

A Literature Review: The Media's Ideology in the Construction of Discourse about West Papua

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Abstract

The media is a source of information about the situation in West Papua for the public. Nevertheless, representations of West Papua in the media are fragmented, leading to a distorted public understanding of the region. This distortion, particularly among people outside West Papua, is caused by the Indonesian government's dominance in the media. The Indonesian government's dominance as authority creates unequal representation between the government's narrative and the voices of Papuan, especially in the national media. This study aims to analyze the construction of discourse about West Papua in the media at three different levels of reach: local media, national media, and international media by literature review. This study found three different discourse patterns. The local media tended to prioritize a discourse of resistance that presented critical voices and highlighted Papuan identity in media texts. Meanwhile the national media was dominated by the discourse of national stability and sovereignty, which tended to be in line with the ideology of the Indonesian government. Last, the international media is more critical in highlighting human rights discourse. However, the media's reach does not always determine the discourse in the media. Discourse on Papua in the media is also influenced by the media's position in the social system and the ideology that surrounds it. However, over the past ten years, most research has focused solely on textual aspects and has not addressed the influence of ideology in media discourse. These findings indicate that there has been no significant progress in research on the relationship between ideology and media discourse regarding Papua. Therefore, new research is needed that integrates ideology with media, especially national online media, across various dimensions. This aims to reveal the power dynamics within media discourse.

Keywords: Media Ideology, Media Representation, Power Relation, West Papua, West Papua's Discourse in Media.

Abstrak

Media jurnalistik memegang peran krusial sebagai sumber informasi bagi masyarakat untuk memahami dinamika situasi di Papua. Namun, realitas yang ditampilkan dalam media masih menunjukkan pola yang terfragmentasi, sehingga menyebabkan adanya distorsi pemahaman publik terhadap situasi di Papua. Distorsi pemahaman, terutama pada masyarakat di luar Papua, berakar pada dominasi suara pemerintah Indonesia dalam media. Dominasi suara pemerintah Indonesia sebagai pihak yang memiliki otoritas menciptakan ketimpangan antara narasi pihak otoritas dan suara masyarakat sipil Papua, terutama pada media nasional. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konstruksi wacana Papua pada media dengan tiga skala jangkauan berbeda: media lokal, media nasional, dan media internasional. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelusuran literatur sistematis terhadap berbagai artikel ilmiah mengenai wacana Papua dalam media. Hasil penelitian menemukan adanya tiga pola wacana yang berbeda. Media lokal cenderung mengedepankan wacana resistensi yang membawakan suara kritis dan menampilkan identitas Papua pada teks media. Sementara itu, media nasional didominasi oleh wacana stabilitas nasional dan kedaulatan negara yang cenderung sejalan dengan ideologi pemerintah Indonesia. Terakhir, media internasional lebih menonjolkan wacana hak asasi manusia (HAM) secara kritis. Namun, jangkauan media tidak selalu menentukan wacana dalam media. Wacana mengenai Papua dalam media juga dipengaruhi oleh posisi media dalam sistem sosial dan ideologi yang melingkupinya. Namun, selama sepuluh tahun terakhir, sebagian besar penelitian hanya berfokus pada aspek tekstual dan tidak menjangkau pengaruh ideologi dalam wacana media. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa belum ada perkembangan signifikan mengenai riset relasi ideologi terhadap wacana mengenai Papua dalam media. Oleh karena itu, diperlukan penelitian baru yang mengintegrasikan ideologi dengan wacana media, terutama media daring nasional, melalui berbagai lapisan dimensi. Hal ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap relasi kuasa dalam wacana media.

Kata kunci: *Ideologi Media, Papua, Representasi Media, Relasi Kuasa, Wacana Papua dalam Media*

INTRODUCTION

West Papua is a region of Indonesia with complex history. The difference in perspective between Indonesian government and West Papua in terms of identity of the region is the source of the conflict situation in West Papua. West Papua once was colonized by the Dutch in 1828, making West Papua as a part of Dutch East Indies territory. Therefore, the Indonesian government has claimed that West Papua is part of Indonesia. This claim refers to the principle of *uti possidetis*, which asserts that the territories of newly emerging post-colonial states will follow their territories before gaining sovereignty (Rosyidin et al., 2022; Sa'adah, 2022).

While this is going on, the West Papuan people are trying to push the national government to let the West Papua decide its own future with oversight from the international community. This push is based on the West Papuan perspective that there are racial and cultural differences between the West Papuan people and the rest of Indonesian society. These ethnical differences are the most significant factor contributing to the marginalization of the West Papuan people. Physical characteristics and accents that differ from most Indonesians often cause them to be rejected by the community when traveling to other islands. Prasmi et al. (2019) stated that Papuan students who migrated to Surabaya experienced major obstacles in terms of language, physical, perception, and cultural factors in their interactions and adaptation. This disagreement and marginalization have led to separatist actions that continue to this day (Rosyidin et al., 2022; Wirawan et al., 2022).

Furthermore, There is a further disagreement between the Indonesian government and the West Papua. Infrastructure development

carried out by the Indonesian government is considered a threat by the people of West Papua. This is causing concerns about the exploitation of natural resources, land disputes, and the continued marginalization of the West Papuan people. The culture of indigenous people living in the West Papuan forests is also threatened by land clearing. Moreover, the formation of new regions of autonomy has also triggered the conflict. The expansion of regions will lead to the expansion of military and police infrastructure for plantations and mines (The West Papuan Council of Churches (WPCC) et al., 2022).

The rejection by the West Papuan people was countered with repressive actions by Indonesian security forces, including intimidation, harassment, assault, torture, and even murder. Extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances also occur in West Papua as a result of the armed conflict between Indonesian security forces and the *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (OPM) military forces, the *Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat* (The West Papuan Council of Churches (WPCC) et al., 2022). The Annual Report 2023: Human Rights and Conflict in West Papua (2024) notes that there were 42 reported victims of extrajudicial killings and 3 reported victims of enforced disappearances in 2023. The West Papuan Council of Churches (WPCC) et al. (2022) found that the victims of extrajudicial killings were predominantly indigenous Papuans.

Public knowledge of the situation in West Papua is shaped by information presented in the media. However, there is still a gap in perception and knowledge of the situation in West Papua between the people of West Papua and those outside West Papua. A survey by the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) and Change.org (2018) shows a difference in understanding

between people outside West Papua and indigenous Papuans regarding the issues in West Papua. Approximately 9.31% of survey respondents who were indigenous people of West Papua stated that they were “*sangat khawatir*” (very worried) and “*khawatir*” (worried) about the situation in West Papua. Migrants in West Papua expressed worry at a rate of 45.52%, while people outside West Papua expressed worry at a rate of 41.26%. Meanwhile, 29.04% of people outside West Papua stated that they “*tidak tahu*” (did not know) about the situation in West Papua. The survey results show a difference in perception between people in West Papua and those outside West Papua.

This disparity of knowledge about West Papua is caused by the lack of information about West Papua in the media, where events related to West Papua are never presented with a full explanation of the situation by the media (Firman, 2019; Thaniago, 2018). In entertainment media such as films and television series, the portrayal of Papuans perpetuates the stigma of being primitive and anarchic (Setiyawan, 2020). Studies about West Papua, especially about how the West Papua crisis is framed by the media in Indonesia, are still very limited, so public awareness of West Papua is still low (Adiprasetyo, 2020; Leadbeater, 2015). The media in Indonesia tends to report events in West Papua by focusing on the Indonesian government’s perspective and narrative, thus making the coverage disproportionate. Most of the main news sources used by the media are from parties representing the government or security forces. Papuan civil society has little opportunity to voice its opinions (Adiprasetyo, 2023). Harsa & Rofil (2021) found that the discourse framed and shaped by the media can reinforce public perceptions of minorities through the perspective of the news and the depth of news reports.

Therefore, the media play an important role in shaping public perceptions of West Papua through the discourse that they construct. The media are part of the ideological state apparatuses (ISA) that carry out their functions based on ideology. This mode of operation differs from repressive state apparatuses (RSA), which tend to act repressively. Nevertheless, this does not rule out the possibility of the ideological state apparatuses functioning in a subtle and covertly repressive way (Althusser, 2015). In reality, the ideological state apparatuses functions under the ideology of the group in power. Althusser (2015) also explains that the group in power in a country often ensures harmony between the repressive state apparatus and its ideological state apparatuses.

Media that operates under the ideology of the dominant group can create a biased or distorted reality (Wuryanta, 2018). Marx and Engels, as cited in Fuchs et al. (2009), explain that media can shape public consciousness through ideological role-playing that legitimizes the domination of the dominant group. Marx considered ideology to be an expression of the dominant group’s attempt to control the dominated group Fuchs et al. (2009). This is also supported by Sobur (2006), who stated that the ideology believed by society is essentially the ideology of a group of elites. Sobur (2006) also states that views constructed with ideological assumptions can lead to failure in understanding the true reality.

The media shapes public perception by maintaining its own interests. Certain ideologies are disseminated under the pretext of providing objective information to the public. According to Fairclough (1989), media discourse needs to be seen as a complex and contradictory ideological construct, which is not always fixed but varies in its construction. Seeing as how the discourse on West

Papua in the media has not yet been fully contextualized, it can be described as a dominant discourse. Dominant discourse undergoes a process of naturalization, leading it to be perceived as normal (Fairclough, 1989). For this reason, this study was conducted to examine the development of research on the reflection of media ideology in the discourse on West Papua as documented in studies over the past ten years. Therefore, this article aims to fill this gap by synthesizing prior research related to the discourse on West Papua in local, national, and international media. To further explain this phenomenon, this study employs the concept of the relationship between ideology and discourse.

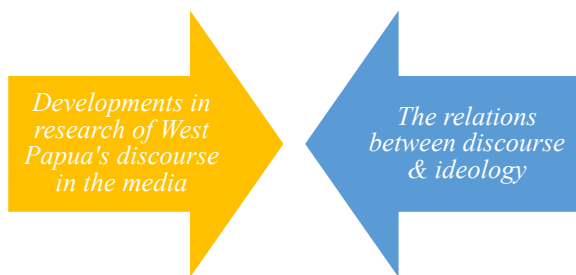


Figure 1. Conceptual model. (source: author's own work)

METHOD

This study uses an integrative literature review method with a qualitative descriptive approach. The literature review method in scientific writing aims to explain phenomena using theoretical ideas that have been proposed by experts in a particular field of science (Knopf, 2006). In this article, Althusser (2015) idea of the ideological state apparatuses is used to explain the phenomenon of discourse in the media with various ranges; (1) local media; (2) national media; (3) international media.

The literature was conducted using secondary data consisting of national and

international journals, regarding the discourse of West Papua in the media. The data search had the following criteria: (1) Research articles from accredited journals and full texts; (2) Books on discourse and media; and (3) News articles and reports from credible media or sources.

We analyzed a total of eight articles published between 2016 and 2025, which were found using the Google Scholar search engine.

Title	Publisher	Year
Papua in Media: A Discourse Critical Analysis of Economic News in Three National Indonesian Newspaper	HUMANIORA	2016
Papua dalam Media: Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Otonomi Khusus di Papua Barat	Jurnal Masyarakat & Budaya	2018
Under the shadow of the state: Media framing of attacks on West Papuan students on Indonesian online media	Pacific Journalism Review	2023

Government loudspeaker: How Indonesian media amplifies the state's narrative towards the Free West Papua movement	Pacific Journalism Review	2023
Discourse Analysis and Distance Factors on Determine News Sources about Papua Riots in Online Media	Jurnal The Messenger	2025
Exploring the narrative divide: c o n t r a s t i n g perspectives on the W e s t P a p u a conflict in various media	Media Asia	2025
Detik.com and Tempo.co in Framing the Persecution of Papuan Citizen by TNI	Representamen	2025
Framing Analysis in the Papua Conflict in Benar News and The Guardian	Journal of Language and Literature	2025

Table 1. List of literature about West Papua's
discourse on media. (source: author's own work)

FINDINGS

The findings in this article address the formation of discourse about West Papua in 3 categories: (1) The Discourse of West Papua in Local Media; (2) The Discourse of West Papua in National Media; and (3) The Discourse of West Papua in International Media. This categorization is based on the idea that issues concerning West Papua are not only discussed in local or national media, but also in international media. Rosyidin et al. (2022) also mention in their research that the situation in West Papua is often a topic of debate in United Nations (UN) forums. Therefore, it can be seen that the situation in West Papua has gained international attention, including in international media.

The Discourse of West Papua in Local Media

Previous research has studied the discourse of West Papua in local media, specifically the *Tabloidjubi.com*, *Radar Sorong*, and *Antara Papua Barat*. In *Tabloidjubi.com*, the focus of the research was on the 2019 riots in Papua. As a local media, *Tabloidjubi.com* highlighted incidents from the perspective of the local community and emphasized the socio-economic impact. This media provided more space to indigenous Papuans and those who involved in the riots to voice their opinions. According to Tobing & Ibrahim (2024), *Tabloidjubi.com* amplified local voices, quoting activists or traditional leaders rather than the police and local government. The study by Tobing & Ibrahim (2024) employed a discourse analysis method using an exclusion and inclusion model, but remained limited because its focused only on the textual dimension.

The research by Rubawati (2018) on *Radar Sorong* and *Antara Papua Barat* focused on the *Otonomi Khusus (Otsus)* policy. *Radar Sorong*, as a

local media outlet under *Jawa Pos*, framed the *Otsus* as a policy that needed to be evaluated because of its lack of success in the implementation. Through framing model analysis that focused in textual layer, Rubawati (2018) found that *Radar Sorong* has been resistant in its reporting on government policies, but has not yet reached a critical stage. In contrast to *Radar Sorong*, *Antara Papua Barat*, which is the regional representative office of *Antara* in Jakarta, tends to be supportive to government programs. In its reporting, *Antara Papua Barat* focuses on the successes and future prospects of the *Otsus*. This media organization also tends to obscure the negative impacts of the continuation of *Otsus*.

The Discourse of West Papua in National Media

In national media, the findings are divided into two categories based on media platforms, i.e., printed media and online media. In the printed media category, the research by Sari (2016) analyzed the printed media, i.e., *Sinar Harapan*, *Republika*, and *Kompas*. The focus of the news coverage studied was on the Special Autonomy policy and the *Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE)*. Through the integration between framing and discourse analysis method, this study shows that the *Sinar Harapan* newspaper describes the situation in Papua and the failure of policy implementation that has impacted the community. This description was carried out by selecting sources from activists, NGOs or civil communities, as well as academia from universities in Papua. Meanwhile, sources representing the government were included as sources of information in the body and tail of the news.

In contrast to *Sinar Harapan*, *Republika* reports on events in Papua only on the surface. This newspaper prioritizes sources from the government in Jakarta as the national government. Furthermore,

Republika also cites information from the *Antara* news agency. On the other hand, the *Kompas* newspaper presents comprehensive and detailed news reports. This media outlet provides recommendation on certain events. The information cited comes from independent sources, as well as books and team reports (Sari, 2016).

As for the online media, Tobing & Ibrahim (2024) did a qualitative analysis of *Kompas.com*. Also, Adiprasetyo (2020; 2023) did quantitative research on some mainstream media organizations, i.e., *Okezone*, *Detik*, *Kompas.com*, *Tribunnews*, *CNN Indonesia*, and *Tirto*. *Kompas.com* constructed discourse that aligned with the government's policies during the 2019 West Papua riots. As a dominant Jakarta-based media organization, *Kompas.com* tends to use sources that are aligned with national interests, such as government officials and ministries. This reinforces narratives that support national stability.

In the study of national online media reports in Indonesia: *Okezone*, *Detik*, *Kompas.com*, *Tribunnews*, *CNN Indonesia*, and *Tirto*, the findings show that the government and security forces' narrations dominate the news reports. In the news reports about the attack on the Papuan dormitory, *Detik* (32.87%) was the media outlet that most frequently provided the government and security forces' perspective. This was followed by *Kompas.com* (30.88%), *Tribunnews* (29.57%), *CNN Indonesia* (25.29%), *Okezone* (23.83%), and *Tirto* (19.66%). *Tirto* was the media organization that most prominently featured representations of elements of the West Papuan community and victims of the attack, with 22.79% of news sources coming from NGOs and activists, and 11.68% from the Papuan community (Adiprasetyo, 2020, 2023).

In the analysis of news coverage regarding the designation of terrorists by Mahfud MD

(Adiprasetyo, 2023), *Okezone* (80.00%) was the media outlet that most frequently used the government's perspective, followed by *Tribunnews* (57.69%) and *CNN Indonesia* (57.69%). Meanwhile, *Detik* was in the middle with a percentage of 37.25% and *Tirto* (45.45%) was the media outlet that most often presented the perspective of the people of West Papua.

In another national online media research, Tarigan et al. (2025) have conducted a research that focused on the national media organization *Detik.com* and *Tempo.co* in their reporting of the persecution of Definus Kogoya, a Papuan civil society activist, by the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI). The findings show that *Detik.com* tends to describe the persecution of Definus Kogoya as an incident triggered by allegations of arson at a local health center. The frame focused on the direct context of the incident. On the other hand, *Tempo.co* views the incident as part of a long-standing and deep-rooted conflict in Papua, associating the violence to the government's failure to take decisive action to resolve the broader conflict.

The Discourse of West Papua in International Media

Several studies have been found in the discourse of West Papua in international media, i.e., *Benar News*, *The Guardian*, *Al Jazeera*, and *BBC* (Konečná, 2025; Saputra & Sayogie, 2025). *Al Jazeera* was found to focus on the history and culture that are the root causes of the conflict and the representation of victims of the conflict in West Papua. *Al Jazeera* particularly pays attention to social unrest and human rights violations in its news, while the *BBC* focuses on reporting specific incidents. The term used to refer to Papuan rebels differs between the two media organizations. *Al*

Jazeera describes Papuans using words that reflect support for their right to self-determination, referring to them as "fighters for independence." Meanwhile, the *BBC* tends to use neutral words, such as "insurgency" and "rebels" (Konečná, 2025).

Al Jazeera and the *BBC* take a critical stance, with both media organizations emphasizing human rights violations and the historical roots of the conflict. *Al Jazeera*, which has closer cultural and religious ties to the Papua region, focuses on the humanization of victims and exposing systemic injustices, while the *BBC's* neutral stance reflects the media's greater distance from the conflict (Konečná, 2025).

In Saputra & Sayogie (2025) study, the analysis focuses on the reporting of the conflict in West Papua by *Benar News* and *The Guardian*, especially regarding the release of a New Zealand pilot who had been kidnapped for 19 months in West Papua. The two media organizations have different approaches to reporting on the conflict. *Benar News* tends to portray the issue as a heroic act by the Indonesian authorities. In contrast, *The Guardian* attempts to portray the issue as the struggle of rebels in West Papua for independence from Indonesia and emphasizes human right issues.

DISCUSSION

In general, previous research shows three differences in discourse: discourse of resistance in local media, discourse of stability in national media, and discourse of humanity and human rights in international media. Local media such as *Tabloidjubi.com* and *Radar Sorong* tend to portray narratives of resistance that voice the aspirations of the local community and criticize central government policies. In contrast, national online media is consistently dominated by the voices of

official authorities representing the government. The dominance of these ruling group narratives often reduces the complexity of the issues in Papua. Contrary to national online medias, international media such as *Al Jazeera* and *The Guardian* have ideological distance from the Indonesian government. This can be proven through their critical choice of words and comprehensive reporting.

These differences in discourse reflect the position of the media in the social system and the power relations that surround it (Fairclough, 2003). However, most studies that are related to the construction of West Papua in the media over the past ten years have been limited to textual analysis. This is inconsistent with Fairclough's (1989) approach to multidimensional analysis, which aims to break down discourse across multiple layers. Furthermore, most previous studies have also failed to integrate the ideological dimensions within media discourse, as reflected in production practices, textual aspects, and their implications for social reality.

Compared to other studies, an examination of Sari (2016) work reveals distinct differences. In that study, Sari (2016) explains the influence of media ideology and political economy on news production. The study demonstrates that media proximity to specific groups can shape ideology. However, media ideology becomes increasingly difficult to implement as media ratings evolve. On the other hand, Tobing & Ibrahim (2024) found that media discourse is shaped by the influence of segmentation and geographical proximity. This can be seen in the comparison between local media discourse, which leans toward the local community, and national media discourse, which leans toward the government.

Nevertheless, other research, such as Rubawati (2018)'s research, shows that geographical proximity does not correlate directly with the discourse formed by the media. In the local media *Antara Papua Barat*, the discourse formed regarding the West Papua news is more in line with the national narrative compared to other local media. A similar phenomenon is found at the international level, where media organizations such as *Benar News* tend to take a different stance than *Al Jazeera* and *The Guardian*, which are more vocal on human rights issues.

The same phenomenon also happened in national online media, where *Tempo.co* framed the news using a different method from other national online media. While other national online media focused on the government's narrative or only explained the incident in Papua without providing comprehensive context, *Tempo.co* provided a comprehensive explanation and took a critical stance in its news articles. This supports the idea that the construction of news coverage is influenced by the position of journalists and media organizations within the social system (Eriyanto, 2001).

Shoemaker & Reese (1996) also explain that news does not arise from a vacuum, but is the result of a long process of construction. There are at least five levels of influence that construct the news, from the individual level, media routines, organizational level, external media organization, and ideology. Therefore, news as a result of media construction exists in the midst of a social reality full of conflict, values, and ideology (Eriyanto, 2001). The organizational and external media levels are the most dominant factors that influences the media discourse about West Papua. Media routines in selecting sources and dependence on the speed of information, on online media, influence the

media discourse of the West Papua. In addition, media affiliation with certain institutions can also influence discourse (Adiprasetyo, 2020, 2023; Sari, 2016). Sari (2016) research found that the media shows political stance through the framing of an issue. Affiliation and ideological proximity are the basis for shaping the media's stance.

This finding is in line with Althusser (2015) view, which places the media as part of the ideological state apparatuses. The way ideological state apparatuses works is different from repressive state apparatus that uses physical violence. The media works through material ideological persuasion through the practice of organization. In this view, ideology is not merely an illusion or idea, but is physically present in media content. National online media functions as a distributor of the ideology of those in power to create public sentiment that is in line with the ruling class. This often leads to a distorted or biased reality (Wuryanta, 2018).

The ruling ideology inserted through media discourse aims to maintain the status quo and control the dominated groups (Fuchs et al., 2009). The failure of the public to understand the roots of the conflict in Papua is often a form of the media's success in constructing a false reality that has been constructed by ideological assumptions (Sobur, 2006). Consequently, there is a need for research that critically analyzes discourse across various levels, textual, discursive practices, and sociocultural practices, with the purpose of improving public understanding of Papua. According to Fairclough (1989), critical discourse analysis is useful for raising awareness of the role of language in perpetuating the dominance of certain parties.

In the other hand, Gramsci in Fairclough (1989) argues that various ideologies can be

represented in the media. Based on Gramsci's perspective, the media can serve as a tool for the ideological domination of those in power. On the other hand, the media can also be a tool of resistance against domination.

Based on the findings of this study, Gramsci's ideas can be explained in discourses in various media. Discourse is a representation of the ideology that adopted by the media. Local media, such as *Radar Sorong* and *Tabloidjubi.com*, play their role as resistant to the dominant discourse by presenting a discourse of resistance to government policies that are disadvantageous to the people of West Papua. Resistance to the dominance of the ruling discourse can also be seen through international media, such as the *BBC*, *Al Jazeera*, and *The Guardian*, which tend to be critical and focus on human rights in Papua.

In contrast, the discourse constructed by *Antara Papua Barat* reflects how the media can be used as a tool for the dominant ideology of those in power. This ideological representation can be seen in *how Antara Papua Barat* supports the government's policies by obscuring the negative impacts of the policies. In the international media sphere, *Benar News* also exhibits a similar pattern with *Antara Papua Barat*, in which it conveys the ideology of those in power through its reports. This can be seen in the positive portrayal of the Indonesian government in *Benar News*' discourse.

Considering that Sari (2016) explains that the implementation of resistant ideology in the media may diminish as a media outlet's ratings grow, research on the implementation of ideology in the national online media discourse regarding West Papua is particularly compelling. Previously, research on the discourse surrounding Papua in online media was limited to the textual level and did not link ideology to the discourse. Although

Sari (2016) has conducted a discourse analysis research using the Fairclough's model, but current research has to develop in national online media, which is different from Sari (2016) study that focused in the newspaper text.

Thus, innovative research on national online media is needed, given that online media is currently experiencing rapid growth.

Furthermore, investigations beyond the textual dimension, such as analyses of discursive practices and social practices, which have been largely absent in previous research, are necessary. This is due to the findings in Tapsell (2015) research, which found that media workers in Papua are not given the same freedom as journalists in other parts of Indonesia. Security forces and local governments are the main factors influencing the content of news reports in the Papua region. The pressure exerted by security forces on the media reveals a clash between the repressive state apparatuses and the ideological state apparatuses. The pressure from the repressive state apparatuses can lead to limitations on the narrative in the media. Therefore, it is understandable that media discourse of the West Papua is constructed by many influencing factors, including the institutions involved in constructing the discourse.

Discourse is not only constructed by social influences: situational, institutional, and social context, but it can also have a social influence. The use of language in discourse is related to power, domination, and ideology (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough explains that discourse, whether spoken or written, is a social practice that can affect public opinion in the interests of certain groups. Fairclough argues that language in discourse is a form of social practice that has several implications. The language contained in discourse is an action carried out as a form of representation

of a person's view of reality. Discourse is not only viewed from a textual aspect, but also from the process of production and the sociocultural situation that occurs in society.

In order to understand the discourse of the West Papua in the media, a comprehensive analysis is needed that encompasses not only the text, but also discursive practices and sociocultural aspects of the media (Fairclough, 1993). Discourse is not only constructed in text, but also through a long process of becoming information that is consumed by the public in the media. Eriyanto (2001) states that the media production process can also be seen as a battle between certain interests and ideologies. The news products that are produced will then contain the interests of the parties that win the battle in the editorial room. This is related to media routines, such as in determining news sources and roles in media organizations.

The production process and the discourse produced reflect the ideology carried by the media. This explains the phenomenon of the government's hegemony of narrative in the national media. The national media tends to convey the ideology of the Indonesian government who has the power of the the West Papua. The Indonesian government is considered the dominant party because it has considerable authority and responsibility over the region of West Papua. However, conflicts in West Papua are always used as an excuse to restrict journalistic work in gathering and disseminating information about West Papua. These restrictions have resulted in a significant information gap regarding West Papua to this day (Thaniago, 2018). The selection of news sources that focus on the government also reflects the national media's ideology in viewing the situation in West Papua. The media routinely tends to choose the national government as the authority, rather than choosing

independent institutions, experts, or the people of West Papua as representatives who can explain the situation in West Papua. Therefore, the discourse of resistance regarding the situation in West Papua in the national media has not been widely reported.

While previous literature studies have mapped various factors that influence the news reports of West Papua, there is a significant gap in analysis at the macro ideological level. Most research tends to focus on the textual layer or influences in organizational and routine level of the media, without examining how ideology works as the highest level of influence that dictates the levels below it. In fact, as emphasized by Rosyidin et al. (2022), the fundamental ideological differences between the Indonesian government and the Papuan are at the root of the prolonged conflict.

In this regard, ideology is not a passive variable, but rather a force that shapes how the media constructs reality. Piliang (2004) in Mahdi (2015) states that the media is closely related to the ideology that influences it. This ideology ultimately affects language, such as the choice of words and symbols used in the media. Furthermore, knowledge related to the truth of a reality produced by the media will reflect its ideology. Referring to the hierarchy of influence model, the level of ideology functions as a system of beliefs and values that legitimizes certain narratives while marginalizing others. Therefore, integrating ideological analysis is crucial to revealing how the media functions as an instrument of power that subtly instills state doctrine into public consciousness.

CONCLUSIONS

Collectively, research on the discourse on West Papua in the media reveals varying patterns of discourse. Local media, in particular, tends to adopt

a resistant stance in its discourse, while international media emphasizes human rights in its reporting. A significant difference can be observed in the discourse of national online media, which tends to focus on the government's perspective. Based on the literature review, it can be concluded that research on the discourse of Papua in the media remains limited to textual analysis, as few studies have presented data on discursive and sociocultural practices to examine the interaction between ideology and media discourse.

Media is an ideological state apparatuses that performs ideological functions through the discourse formed in its reporting. In the view of the theory of ideology, media is capable of disseminating the ideology of those in power in its discourse, but conversely, it can also present a discourse of resistance to the dominance of the ideology of those in power. The reality formed by the media is constructive, as is the case with the reality of West Papua as a conflict-prone region.

The differences in discourse reflect how the news is produced under different ideological pressures. Consequently, the reality of West Papua as consumed by the public is highly depends on the position of the media within the power structure. Ideology has implications that can systematically distort the reality of West Papua across various media organizations. Ideology can also be seen from the roots of the conflict in West Papua. The media discourse about West Papua originates from ideological differences between the Indonesian government and separatist groups in West Papua. Therefore, future studies are expected to explore media discourse of the West Papua from an ideological perspective using multidimensional research instruments.

However, the association between ideology and discourse formation has not been extensively

explained in previous studies. Critical discourse analysis methods, such as Fairclough's model, are necessary to dissect ideology within media discourse across various layers. This is particularly relevant for rapidly growing national online media, which disseminate discourse through news texts that embody their media's ideology. The aim is to raise awareness regarding the role of language in perpetuating the dominance of certain parties.

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