Detik.com and Tempo.co in Framing the Persecution of Papuan Citizen by TNI

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Abstract

A video depicting a Papuan citizen, Definus Kogoya, being brutally beaten by members of the Indonesian National Armed Forces inside a water drum went viral on the social media platform X on March 22, 2024. This incident quickly attracted widespread public attention and became a major topic of discussion in Indonesia. Among the various media outlets covering the issue, Detik and Tempo emerged as the most prominent, publishing a combined total of 41 news reports. The objective of this research is to analyze the messages conveyed through the framing of news coverage by these two media organizations. The study employs the framing analysis approach developed by Gamson and Modigliani, which focuses on how media select and present news stories, including the choice of words, images, and the overall focus of reporting. A qualitative approach is utilized to enable a more comprehensive and in-depth exploration of the issue. Gamson and Modigliani's framework distinguishes between framing devices—such as metaphors, catchphrases, exemplars, depictions, and visual images—and reasoning devices, which include identifying root causes, appeals to principle, and highlighting consequences. Primary data for this research were collected from online news articles, while secondary data were sourced from relevant books and academic journals. The research sample consists of 13 news reports, with 6 articles from Detik.com and 7 from Tempo.co. The findings reveal significant differences in how the two media outlets frame the incident. Detik.com tends to present the persecution of Definus Kogoya as an event triggered by allegations of arson at a local health center, focusing on the immediate context of the incident. In contrast, Tempo.co frames the event as part of a longstanding, deep-rooted conflict in Papua, attributing the violence to the government's failure to take decisive action in resolving the broader conflict. These findings highlight how media framing can shape public understanding of sensitive issues and underscore the importance of critical analysis in interpreting news coverage within a wider socio-political context.

Keywords: Definus Kogoya, Framing, Gamson and Modigliani, Detik.com, Tempo.co.

INTRODUCTION

A video showing Papuan citizen, Definus Kogoya, being abused by The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in a water drum trended on X on March 22, 2024. Based on a report by Human Rights Watch on March 28, the video showed three soldiers wearing Army undershirts, brutally beating Definus Kogoya, a Papuan youth whose hands were tied and put in a drum filled with water. In a similar video clip, a soldier slashed Definus' back using a bayonet until the water turned red.

Responding to this issue, Commander of the XVII Cenderawasih Military Command, Izak Pangemanan said the soldiers had undermined efforts to handle the conflict in Papua. He also stated that 42 soldiers from the 300th Raider Infantry Battalion in Cianjur had been interrogated by the military police, and at least 13 suspects had been identified (Republika, 2024).

Head of Public Relations of the Papua Police, Ignatius Benny Ady Prabowo said that on February 6, Definus Kogoya and Alianus Murib were handed over to the Puncak Resort Police because there was no evidence of burning or other violence. The two teenagers needed medical treatment instead (Tirto, 2024).

Head of the Army Information Center, Kristomei Sianturi also added that Definus Kogoya was part of the West Papua National Liberation Army and was arrested on February 3 along with two other Papuan youths, Alianus Murib and Warinus Kogoya. He stated that Warinus Kogoya died after jumping from a military vehicle while he was being arrested (Detik, 2024).

The mass media responded to this tragedy by reporting on various platforms. Tempo was one of the media that immediately reported the incident shortly after the video was spread on social media on March 22. In contrast, Detik began reporting the incident during the first press conference held by the TNI on March 25.

Based on the Reuters Institute Politics: Digital News Report 2024, Tempo was the media that reported the most on this issue, with a total of 26 news reports, followed by Detik with 15 news reports. The decision to choose Detik and Tempo as the research objects was based on various factors, the main one being the number of news items released by each media with a total of 41 news reports overall.

Detik and Tempo have their own framing in conveying information. This difference in news framing will shape the public's interpretation according to their perspective which will ultimately determine the facts taken, what is highlighted and omitted, and where the news is headed (Eriyanto, 2005). The main objective of this research is to see how Tempo and Detik construct and interpret an issue.

Based on CT Corp's company profile on ctcorpora.com, Detik.com is part of CT Corp. CT Corp consists of three sub-

holding companies: Mega Corp, Trans Corp, and CT Global Resources which cover financial services, media, retail, lifestyle, entertainment, and natural resources.

The impact of this media conglomeration has resulted in unfair business competition between mass media owners, resulting in a number of changes, especially in the development of broadcast programs and subjective press coverage that is driven by an interest (Hilmansyah, 2023). This is in line with Tapsell's (2017) findings that these conglomerate media will dominate and increasingly shape news and information in Indonesia.

On the other hand, based on the company profile on tempo.co, Tempo Media Group is a media company that operates only in the journalism sector. Janet Steele (2005) in her book Wars Within examines Tempo and states that Tempo is an independent and 'non-governmental' media, despite the need to force its editors to conform to New Order rules. In addition to Tempo's connection to the bans they experienced in 1982 and 1994, Susanto's (2021) research also found that Tempo's independence was demonstrated through their news production process.

The background of these two media companies is interesting to study because it has similarities with the research of Gamson and Modigliani (1989) which states that framing is a strategy used by the mass media and social stakeholders to change the way society understands and responds to certain issues or events. Through framing, the media emphasizes specific aspects of reported realities from a particular perspective (Annisa & Suryawati, 2024).

We argue that differences in media background can influence the framing of the media itself, in accordance with Shoemaker's (1996) study which investigated the impact of ownership policies on media content. The relationship between media content, especially news or media content, is closely related to the media team (journalists or reporters, editors, editors-in-chief), external media pressure, and the media ideology itself (Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2019). In the construction process that process, the media will make selections, repetition and emphasis on certain aspects that are of concern to the media (Palupi & Irawan, 2020).

Individuals learn about social events from media coverage. Audience attention and how people construct reality largely come from what the media reports (Jun Wong Rhee, 1997). Therefore, we argue that the media has significant consequences, including influencing audience perspectives and behavior based on how they view an issue or event. This argument is also supported by Hall (in Sudibyo, 2004) that said reality in the media is not seen as a set of facts, but from the results of certain groups' views on the

formation of reality.

Due to the media's enormous ability to influence audience perception, media representation needs to be examined in terms of emphasis, selection, and framing. This analysis can help identify how a media selects and presents news, including the choice of words, images, and focus of its reporting. Framing is useful for helping to define a problem, causal interpretation, making moral decisions or evaluations, and offering solutions or suggestions (Todd Gitlin, 2003).

Gamson and Modigliani (1987), in their research also said that the frame is "the center of organizing ideas or storylines that give meaning" to events related to an issue. To determine whether a news has framing elements in it, Gamson and Modigliani (1987) define two framing analysis devices: framing devices and reasoning devices. Framing devices consist of: Metaphors, Phrases, Exemplars, Depiction, and Visual Images. While reasoning devices consist of Roots, Appeal to Principle, and Consequences.

The problem formulations in this study were as follows: (1) What are the core elements of Detik and Tempo news in reporting the case of persecution of Papuans by the TNI? (2) How do Detik and Tempo construct reality based on framing devices in reporting the case of persecution of Papuans by the TNI? (3) How do Detik and Tempo construct reality based on reasoning devices in reporting the case of

persecution of Papuans by the TNI?

This study focuses on the analysis of news framing by Detik.com and Tempo.co regarding the case of the persecution of Definus Kogoya by the TNI in the period March 22, 2024 - March 30, 2024. The study was conducted to determine how the construction of reality was formed by Detik.com and Tempo.co in reporting this issue. We will use Gamson and Modigliani's framing devices and reasoning devices to examine and see the differences in how Detik and Tempo construct news about the persecution of Definus Kogoya by the TNI.

METHOD

This study conducted a framing analysis using qualitative descriptive methods. The qualitative approach allows us to study a particular problem comprehensively and in depth because data collection is not limited to certain categories (Patton, 1990). Moreover, this research uses a constructivist paradigm. In communication studies, the constructivist paradigm views messages as not being something physical and static like the transmission view, but rather as a product of construction and interaction between sender and receiver (Eriyanto, 2002).

This study utilizes the framing approach developed by William Gamson and Modigliani. Gamson & Modigliani (1989) define framing as a way of telling a story or a cluster of ideas that are organized in such a way and present the construction of the

meaning of events related to a discourse. The existence of an organized cluster of ideas or a package is seen from the presence of a central idea which is then supported by discourse devices - such as words, sentences, the use of certain images or graphics, prepositions, and so on (Eriyanto, 2002).

The structure of Gamson and Modigliani's research operationalized two structural dimensions of news text as framing devices; these dimensions include media packages, cores, frames, and condensing symbols; each of these three structural dimensions has a specific meaning. The first structure is centered on organizing the elements of the idea that help the communicator to show the substance of the issue being discussed. The second structure consists of two substructures, reasoning devices and framing devices. The framing device structure, which includes visual images, methapors, exemplaars, catchwords, depictions, and depictions, emphasizes the justification aspect of how to look at issues, namely roots (causal analysis) and appeals.

This research uses data from primary and secondary sources. The primary data consists of news reports that serve as the main subject of the study. The subjects of this study were 13 of the 41 news reports from Detik and Tempo regarding the persecution of Papuans by the TNI for the period March 22, 2024 – March 30, 2024. The reason the why we chose the research subjects was because Detik and Tempo were among the top 10 digital media most visited by the Indonesian people based on the *Reuters Institute Politics: Digital News Report 2024*.

In addition, when compared to the other 8 media, Detik and Tempo were the media that made the most news about this case with a total of 41 news reports.

We diligently read all the news about the case of the persecution of Papuans by the TNI published by Detik and Tempo. To increase validity, we looked for several references to literature studies to improve understanding of the context in the news. This was done so that our interpretation in using the framing method could be valid and appropriate. In addition, the triangulation technique will also be used to test the validity of the data. This technique is based on the observed phenomena that can be understood well so that later valid truth will be obtained.

Table 1. Subject of Research

	Detik.com Headlines	Tempo.co Headlines
1.	8 Oknum Prajurit TNI Ditahan soal Dugaan Aniaya Anggota KKB di Papua (25/03/24)	TNI Selidiki Video Viral Penyiksaan Warga Papua (22/03/24)
2.	Penjelasan Lengkap Pangdam Cenderawasih soal Oknum Aniaya KKB Papua (25/03/24)	Respons Amnesty Internasional, Imparsial, Komnas HAM soal Anggota TNI Aniaya Warga Papua (23/03/24)
3.	Menko Hadi Minta Panglima TNI Hukum Prajurit Terbukti Aniaya KKB Papua (25/03/24)	Reaksi Gereja atas Penganiayaan Warga Papua oleh TNI (25/03/24)

4.	TNI: 2023 Korban Tewas oleh KKB 61 Orang, 2024 Ada 7 Orang (25/03/24)	Pangdam Cendrawasih Jelaskan Kronologi Penganiayaan terhadap Warga Papua oleh Anggota TNI (25/03/24)
5.	13 Oknum Prajurit Ditetapkan Jadi Tersangka Penganiayaan Anggota KKB (26/03/24)	Sebby Sambom Sebut Warga yang Dianiaya Prajurit TNI Bukan Anggota TPNPB-OPM (26/03/24)
6.	TNI Ungkap Peran 13 Oknum Prajurit Tersangka Penganiayaan Anggota KKB (29/03/24)	Prajurit Siksa Warga Papua, Kapuspen: TNI Bukan Malaikat (29/03/24)
7.		TNI Turunkan Tim Selidiki Penganiayaan Warga Papua oleh Anggotanya, Apa Temuannya? (30/03/24)

Source: Research Data, 2024

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

News Core Elements

Gamson in Eriyanto (2002) stated that framing is a collection of main ideas that emerge when a person or media understands or interprets a concept. These main ideas are supported by other elements of discourse, which make both cohesive with each other. In news text interpretation, there are two devices, framing and reasoning. Framing devices refer to how certain words, sentences, or metaphors refer to certain ideas, while reasoning devices refer to how coherent and cohesive the text refers to certain ideas. Detik first released news about the persecution of Papuans by the TNI on March 25, 2024. The first news released was titled "8 TNI Soldiers Detained Regarding Alleged Abuse of KKB Members in Papua" using a TNI press conference as a source, followed by 14 other news reports spread on March 25, 26, and 29, 2024. In Detik's view, the identity of Definus Kogoya, who is suspected of being a member of the KKB, has been verified. This is shown by the title of the 15 news items that use the label 'KKB' on Definus Kogoya without the sentence allegedly or confirmation from the KKB members directly..

From general perspective, KKB is interpreted as an armed criminal group. The labeling of KKB to Definus Kogoya implies that the authenticity of his identity is a justification for what the TNI did to him. Referring to the concept of covering both sides regulated in UU No. 40 concerning the Press, these news excerpts show that not all parties have an equal opportunity from Detik to express their responses. Article 1 of UU No. 40 also states that a news item needs to provide reporting with a multidimensional perspective, and Detik does not fulfill this because it only provides dimensions or views from the TNI or government.

On the other hand, Tempo describes the uncertainty of Definus Kogoya's identity as part of the KKB, even though the TNI has said that Definus Kogoya is a member of the

KKB at a press conference on March 25, 2024. This shows that Tempo still sees another possibility that Definus is not part of the KKB, because it still requires further verification with the KKB or TPNPB-OPM itself. Tempo also tried to find other sources to verify the truth of Definus Kogoya's identity. This was written at the end of the news report on the chronology of the persecution based on the TNI press conference and the news report on the interview with the TPNPB-OPM spokesperson.

Tempo's efforts in providing the TPNPB-OPM's perspective in response to the TNI's statement that Definus was a member of the KKB show that Tempo meets the requirements for balanced news as regulated in Law No. 40 concerning the Press, especially point c which stipulates that all parties need to have equal opportunities in order to realize news reporting with a multidimensional perspective.

Furthermore, the core element of Tempo's reporting on this case is the opposition from various humanitarian organizations in responding to this incident. This is shown by how the reporting of Amnesty International's Response, Imparsial, and Komnas HAM regarding TNI Members Abusing Papuans became the longest news released by Tempo regarding this case with a total of 35 paragraphs.

Tempo emphasizes how these organizations oppose violence in handling the conflict in Papua, thinking that the conflict in

Papua is something that has been rooted for a long time and has not been resolved by the government. to the hope that the perpetrators will receive appropriate punishment. Referring to Rahmawati's research (2022), the Papuan conflict is defined as a structural conflict because it is a conflict between the government and the Papuan ethnic minority.

Framing Devices

All elements in the framing device are used to form a certain image of a person or an event. In the Detik news text, the elements of the framing device are used for at least three purposes. The first frame formed by Detik is the good image of the TNI as a state apparatus. In the Detik news text, there are many labels or allusions (depictions) that form the conclusion that the TNI is firmly following up on this case. The use of labels or allusions (depictions) such as 'serius', 'tegas', and 'proaktif' provide positive connotations that support the TNI's performance.

The second framing formed by Detik is the depiction of the KKB as a party that continues to carry out attacks through the news "TNI: 2023 Korban Tewas oleh KKB 61 Orang, 2024 Ada 7 Orang". Apart from the fact that this news is Detik's longest news report on this case with a total of 18 paragraphs, this is also shown by the depiction of illustrations (exemplars) of what has been happening in Papua with a statement of the number of victims who have been killed by the KKB. The existence of this news provides reasoning on why the TNI abused

Definus Kogoya. Without any comparison with the number of victims of KKB members, news readers can conclude that the TNI and civilian victims killed by the KKB were more numerous and not comparable to the TNI's treatment of Definus Kogoya.

Third, the framing formed by Detik is Definus Kogoya's as a part of the KKB. In Detik, there is 1 important factual conclusion from the six news stories regarding this case, namely the identity of Definus Kogoya as part of the KKB members and the readiness of the government and TNI in following up on the case. This is shown by the lead of the six news stories which always start information from Definus' membership as part of the KKB, the chronology of the arrest caused by the issue of KKB members who would burn down the health center, to the readiness of the government and TNI to take firm action against the guilty soldiers.

Meanwhile, in Tempo, the first framing formed is how inhumane the TNI's actions were towards Definus Kogoya. This can be seen from how other parties were chosen as sources other than the TNI in Tempo's news writing. Coming from various backgrounds, Tempo quoted responses from Komnas HAM, the Association of Churches in Indonesia, Amnesty International, the Jakarta Archdiocese, Imparsial, and Papuan human rights defenders. In fact, the responses from these non-governmental organizations became Tempo's longest news with a total of 35 paragraphs.

The second frame formed by Tempo is the feeling of injustice of the TNI whose members are all generalized as the perpetrators of the persecution of Definus Kogoya. The third frame formed by Tempo is the uncertainty of Definus Kogoya's membership as part of the KKB. While Detik always labels Definus Kogoya a member of the KKB, Tempo on the other hand often adds the word 'allegedly' and the term 'TPNPB-OPM' to refer to the KKB. Tempo also interviewed TPNPB-OPM members directly to prove the TNI's statement at the press conference. Tempo's choice to continue using TPNPB-OPM for KKB also changes the paradigm of handling separatists in Papua that is known to the general public. By using the OPM label, readers will think that the authorities cannot arrest its members on the grounds of terrorism.

Furthermore, the last frame formed by Tempo is how the conflict between Papua and the TNI is something that is continuous and rooted. Since its first report, Tempo has shown their stance on this case through the caption on the image used to describe what happened in Papua. The caption says "Persecution and racial discrimination against Papuan students cannot be justified for any reason. The problem is that what happened in Surabaya and Malang was only a trigger. The government must resolve the conflict in Papua to its roots, namely the dissatisfaction of the people with the government's actions in the past. In addition, marginalization in the development process must also be stopped. The development process must not only

prioritize physical but also improve the quality of Papuan community resources." From how they portray this issue, we can conclude that Tempo has the idea that what happened in Papua is a form of racial discrimination and dissatisfaction of the Papuan people with the government, not just a TNI-KKB conflict.

Reasoning Devices

The construction formed in the news text is supported by a set of reasoning to emphasize that the 'news version' presented in the text is true (Eriyanto, 2002). This is in the form of interview results and facts that are lined up to produce a frame with a certain perspective. In the Detik and Tempo news texts, this reasoning device is presented with several patterns. First, Detik describes that the reason for the persecution that occurred to Definus Kogoya was due to the issue that he would burn down the health center. Justification for the TNI's behavior is also shown from the explanation that the KKB is a good party. In addition, there are also moral claims in Detik's news reporting that show that the TNI is fully responsible for this incident.

On the other hand, Tempo describes this incident with two causal analyses. First, the persecution of Definus Kogoya occurred due to the issue of burning down the health center. Second, the conflict in Papua occurred because there has never been any firm action to prosecute the perpetrators of violence. These two causal analyses form different

moral claims. Although both parties, the TNI and non-governmental organizations, both consider that what the TNI did was a despicable event and deserved punishment, Tempo also described the moral claim of the OPM which will continue to call what the TNI did as genocide.

CONCLUSION

Overall, both media have some similarities and differences in constructing this issue. However, the most significant difference is the sources of information. Detik only uses the TNI and the government as sources in compiling its news reports, while Tempo uses the TNI, TPNPB-OPM and several other parties such as non-governmental organizations as sources.

Judging from the structure of the framing devices, there is a striking difference in how Detik describes that the KKB is the party that more often attacks the TNI first and what happened to Definus Kogoya was due to the issue that he would burn down the health center. Meanwhile, in Tempo, there are two contrasting depictions because the information is taken from contrasting sources as well. Seen from the TNI's perspective, Tempo describes that the persecution of Definus occurred because of the issue of burning down the health center, but from another perspective, Tempo also describes that the incident experienced by Definus was a deep-rooted conflict and occurred because of the lack of firm action from the government to resolve the conflict.

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