

Discourse Analysis and Distance Factors on Determine News Sources about Papua Riots in Online Media

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Abstract

Introduction: The Papua riots in Indonesia that happened in 2019 have received global viewers and national media attention. The national media reports the events through different sources. In another perspective, the distance factor had become an important variable in determining the source or informant, especially for a medium far from the scene. The research aims: first, exploring the discourse about dominant media and subdominant online media in covering issues, and secondly, have another comprehend about informant selection factors according to the distance between online media in the local area and capital city area.

Methods: Through comparison of dominant and subdominant online media in Indonesia, this research has been describing events and social actors portrayed, by Theo Van Leeuwen's method of critical discourse analysis. This research been used 45 news sites Kompas.com and 20 news Tabloidjubi.com which are related to the 2019 Papua riots during August 19 to August 24, 2019.

Findings: With analysis table as a guarantor of validity the research have been display all the news samples represented by five categorizations of themes. Text has been interpreting as a verification of the validity of the text through the perspective of the reader with Van Leeuwen's critical discourse, namely exclusion and inclusion.

Originality: It was novelty that both online media potentially could be able more exploring their sources of information to expand their reader distance segmentation. In addition, online media should have new perspective to be an origin sources across markets for global viewers.

Keywords: Discourse, Distance, Intercultural Readers, Online News Sources, Papua Riots.

Introduction

The shift of readers from print media to online media--which is also known as inkless media, encourages various dominant media in Indonesia to change their platforms into digital display. According to Nielsen (2017), there are 4.5 million print media readers, while online media readers reach 6 million people. Digital News Report 2023 noted that respondents in Indonesia who used online media as their main source of news were 89% (2021) then the proportion decreased to 88% (2022) and to 84% (2023) (Reuters Institute, 2023).

This change in readers not only occurs in mainstream media, but also in subdominant media with limited local segmentation. Dominant media such as Kompas.com, Tempo.id, or Liputan6.com experienced a significant increase in readers. Likewise, local media such as Tabloidjubi.com (Papua), Riaupos.com (Riau), Ayobandung.com (Bandung). Although these local media do not reach millions of people, they have loyal readers. This is because the news produced by local media is very much needed by readers who are in the provincial capital level (Ashrianto & Yustitia, 2020). Meanwhile, mainstream media has readers at the national level, which has representative branch offices in several major cities and the head office is in the center of government,

the city of Jakarta (Yustitia, 2010). *Tabloidjubi.com* is a representation of local Papuan media and *Kompas.com* is a representation of national media. These two media are said to have the most articles related to the 2019 Papua riots in their category (Kompas.com, 2019a).

This study investigates how two Indonesian online media outlets, *Kompas.com* (dominant media) and *Tabloidjubi.com* (subdominant media), covered the 2019 Papua riots, with a focus on how the distance factor influences media coverage. This distance factor includes geographical, cultural, and political distances, which can affect how media outlets select and frame news. The study applies a theory by Theo Van Leeuwen's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, which examines how discourse reflects power relations and societal structures in media coverage.

The research compares how dominant media (*Kompas.com*, based in the capital) and subdominant media (*Tabloidjubi.com*, based closer to Papua) covered the 2019 Papua riots. These two outlets may offer differing perspectives based on their proximity to the events. Dominant media like *Kompas.com* typically have greater reach, influence, and resources, which can affect their framing of events, potentially emphasizing national or government-driven narratives. On the other hand, subdominant media such as *Tabloidjubi.com*, based in Papua, might offer more localized and nuanced perspectives, possibly highlighting the voices and experiences of those directly affected by the riots.

This study also aims to explore how the distance factor geographical, cultural, and political affects the selection and framing of news. The proximity of *Tabloidjubi.com* to the events could result in more accurate and empathetic portrayals of the situation, meanwhile *Kompas.com*'s coverage might reflect a more distant or detached approach due to its location in the capital city. The terminology of distance here, is not just physical but it is also relating to perspective, media closer to the conflict may have a different set of priorities in terms of the people and issues they choose to highlight compared to those based far from the scene.

It is undeniable that usually, every media has the ambition to influence many readers. Media persuades their reader to excavate the information until it shapes up an appropriate perspective according to what the media has (Fairclough, 2003; Van Dijk, 2015). Therefore, the mass media plays a big role in shaping public opinion. Unfortunately, in this case, any information the public needs about Papua riots in 2019 and coverage of West Papua, has a dependence on international news sources (Eriyanto, 2009; Firdaus, 2020).

On the other hand, social media with its citizen journalists has some capability to provide an authentic perspective on the real situation and in real time. Based on the research conducted by Ashrianto, 'Social media is the only medium in obtaining information's about Papua Riot, it is due to its limitation in utilizing face-to-face interactions and discussions' (Ashrianto & Yustitia, 2020). However, social media cannot be used as a credible source of news about an important national event, because there is much bias on the content of high subjectivity (Bowman & Willis, 2003; Flick, 2009; McQuail, 2011).

Therefore, online media with credible news sources are a vital need for readers about the current situation in West Papua in 2019. Of course, the riot situation makes Papua difficult to reach. Moreover, the disconnection of internet connections makes it difficult for journalists to discover and obtain accurate sources of information, as well as contacting the social actors directly related to the incident (Ashrianto & Yustitia, 2020). Despite these difficulties, these two media have very contrasting discourses in reporting

the 2019 Papua riots.

In maintaining their market segment, online media has adjusted news content which is appropriate to their market segmentation and the area where they live. Though it could reach readers globally, local issues still dominate news in subdominant online media (McQuail, 2011). Meanwhile, mainstream media tend to highlight local actions according to a central perspective, despite having the potential for widespread readability across national borders. For example, acts of racism against Papuan students in Malang and Surabaya in August 2019 were covered by most media in Indonesia (Perwitasari, 2020; Widyaningsih & Lestari, 2020). However, only Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com have published over 150 headlines, spanning from events in Surabaya to post-riots in Papua.

On the other hand, the production of news in the media is generally related to the availability of informants as a source, and the ability of the media to reach them. Therefore, the content of the news they produce is closely related to the news sources they have, while the existence of sources in online news becomes a center of insights raised by both Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com.

The main function of the press is as a bridge of information between citizens and the government. In addition to being a mediator, the press also plays a major role in educating, entertaining, carrying out social control, and as a business or economic institution (McQuail, 2011). As a business entity, the press industry demands the work of journalists in producing news that is in accordance with the expectations of its readers (Eriyanto, 2009). Moreover, as an information and education agency, the press industry also hopes that journalists can produce balanced news and even provide a broader news perspective to enlighten the public. The press also plays a role as a tool of social control. Social control in the press industry, including journalists, must have a good conscience and be proven by compliance with the Code of Ethics (McQuail, 2011).

The selection of sources because of the interests of the media agenda is often clear and honest. Both media editors and online media journalists are in a hurry to report an event for the first time, so that consciously or unconsciously they choose sources that are 'easy to reach.' This hasty decision makes it easy to obtain information even though it comes from sources far from the scene of the crime. However, these sources of information often obscure reality and build media opinions that are far from real life.

This phenomenon is reinforced by various international academic studies. Paulussen and Harder (2014) in their research found that social media journalists tend to rely on easily accessible official and elite sources, resulting in reduced diversity of perspectives in reporting. Welbers (2016) revealed that time pressure in journalism has encouraged the use of easily accessible sources, although this potentially reduces news quality.

The 2019 Papua riots occurred due to racism experienced by Papuan students in Malang and Surabaya because they did not receive a response from the central and regional governments on August 19, 2019. The students protested because they did not accept the racist actions. In addition, the 2019 Papua riots were also covered by international media news. The New York Times reported with the headline: Indonesia sends police to riot area after protest action burned. The person in charge of the news reported with the headline: demonstrators burn down DPR building in West Papua as tensions rise. In addition to the two international media that year, Al Jazeera also reported it this year in a news story entitled: Year of fiery protests in Indonesia's West Papua region (Perwitasari, 2020).

The chaotic framing of Papua news by online media is an interesting reason to

compare the framing of each media. The 2019 Indonesia Millennials Report from the IDN Research Institute had discuss that, public consumption has been buried in online media sites, namely kompas.com, idntimes, tribunnews and liputan6.com (idntimes, 2019). Kompas.com is the main online media site and consistently provides news of the Papuan riots from the city of Surabaya to Papua. Tabloidjubi.com did the same thing as the only local online media that did the most coverage with complete news in providing a picture of the event. However, the two media have significant differences in their news content. This becomes interesting when linking the discourse analysis of the news content of the two media with the interests of their reader segmentation, and how they determine news sources according to the discourse frame of each media.

In short, there are two objectives of this article. *First*, to find out the discourse on dominant online media and subdominant online media in covering the issue of the 2019 Papuan Riots related to actors and events. *Secondly*, this research's objective is to find out on the determination of news sources from the two media related, to the distance factor between online media in the local area and the capital city area in covering the news of the 2019 Papuan Riots. The research question has been formulated as follows: "*How do dominant and subdominant online media determine their sources related to the communication distance that occurs when determining the discourse of the 2019 Papuan Riots?*" So, this study wants to find out to what extent online media determine their sources related to events in the area, which is a study of the 2019 Papuan Riots, and also which media have achieved a factual state about the Papuan riots with significant sources.

Theoretical Framework

Every human being creates distance when communicating, whether consciously or unconsciously. Communication distance is a nonverbal message that explains a broader meaning and it is important in the effectiveness of communication. According to Mehrabian (1972), nonverbal communication has an influence of up to 79% in influencing the feeling of communicants, much more than verbal communication (Tobing, 2021). Distance is often formed naturally in social interactions and related to the cultural perception of the individual.

In journalistic activities, the meaning of distance implies the individual's cultural position as a member of the press which suggests 'symbolic processes about how reality is produced, maintained, enhanced, and changed and the understanding of communication' (Carey, 1989). Various cultures use their distance symbols and can be traced more clearly in online journalism, where the communication process through online media is increasingly transparent. Northern hemisphere people who have individualistic characters tend to use distance in communicating and consider people from different cultures as strangers. Meanwhile, people who live in the southern hemisphere who have collectivist characters tend to ignore distance or are at a personal distance when communicating, including with strangers (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Tobing, 2022). This has been practiced by the journalists who work in the online media according to their cultural preferences.

Communication distance is also easy to understand based on its position as a dominant culture from subordinates (subdominant). Samovar has discovered that, dominant culture refers to a social group or community that has a major influence on beliefs, values, responses, communication patterns, and cultural customs (Samovar et al., 2013). One of the best ways to define this group is in the context of shared culture. Shared culture refers to a particular social group or community that exhibits social responses, values, beliefs, communicative behaviors, and practices, which are different enough to

distinguish them from other groups and communities (Samovar et al., 2013). Therefore, mainstream media that are references for many groups in society can be said to be dominant media, while local media that are subordinate and are references only for a few groups in society are said to be subdominant media.

Media can be categorized as dominant or subdominant, depending on their influence over public discourse and social behavior. Dominant media shape societal norms, values, and communication practices, acting as the main channels of communication for the broader population. These media sources reflect the perspectives of dominant social groups, which have a significant influence over public beliefs, communication patterns, and customs. Conversely, subdominant media caters to smaller or marginalized groups, often reflecting perspectives that contrast with or challenge the dominant narrative. This distinction helps in understanding how media contribute to the shaping of societal understanding, particularly when examining how certain groups' voices may be underrepresented or portrayed differently depending on their alignment with the dominant culture (Samovar et al., 2013).

Research has shown that the relationship between dominant and subdominant media has undergone significant transformation in the digital era. Demonstrates how digital platforms have created new opportunities for subdominant voices to challenge mainstream media narratives, though structural inequalities in media access and representation persist (Waisbord & Amado, 2017). Furthermore, found that while digital technologies have democratized media production, dominant media organizations still maintain considerable influence through their institutional power and resource advantages. This dynamic creates a complex media ecosystem where traditional power structures are simultaneously challenged and reinforced through various technological and social mechanisms (Nielsen & Ganter, 2018).

The position between journalists and news sources can also be said to be a distance. Dominant media in big cities have a long physical distance from their news sources, which can consider news sources as strangers even though they have the same nationality because of different cultures. Meanwhile, local media have a very close distance, so they consider news sources as part of their group. Referring to McLuhan (2008) that 'symbols are messages,' the communication distance that occurs between online media and news sources can also be said to be a symbol. Therefore, distance in human communication as a nonverbal message also has a cultural meaning, which is closely related to the interests of media organizations and habits that occur in the media business process.

Recent studies have highlighted the evolving dynamics of journalist-source relationships in the digital age. Broersma and Graham (2016) reveal that geographic and cultural distances between journalists and sources are increasingly mediated through digital platforms, creating new forms of proximity and distance that influence news production processes. Their findings suggest that while digital technologies can bridge physical gaps, they may also create new forms of cultural and social distance that effect on how news is gathered and reported. Furthermore, research demonstrates that the relationship between proximity and journalistic autonomy is complex, where closer distances to sources can both enhance access to information and potentially compromise editorial independence (Revers, 2014). This dynamic is particularly evident in local journalism contexts, where the intersection of physical, social, and professional proximity creates unique challenges for maintaining journalistic objectivity while preserving valuable source relationships.

Individual interpretation of distance symbols concerning cultural characteristics is

something that must be learned and not automatically innate (Samovar et al., 2013). Communication distance symbols can be studied by referring to the eight proxemic dimensions of Edward T. Hall (1966), namely: identifying postural gender, sociopetal axis, kinesthetic factors, tactile results, retinal combinations, thermal codes, olfactory codes, and loudness scales (E. T. Hall, 1966). In the context of online media, the sociofugal-sociopetal axis dimension is the most appropriate dimension for the discussion of this study. The sociopetal axis dimension explains how the communication distance between media workers and sources creates a space that can strengthen communication and create harmony. Meanwhile, the sociofugal axis dimension explains how the communication distance between media workers and sources creates a space that can actually disrupt harmony.

On the other hand, the communication distance created by online media organizations shows their ease in creating harmony. This harmony can be created through human comfort in regulating the distance in communication that is considered appropriate to their experience and cultural background. Distance regulation can occur in communication between humans and human communication with the surrounding environment, such as moving objects in space or immovable objects in urban space (E. T. , & H. M. R. Hall, 2001; E. T. Hall, 1966; Walsh J, 2020). Harmonization with news sources can be carried out by online media organizations as business entities. Online media need to create consumer loyalty by adjusting news content according to the segmentation of their readers.

Recent research revealed that successful digital media organizations strategically manage their communication distance by implementing personalized content delivery systems and interactive features that enhance user engagement (Lewis & Molyneux, 2018). This approach not only strengthens audience loyalty but also creates a more meaningful connection between the media outlet and its readers. Furthermore, research indicates that digital natives, who represent a growing segment of media consumers, demonstrate distinct preferences for how they consume and interact with news content. These preferences significantly influence how media organizations structure their content delivery and engagement strategies (Vara-Miguel et al., 2014). The ability to adapt to these evolving consumption patterns while maintaining editorial integrity has become a crucial factor in sustaining audience relationships and media credibility in the digital age.

Segmentation has become a dominant concept in marketing and major ways of operationalizing marketing concepts (Wind, 1978), as a guideline for an online media firm's marketing selling a homogeneous product in a market characterized by heterogeneous demand could maximize profits (Claycamp, 1968). Eric Berkowitz (1980) defines market segmentation as 'grouping markets into groups that have the same needs and responses to something.' This grouping aims to make it easier for economic actors to understand and meet consumer needs effectively, so that a harmonious relationship with the market is created. Market segmentation consists of four types, namely: (1) geographic segmentation, (2) demographic segmentation, (3) psychographic segmentation, and (4) behavioral segmentation.

Geographic segmentation is based on geographic reach, such as provinces, districts, cities, villages, and housing. Geographic factors are important because market potential can be influenced by the location where demand is greatest. Demographic segmentation is based on population maps, such as age, gender, education, type of work, religion, ethnicity, and others. Meanwhile psychographic segmentation is a segmentation based on lifestyle and personality, which focuses on the consumers based on their habits and

responses to stimuli. Finally, behavioral segmentation is a segmentation based on consumers knowledge, attitudes, use, or responses to production. Typically, behavioral segmentation uses variables such as benefits, sensitivity to market factors, and brand loyalty. So, it is important to identify different types of customer loyalty to the brand and to know the impact of various marketing tools (Gajanova, 2019; Morrisani, 2015). This study examines how the discourse constructed by dominant and subdominant online media (Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com) has determined sources based on geographic segmentation in local cases related to the 2019 Papua riots.

Online media is a communication media that depends on the internet-supported devices. Unlike other media, online media requires an information technology network and computer devices to obtain information or news (Suryawati, 2011). This makes online media have the privilege of being able to access content: anytime, anywhere, in and through any digital device. The characteristics of online media differentiate between print media and digital media. There are four characteristics of online media, namely: multimedia (can be in the form of text, audio, images, and graphics simultaneously), actuality (actual information because of the speed of presentation), fast (can be accessed directly when published), and up to date (content can be updated if there is a change in information) (Romli, 2018).

In qualitative research, discourse analysis is commonly called critical discourse analysis. In critical discourse analysis, there are several figures with their respective research models: Roger Fowler, Sara Mills, Teun A. Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, and Theo Van Leeuwen. Roger Fowler's model (2019) focuses on seeing how certain vocabulary has an effect and carries ideology in it, by considering the ideology of a culture or group that is linguistically encoded, articulated, and tacitly asserted (Fowler and Kress, 2019). Sara Mills' model looks more at the role of actors, with the question as a basis: how are people, groups, parties, ideas, and events presented in certain ways in discourse and influence the meaning of the audience? (Eriyanto, 2009). Van Dijk's model (2015) focuses on micro and macro structures, where microstructures look at the use of language, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication, while macro structures look at power, dominance, and inequality between social groups (Van Dijk, 2015). Another scholar, Fairclough's (2003) model also divides discourse into three dimensions: text, social agents, and social practices. Text is something that can be analyzed by looking at the choice of words, form, and sentence forms in it. Social agency is the process of producing and consuming text, with social practices that mean things related to a particular society or political culture (Fairclough, 2003).

This study uses Theo Van Leeuwen's discourse analysis model. Van Leeuwen's (2008) model is used to see how social actors are represented in the media by looking at exclusion (excluded actors) and inclusion (included actors). Dominant or priority groups can regulate the interpretation of an event and its use, while marginalized groups will remain objects of meaning and are less described. Van Leeuwen's discourse analysis can be seen through the perspective or choice of sentences used in the discourse. This analysis model is applied to see on how a group or person is described and positioned in a discourse, it is because 'power is not only through formal channels, but can also be through a series of discourses to define a particular group' (Eriyanto, 2009).

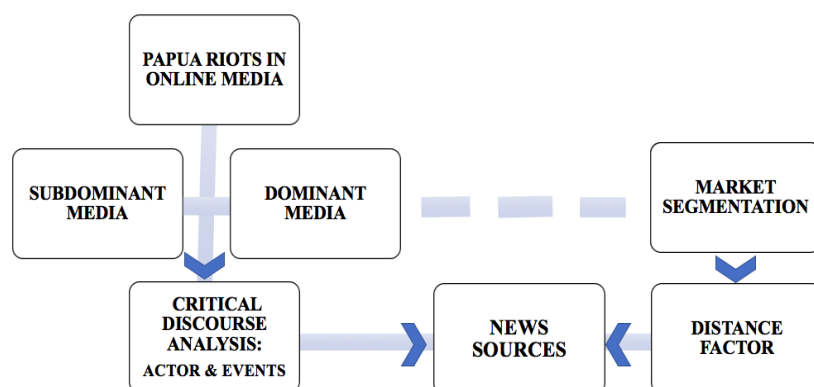


Figure 1. Conceptual framework (source: author own work)

Methods

This qualitative research applies Theo Van Leeuwen's method of critical discourse analysis, to see how events and social actors are portrayed by the dominant media (Kompas.com) and subordinate media (Tabloidjubi.com). This depiction detects the marginal position of local online media in the discourse surrounding the 2019 Papua riots, as the initial purpose of the study. There are 45 news by Kompas.com and 20 news from the Tabloidjubi.com collected and have been used as research objects because they are related to the 2019 Papua riots during the period from August 19 to August 24, 2019. According to the interpretive paradigm, all news stories are grouped into five sub-themes, which were used to analyze the exclusion and inclusion of certain themes, events, or social actors in the coverage, namely: 1) demonstrations in Manokwari, 2) demonstrations in Jayapura, Fakfak, and Nabire, 3) demonstrations in Sorong, 4) internet restrictions in Papua, and 5) demonstrations in Timika.

Data analysis techniques refer to the process of exclusion (removal of actors from the news) and inclusion (the appearance of actors in the news). Exclusion analysis is carried out in three categories: passivation (removal of actors in discourse), nominalization (changing verbs into nouns so that actors do not need to be mentioned), and substitution of subordinate clauses (creating subordinate clauses so that actors do not need to be mentioned). Meanwhile, inclusion analysis is carried out in seven categories: differentiation-in differentiation (comparing actors), objectivation-abstraction (objects are displayed concretely), categorization (labeling an actor), identification (providing subordinate clauses as explanations), determination-indetermination (using pronouns to mention actors), assimilation-individualization (mentioning groups instead of actors), association-disassociation (connecting actors with groups) (Suharni 2022).

Results

Based on the analysis of articles from Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com, several key themes emerged related to the framing of the 2019 Papua riots. These themes are categorized into five main areas, which include: (1) The portrayal of the riots: Whether the riots were depicted as violent or peaceful; (2) The role of the government: Coverage of law enforcement or political statements by the government; (3) The role of indigenous Papuans: Depictions of indigenous Papuans as victims, activists, or rebels; (4) External influences: The role of media from outside Indonesia or international bodies in the coverage, and; (5) The impact on local communities: Socio-economic effects, displacement, or changes within local communities.

Kompas.com started with Kompas Online (kompas.co.id) on September 14, 1995, which provided services to readers in places that were difficult to reach by the daily Kompas print distribution network. Kompas Online was then developed into a separate business unit under PT. Kompas Cyber Media (KCM) under the Kompas Gramedia group whose entire business is centered in Palmerah, Jakarta city, and is no longer a replica of the daily Kompas. Kompas.com positions itself as a media that presents information in an objective and independent perspective in the form of hard news, soft news/ features, wrap-ups, special coverage, and long-form coverage (Kompas.com, 2022).

Tabloidjubi.com has been administratively and factually verified by the press council in 2018. Since 2021, Tabloidjubi.com has changed to Jubi.id with the official publisher PT. Media Jubi Papua located at Jl. SPG Taruna Waena No. 15B, Waena, Jayapura. However, when the research was conducted, it was still using the old site. Tabloidjubi.com provides various news, ranging from international, national and local news, but this online media has a focus on the situation in Papua. Seen in the rubrics on its website, Papua land and Papua news have one special rubric. While international news is included in the Pacific rubric and national news in the Nusa rubric. One of the issues often reported by Tabloidjubi.com is the lack of public welfare in the era of special autonomy in Papua. Tabloidjubi.com also more often takes Papuan community sources to convey their opinions on the issues being discussed (Jubi.id, 2022).

The use of the analysis table as a guarantor of validity is carried out by displaying all the news samples represented by these five categorizations of themes. This research also interprets the text as a verification of the validity of the text, that is, through the perspective of the reader and Van Leewen's critical discourse, namely exclusion and inclusion. This process of exclusion and inclusion helps research to look at the involvement of actors, both individuals and groups, featured in the news. The involvement of actors related to the information submitted by the speakers as the basis for making news in online media.

Van Leuwen stated that the marginalization of social groups can be determined through the presence of such groups in a discourse. Exclusion itself is removed from negotiations while inclusion in the discussion. The process of exclusion itself is manifested in 3 ways, namely passive; the omission of actors in discourse who use passive voice to explain an event and nominalization; the process from what was originally a verb to a noun. In contrast to exclusion, inclusion has to do with how actors are included in discourse. In addition to the exclusion process, van Leeuwen also describes the process of inclusion. This process of inclusion is realized through 7 ways, namely differentiation: 1) action, 2) objectification-abstraction, 3) category-assignment, 4) assignments, 5) personalization, 6) identification and assimilation, 7) association (Eriyanto, 2009).

Critical discourse analysis in this study attempts to reveal language as a tool used for certain practices, so that it can reveal the hidden meaning of someone who makes a statement when responding to a news topic (Badara A, 2014). Language as a social practice can strengthen or weaken ideology and power relations in language practices. Through this theory, it is shown how actors (activist groups, state apparatus) are depicted in the news using an exclusionary and inclusionary approach. Through the Van Leewen analysis model, this study can see how the media Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com framed the 2019 Papuan riots and the depiction of activists involved in it as parties who are continuously marginalized. The news written in both media are reflection of the ideology of journalists or media organizations that can be obtained through the use of the following exclusion-inclusion strategy analysis. All stories about Papua riots on both

media (during the period from August 19 to August 24, 2019) are grouped into five sub-themes, namely: 1) demonstrations in Manokwari, 2) demonstrations in Jayapura, Fakfak, and Nabire, 3) demonstrations in Sorong, 4) internet restrictions in Papua, and 5) demonstrations in Timika.

Table 1. Discourse analysis findings on Kompas.com

Analysis	Category	Themes					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Exclusion	Passivation	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Nominalization	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Subordinate Clause	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inclusion	Differentiation	4	2	2	-	3	11
	Abstraction	23	3	6	-	3	35
	Category	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Identification	7	1	2	-	2	12
	Indetermination	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Assimilation	5	-	1	-	-	6
	Association	-	-	-	-	-	-
		39	6	11	0	8	64

Note: The data collected by 45 news Kompas.com related to the 2019 Papua riots during the period from August 19 to August 24, 2019.

Table 2. Discourse analysis findings on Tabloidjubi.com

Analysis	Category	Themes					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Exclusion	Passivation	1	1	-	-	-	2
	Nominalization	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Subordinate Clause	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inclusion	Differentiation	-	-	-	-	1	1
	Abstraction	3	7	-	-	-	10
	Category	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Identification	3	3	1	1	2	10
	Indetermination	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Assimilation	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Association	-	-	-	-	-	-
		7	11	1	1	3	23

Note: The data collected by 20 news Tabloidjubi.com related to the 2019 Papua riots during the period from August 19 to August 24, 2019.

Theme 1: Demonstration in Manokwari. Almost every news article on Kompas.com contains an abstract that does not clearly explain how the persecution and racism that befell Papuan students in East Java but quotes the opinion of news sources from local officials regarding the attack on officers by protesters. This encourages a different discourse from the main issue about the origin of the Papuan riots in Manokwari. The abstract of each news is not much different from that of Kompas.com, but Tabloidjubi.com provides objectification by explaining the existence of racial insults such as calling Papuans monkeys, dogs, pigs.

Theme 2: Demonstration in Jayapura, Fakfak, and Nabire. Kompas.com news with the title "*Mass Take to the Streets, Shopping Activities in Jayapura Paralyzed*" provides

identification that because of the masses, the shops were paralyzed and the abstract that the shops and offices chose to close without explaining the reasons for choosing to close. Meanwhile, Tabloidjubi.com highlighted the passivation of the burning of the Baham Matta Customary Council office by eliminating the actor group and identified the demonstration in Nabire due to the slow law enforcement process of the perpetrators of the Surabaya persecution.

Theme 3: Demonstration in Sorong. Kompas.com compared the mass action facing the mayor and the police and identified the negative content of the arrest of Papuan students in Surabaya which provoked the mass action in Sorong by using a resident source with a clear address in the city of Sorong. Meanwhile, Tabloidjubi.com only had two news items that identified the presence of officers as the trigger for the masses to behave anarchically.

Theme 4: Internet Restrictions in Papua. There was no Kompas.com news that had exclusion and inclusion related to the events or actors of the Papuan riots, because the sources only came from the Ministry of Communication and Information who provided clarification regarding the lost internet network. Likewise, Tabloidjubi.com only identified the policy actors, namely the government, as the actors who restricted the internet in Papua when the riots occurred.

Theme 5: Demonstration in Timika. In line with the first three themes, Kompas.com also differentiates the actions carried out by the masses from the police. Although the abstraction is less detailed, there are two identifications that describe the throwing of wood and the burning of used tires by the masses which were triggered by disappointment because they had waited too long for the arrival of the Mimika DPRD Chairman and the Mimika Regent. Meanwhile, Tabloidjubi.com differentiates more by comparing the actions of the masses who threw stones and were responded to with police tear gas shots resulting in mass violence. There is also an identification of the reason the masses went on a rampage because they had waited too long for the arrival of the Regent and DPRD Chairman.

Discussion

Based on the categorization of the five themes, it can be seen how the two media reported the 2019 Papua riots through the framing of events and actors in them. As a local media, Tabloidjubi.com highlights events more from the perspective of the local community (which is the segmentation of its readers), by explaining the role of local actors compared to the roles of other actors, such as the police and local government. Meanwhile, Kompas.com has more discourse that supports government policies as the main actor in the 2019 Papua riots.

This study clearly shows that the differences in how Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com framed the 2019 Papua riots were significantly influenced by geographical and cultural distance. Kompas.com, as a dominant media outlet based in Jakarta, tends to emphasize a more centralized narrative, focusing on government policies. This is reflected in their coverage, which relies heavily on sources from the central government and law enforcement.

On the other hand, Tabloidjubi.com, based in Papua, approaches the issue from a more local perspective. This outlet gives greater voice to indigenous Papuans and those directly involved in the riots, highlighting the socio-economic impacts on local communities. This demonstrates how geographical and cultural distance can affect news framing, with local media being more connected to the communities they report on, while

national media, based in the capital, often present a broader perspective that is somewhat detached from local realities.

As discussed in this study, distance is not only geographical but also encompasses cultural and perspective dimensions. Kompas.com, as a dominant media outlet based in Jakarta, tends to rely on news sources that are aligned with national interests, such as government officials and ministries. This reinforces narratives that support state stability. In contrast, Tabloidjubi.com, based in Papua, is more in tune with local communities, depicting the direct experiences of those affected and amplifying local voices such as activists and traditional leaders.

This framing difference illustrates that media outlets geographically and culturally closer to an event tend to present more empathetic and in-depth coverage. Meanwhile, dominant media, despite having a broader national reach, often maintain a psychological distance from local actors, leading their coverage to reflect the central government's perspective. These findings support the concept of critical discourse analysis, which suggests that media can reflect power structures through the practices of inclusion and exclusion in news reporting.

Based on the categorization of the five themes, it can be seen how the two media reported the 2019 Papua riots through the framing of events and actors in them. As a local media, Tabloidjubi.com highlights events more from the perspective of the local community (which is the segmentation of its readers), by explaining the role of local actors compared to the roles of other actors, such as the police and local government. Meanwhile, Kompas.com has more discourse that supports government policies as the main actor in the 2019 Papua riots.

Table 3. Data interpretation of Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com

Themes	Kompas.com	Tabloidjubi.com	Interpretation
1. Demonstration in Manokwari	Describes anarchist mass action during demonstrations.	Gives an overview of the demands of the protesters and there are stowaways behind the riots in Manokwari.	Kompas.com describes the mass action in Papua as a negative action. Tabloidjubi.com is trying to make clarifications and convey the purpose of the demonstration.
2. Demonstrations in Jayapura, Fakfak and Nabire	Ignore the peaceful demonstrations in Jayapura and Nabire, but focused on the riots in Fakfak.	The crowd went berserk in Fakfak because of the slow process law in Surabaya.	Kompas.com is trying to build a discourse if demonstrations in Papua always end in riots. Tabloidjubi.com voiced the public's demands.

3. Demonstration in Sorong	Describes the mass action that destroyed public facilities including the airport and burned down the Sorong Prison.	Describes the existence of unscrupulous officials who provoked the anger of the masses who were demonstrating.	Kompas.com builds a discourse that mass actions in Papua only damage facilities. Tabloidjubi.com explained the mass anarchist action by describing the presence of elements in the apparatus who provoked anger mass.
4. Internet Restrictions in Papua	Describe the considerations of the internet restriction decision through interviews with the Ministry.	Interviewed the West Papua National Committee which considers these restrictions to be evident that the government failed to complete the problem in Papua.	Kompas.com voiced the ministry's goal of restricting the internet in Papua for the national interest. Tabloidjubi.com chose KNPB as a resource to criticize the decision to limit the internet in Papua.
5. Demonstration in Timika	Describes the mass action that has started anarchy from the beginning along the way.	It illustrates that at 15.00 the situation in Timika is conducive and can be traversed by motorized vehicles.	Kompas.com only reported negative mass actions, but not with the reduction of mass actions. Tabloidjubi.com described Timika's condition, which recovered only two hours later after the riots broke out.

Note: Data interpretation of Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com based on author own work.

As highlighted in this study, distance is not only geographical but also encompasses cultural and perspective dimensions. Kompas.com, as a dominant media outlet based in Jakarta, tends to rely on news sources oriented toward national interests, such as government officials and ministries. This reinforces narratives that align with maintaining state stability. Conversely, Tabloidjubi.com, based in Papua, connects more closely with local communities by depicting firsthand experiences of affected populations and amplifying local voices, such as activists and traditional leaders.

This framing difference demonstrates that media geographically and culturally closer to an event tend to present more empathetic and in-depth news coverage. Meanwhile, dominant media, despite having broader national reach, often maintain a psychological distance from local actors, leading their framing to reflect a central government perspective. These findings align with the concept of critical discourse analysis, which posits that media can reflect power structures through practices of inclusion and exclusion in reporting.

The discussion in this study will highlight two things related to the findings of the study, namely: communication distance and reader segmentation. This study sees the distance factor in determining news sources. The distance referred to in communication here refers to physical and psychological distance. The distance that occurs between Kompas.com and its readers who are spread throughout Indonesia, provides a large geographical range and high heterogeneity. This physical distance on a public scale is what makes Kompas.com organize its news so that it can reach all levels of its readers, including policy makers at the national level. Kompas.com's news, which highlights the national perspective more than the local one, can be accepted by its readers.

However, Kompas.com's position of 'keeping a distance' from the context of the event and local actors as the main actors' distances it from the objectivity of the case. This makes Kompas.com look less consistent with its tagline "clear view of the world" (*jernih melihat dunia*), where the news delivered to its readers tends to be on the side of the government. The use of actors or news sources that are outside the context of local culture makes news about important events at the local level have a lower level of objectivity.

What about Tabloidjuni.com? As a local media, Tabloidjubi.com plays a significant role in providing a local perspective to its readers. Although the communication distance between Tabloidjubi.com and its reader segmentation is close (geographical and cultural factors), Tabloidjubi.com is the main source of news for global readers who want to know about the 2019 Papua riots in more detail. What needs to be noted is that local media that have a close geographical or psychological distance with their readers can report an event by ignoring more objective data sources. In this case, Tabloidjubi.com is quite selective in determining the actors and telling the story of the 2019 Papuan riots, so that much local information can be read and understood by people from outside of Papuan culture.

Conclusion

The presence of the internet has changed the practice of searching for news sources in online media, due to the segmentation of global readers who easily access information. Online media businesses can expand their reader segmentation globally, by creating news that can be accessed anywhere and anytime. Therefore, local media has the same opportunity for readability as mainstream media, if it is supported by the availability of internet technology. Local news portals have great prospects to be more widely known and become references or sources of news related to an event for other news portals, which have different geographical areas and do not have different psychological closeness and cultural backgrounds. The presence of the internet has changed the practice of searching for news sources in online media, due to the segmentation of global readers who easily access information. Online media businesses can expand their reader segmentation globally, by creating news that can be accessed anywhere and anytime. Therefore, local media has the same opportunity for readability as mainstream media, as long as it is supported by the availability of internet technology. Local news portals have great prospects to be more widely known and become references or sources of news related to an event for other news portals, which have different geographical areas and do not have different psychological closeness and cultural backgrounds. The limitation of this study is that direct interviews has not been conducted with the editorial or management of online media. This is important to obtain more objective data related to the determination of the discourse of the two media in related issues and the determination of information sources related to their reader segmentation. Therefore, this study suggests

that further research be conducted on the online media organizations Kompas.com and Tabloidjubi.com.

Conflict of Interest

We certify that there is no conflict of interest with any financial, personal, or other relationships with other people or organizations related to the material discussed in the manuscript.

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