

**PAPUA IN ONLINE MEDIA: FRAMING ANALYSIS ON THE
NEWS OF THE PAPUA CONFLICT REPUBLIKA.CO.ID AND
TIRTO.ID**



**Compiled as one of the requirements for completing a Bachelor's Degree in
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APPROVAL

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Abstrak

Konflik yang terjadi di Papua merupakan konflik multidimensi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konten pemberitaan tentang konflik Papua di media *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id*. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori sekaligus metode dari analisis framing milik Robert Entman. Penelitian ini berjenis kualitatif dengan metode framing melalui unsur define problem, diagnose cause, make moral judgement, dan treatment recommendation. Teknik analisis data dilakukan dengan documentation, by documenting news texts related to the related coverage in the online portal *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id*. Sementara validitas data use source triangulation, namely by comparing the primary data obtained through the news texts in the online news portal *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id*. Hasil dari penelitian menunjukkan bahwa menemukan objektivitas dan imparialitas kedua media tersebut dalam memberitakan konflik Papua dan Papua Barat. Penelitian ini juga mengungkap intervensi yang dilakukan pemerintah Indonesia dalam menangani kasus-kasus konflik yang ada.

Keywords: objektivitas, konflik papua, framing, pemerintah indonesia.

Abstract

The conflict in Papua is multidimensional. This study aims to analyze news content about the Papuan conflict in the media *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id*. This study uses theory as well as methods from Robert Entman's framing analysis. This type of research is qualitative with a framing method through defining the problem, cause diagnosis, making a moral judgment, and treatment recommendations. The data analysis technique was carried out by documenting news texts related to the related coverage in the online portal *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id*. While the validation data use source triangulation, namely by comparing the primary data obtained through the news texts in both online news portals. The results of the study found the objectivity and impartiality of the two media in reporting the conflict in Papua and West Papua. This study also reveals the interventions carried out by the Indonesian government in dealing with existing conflict cases.

Keywords: objectivity, papua conflict, framing, indonesian government.

1 INTRODUCTION

Indonesia's eastern region becomes the most common conflict, not only the economic gaps and social welfare that are the root of the problem. However, the conflict between tribes, races, and religions is also a problem. This has been the case of Indonesia's independence until now. The Ministry of Social Data (2014) released Papua into a region vulnerable to social conflicts followed by West Java, Jakarta, North Sumatera, Sulawesi, and Central Java. The category of social conflicts such as physically visible can be riots between citizens or security forces, houses burned, and terror against citizens is also a categorization of areas prone to social conflict.

The economic gap in Papua is also seen when viewing data from Badan Pusat Statistik (2018) about the Indonesian poor population in 2017, the island of Papua occupies the highest number with a percentage of 27.76% followed by West Papua with a percentage, namely 23.12%. Further East Nusa Tenggara 21.38%, Maluku 18.29%, Gorontalo 17.14%, Bengkulu 15.59% and Aceh 15.92%. The Data is very inversely proportional if it sees natural resources in Papua. This becomes an ironic condition when it comes to seeing the fact that the rich natural resources are not aligned with the good human resources, because of the social welfare of society there is less concern that becomes an obligation for Government.

In studies conducted by LIPI, there are four reasons to be the root of the problem in Papua. First the political status of Papua's integration into Indonesia and history. Second, is the stigma and discrimination perceived by Papuans by Indonesians. Thirdly, human rights violations that occurred from 1965 to the present. Fourth, the failure of development in Papua was never carried out (Puspasari, 2019).

That led to the emergence of the Free Papua Movement such as Komite Nasional Papua Barat (KNPB), Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM), United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) dan Tentara Revolusi West Papua (TRWP) aiming to make Papua Independent State from Indonesia. The movement fought in various ways, one of which was to fly the Morning Star flag as a symbol of the Papuan people (Karma, 2014). Occasionally, the Free Papua Movement uses firearms to fight against the Indonesian army. They were willing to die and bleed for independence.

On the other side of the country's perspective, Papua's problems are characterized by the opposition of separatist movements (Sjamsuddin, 1989). But this question should be seen proportionally and comprehensively in scholarly studies. A complex debate on the state status of Papua's integration into Indonesia is now a relentless issue. The Papua Movement and the Papuans saw the process of integration and *Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat* (Pepera) 1969 as a form of manipulation of the country's history and imposing Indonesian nationalism and buried the local history of Papua. Therefore, this study became important to discuss the conflict between Papua and the Indonesian government.

Papua's land conditions such as this have been happening since the reign of Sukarno-guided democracy. Wanandi (2014) as assistant Ali Moertopo told, in the political situation in the year 1961 that West Irian (Irian Barat) is still a colony of the Netherlands. Sukarno

proclaimed the Tri Komando Rakyat (Trikorra) with the success of capturing West Irian from the Dutch hands in May 1963.

“Saya dikirim ke Irian Barat untuk suatu misi pencari fakta pada Mei 1967” (Wanandi, 2014). With the intention of the referendum preparation. Since 1963 West Irian has been ignored by the government of Indonesia who at that time Suharto served as president in March 1967. The situation in the land of Papua had been very depressing before and became increasingly severe when the armed forces of Indonesia undertook the looting and suppression during that time. Papuans would not be favoring Indonesia when it was held by Pepera that year. Finally, the implementation of Pepera was postponed to 1969.

Although Pepera has been held which was followed by representatives of citizens of the selection from the government and resulted in West Irian being part of Indonesia, the pro-independence group wrote the outcome of the referendum was done undemocratically. It is justified by Filep Karma in the book *“Seakan Kitorang Setengah Binatang”*. He hears the story of A. Rumpaisum, his aunt who is also a member of the Dewan Musyawarah Pepera (DMP) quarantined in one of the dormitories. Every day she was doctrinal by military officers and stalked, when Pepera was carried out she was threatened if chose the option of free Papua, then his mouth would be torn and his family would be killed. (Karma, 2014)

Since then, the conflict continues to occur between the Free Papua Movement which demands independence, and the Indonesian government which maintains nationalism. The Free Papua Movement in the form of demonstrations, protests, and historical writing of their experience. The movement also conducted internationalization movements by conducting approaches with other countries and raising support in cross-country forums such as the United Nations (Ilmar, 2017).

To dampen the conflict, the Indonesian government passed the Special Autonomy Act (Law of Otsus) imposed on 21 November 2001. Otsus is not considered to resolve the problem because it is not on target. According to Malak (2012), Papua's development is the character-building, value, and identity of the Papuans. In contrast, the development is not aligned with the wishes of the Papuans.

The results of the research journal "The Authority of natural resources management in the special autonomy frame in Papua" Mention the reason for Otsus's termination due to the problem of the Papuan provincial community. It is based on several internal reasons, among others; 1) Most Papuans live in their backwardness. 2) There is no physical infrastructure for

both transportation and telecommunications. 3) Low level of welfare and health due to lack of education. 4) Low human resource capability. 5) Low ability of human resources in the ranks of local elites to be part of the modern governance system (Efendi, 2017).

Nowadays, the Papua conflict continues. Finally, the last issue in the majority of the media reported about persecution and discrimination of Papuan students in Malang and Surabaya. The incident led to the outrage of other Papuans. In the main report of Tempo Magazine on August 29th of the time due to events in Surabaya, including groups of Free Papua Movement increasingly angry and infuriated, some areas in Papua burned, motorcycles, cars, and shops burned and damaged buildings are stoned.

Researchers use previous research as a reference to strengthen this research. research conducted by Fadila Prihandini and Fajar Junaedi on the prolonged conflict that occurred between the Myanmar military and Rohingya refugees in 2017. This research focuses on news reviews about the crisis in Kompas and Republika newspapers. The results of the study indicate that these two media with different backgrounds cannot be separated from the interests of the organization (Prihandini & Junaedi, 2017). Researchers see that comparing two media that have different ideologies will produce different narratives.

The Internet is changing the way communication and coordination are more effective and broad reach. Unsurprisingly, pro-independence Activis of Papua uses media online as media propaganda Philpott explained, that the conflict in Papua is rarely seen because of the lack of access to information received by the wider community. Papuan activists use social media such as creating a Facebook account, uploading videos on Youtube, and commenting on Twitter with the goal of conflicts to be visible and retrieve support from others (Philpott, 2018). Therefore, the research on the Papua conflict in online media will be interesting.

The results of the research conducted by Anggraeni (2018) that the Media tried to change the attitude and habits of the audience through the information from the news submitted. The news also includes some individual entities or in the context of the media where a journalist follows the entire production processing of a news media. Journalists live in media institutions with their own set of rules, work patterns, and activities. Live and work in an institution that has its pattern of work, habits, rules, norms, ethics, and routines (Eriyanto, 2002).

In reality, the media does not present intact information in a proclamation. Partiality on either party will be a conflict. On the other hand, the public requires intact and balanced information to know the root of the problem. Eriyanto (2002) also said the media is no longer

just a free channel, the media is a subject that constructs reality. Through the media, the ruling ideology grows in the minds of society. The stereotypes that appear are not detached from the media and news. The dominant group reinforces its ideas, controls other groups, and legitimizes the group along with its ideas, as Barrat (1994) emphasizes.

Attempts to conduct news analysis can be done in a variety of ways, either using content analysis or framing analysis. This research uses Robert Entman's framing model analysis. Framing theory is a reference for discussing the content of messages delivered by the text producers. Every medium has a perception of reality that becomes a proclamation. Framing in the view of Robert Entman There are two large dimensions, namely the selection of the issue and the emphasis or protrusion of certain aspects of reality (Eriyanto, 2002). The selection of issues can be assorted, of ethnicity, social, cultural, economic, and religious. The media selects the issue to be displayed which is the subject of choice from the news. After the selection of issues that become topics, further, accentuate or perform emphasis the issue of the image or how the text is written. To draw attention to the audience usually media puts something that becomes an emphasis on the front page or headline.

Entman divides the framing form into four, namely: first, defining the problem, how an issue is seen? As a matter of what? (Define problem) Second, estimate the problem or the source (Diagnose cause). Third, make moral decisions, what moral value is used to legitimize or delegate an action (Make moral judgment). Fourth, emphasizing completion, often a piece of news offers a solution to the related issue (Treatment recommendation). This research uses analysis of framing especially in online media (Eriyanto, 2002).

The increasing trend of digitalization in all sectors also affects the journalism world. Internet utilization and information technology growth impact on growing online media. At the same time, declining the print media began to be abandoned. It can be seen in the statistics released by the Press Publisher States (SPS). The report started in 2011 with a total of 1,361 which began to decline to 1,324 in 2012 followed in 2013 with the number of 1,254 up again in 2014 to 1,321. The decline began to be felt in the year 2015 which amounted to 1,218 to 810 in 2016 and continued to decline in 2017 with the amount of 793 (Manan, 2018).

Online Media is much superior in terms of the news speed that can be accessed by its users without a partition of space and time. Although this advantage becomes a staple problem in the world of journalism is the credibility and quality of information. This is what interests researchers to review the news of the Papua conflict on online media.

Researchers want to review the news of the Papua conflict from August to September 2019 and how the online media frame the news. *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id* are online news portals that preach about the Papua conflict massive enough as a choice by researchers.

Republika.co.id is one of the oldest media in Indonesia since 1995 it has had a modern vision, moderate, Muslim, nationalist, and democratic. By emphasizing tolerance and respecting the value of humanity through its policy which is also the responsibility of government, the public, political parties, communities, and stakeholders (Maryani, Rahmawan, & Garnesia, 2019).

Tirto.id who choose precision Journalism is not affiliated with any political parties and other groups. It is an online media that is quite immersive in news. This is justified in research (Suryawati, 2019), *Tirto.id* tends to select diction headlines and the content of the news connotation as opposed to government policy measures relating to food agriculture such as the provision of money subsidies to communities and Imports of rice.

The reason why researchers choose *Tirto.id* and *Republika.co.id*, is because the two news portals are at opposite angles each other in spreading news concerning the Papua conflict. Moreover, both portals have their views on this case. Researchers found there were 20 articles *Republika.co.id* and 23 articles *Tirto. id* in pre-research. It took several samples to be used as research materials to analyze the framing of Papuan independence. The number of samples is saturation, which is the term used when the researcher feels that no more data is found and the researcher can end the data search activity (Kriyantono, 2006).

2 METHOD

This type of research is a qualitative descriptive study by using a constructivist paradigm through Robert Entman's model of analytical analysis techniques, framing can be a research paradigm of communication. There are several concepts to research in the realm of communication. Researchers used the concept of journalistic practice, the realm of this research on how journalists create information about the Papua conflict, what is more, important than that information, and what stands out compared to (Eriyanto, 2002).

The sampling techniques in this study used purposive sampling by taking from reports related to the Papua conflict. The data collection techniques use documentation, by documenting news texts related to the related coverage in the online portal *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id* from August to September 2019. Because the period is the beginning of the conflict.

The study focuses on the subject of the portal *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id* starting from August to September 2019. The period chosen due to the Papua conflict reappears and almost all the media is about to preach the Papua conflict. The primary data source of the study is news texts related to the news on the portal *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id* relating to the preaching of the Papua conflict. To obtain a framing analysis, it is equipped with a secondary data source obtained from scientific books, relevant journals, research results as well as other sources of reference.

Data validity techniques use source triangulation, namely by comparing the primary data obtained through the news texts in the online news portal *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id*.

3 FINDING AND DISCUSSION

From 43 articles published by *Republika.co.id* and *Tirto.id*, researchers selected several articles in order of news period by dividing them into three stages; pre-conflict, crisis, and post-conflict. Here's our news analysis using the framing model Robert Entmant.

The construction of Papuan society by the media needs to be highlighted before going deeper into the analysis of each mass media. In many cases, the mass media have formed stereotypes of many parties. The case of Papua is a multidimensional conflict whose problems can be seen from a certain point of view. One of them is from political attitudes related to state ideology. It is not impossible if the media have political attitudes, ideologies, and policies in their editorial arrangements to support certain political forces. This gives rise to different public opinions, depending on how the media report it (Nimmo, 1978).

3.1 Define Problem

a. Tirto.id:

- 1) Carry out silencing by disbanding peaceful demonstrations.
- 2) Demonstrations as a form of struggle to demand freedom and welfare rights.
- 3) The Special Autonomy Program needs to be evaluated.

b. Republika.co.id:

- 1) Security and riot control measures.
- 2) The problem that occurs is misinformation and misunderstandings.
- 3) Follow-up of individuals involved in discrimination and harassment of Papuan students.

Tirto.id's frame regarding the conflict in Papua is a matter of human rights. The rights issues reported by *Tirto.id* revolve around the rights of independence and the welfare of the Papuan Nation. This can be seen from the *Tirto.id* sources who were presented. Some of them are organizational figures, traditional leaders, and pro-Papuan independence activists as well as MRP (*Majelis Rakyat Papua*) figures who are not Regents or Governors who are structurally closer to the Indonesian government. Komnas HAM (National Human Rights Commission) Papua, noted that throughout 2021 it received 71 complaints. Some of the most frequently violated is the right to a sense of security (Arif, 2022).

Table 1 Analysis of sources in the news portal *Tirto.id*.

Articles	Interview	Sources
“Respons ULMWP Terkait Aksi massa di Papua” (20 August 2019)	Exposing acts of violence by the Indonesian government and prosecution of the right to independence.	Benny Wenda (Chief of United Liberation Movement for West Papua)
“Papua Memanas: Warga Tewas, Aparat Ditambah, Komunikasi Terputus” (29 August 2019)	Exposing acts of violence by the Indonesian government and prosecuting welfare rights.	Timotius Murib (Chief of Majelis Rakyat Papua), Yones Douw (Human Right Activis)
“Beda cara Habibie dan Jokowi Selesaikan Konflik Timor Timur & Papua” (12 September 2019)	Exposing acts of violence by the Indonesian government and prosecution of the rights of independence and welfare of Papuans.	Made Supriatma (Militer and Politic Researcher), Tri Agus Susanto Siswoharjo (Timor Timur Activis), VA Syafi’I (Timor Timur Activis and Member of Partai Rakyat Demokrasi), Benny Giay (Chief of Sinode Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia)

Republika.co.id framed the news of the riots in Papua and West Papua as a matter of misinformation and misunderstandings. From several articles, *Republika.co.id* only focuses on cases of racial and ethnic discrimination in Surabaya and Malang. Unlike *Tirto.id*, which draws the old conflict between Papua and West Papua far back before the Papuan dormitory incident in Surabaya. The words misinformation and misunderstanding try to lead to cases that occurred in East Java. When the framework that was built by *Republika.co.id* was confusing information and causing chaos, the police and military as the authorized officers had their duty to secure and control the riots. Therefore, the interviewees were the Chief of Police, Major General of the TNI, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, and residents who were not involved in the demonstration. The state's approach to security in Papua creates more trauma. As explained

by Cahyo a researcher at the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (now BRIN). Indonesia, directly or indirectly, has contributed to the growth of the OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*) movement by making civilians the victims of military operations. From here they joined the TPNPB (*Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat*) (Arif, 2022).

Table 2. Analysis of sources in the news portal *Republika.co.id*

Articles	Interview	Sources
“Tito Sebut Kericuhan Papua Akibat Kesimpangsiuran Informasi” (19 August 2019)	Interview with Tito who stated that the riots and mass mobilization were due to misinformation and misunderstandings. He regretted the incident and expressed concern to Papuan students.	Tito Karnavian (Chief of Republik Indonesia Police)
“Aksi Rasialisme Meluas di Papua, Warga Memilih Diam di Rumah” (21 August 2019)	The three inlanders were interviewed as witnesses to the riots in Timika, Biak Numfor, and Fakfak.	Khuzumaetin, Jumat Patipi, Mulyati (Inlander)
“Jokowi Minta Pelaku Rasialis terhadap Mahasiswa Papua Diusut” (22 August 2019)	Interview with the President and Major General of the TNI. They will investigate the perpetrators of racial and ethnic discrimination against Papuan students in Surabaya.	Joko Widodo (President of Indonesia), R Wisnoe Prastja Boedi (Mayjen TNI)

Mass media acts as a symbolic representation of values in society (Badara, 2014). If the stereotype is a general description of an individual or group of individuals that is cliché, often its truth needs to be questioned. So, reality and stereotypes are slightly different in their understanding. That is, media texts can bring reality to society through general descriptions or depictions of phenomena, and the results of the information can be different due to different interpretations (Gans, 1992).

3.2 Diagnose Cause

a. *Tirto.id*:

- 1) Long-standing acts of military violence.
- 2) The racialism and disconnection of the internet network did not solve the problem, instead, it became a mass outrage.
- 3) The special autonomy program is not right on target.

b. *Republika.co.id*:

- 1) Community activities were disrupted due to demonstrations.

- 2) Incidents that happened to Papuan students in Surabaya and Malang became the cause of chaos.

In the description of the *Tirto.id* article, it can be seen that the online media considers that the Indonesian government is the party to blame in this case and the Papuans are the victims. The violence perpetrated by the Indonesian government against the Papuan people and acts of harassment that occurred on the island of Java, especially in East Java, was one of the causes of the riots in Papua and West Papua. Benny Wenda believes that the Indonesian government has committed acts of violence and silence. During the first 30 years of Indonesian rule, armed separatist movements increased and decreased, accompanied by military retaliation and widespread reports of human rights abuses (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004).

“Benny menyebut, pemerintah telah melakukan pembungkaman dengan membubarkan serta menangkap 227 orang serta 39 orang yang telah mengalami pemukulan dan pelemparan pada saat mereka melakukan aksi demonstrasi damai, Jumat (15/8/2019) lalu”.

In addition, the government has also cut off the internet network throughout the Papua region. Murib as the chairman of the Papuan People's Assembly explained that the disconnection of the internet network did not solve the problem, instead, it became a mass outrage.

“Menghentikan jalur informasi itu membuat semua akses terganggu. Itu bukan masalah orang Papua saja. Itu keputusan yang keliru. Otonomi Khusus tidak berdaya. Ini menjadi amukan masyarakat Papua yang cukup lama. Masyarakat Papua tidak puas terhadap pemberian otonomi khusus,” ucap Murib.

Demonstrations by the people of Papua and West Papua are a form of spontaneous action. They try to defend their self-respect and dignity as a Papuan nation. According to Benny Wenda, this is a struggle for the right to self-determination led by the ULMWP as well as the head of the organization.

“Reaksi dan aksi rakyat bangsa Papua di beberapa tempat di West Papua; di Manokwari, Kota Sorong, Sorong Selatan, Jayapura, Kaimana, Bintuni, Serui, Biak, Merauke, Wamena, Nabire, dan beberapa tempat lainnya di West Papua merupakan reaksi spontanitas mereka dalam membela harga diri dan martabat orang Papua sebagai manusia ciptaan Tuhan,” kata dia.

Republika.co.id views those involved in racial and ethnic discrimination as perpetrators and Papuan students in Surabaya are victims. Likewise, Tito, Jokowi, and Wisnoe have one voice in commenting on the case.

“Ini memang di-trigger dari adanya kejadian di jatim, khususnya Surabaya dan Malang. Ini kita selesaikan.” Kata Tito, ditemui di Rumah Sakit Bhayangkara Polda Jatim, Surabaya, Senin (19/8).

Indirectly, *Republika.co.id* also saw that the actions in Papua and West Papua involved several parties and groups. These groups are the raisers of the Morning Star Flag and the Red and White Front. The group carrying the Morning Star flag is a pro-independence group for Papua and West Papua. At the same time, the party was blamed for the riots in several places, especially in Fakfak. Meanwhile, Barisan Merah Putih is a pro-NKRI group that voices peaceful actions (Trajano, 2010).

“Sempat juga ada kasi naik bendera Bintang kejora di Kantor Lembaga Adat Papua di Kota Baru.” Ujar dia.

Aksi pengibaran bendera tersebut kemudian dihentikan oleh sekelompok warga lain yang tergabung dalam Barisan Merah Putih. Massa aksi tandingan ini, kata Jumat Patipi, datang dari Wagom, Tanama, Pasir Putih, Kokas, dan sejumlah wilayah lain di Fakfak.

“Itu mereka datang bawa bendera Merah Putih terus kasi bubar aksi. (Warga pendatang) dari (Pulau) Seram juga ikut.” Kata dia.

Stereotypes are views about the characteristics, behaviors, and attributes attached to members of certain groups (Hilton & Hippel, 1996). In other words, stereotypes are generalizations of cognitive representations of certain groups so that they affect the feelings of members of that group (Lippman & Curtis, 1992). One of the descriptions of human groups is obtained from the mass media as well as a means to form a stereotype in certain groups that can change thoughts, and feelings and even lead to a certain action (Zakiah, 2017).

3.3 Make Moral Judgement

a. Tirto.id:

- 1) It is a reaction to defend the dignity of the Papuan people as God's creation.
- 2) The President's response with a military approach did not resolve the conflict.

b. Republika.co.id:

- 1) Claims so far there have been no problems in Papua.

- 2) The peaceful action was carried out by the red and white lines, while the demonstration was carried out by the morning star line.
- 3) The situation is running normally.

Meanwhile, *Tirto.id* in his article clearly stated in bold letters that the police turned the issue over to the information on the number of civilian deaths. This can be seen when the words of the Public Relations Division and the National Police Chief are different. Public Relations did not mention any civilian casualties while Tito said the victims were killed by arrows from other demonstrators.

3.4 Polisi Belokkan Isu

Sementara itu, Kepala Biro Penerangan Masyarakat Sipil Divisi Humas Polri, Brigjen Dedi Prasetyo mengonfirmasi tewasnya seorang tentara. Namun, Dedi tidak menyebut sama sekali ada pengunjuk rasa yang tewas dan terluka dalam kerusuhan di halaman Kantor Buoti Deiya

Terkait jatuhnya korban sipil, Tito malah menyebut mereka tewas diduga karena terkena panah. Tito mengklaim aparat Cuma pakai peluru karet sehingga tak mungkin menewaskan warga sipil. "Panah ini berasal dari belakang kelompok penyerang. Sehingga kami duga dia meninggal karena terkena panah dari penyerang sendiri," ujarnya

Republika.co.id's assessment of individuals involved in racial and ethnic discrimination and the group raising the Morning Star flag came from two negative things. First, it was conveyed by Tito in the following sentence which was addressed to individuals who carried out racial and ethnic discrimination. The same thing was also conveyed by Jokowi and Wisnoe in the *Republika.co.id* article entitled "Jokowi Asks Racist Perpetrators against Papuan Students to be Investigated".

Selama itu pula, kata Tito, tidak pernah ada masalah. "Cuma kemarin di-trigger adanya kesimpangsiuran informasi atau kesalahan. Mungkin juga ada yang membuat kata-kata yang kurang nyaman, sehingga saudara-saudara kita di Papua merasa terusik dengan bahasa-bahasa seperti itu." Ujar Tito.

Second, in the Fakfak area in West Papua, there was an action that ended in chaos where the group raising the Morning Star flag was mostly from that area. According to one resident, Fakfak is an area where most of the residents are immigrants. It is as if the action of raising the Morning Star flag did not originate from Papuan natives. The fact is that the Indonesian

government's transmigration program in West Papua has caused deprivation and marginalization of indigenous Papuans. Most of them feel alienated in their land. It is not surprising that the people of West Papua ask for separation from the Republic of Indonesia (Trajano, 2010).

Fakfak memang memiliki demografi agak berbeda dengan wilayah-wilayah lain di Papua dan Papua Barat. Wilayah itu terbilang lebih dulu kedatangan penduduk dari Maluku dan Sulawesi ketimbang daerah lainnya di Tanah Papua.

The media reality described by (Bitzer, 2017) is biased, deceptive, and manipulative. This view is based on three reasons. First, apart from presenting events, the media also shape events. Second, the media are interested in things that unusually happen in society, such as unique, strange, and conflict-related events. Third, media products are closely related to the production process and the quality of workers in the media industry as well as the ideological interests of the owners or groups affiliated with the media.

3.5 Treatment Recommendation

a. Tirto.id:

- 1) Granted the right of self-determination for independence and political sovereignty.
- 2) To carry out mobilization and general consolidation in a peaceful and dignified manner.
- 3) Dialogue with grassroots is not only for the elite to resolve conflicts.

b. Republika.co.id:

- 1) Dialogue with traditional leaders and the Papuan political elite.
- 2) Investigate and take firm action against alleged officers who committed acts of racism and discrimination against Papuan students.

Regarding the treatment of the Indonesian government and its apparatus to the people of Papua and West Papua, *Tirto.id* recommends that the Indonesian government wants to have a non-violent dialogue with the grassroots community, not just the elite. Independence for the Papuans and West Papuans is an alternative solution if in the dialogue there is a demand for independence or remaining with Indonesia. This is a consequence of democracy.

The New York Agreement, which was implemented in 1962, guaranteed the Papuan people's politics, human rights, and especially the right to self-determination through the holding of the Act of Free Choice (Saltford, 2003). But in practice, Drooglever (Drooglever, 2010) saw tricks and manipulations aimed at getting the results favored by the Indonesian government at that time.

Ia meminta dukungan kepada warga Papua dan di West Papua untuk mendukung penuh perjuangan hak penentuan nasib sendiri bagi kemerdekaan dan kedaulatan politik. Hal ini, lanjut dia sebagai solusi penyelesaian konflik Papua dan Indonesia.

“Saya menyerukan untuk dilakukan mobilisasi dan konsolidasi umum secara damai dan bermartabat di seluruh tanah Papua, Indonesia, dan komunitas internasional,” ujar dia.

A complete investigation of individuals who commit racial and ethnic discrimination is a recommendation from *Republika.co.id*. In addition, the recommendation is to invite traditional leaders, community leaders, and religious leaders from Papua and West Papua to discuss the issue of accelerating welfare by the President.

Pascarusuh di Papua, Presiden pun akan mengundang para tokoh adat, tokoh masyarakat dan juga tokoh agama dari Papua dan Papua Barat membahas masalah percepatan kesejahteraan pada pekan depan.

Jika nanti terbukti ada keterlibatan aparat yang melakukan tindakan rasis terhadap mahasiswa Papua, kata dia, maka pihaknya akan menjatuhkan sanksi tegas. “Ya kita berikan sanksi, akan kita berikan sanksi kalau itu memang tidak sesuai dengan prosedur,” kata Wisnoe di Surabaya, Rabu (21/8).

In the view of constructionism, Berger argues that reality is not scientifically shaped and simply handed down by God, but is shaped and constructed (Eriyanto, 2002). Journalistic products cannot be separated from the subjective view of a journalist. Humans are a product of society. Individual actions and perceptions are influenced by the social structure of society. On the other hand, it is humans who make up a society that interprets and shapes reality itself (Polama, 1995). Society and people are dialectical, dynamic, and plural processes (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The process has three stages for a person to be said to be a person with an identity. Berger calls it a moment. First, is externalization, namely the process by which humans become human beings who are ready to live in society. The same as animals sharpen their animal instincts to survive, hunt and breed. The externalization process can only be passed by a person by blending in with society, both mentally and physically. Second, objectivation is the result that has been achieved after going through the first process. The results of this stage can be material or immaterial. Third, internalization, the final process determines what kind of person he becomes depending on the processes he goes through. Internalization is the process of attaching identity to a person.

The digital phenomenon, the internet of things, and everything related to the internet is one of the factors why journalists have new ways to produce news. Journalists who work in online media such as the media we discuss in this journal. Journalists are demanded by publishing companies to produce more news articles. Companies sue journalists not without reason. Competition in the digital industry is now getting tougher starting in the 2000s after companies such as Yahoo, Microsoft, Google, Facebook, and Amazon began to dominate the market (Mosco, 2015).

Old media such as newspapers, television, and radio experienced a drastic decline in revenue. Companies inevitably have to adapt to technological developments and new environments (McLuhan, 1964). This is where the phenomenon of digital transformation in all aspects of life, including mass media, begins to bloom to move into the digital realm (Sudiby, 2019).

The position of journalistic mass media which is faced with the existence of search engines, news aggregators, and social media becomes a dilemma. Behind the intense competition, journalists can also take advantage of new media to help ease the process of producing and distributing news. Information, data, and perspectives are so abundant. With all the conveniences that are collaborators and the difficulties of competition that are competitors for the old media. Here the journalistic position is ambivalent. Nikos calls it *coopetition* (Smyrniaios, 2015).

Digital platforms play an important role in the news and advertising distribution market. Frances explains the findings on the role of digital platforms in chapter 4 of “The Cairncross Review” entitled “The Role of the online platforms in the markets for news and advertising”. Google and Facebook dominate global digital advertising spending and dictate the production, distribution, and commodification of news. Because the digital platform technology system is closed to other parties, publishers and advertisers difficult to understand how programmatic advertising work as a digital advertising representation. Advertising revenue is the life force of the mass media and also the foundation of the existence of the media. Meanwhile, the sheer scale of Google and Facebook's business makes it difficult for publishers and advertisers to match the two platforms. Structurally, giant digital platforms control the distribution of news around the world and arbitrarily impose conditions of cooperation with national mass media whose positions are often disadvantaged (Cairncross, 2019).

In addition to seeing this digital realm as a deliberative-democratic public space where everyone can access, and convey information freely (Kreide, 2016). Mosco also sees it as an object of regulation and control by global digital companies and state intelligence agencies (Mosco, 2015). Zuboff calls it surveillance capitalism, which is a new economic system that sees personal data from internet users as a commodification (Zuboff, 2018). What is happening in the digital and media industries, places the state and the owners of capital as the most important factors in the social changes that occur in society. The power of the state in providing resources, capital assistance, and regulations related to investment, even violence in an organized manner to overcome obstacles. It will be the key to success in realizing and maintaining a political economy structure if it collaborates with the power of capital that can provide legitimacy to state rules, policies, and actions (Schiller, 2014).

4 CONCLUSION

Both media discussed the same issue, Papua, but did not frame the same news. Even though the two media are similar in some ways, *Tirto.id* wants peace on both sides. Likewise, *Republika.co.id* also recommends this in the texts of its articles. The two parties involved in the confrontation here are the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the people of Papua and West Papua.

However, there are different things in building the narrative of the two media. First, *Tirto.id* sees the conflict in Papua as a human rights issue. The rights here are the rights of the Papuan people's welfare and independence. Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* considers the conflict to be due to confusion of information and misunderstandings. Second, based on reports from the two media, both of them have the same view of who the victim is pitied and who the perpetrator is to blame. *Republika.co.id* builds a narrative that Papuan students are victims and those who are blamed are individuals who carry out acts of discrimination. *Tirto.id* builds this narrative by looking at the history of the conflict that has occurred between the Indonesian government and the Papuan people for a long time. The Indonesian government is the one to blame and the Papuan people are the victims.

The portion given by *Tirto.id* and *Republika.co.id* cannot be separated from their respective political attitudes, ideologies, and editorial arrangements whose purpose is to create public opinion depending on how the media reports it.

The limitation of this research relates to the focus of the research which is only based on text analysis. Field research is needed to understand the phenomenon of the Papuan conflict in further research.

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