# PROTEST PARADIGM IN ETHNIC RIOTS NEWS (FRAMING ANALYSIS OF PAPUANS' STUDENT DORMITORY RIOTS IN SURABAYA ON TABLOID JUBI (JUBI.CO.ID) IN AUGUST 2019)

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## Article Info

## Abstract

*In August 2019, the conflict between Papuan students and police happened in the Papuan students' dormitory in Surabaya, caused by misconceptions of information between both parties. This conflict triggered more riots in several cities, acts of racism, violence, and internet access blocking in Papua's region. Each media has its own frame and depiction of the purpose of this conflict. In the media, as a minority, Papuan students are depicted in different ways than usual. Therefore, this study aims to examine the depiction and frame of the Papuans' student dormitory riot that is reported on Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) as ethnic minority media. This article uses eight pieces of online news from Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id), which will be analyzed using Pan and Kosicki framing analysis. In addition, this article also uses the concept of the protest paradigm from McLeod and Hertog (1998) to examine the tendency of how Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) depicts information about riots. The result shows that Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) tends to use three out of five characteristics in the concept of the protest paradigm, which are news frames, invocation of public opinion, and demonization.*

## INTRODUCTION

As one of Indonesia's ethnic minority groups, Papuans face both vertical and horizontal conflict. Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) is an example of a vertical conflict in Papua that arose as a result of unhappiness with the Indonesian government's policy during Papua's integration with Indonesia. Since 1967, the OPM has been separatist organization, because they want to split Papua from Indonesia. As a result, this organization would assist the Free West Papua campaigns by raising problem of human rights violation in Papua. Sugandi (2008) claims that Papua has received several condemnations throughout its unification into Indonesia. Human rights breaches and horizontal disputes also occurred in Papua. This conflict erodes Papuans' sense of identity

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and reduces their self-esteem as citizens. As a result, when a problem occurs, a controversy including violence may become a solution. According to study conducted in 2015 by four human rights advocacy organizations, Papua is still a war zone where violence is utilized to silence societal denunciations—until the expression of peace is always met by violence, mass arrest, and persecution.

The increase in riot cases involving Papuans from August to September 2019 in numerous cities in Indonesia, including Surabaya, may indicate dissatisfaction among Papuans as citizens. After charges of persecution and bigotry by community groups and authorities against Papuan students in Malang, Surabaya, and Semarang, the riot expanded to other towns, including Sorong, Fak-Fak, Manokwari, Wamena, and Jayapura. On August 16, 2019, an alleged blasphemy against the state sign by Papuan students prompted the disturbance in the Papuan students' dormitory Kamasan III Surabaya. Dorlince Iyowau, one of the jailed Papuan students, told Tirto.id that the police and the National Military of Indonesia (TNI) were arrogant when the Indonesia flag, which the Surabaya government owns, suddenly sprawled on the ground.

According to CNN Indonesia (2019), on August 18, 2019, numerous Papuan students were ultimately freed after being arrested for one day in Surabaya Metropolitan Police. The police and administration were doing nothing to address the issue. Most of the ruling party wants to settle this issue amicably, ignoring the Papuan students who have already faced discrimination, intimidation, and bigotry. This permissive attitude toward those who threatened riots prompted Herlambang P. Wiratman, Head of the Center for Human Rights Law Studies at Airlangga University's Faculty of Law, to state that this portrait of violence reflects a lack of guarantees for free expression as well as academic freedom for those who study and think critically about the reality of injustice in Papua (Yeimo, 2019). When the police and government were unable to find a solution, the event sparked another riot in Papua regions, as well as the propagation of hoaxes, which disrupted internet connection for many days (Monggilo, Kurnia, & Rajiyem, 2020).

The riots' context might also be reinforced by the accumulation of socioeconomic difficulties that Papuans have long faced. Furthermore, because Papuans did not have enough room to express their desires, they turned to violence as an alternate means of expression. In this occurrence, the importance of the media in the lives of the people as an instrument for

change is also called into question. The identification of minority groups closely associated to Papuans influences how they use possibilities in the community, such as access to the media as a medium for expression. Van Dijk (2000) claims that "minorities have less access to the media also because they do not control the many 'source discourse' on which daily news-making is based." This phrase is strengthened by the phenomena of press freedom constraints, which are still regarded as damaging and result in a lack of coverage of Papua concerns as an ethnic minority groups. As a result, ethnic minority groups have a unique difficulty in creating media that focuses on conversations about their community.

Ethnic minority media is intended to be a tool of opposition against mainstream media's domination, which has been co-opted by political economic forces (Maryani & Adiprasetio, 2018). According to Harsono (Robie, 2016), the national media has improved since June 2010, however international media presence is still restricted and strictly supervised.

Previous research by Han (2017) shown that the availability of news provided by minority media can assist communities in dealing with unique difficulties. Furthermore, Shahin et al. (2016) found that mainstream media journalists make the smallest effort to legitimate protest activities and perpetrators since mainstream media journalists analyze content relevant to judging a group's protest actions the least. This study will attempt to determine how the function of ethnic minority media in packaging news is connected to their groups using the locus of ethnic minority media, which is still uncommon.

This study will concentrate on the outcomes of press coverage of protests by ethnic minority groups. This is because press coverage of protests involving ethnic minority groups is often inaccurate and harmful to such organizations. When the media only frames one side of reality, another side is neglected, which can be damaging to the other side. This phenomenon has the potential to hurt specific parties, including citizens directly impacted by the war and migrants with no links to the conflict (Hutahaen & Lase, 2021).

The researcher gathered some internet news from Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) since this research focuses on incidents involving Papuans as the key characters in the news. Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) is an Eastern Indonesian internet media organization that focuses on Papua as its reporting topic. Regarding the Papuan dormitory riot in Surabaya last year, Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) published various pieces that highlighted the

riots or themes unrelated to the disturbances. However, this study only looks at riots, which will be framed as part of the protest activity. As a result, this study was done to assess how Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) presented the Papuan dormitory riots in Surabaya as a media source for the Papuan ethnic minority.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Methodology

This study aims to determine how Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) framed the incident of Papuan dormitory riots in Surabaya through news that focuses on riots as part of the protest action. From the Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) website, eight news articles from August 16th–27th, 2019 were the primary data for this research. There were five keywords used to determine the news to be analyzed: (1) *asrama Papua Surabaya*, (2) *asrama Papua*, (3) *kerusuhan asrama Papua*, (4) *kerusuhan asrama Papua Surabaya*, and (5) *kerusuhan asrama Mahasiswa Papua Surabaya*. In the analysis process, the researcher did two stages of analysis: the framing analysis of the Pan and Kosicki model and the concept of the protest paradigm initiated by McLeod and Hertog (1998).

In the first stage, the Pan and Kosicki analysis process was done by analyzing the news text. Researchers analyzed news elements using four structural dimensions, consisting of: first, syntactic structures: how journalists arrange news tends to be influenced by the inverted pyramid structure. The researcher analyzed the news scheme, consisting of a headline, lead, background information, reference quote, statement, and closing. Headlines and leads can be found at the beginning of the news text; the first paragraph in the news text is the lead that leads the reader to the news content. This study examined the conformity between the headline and the lead in the news text. According to Pan and Kosicki (1993), the headline is the most prominent cue that can activate semantically related concepts in the reader's mind. Meanwhile, to provide a newsworthy angle, a news text needs a good lead (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Furthermore, background information was seen in how journalists described the situation or conditions at the time of the event. Meanwhile, reference quotes help researchers see supporting statements in the news content. Reference quotes can be derived from interviews with certain parties. Indirectly, reference quotes help journalists strengthen their arguments in news writing and influence the statements conveyed. Therefore, besides being supported by reference quotes, statements can be found through statements built by journalists. Finally, the closing is information about the

conclusion of the news content. A news text can be good if the closing can answer the title that has been written. Background information, reference quotes, statements, and closings are framing devices or parts of the composition that can show the journalist's objectivity to the news he writes (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Second, script structures: how journalists arrange the available facts According to Bennett in Pan and Kosicki (1993), news content often needs to be more cohesive, depersonalized, and dramatized by some writers. Therefore, through this structure, researchers see the completeness of news content written through 5W+1H (who, what, when, where, why, and how). To complete the news content, journalists must provide information on the beginning, climax, and end of the incidents.

Third, thematic structures relate to how journalists write facts. Action-oriented news often contains certain hypothesis-testing elements, such as whether the theme is presented or implied and whether there is evidence from journalists' observations of actions or quotes from sources presented (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Pan and Kosicki mention thematic structures as an aspect of hypothesis testing or research findings in news discourse. Therefore, the details, coherence, form, and pronouns used in the sentences in the news will form a series of

prepositions that produce a system of causal or logic-empirical relationships. The researcher sees the continuity of the four components in thematic structures by providing conclusions based on the observations.

And last, rhetorical structures—how journalists emphasize facts. According to Pan and Kosicki (1993), this structure describes the stylistic choices made by journalists to create the expected impact, increase the importance of a matter, and increase the clarity of information. Several components help see this structure in news texts: lexicon (vocabulary), graphics, and metaphors. These components are intended to maximize the observation and interpretation of a fact to increase the effectiveness of the news delivered. Therefore, in addition to looking at the use of lexicon and metaphor components contained in the text, researchers also look at the images or photos listed in the news text.

The following are the findings of Pan and Kosicki's model framing analysis tools:

**Tabel 1.1 Pan and Kosicki Model Framing Analysis Tools**

| Structure | Framing Analysis Tools | Observed Units |
|---|---|---|
| **Syntactic** (The way on how journalists arrange the news) | 1. News scheme | Headline, lead, background information, reference quote, statement, closing |
| **Script** (The way on how journalists arrange the | 2. News comprehensiveness | 5W + 1H |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| available facts) | | |
| **Thematic** (The way on how journalists write facts) | 3. Detail 4. Coherence 5. Sentence form 6. Pronoun | Paragraph, preposition, sentence, relation between sentences |
| **Rhetoric** (The way on how journalists emphasize facts) | 7. Lexicon 8. Graphic 9. Metaphor | Word, idiom, image or photograph, graphic |

(Source: Eriyanto, 2002)

In the second stage, researchers categorized news texts within the five characteristics of the protest paradigm: (1) news frames; (2) reliance on official sources and official definitions; (3) invocation of public opinion; (4) delegitimization; and (5) demonization. The suitability of the categorization will be assisted by the results of the first analysis stage, which is framing analysis using four structural dimensions. This stage will focus on selecting words and sentences in the headline and news text. Each characteristic has different indicators that can provide a more specific description. Therefore, the choice of words and sentences is an essential component that can influence the characteristics of the protest paradigm of a news text. Moreover, it is possible for a news text to contain more than one characteristic of the protest paradigm.

**Tabel 1.2. Operational Definitions of Protest Paradigm Characteristics of McLeod and Hertog's (1998)**

| No | Characteristics | Indicator |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | News Frames | Engaging (according to the target audience owned by the media), sensational or shocking (through messages, photos, or pictures that support), actual (relatively current and worth discussing) |
| 2 | Reliance on Official Sources and Official Definitions | News information comes from parties or sources who can be trusted and whose credibility is recognized (such as the police, government officials, community organizations, actors or parties whose credibility has been recognized) |
| 3 | Invocation of Public Opinion | News information tends to come from public opinion that supports the protestors, counter ideas for the protestors are minimal to highlighted |
| 4 | Delegitimization | News texts tend to discuss the judgment of protest actions on whether the actions taken (the discussion will be generalized or associated with actors or parties involved in the protest action) |
| 5 | Demonization | News texts tend to discuss the consequences that will occur after the protest is over and the settlement that should be done to end the dispute |

**Ethnic Minority Media and Minority Issue**

The ethnic minority media concept differs from the definitions of ethnic media and ethnic minority communities. As a result, ethnic minority media is one sort of media that allows ethnic minority communities to become the primary focus of their news. According to Riggins (Caspi & Elias, 2011), ethnic minority media serves to

preserve the minority's original identity and affinity with the previous country, hence maintaining cultural and ethnic enclaves. Nonetheless, the fundamental purpose of ethnic minority media is to give a forum for ethnic minority groups whose image the mainstream media frequently ignores (Caspi & Elias, 2011). Furthermore, the creation of ethnic minority media can assist ethnic minority communities in managing their public image.

Minority concerns continue to be underrepresented in the mainstream media. However, a small amount of representation is preferable than none (Leavitt, Covarrubias, Perez, & Fryberg, 2015). This effect causes ethnic minority groups' explanations to focus on specific events, such as violence, cruelty, or acts of racism that they have witnessed. According to Harsono (Robie, 2019), high-intensity incidences of violence and racism faced by Papuanese are the result of power inequalities centered on the Java area (Java-centric).

The collection and range of topic explanations regarding ethnic minority groups in ethnic minority media are likely to grow further. The media allows ethnic minority groups to interact with other groups (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011) and portrays how vital it is for concerns to be aired in society (Leavitt et al., 2015).

## Media Frames for Riots News in Ethnic Minority Media

Inequality viewpoints on riot news are frequently seen in mainstream media framing. This issue has arisen due to the involvement of several parties, including the government, police, demonstrators, public society, and other groups. Donnacha DeLong, president of the National Union of Journalists, stated that one of the worst portions of the post-riot coverage was when the content of publications came directly from the police (Greenslade, 2012). As a result, post-riot coverage was dominated by 'shows' that generated a bad connotation, the cruelty of demonstrators, and the consequences of violence (Arief, 2019). Meanwhile, the root reasons of the riots are rarely examined.

When one of the ethnic minority groups has a riot, it becomes more important for the ethnic minority media to cover it. In terms of quantity, ethnic minority media produces less news than mainstream media. It happened because ethnic minority media and mainstream media had different time and people resources. For news material, ethnic minority media tends to obtain information rapidly from their community, even if it is from another party that is still close by. Furthermore, ethnic minority media might generate information from a

different perspective, particularly history or historical occurrences. These points of view can help us understand the key reasons for the incident.

**Protest Paradigm**

Historically, the relations between social movements and the mainstream media has been difficult (Harlow, Salaverria, Kilgo, and Perdomo, 2017). Actors in social movements, particularly demonstrators, are frequently sidelined and delegitimized in mainstream media coverage. As a result, demonstrators frequently struggle to gain public exposure, convey information, and wield significant power. On the other hand, media engagement is vital for protestors to communicate information about why a demonstration can occur (McLeod & Hertog, 1999) and to bring out the critical conversation space in society (Detenber, Gotlieb, Mcleod, & Malikina, 2007). The news about protest movements is frequently antagonistic (Shahin, Zheng, Strum, & Fadnis, 2016), emphasizes confrontation and violence for distorting public opinion and obstructing potential allies (McLeod & Hertog, 1999), and causes social movement actors to switch to alternative media or make their own media (Padovani, 2010).

In 1998, McLeod and Hertog established the protest paradigm. This notion seeks to investigate how protest movements are covered in news articles. Aside from that, the formation of the protest paradigm will affect the effectiveness of protest movements (Snow et al. in Harlow & Johnson, 2011). Typically, the protest paradigm is represented by official resources, a narrative framework emphasizing the show and supporting the status quo, the exploitation of public opinion, and demonization of protestors (McLeod, 2007). The protest paradigm idea includes five features that aid the researcher in data analysis: news frames, reliance on official sources and official definitions, invocation of public opinion, delegitimization, and demonization.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

**Table 1.3. Protest Paradigm Characteristics of McLeod and Hertog's (1998) on Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id)**

| No | News Title | Protest Paradigm Characteristics | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | *Asrama Mahasiswa Papua di Surabaya Didatangi Aparat dan Ormas* | √ | | √ | | √ |
| 2 | *Asrama Mahasiswa Papua di Surabaya Masih Dikepung Massa dan Aparat* | √ | | √ | | √ |
| 3 | *KontraS Surabaya: 15 Mahasiswa Papua Masih Terjebak dalam Asrama di Surabaya* | √ | | √ | | √ |
| 4 | *Polisi Akhirnya Menerobos Masuk Asrama, Belasan Mahasiswa Papua Ditangkap* | √ | √ | | | √ |

| 5 | *Antar Makanan ke Asrama Papua di Surabaya, Dua Mahasiswa Malah Ditangkap* | √ | | √ | √ | √ |
| 6 | *Kerusakan Asrama Mahasiswa Papua di Surbaya Sedang Didata* | √ | | √ | | √ |
| 7 | *Kronologi Pengepungan Asrama Mahasiswa Papua di Surabaya* | | √ | | √ | √ |
| 8 | *Kunjungan "Orangtua" Ditolak Anak Asrama Mahasiswa Papua di Surabaya* | √ | √ | √ | √ | √ |

**News Frames**

This attribute may be applied to seven of the eight news stories from Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id). This classification is being examined for several reasons. The first point to discuss is the reality of the news. When Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) posted the news results, the actuality value was seen. It would be preferable if the news findings were not so far off in time from the actual events. According to the information gathered, Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) requires around 1-2 hours to acquire information from the actual occurrence.

Second, consider the wording used in the news story. A term chosen by the researcher based on this attribute might influence the tone of the story, making it more thrilling and dramatic. According to Uribe and Gunter (2007), sensationalism can affect the human sensory system using a written word or sentence. Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) has a habit of putting the news

title in a single phrase that incorporates terms that pique the audience's interest. For example, the researcher selected a news article titled "*Asrama Mahasiswa Papua di Surabaya Masih Dikepung Massa dan Aparat*" from Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id). The term "*masih*" (in English: yet) denotes that the situation is still ongoing or that it has not yet concluded. Furthermore, in Bahasa Indonesia, the word "*dikepung*" (English: siege, blockade) is a negative verb with a negative meaning. The combination of these two terms might imply that no attempt has been made to mitigate or resolve the situation.

This also leads to McLeod's (2007) explanation of news frame features that degrade one party in the news outcome, which Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) is prone to. Certain news from the Indonesian tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) disparages one of the parties, the police. Jubi (jubi.co.id) provides more space for Papuan students to express themselves.

**Reliance on Official Sources and Official Definitions**

Three of the eight news pieces on Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) are based on trustworthy or official sources. The police's overblown encounter caused Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) to denounce what the police did from the standpoint of Papuan students. The

police statement as a reliable party was found in various news results on Tabloid Jubi (co.id). Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) only recounted the police's testimony regarding their defense without presenting any additional facts that may alleviate the conflict. Sandi Nugroho, the Head of Police Station in Surabaya, stated, "...*pengepungan asrama pada Jumat (16/8/2019) dilakukan oleh masyarakat*' (in English: '...the blockade at Papuan dormitories on Friday (16/8/19) was done by residents').

In addition, Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) incorporates live information from experienced legal counsel and news conferences from Papua and East Java governors. Another opinion from a party other than the one involved in an incident is crucial to providing readers with another viewpoint and conversation space.

**Invocation of Public Opinion**

This feature was included in all eight news pieces from Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id). The fact that the protestors' side is a main source of information for the news coverage demonstrates the utilization of this attribute. The involvement of Papuan students is more common than that of the police. Jubi (jubi.co.id) tabloid involves a party associated to Papuan students, which can be from society or a referral source with accountability.

Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) mostly uses sources from citizens that collaborate with groups or institutions that share the same background as Papuan students. As a result, it stands to reason that Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) frequently reports on violence perpetrated by police, community organizations, the National Military of Indonesia (*TNI*), the Civil Service Police Unit (*Satpol PP*), and other parties. The downside of Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) is a lack of information from other parties or outsiders who are unrelated to the two parties involved in the argument. As a result, the Papuan students are clearly the ones who suffer the most losses and disadvantages as a result of this tragedy.

Not only that, but Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) is one of Papuan students' greatest assets. McLeod's claim was supported by a scarcity of information concerning inappropriate behavior by Papuan students in the tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id). Even while Papuan students did not engage in extreme or risky actions, their decision to never leave the hostel was less precise and stupid when the tragedy occurred.

**Delegitimization**

This trait may be seen in three of every eight news stories from Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id). Delegitimization is a component

of the protest paradigm that pertains to morals, as seen by phrases in a news item stressing how someone acts. Delegitimization, as a trait, involves an actor who is related to protestors due to the relationship between this feature and similar societal attitudes. For example, the Indonesian tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) attempted to publicize unfavorable police activities, such as the arrest of two Papuan students outside the hostel who sought to provide their friends food and beverages to support them inside the dorm.

From a social standpoint, helping each other occurs when we encounter someone in a tough circumstance, and it is appropriate to help someone you already know. But it may be different if we look at it from the police's point of view at the time the incident occurred. At that moment, the police were keeping the situation under control by imposing a visit ban on outsiders. Unfortunately, the police's actions left an unfavorable image since they were excessive and unjustified. By asking whether the police conducted good or negative acts, the immoral and destructive activities of the police became the dominant information on Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id).

Furthermore, Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) employs this trait by notifying the actor's gesture and face when the occurrence occurs. Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) does not seek to influence the readers' opinions with this writing style. Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) allows its users to select and conclude facts depending on their interpretation.

**Demonization**

This attribute is used in every Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) news stories for their reporting style. Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) reports about unfavorable police repercussions that have numerous physical, psychological, and material problems for Papuan students in their news results. Looking at the writing style, we can see that Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) generally notifies us about the protest repercussions in the final paragraph of the report. Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) endeavored to publish this material descriptively and pay close attention to the occurrence specifics so that readers could readily grasp.

**CONCLUSION**

Based on how the media industries operate, it can be stated that each medium has its own opinion on how the incident occurred. Many elements can impact media framing, including ideology and media goal, the person closest to the news result (reporter, writer, editor, etc.), and the context and circumstance when the media attempts to cover the occurrence. According to the writing style of this occurrence, Tabloid Jubi

(jubi.co.id) attempts to assist Papuan students who do not have a place to express their concerns, such as violence and injustice.

In line with the results of the protest paradigm idea, Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) uses three of the five characteristics: news framing, summoning of public opinion, and demonization. These three features are beneficial to the researcher. In accordance with the results of the protest paradigm idea, Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id) uses three of the five characteristics: news framing, summoning of public opinion, and demonization. Through the news stories created by Tabloid Jubi (jubi.co.id), these three qualities assist the researcher in determining how far a protest activity may go against the current quo.

This research was expected to provide space for the development of further discussions on the role of ethnic minority media towards their groups in general, in addition to providing an understanding of the role of mass media in eastern Indonesia in viewing issues related to the Papuan ethnic minority. Furthermore, the general public, particularly journalists, would be aware of the rules for integrating the protest paradigm in news texts reporting on protest events and actors.

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