break their fasts during *Ramadan*) time has become a local custom.

##### **Unlike Other Countries such as Malaysia and Arabia**

The use of mosque loudspeakers in Indonesia is not only for *adzan* but also announcements, such as death announcements, and this sort of thing has been around for quite a long time.

#### **5. Gus Yaqut's Ideology**

From the contexts above, the writer finds two ideologies based on these contexts, namely:

##### **The Ideology of Tolerance is reflected in his speech:**

"Imagine if we who are Muslims living in a non-Muslim environment, have to listen to loud sounds 5 times a day at the same time, what does it feel like? Even more simply, if we live in a compound around which all dogs are raised, for example, barking at the same time, aren't we disturbed?"

Where the speech does not mean to equate the sound of the call to prayer with the barking of dogs, but rather to liken the public's discomfort to the noises of loudspeakers during the call to prayer, which sounds simultaneously, which will certainly disturb the surrounding residents who may have different beliefs than us.

It is supported by his situational context with diverse cultures and cultural contexts that tolerate Muslims' use of mosque loudspeakers for certain things that have become cultural in Indonesia, but even so, Muslims must also pay attention to other religious people who may be disturbed by the use of mosque loudspeakers that are so loud and unregulated.

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**The Ideology of Harmonization is also reflected in his speech:**

“This rule was made solely to make our society more harmonious. Increase benefits and reduce non-benefits”

In his utterances, he wanted to adjust the loudspeakers of the mosque, which were considered not by applicable regulations so that they disturbed the surroundings. He strives to create comfort in the community to form harmony. With the presence of harmony in society, a balanced relationship will be formed, allowing the positive needs of each party to be met.

It is supported by his institutional context as the Minister of Religious Affairs and cultural context in which mosque loudspeakers should be used only for adhan like in other Islamic countries, but in Indonesia mosque loudspeakers are used for many things and the volume are not regulated so this is quite disturbing to the surrounding community. With this happening, harmony in society may be disrupted. Therefore, to avoid this, the Minister of Religious Affairs asked the public to regulate the sound of mosque loudspeakers.

Based on the analysis above, the result showed that the speech delivered by Gus Yaqut was based on the institutional, situational, and cultural context. Where these contexts underlie the formation of the ideology of tolerance and harmonization of Gus Yaqut as Minister of Religious Affairs in Indonesia.

The institutional context itself is a context comprising of three foundations, specifically rules, organization, and institution, along with the connections between these foundations (Glückler, 2020). In the results of research in the institutional context section, there are Islamic religious regulations and also the Minister of Religious Affairs regulated by the presidential regulation of the Republic of Indonesia which supports the ideology of harmonization. This result is supported by research conducted by Arvianti et al., (2021) which shows that in Jokowi’s speech, there are several ideologies, namely the ideology to honour the low, ideology of national prosperity, social justice, equality, hard-working, unity, prioritizing citizen, and the ideology in assertiveness. Where the ideologies are based on the institutional context represented through his speech as the president of Indonesia who has power as a leader.

The same thing was also done by Rahmi et al., (2019) who revealed that Donald Trump has a fascist ideology based on the institutional context represented through his speech and attitude that describes his anti-immigrant attitude. Where did he avoid immigrants from coming to the United States because he thought that these immigrants would burden the country and threaten the safety of the country, and he also thought that the country’s programs, plans, and security were not enough to take care of these immigrants.

Another study conducted by Albaburrahim & Sujinah, (2017) stated that Metro TV’s ideology is a negative image in which Metro TV cornered former House of Representatives chairman Setya Novanto, thus, the public judged Setya Novanto’s actions negatively. This ideology is based on the institutional context caused by the owner of the press institution, Metro TV, which is one of the political actors in Indonesia, namely Surya Paloh. Therefore, there is a tendency for the news raised to be more offensive to political opponents.

Whereas situational context is a type of determining factor of the social framework of broad and general institutions such as courts, hospitals, classrooms, or settings of daily life, which have distinctive habits and/or conversations (Sulistyawati et al., 2020). In the results of research in the situational context section, there is Indonesia is a society of pluralism, Circular Letter of the Minister of Religious Affairs in 2018, and Circular Letter of the Minister of Religious Affairs no. 5 of 2022 which supports the ideology of tolerance



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from Gus Yaqut. This result is supported by research conducted by Wibhisana et al., (2023) showing that in Kamala Harris' speech, there is an ideology of membership or self-identity where this ideology is based on the situational context represented through her speech which describes Kamala Harris' values concerning the forthcoming endeavours of the American people because she is also a member of a black minority group that faces exclusion and prejudice due to narrow-mindedness, dominance, and fear of foreigners.

In addition, research from Oktifati & Damanhuri, (2014) shows that in Obama's speech, there are ideologies of patriotism, equality, democracy, nationalism, and national unity. The ideology is based on the situational context represented by his remarks in his second inauguration as president of the United States which aims to restore public trust after many problems left over from his first term.

Cultural context is the context that examines the society individuals were raised in and how their culture affects conduct. This context encompasses acquired principles and collective outlooks among clusters of individuals. These comprise of dialect, standards, traditions, notions, convictions, and interpretations (Adams, 2016). In the results of research in the cultural context section, there is *Tarhim* and also the use of mosque loudspeakers as a means of announcing information such as death that supports Gus Yaqut's ideology of tolerance and harmonization. This result is supported by research conducted by Rachmaria, (2020) which shows that in the film *Cahaya dari Timur: Beta Maluku* there is an ideology of the Maluku people, namely the ideology of *Pela-Gandong* which was passed down by Maluku ancestors. This ideology is based on the cultural context where the ideology is a typical Maluku culture as a means of resolving communal conflicts.

Another study conducted by Ningsih et al., (2019) revealed that there is an Islamic ideology behind the novel *Ayat-Ayat Cinta*. This ideology is based on the cultural context where Indonesia is the nation with the greatest Muslim population in the world (Jaelani, 2023). Although the majority is Muslim, Indonesia also has various religions, races, and tribes that must also be respected. This ideology in it is rich in science and also teaches about goodness, and teaches about tolerance towards other religions. With this Islamic ideology, Indonesia is able to show that Islam and other religions or beliefs can coexist harmoniously and tolerantly.

## **CONCLUSION**

Based on the result of the study, it can be concluded that Gus Yaqut's speech which is considered to equate the call to prayer with the barking of dogs is a misconception of society, where his speech is only equates the discomfort of the surrounding with the loudspeaker of the mosque that is so loud and unregulated that it can disturb the surrounding environment that may have different beliefs. The speech of Gus Yaqut is also based on several contexts that support his ideology, namely the institutional context that supports the ideology of harmonization, the situational context that supports the ideology of tolerance, and the cultural context that supports both ideologies.

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