



Racism Issues on Papuans on Online News Media SuaraPapua.com and Idenera.com: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

This study utilizes Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis to examine racism representation in Indonesian online news media SuaraPapua.com and Idenera.com. Employing a qualitative descriptive approach, data were drawn directly from articles on both platforms. Analysis reveals 14 instances of exclusion manifested through passivation, 8 nominalizations, and 1 clause replacement. Despite variations, both platforms condemn racism against Papuans, often framing and marginalizing perpetrators without featuring them. SuaraPapua.com predominantly uses marginalization in reporting, whereas Idenera.com specifically identifies perpetrators such as military personnel (TNI), Satpol PP, mass organizations, and Indonesian officials like All Murtopa, Kopasus Commander, and Retired General Luhut Pandjaitan. This differential approach suggests a nuanced stance on addressing racism. While SuaraPapua.com employs a more generalized portrayal, Idenera.com adopts a more targeted approach by naming individuals involved. This research underscores the media's role in shaping perceptions of racism, highlighting variations in reporting strategies between platforms.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Racism, Media

A. INTRODUCTION

The issue of SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Intergroup) is one of the most complex and sensitive issues in Indonesia. Moreover, SARA issues often trigger conflict and tension between community groups. In the context of Papua, the issue of racism against Papuans is one aspect that reinforces stigma and inequality among ethnic groups. Racial discrimination against Papuans, which

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includes the use of derogatory words such as "monkey", not only creates social discomfort but also triggers protests and national debates on human rights and equality in Indonesia (Martinus, 2019).

According to Daldjoeni in Hidayat (2021), racism is a view or concept that states that an individual's physical attributes are factors that determine personality characteristics, intelligence, culture, or a combination of all, which results in the superiority of one race compared to another. According to Van Dijk (1943), racism is seen as a form of social injustice. This social injustice, which appears in various forms of inequality, makes the issue of racism interesting to discuss in a news context.

The delivery of the issue of racism through these media provides space for further analysis using the Critical Discourse Analysis approach. Discourse Analysis is used to discover power struggling in various political texts, business, and news (Ardi, Narius, & Saun, 2019; Catalano & Waugh, 2020). One method commonly used in analysing discourse is the approach developed by Van Leeuwen.

In the analysis, various aspects of racism reporting, including the narrative used, framing, and language selection, can be examined to understand how social constructions of racism are conveyed and understood by society (Dovchin, 2020). This approach allows readers to take a deeper look into how racism is represented in the media and how it affects public perceptions and attitudes towards the issue.

The research that raises the issue of racism has been conducted by Virginia et al., (2023). In the study, it was found that they did not support the acts of racism faced by BTS, which was reflected in the way they reported on individuals or social groups outside BTS by framing and marginalizing, although the identity of the social actors was not directly disclosed.

Furthermore, research conducted by Misbahusurur, S. (2021) based on research, Kompas.com has a neutral tendency to focus on the chronology and causes of acts of racism against Papuan students. On the other hand, Republika.co.id takes a more contra stance by focusing on responses and criticism of these acts of racism. Finally, research conducted by Fauziyah (2021) on the representation of news on the issue of racism against Papuan students on Kompas.com and Republika.co.id. The results showed that Kompas.com supported ethnic Papuans, while Republika.co.id placed the perpetrators of racism in a safer and more opposing position.

Previous studies, such as those conducted by Virginia et al. (2023), Misbahusurur (2021), and Fauziyah (2021), have revealed the media's views and approaches to the issue of racism, both in the context of BTS and Papuan students. However, in previous studies, there has been no comparison between the news published by the region, namely SuaraPapua.com, and the national news

published by Idenera.com. Therefore, this research will fill the gap by applying Theo Van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis approach to investigate the way the two media report the issue of racism against Papuans. As such, this research aims to provide a deeper understanding of the representation of racist news in the context of online media, as well as its implications for public perception and social construction of the issue.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

The research design used in this research is a qualitative approach with a descriptive research type, which is a research method that intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the research subject (Moleong, 2011: 6). This type of research is descriptive research to provide a description, explanation, and validation of the phenomenon under study. According to Sukmadinata (2011: 73), descriptive qualitative research is intended to describe and describe existing natural and human-engineered phenomena, which pay more attention to the characteristics, quality, and interrelationships between activities. The type of descriptive-qualitative research used in this study is intended to obtain information on nominalization discourse in political speech videos blurring responsibility and diverting public attention.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Exclusion

The process of excluding a social actor, either an individual or a group from the conversation is also called exclusion in Theo van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis approach. The definition of exclusion is then developed by Badara (2014: 39), which says that exclusion is an exclusion process that emphasizes the group or actor excluded in a news story. This process can indirectly shape the reader's interpretation of a certain conclusion and meaning.

a. Passivation

This passive discourse strategy is a form of omission or non-involvement of social actors with the discovery of passive sentence forms. The explanation is as follows:

Data 1

*Malah tetap ada, di mana stereotipe itu dialami etnis Tiongkok, tetapi juga hal yang sama masih **dipraktekkan** terhadap orang Papua, terutama orang Papua **disamakan** dengan monyet, tikus, sampah, teroris dan lainnya. (suarapapua.com)*

Data 1 contains the element of passivation which is shown by the passive word. The passivity in data 1 is illustrated by the prefix di- in the verbs practiced and equated. Papua in data 1 is a victim, and the actor who committed the act itself is not shown. The omission of this actor can imply that the author wants to make Papua the focus of the construction and there are no social actors involved.

Data 2

*Rasisme dalam pernyataan bersama dalam memperingati perjanjian New York pada 15 Agustus 2023 dan memperingati 5 tahun rasisme (2019-2023) bahwa telah **dimulai** dari perebutan wilayah Papua, perbudakan oleh Belanda, Amerika, dan Indonesia, dimana orang Papua dijadikan objek atas wilayahnya (suarapapua.com).*

The word begins in the data shows that the real perpetrators of racism are hidden in the text.

Data 3

*Dengan demikian, tindakan rasialisme **dipraktekkan** dalam perundingan-perundingan penting yang membahas nasib orang Papua oleh Belanda, Amerika Serikat, dan Indonesia, serta keterlibatan PBB tanpa melibatkan rakyat Papua Barat itu sendiri (suarapapua.com).*

The word *practiced* in data 4 also uses a passivation strategy to hide the real figures behind the negotiations on the fate of the Papuan people are carried out without involving the Papuan people themselves.

Data 4

*Di mana salah satunya adalah perjanjian New York Agreement yang **dilakukan** tanpa melibatkan orang Papua, padahal perjanjian itu berkaitan dengan keberlangsungan hidup orang Papua Barat sebagai bangsa yang telah merdeka (suarapapua.com).*

The word *done* is passive because it uses the affix di-. The word shows that the person involved in the New York Agreement is hidden in the text. This can certainly change the reader's perspective because the reader will focus on the situation of the Papuan people, not on who the perpetrators are who commit acts of racism against the Papuan people.

Data 5

*Kemudian, setelah aneksasi **dilakukan** secara paksa pada 1 Mei 1963, Indonesia mendapat tanggung jawab untuk mempersiapkan nasib sendiri dan pembangunan di Papua selama 25 tahun (suarapapua.com).*

The word done in the data shows the perpetrator who carried out the annexation by force. The sentences presented only focus on Indonesia, which has the responsibility to prepare for self-determination and development in Papua for 25 years.

Data 6

*Di mana klaim Indonesia atas wilayah Papua Barat mulai **dilakukan** dengan kontrak Freeport, perusahaan pertambangan milik Amerika Serikat pada tahun 7 April 1967, dua tahun sebelum Papera 1969 (suarapapua.com).*

The sentence is a passive sentence indicated by the word **done**. The use of the word makes the perpetrator unknown to the audience.

Data 7

*Selain Papera yang tidak demokratis dari jumlah penduduk orang Papua (809.337), hanya **diwakili** 1025 dengan cara musyawarah yang tidak memiliki ketentuan hukum internasional (one man one vote), yang telah diatur dalam New York Agreement secara hukum Internasional (suarapapua.com).*

The sentence is passive so it uses a passivation strategy which is shown by the word **represented**. The use of the word represented causes the reader to not know who represents the meeting.

Data 8

*Sejak rakyat Papua mengalami stereotip atau Papua fobia, di mana harkat dan martabatnya orang Papua tidak pernah **dihargai** oleh elit-elit intelektual di Indonesia (suarapapua.com).*

The sentence is a passive sentence which is shown by the word **appreciated**. The use of the word appreciated causes the actors in the discourse to be excluded from the text. In addition, the sentences presented focus on the dignity of Papuans so that readers cannot know who are the actors in the discourse who do not respect the dignity of Papuans.

Data 9

*Mereka memang tak membasmi orang-orang pribumi yang mereka sebut inlander atau menganggap rendah orang Indonesia, namun tindakan rasis itu tetap **dilakukan** oleh Belanda hingga rakyat Indonesia bebas dari rasisme dan perbudakan (suarapapua.com).*

The sentence is a passive sentence indicated by the word **done**. The use of the word done causes the perpetrator who made the racist speech to not be known by the audience, so this sentence is a sentence that uses a passive strategy.

Data 10

*Sebanyak 1.017 orang **diringkus**, 157 orang **dijadikan** tahanan politik, dan 22 orang **didakwa** dengan pasal makar, serta **dijatuhi** hukuman 3 bulan hingga 17 tahun penjara yang terjadi selama agustus-September di tahun yang sama. (idenera.com)*

Data 10 also contains an element of passivity which is displayed using the passive word in the bolded word. The actors in this event are not shown, while those mentioned in the text in data 10 are only 1,017 people, 157 people, and 22 people. In addition, this passive construction can also imply that there is no actor responsible for the event marked by the verbs arrested, made, charged, and sentenced.

Data 11

*Beberapa ada yang **ditangkap** dan dijatuhi hukuman(idenera.com)*

The word **arrested** uses a passivation strategy. The passivation technique used indirectly excludes the actors involved in the discourse because it is not clearly stated who the perpetrators are who are arrested and sentenced.

Data 12

*Maka, aksi yang **diikuti** puluhan warga Papua tersebut menghasilkan 8 pernyataan sikap dan tuntutan (idenera.com).*

The word **followed** uses a passivation strategy with the addition of the affix di-. By using this strategy, the people who participated in the action are hidden in the discourse, so that the audience does not know who the people involved in the action are.

Data 13

Itu **dilayangkan** dengan harapan adanya perdamaian di Papua, Indonesia, dan di seluruh dunia. Serta, mengutuk segala bentuk rasisme yang harus dilawan bersama (*idenera.com*).

The word **Retrieved** in the sentence uses a passivate strategy so as to hide the meaning of the word **Retrieved** itself and to whom the word **Retrieved** is addressed.

Data 14

Terjadi pada tanggal 16-17 Agustus 2019, mengenai ujaran rasis yang **diucapkan** oleh aparat militer (TNI), Satpol PP, dan Ormas berupa 'monyet, tikus, babi' terhadap warga Papua di Asrama Mahasiswa Papua (Kamasan III) Surabaya," ujarnya. (*idenera.com*)

The sentence is a passive sentence indicated by the word **spoken**. The use of the word pronounced causes the perpetrator who made the racist speech to not be identified by the audience.

b. Nominalization

Data 1:

Rasisme dalam pernyataan bersama dalam memperingati perjanjian New York pada 15 Agustus 2023 dan memperingati 5 tahun rasisme (2019-2023) bahwa telah dimulai dari **perebutan** wilayah Papua, perbudakan oleh Belanda, Amerika, dan Indonesia, dimana orang Papua dijadikan objek atas wilayahnya (*suarapapua.com*).

The sentence uses a nominalization strategy marked by the word **struggle**. Nominalization is the changing of verbs into nouns. When a verb has been turned into a noun, it is detached from the context of the perpetrator, time, and place, causing the sentence to become unclear because the reader cannot know the perpetrator who seized the territory of Papua or when the seizure of the territory of Papua began.

Data 2:

Termasuk ujaran rasisme kepada mahasiswa Papua di Surabaya pada 2019 dengan **penyebutan** monyet, asu, dan usir Papua (*suarapapua.com*).

The sentence uses a nominalization strategy marked by the word **mention which** indirectly eliminates the actors in the discourse who have mentioned the immoral sentences.

Data 3 :

*Kemudian, setelah aneksasi dilakukan secara paksa pada 1 Mei 1963, Indonesia mendapat tanggung jawab untuk mempersiapkan nasib sendiri dan **pembangunan** di Papua selama 25 tahun (suarapapua.com).*

The sentence uses a nominalization strategy marked by the word **development**. This change makes the actor, time, and place unknown as to who will carry out the construction, when the construction will be carried out, or which part of Papua will be built.

Data 4 :

*Puncak **penentang** orang Papua terhadap ucapan rasisme terjadi pada Agustus 2019 di Surabaya (suarapapua.com).*

The sentence uses a nominalization strategy marked by the word **opponent**. The word opposition makes it unclear who opposes, when, and where the peak of Papuan **opposition to racist speech occurs** so that indirectly the person bound in the discourse is excluded from the text.

Data 5:

*Sayangnya, setelah indonesia merdeka pada 1945, **perbedaan**, antara ras, atau etnis itu tidak pernah hilang (suarapapua.com).*

The word difference signifies a noun. The word marginalizes who makes the difference, when and where it is done. This leaves the reader unaware of the individuals involved.

Data 6:

*Rasisme semacam itu menjadi **pemicu** kejadian-kejadian di bumi cendrawasih (idenera.com).*

The sentence uses a nominalization strategy marked by the word **trigger**. Nominalization is the changing of verbs into nouns. When a verb has been turned into a noun, it is detached from the context of the actor, time, and place, causing the sentence to be unclear because the reader cannot know the actor who triggered the event, when the initial trigger occurred, and where this trigger occurred.

Data 7:

Maka, aksi yang diikuti puluhan warga Papua tersebut menghasilkan 8 pernyataan sikap dan tuntutan (idenera.com).

The sentence uses a nominalization strategy marked by the word *statement*. Nominalization is the changing of verbs into nouns. When a verb has been turned into a noun, it is detached from the context of the actor, time, and place, causing the sentence to become unclear. The writer indirectly marginalizes who, when, and where the statement is made.

Data 8:

Itu dilayangkan dengan harapan adanya perdamaian di Papua, Indonesia, dan di seluruh dunia (idenera.com).

The sentence uses a nominalization strategy marked by the word *peace*. The change of verb to noun causes the context of the actor, time, and place not to be mentioned, making the context unclear.

c. Substitution of Clauses

Data 1

Jika ingin kemerdekaan, maka sebaiknya minta kepada Allah agar diberikan tempat di salah sebuah pulau di Samudra Pasifik, atau menyurati orang-orang Amerika untuk mencari tempat di bulan (suarapapua.com).

The sentence uses a subordinate clause, namely in the sentence *writing to the Americans to find a place on the moon*. The sentence changes the actor in the discourse. At first glance, this sentence does not change the point being conveyed, but without realizing it indirectly, this sentence disappears who the person who said it was.

INCLUSION

a. Assimilation-Individualization

Data 1:

Rasisme dalam pernyataan bersama dalam memperingati perjanjian New York pada 15 Agustus 2023 dan memperingati 5 tahun rasisme (2019-2023) bahwa telah dimulai dari perebutan wilayah Papua, perbudakan

oleh Belanda, Amerika, dan Indonesia, dimana orang Papua dijadikan objek atas wilayahnya (suarapapua.com).

The sentence includes assimilation and individualization strategies. The sentence that is not bolded, namely the word together, is a sign that the person who made a joint statement is not mentioned by the author, so the reader cannot know who the person who made a joint statement is. Meanwhile, in the bolded sentence fragment, the author uses an individualization strategy because it mentions the person or actor referred to by the author so that readers can know and understand who the person is who is seizing the territory of Papua.

b. Differentiation-In differentiation

Data 1:

Dimana salah satunya adalah perjanjian New York Agreement yang dilakukan tanpa melibatkan orang Papua, padahal perjanjian itu berkaitan dengan keberlangsungan hidup orang Papua Barat sebagai bangsa yang telah merdeka.

The sentence that is not *bolded* is a sentence that uses a differentiation strategy because it presents another event, namely the existence of the New York Agreement which indirectly marginalizes the individuals involved in the agreement, making it seem as if they did not take part in the agreement. Then, the second sentence is an indifference strategy because the sentence does not involve other events or actors, but only discusses West Papuans themselves.

c. Nomination-Identification

Data 1:

Sejak rakyat Papua mengalami stereotip atau Papua fobia, dimana harkat dan martabatnya orang Papua tidak pernah dihargai oleh elit-elit intelektual di Indonesia (suarapapua.com).

The sentence includes a nomination strategy because the author provides a subordinate sentence to explain the stereotypes experienced by the Papuan people, which is marked by the sentence where the dignity of the Papuan people has never been appreciated by the intellectual elites in Indonesia.

The sentence also uses an identification strategy to provide a bad explanation of the intellectual elites in Indonesia who have never respected

the dignity of the Papuan people, so that the audience can identify badly with the intellectual elites in Indonesia. In addition, the second data was found in the following sentence;

Data 2:

Hal yang sama dengan apa yang dialami oleh rakyat Indonesia, dimana Belanda ketika mengkoloni Indonesia menganggap bahwa rakyat Pribumi Jawa dianggap inlader, yang artinya bodoh, udik, dengan derajat yang rendah. (idenera.com)

The sentence also uses a nomination strategy by adding the pronominal where which explains what the Palestinians are experiencing. Furthermore, the word shows the use of identification because the author identifies the meaning of invader more specifically. Through this strategy, the public's perspective on the Netherlands can be understood.

d. Objectivation-Abstraction

Data 1:

Indonesia mendapat tanggung jawab untuk mempersiapkan pelaksanaan penentuan nasib sendiri dan pembangunan di Papua selama 25 tahun. (suaraPapua.com)

Kutipan di atas merupakan bentuk objektivasi karena pada kutipan di atas terdapat tanggung jawab yang diterima Indonesia dengan jelas. Klausa “selama 25 tahun” menunjukkan lamanya tanggung jawab yang didapatkan Indonesia sehingga khalayak mengetahui hal tersebut.

Data 2:

Pasalnya, setelah peristiwa rasisme di Surabaya, tak lama kemudian Gerakan West Papua meletus di 23 kota di West Papua, 17 kota di Indonesia dan 3 kota di luar negeri. (idenera.com)

From the quote above, objectivation is evidenced by the phrases "23 cities in West Papua", "17 cities in Indonesia" and "3 cities abroad". The objectivation does not change the meaning when the discourse is received by the audience because the author clearly shows the number of cities where the West Papua Movement occurs.

Data 3:

Dalam kurung waktu itu, pemerintah mengirim 6.500 pasukan militer (TNI/Polri) ke Papua dengan dalih-dalih mengamankan negara. (idenera.com)

The quote above is objectivation because it describes the number of military troops sent by the government. The number of troops sent is 6,500, evidenced by the phrase "6,500 military troops" which indicates the number. With a clear explanation of the number, the audience knows the number of military troops sent by the government.

Data 4:

Maka, aksi yang diikuti puluhan warga Papua tersebut menghasilkan 8 pernyataan singkat dan tuntutan. (idenara.com)

In this sentence, the writer does not mention in detail how many people participated in the action and chooses the word 'tens' to describe it. This can create different interpretations among readers so that it is included in the inclusion strategy with abstraction techniques.

D. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The issue of racism in Papua has been in the spotlight, especially in media coverage that focuses on the dynamics of Papuan society. In monitoring the news coverage of SuaraPapua.com and Idenera.com, it was found that SuaraPapua.com tends to use marginalization in the news delivery process. This research shows that there are 14 exclusion data in the form of passivation, as well as 8 forms of nominalization and 1 form of clause replacement.

Based on the results of the analysis of the SuaraPapua.com and Idenera.com news, it was found that Suara Papua.com tends to use marginalization in the process of delivering news, while the Idenera.com news, mentions the individuals who commit acts of racism against Papuans. These individuals include military personnel (TNI), Satpol PP, and mass organizations, as well as Indonesian officials, namely All Murtopa, Commander of Kopasus, and Retired General Luhut Pandjaitan.

As a suggestion for future researchers, it is suggested to expand the scope of analysis related to the issue of racism by involving various objects or different contexts. Future writers can compare two or more discourses from various regions of publications to see the process of marginalization of the perpetrators.

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