

**THE REPRESENTATION OF #PAPUANLIVESMATTER ON
INSTAGRAM FROM SOME WESTERN NETIZEN'S POINT
OF VIEWS AND ITS COUNTER DISCOURSES: CRITICAL
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

THESIS

By:

Ahmad Zahid Taqwa
NIM 17320136



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK
IBRAHIM MALANG
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in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S.S)*

By:

Ahmad Zahid Taqwa
NIM 17320136

Advisor:

Mira Shartika, M.A.

NIDT. 19790308 201802012177



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK
IBRAHIM MALANG
2023**

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I state that the thesis entitled *“The Representation of #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram from Some Western Netizen’s Point of Views and Its Counter Discourses: Critical Discourse Analysis”* is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, July 11th 2023



Ahmad Zahid Taqwa

NIM 17320136

APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that Ahmad Zahid Taqwa's thesis entitled *"The Representation of #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram from Some Western Netizen's Point of Views and Its Counter Discourses: Critical Discourse Analysis"* has been approved for thesis examination at the Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.).

Malang, July 11th 2023

Approved by

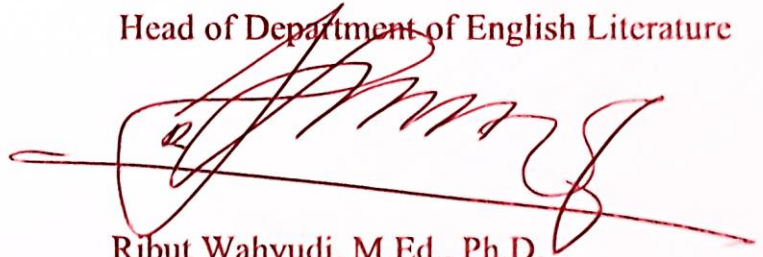
Advisor,



Mira Shartika, M.A.

NIDT. 19790308201802012177

Head of Department of English Literature



Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.

NIP. 198112052011011007

Acknowledged by

Dean,


Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag.
NIP. 197401012003121004

LEGITIMATION SHEET

This is to certify that Ahmad Zahid Taqwa's thesis entitled "*The Representation of #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram from Some Western Netizen's Point of Views and Its Counter Discourses: Critical Discourse Analysis*" has been approved by the Board of Examiners as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.) in Department of English Literature.

Malang, July 11th 2023

The Board of Examiners

Signatures

1. Agwin Degaf, M.A.

NIP. 198805232015031004

(Main Examiner)



2. Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.

NIP. 198112052011011007

(Chair)



3. Mira Shartika, M.A.

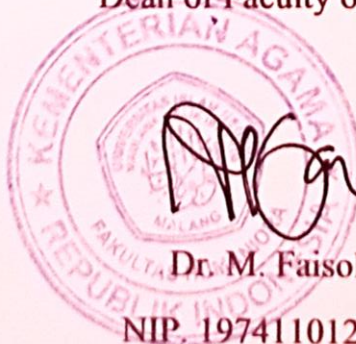
NIDT. 19790308201802012177

(Advisor)



Approved by

Dean of Faculty of Humanities



Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag.

NIP. 197411012003121003

MOTTO

*“You may be able to procrastinate, but time can’t wait.
So do your best, be grateful, and get better.”*

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved mother, sister, parents, family, teachers, and friends.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

All praises to Allah SWT who has given His blessings and guidance from all periods of my life, including this Sarjana study journey. Blessing and salutation may be upon our prophet Muhammad SAW, who has been a good figure in the overall of our life.

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All the processes of completing this thesis help me to have critical thinking, to make arguments and not to take hasty conclusions. I also gratitude to main chair and examiner. They also has provided me clear directions, feedback, guidance, and critical questions. I profoundly thank the main chair whose questions, clarifications, and sugesstions have been improving the best quality of my thesis. Through this work, I learn a lot about the critical linguistics study and broaden the political and nationalistic insight which are very important in this life. These thought and studies have remarkably change the way I live my life and shape the way I see the world.

I am also profoundly thankful to all lecturers at the Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities for the insightful knowledge and inspiration. I also present a great honor to this university and all of the staff that have given some helps such as facility, legality, time and energy. I would also thank to my friends for the help, support, friendship and beautiful memories and without mentioning your name because it must be memorable in my life.

Lastly, I realize that this thesis has some weaknesses and imperfections. Thus, critical comments and constructive suggestions are welcomed for the better of my future studies. May this thesis provide significant benefit to comprehend the linguistics, political and diversity awareness and knowledge in Indonesia.

Malang, December 29th 2021



Ahmad Zahid Taqwa

NIM 17320136

ABSTRACT

Taqwa, Ahmad Zahid. 2023. *The Representation of #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram from Some Western Netizen's Point of Views and Its Counter Discourses: Critical Discourse Analysis*. Thesis. Department of English Literature. Faculty of Humanities. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Mira Shartika, M.A.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Instagram, Anti-Racism, #PapuanLivesMatter, Counter Discourse.*

Freedom of expression in social media and expressing opinions through various points of view is the background of this research. This was done on the Instagram social media platform and used a more specific scope in the hashtag #PapuanLivesMatter. Through various points of views, the researcher takes the #PapuanLivesMatter discourse by some western netizens' point of view and its counter discourse which contain actual facts. This is to find out how the discourse controversy of #PapuanLivesMatter is discussed in social media. The researcher uses Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method in an effort to research the study objectives. Therefore, this study aimed to answer the following research questions: 1) How is the discourse controversy of #PapuanLivesMatter and counter discourse discussed in social media?

The Norman Fairclough analysis model has 3 research aspects. In the first aspect, textual practice is found that language practices are used in such a way as to cover each word, sentence, and discourse. Not a few discourses also emerge from anonymous social media users. Many create discourses that are not in accordance with actual facts or hoaxes. It is known because the discourse is constructed with the aim of providing another understanding to the reader supported by other factors such as ideology or politics that are inserted.

The second aspect, discourse practice shows the integration of linguistics, social thought, and politics is a coherent relationship. Language is not neutral, but biased and in favor of certain ideologies and powers based on the social identity of actors. On the other hand, the form of representation of language and discourse #PapuanLivesMatter from some Western netizens and its counter discourse is a form of social construction constructed by factors of power, ideology, culture, and related interests.

The third aspect, sociocultural practice section also deals with the historical, institutional, and social relationships of #PapuanLivesMatter from some Western netizens and its counter discourses. Through history, it is found that the Indonesian government has made infrastructure equalization, equalization of rights, and others. It is a serious effort from the government in building the future of Papua. On the institutional side, Indonesia as a country already has anti-racist laws. Socially, the Indonesian people apply the values of the Pancasila ideology as a society that upholds the values of diversity and national unity. Thus, various posts on #PapuanLivesMatter from some Western netizens on Instagram display information that is contrary to the actual situation.

ABSTRAK

Taqwa, Ahmad Zahid. 2023. *The Representation of #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram from Some Western Netizen's Point of Views and Its Counter Discourses: Critical Discourse Analysis*. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Mira Shartika, M.A.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis, Instagram, Anti-Rasisme, #PapuanLivesMatter, Kontra Wacana.

Kebebasan berekspresi di media sosial dan menyampaikan pendapat melalui berbagai sudut pandang menjadi latar belakang penelitian ini. Hal itu dilakukan di platform media sosial Instagram dan menggunakan cakupan yang lebih spesifik dalam tagar #PapuanLivesMatter. Melalui berbagai sudut pandang, peneliti mengambil wacana #PapuanLivesMatter dari sudut pandang beberapa netizen barat dan wacana tandingannya yang mengandung fakta aktual. Hal ini untuk mengetahui bagaimana wacana kontroversi #PapuanLivesMatter diperbincangkan di media sosial. Peneliti menggunakan metode analisis wacana kritis Norman Fairclough dalam upaya meneliti tujuan penelitian. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian sebagai berikut: 1) Bagaimana wacana kontroversi #PapuanLivesMatter dan kontra wacana yang didiskusikan di media sosial?

Model analisis Norman Fairclough memiliki 3 aspek penelitian. Pada aspek pertama, praktik tekstual ditemukan bahwa praktik bahasa digunakan sedemikian rupa untuk mencakup setiap kata, kalimat, dan wacana. Tak sedikit juga wacana yang muncul dari pengguna media sosial anonim. Banyak yang membuat wacana yang tidak sesuai dengan fakta atau hoax yang sebenarnya. Diketahui karena wacana dikonstruksi dengan tujuan memberikan pemahaman lain kepada pembaca yang didukung oleh faktor lain seperti ideologi atau politik yang disisipkan.

Aspek kedua, praktik wacana menunjukkan integrasi linguistik, pemikiran sosial, dan politik merupakan hubungan yang koheren. Bahasa tidak netral, tetapi bias dan berpihak pada ideologi dan kekuatan tertentu berdasarkan identitas sosial aktor. Di sisi lain, bentuk representasi bahasa dan wacana #PapuanLivesMatter dari beberapa netizen Barat dan kontra wacananya merupakan bentuk konstruksi sosial yang dibangun oleh faktor kekuasaan, ideologi, budaya, dan kepentingan terkait.

Aspek ketiga, bagian praktik sosiokultural juga membahas hubungan historis, kelembagaan, dan sosial #PapuanLivesMatter dari beberapa netizen Barat dan wacana tandingannya. Melalui sejarah diketahui bahwa pemerintah Indonesia telah melakukan pemerataan infrastruktur, pemerataan hak, dan lain-lain. Ini merupakan upaya serius dari pemerintah dalam membangun masa depan Papua. Dari sisi kelembagaan, Indonesia sebagai negara sudah memiliki undang-undang yang anti rasis. Secara sosial bangsa Indonesia menerapkan nilai-nilai ideologi Pancasila sebagai masyarakat yang menjunjung tinggi nilai-nilai kebhinekaan dan persatuan bangsa. Sehingga, berbagai postingan #PapuanLivesMatter dari beberapa netizen Barat di Instagram menampilkan informasi yang bertolak belakang dengan keadaan sebenarnya.

مستخلص البحث

من وجهة نظر بعض Instagram على #PapuanLivesMatter التقوى وأحمد زاهد . 2023. تمثيل مستخدمي الإنترنت الغربيين والخطابات المضادة: تحليل الخطاب النقدي. سكريبسي. قسم الأدب: الإنجليزي ، كلية العلوم الإنسانية ، جامعة الدولة الإسلامية مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج. مستشار: ميرا شارتيكا ، ماجستير

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي ، إنستغرام ، مناهضة العنصرية، #PapuanLivesMatter.

حرية التعبير في وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي والتعبير عن الآراء من خلال وجهات نظر مختلفة هي واستخدام نطاقاً أكثر تحديداً في هاشتاغ Instagram خلفية هذا البحث. تم ذلك على منصة التواصل الاجتماعي #PapuanLivesMatter من خلال وجهات نظر مختلفة ، يأخذ الباحث خطاب #PapuanLivesMatter من وجهة نظر بعض مستخدمي الإنترنت الغربيين وخطابه المضاد الذي يحتوي على حقائق فعلية. هذا لمعرفة في وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي. تستخدم الباحثة #PapuanLivesMatter كيفية مناقشة الجدل حول خطاب طريقة نورمان فيركلاف لتحليل الخطاب النقدي في محاولة للبحث في أهداف الدراسة. لذلك ، هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى الإجابة على أسئلة البحث التالية: (1) كيف يتم مناقشة الجدل حول خطاب والخطاب المضاد في وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي؟ #PapuanLivesMatter

يحتوي نموذج تحليل نورمان فيركلاف على 3 جوانب بحثية. في الجانب الأول ، تم العثور على الممارسة النصية أن الممارسات اللغوية تستخدم بطريقة تغطي كل كلمة وجملته وخطابه. ليس هناك عدد قليل من الخطابات التي تظهر أيضاً من مستخدمي وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي المجهولين. يخلق الكثيرون خطابات لا تتفق مع الحقائق الفعلية أو الخدع. إنه معروف لأن الخطاب مبني بهدف توفير فهم آخر للقارئ مدعوماً بعوامل أخرى مثل الأيديولوجيا أو السياسة التي يتم إدخالها.

الجانب الثاني ، ممارسة الخطاب تبين أن تكامل اللغويات والفكر الاجتماعي والسياسة هي علاقة متماسكة. اللغة ليست محايدة ، ولكنها منحازة لصالح أيديولوجيات وسلطات معينة على أساس الهوية من بعض #PapuanLivesMatter الاجتماعية للفاعلين. من ناحية أخرى ، فإن شكل تمثيل اللغة والخطاب مستخدمي الإنترنت الغربيين وخطابها المضاد هو شكل من أشكال البناء الاجتماعي الذي شيدته عوامل القوة والإيديولوجيا والثقافة والمصالح ذات الصلة.

الجانب الثالث ، قسم الممارسات الاجتماعية والثقافية يتعامل أيضاً مع العلاقات التاريخية والمؤسسية من بعض مستخدمي الإنترنت الغربيين وخطاباتهم المضادة. عبر #PapuanLivesMatter والاجتماعية لـ التاريخ ، وجد أن الحكومة الإندونيسية قد حققت مساواة في البنية التحتية ، والمساواة في الحقوق ، وغيرها إنه جهد جاد من الحكومة في بناء مستقبل بابوا. على الجانب المؤسسي ، إندونيسيا كدولة لديها بالفعل قوانين مناهضة للعنصرية. من الناحية الاجتماعية ، يطبق الشعب الإندونيسي قيم أيديولوجية بانكاسيلا كمجتمع يدعم من بعض #PapuanLivesMatter قيم التنوع والوحدة الوطنية. وبالتالي ، فإن المنشورات المختلفة على تعرض معلومات تتعارض مع الوضع الفعلي Instagram مستخدمي الإنترنت الغربيين على

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of Study

In a world where diverse people live together and struggle of power happens, one phenomenon that is often found is an act of racism. Racism is the belief that group of people are considered superior (Susanti, 2014). It is an act of marginalizing a considered powerless group by another considered powerful group with a certain identification, with the possibility that individual subjectivity in the marginalized group will be harmed (Fricker, 2006). The sad reality of racism is that it has been existed worldwide for thousands of years (Susanti, 2014). Hicks (2001) describes, “The large-scale social conflicts that are based on ethnic, cultural, religious, or national differences become a special case of a larger set of identity-based conflicts” (p.38). Racism remains a major barrier to successful intercultural communication (Samovar, 2010). Even language also contributes to the process of domination of others by other parties (Fairclough, 1989).

In specific racism case, when the demonstration protests racial justice happened in 2020 in the US, a similar movement also occurred in Indonesia. The hashtag Papuan Lives Matter by some western netizen’s point of view and its counter discourse has sprung up on social media and has spread to various regions. Such protest is considered as a written online racism action since the protest highlight particular group over others.

Fox (1994) and Casanave (2002) stated that when people are producing texts, they are introducing thoughts in text-based structure, yet in some addition making various implications, meanings and demonstrating a philosophical impact. It does not only state the voice of the author but also convey and imitate the inconsistent power relations between social class, people, the great majority, and the minority groups through which these pronounced differences in social positions emerge. Through conversation, for example, fanatics, hatred conditions, or unusual features of public activity are seen as the presence of thoughts, characteristics, or similarities and in the real situation.

This present study tries to uncover the discourse reflected in the written online racism case by analyzing the Instagram caption with the hashtag Papuan Lives Matter and provides its counter discourse. The study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to discover both racism and anti-racism phenomenon. According to Fairclough & Wodak (1997), CDA looks at using language in discourse and writing as a form of social practice. The term CDA sees discourse as a practical, social, and cultural phenomenon. It aims to systematically explore the phenomenon between the discursive practices, events, texts, social, cultural, and broader process (Fairclough, 1995).

In this current study, Instagram captions under the hashtag Papuan Lives matter are taken as the data due to several reasons. First, within the scope of Indonesian society, people choose Instagram as a means of

conveying their aspirations or opinions. The number of active Instagram users reaches 22 million people and can continue to grow as it develops (Claudia & Wibowo, 2021). Second, Instagram has turned into an information medium that is widely used by the public because the completeness of information that meets the 5W+1H news elements is a point that gets attention (Nugeraha, Karim, and Nurliah, 2020). It is because in making posts in the Instagram, people are required to use photos, posters, or videos. Third, Instagram creates space for netizens to write comments on captions, photos or videos uploaded by users. However, it also brings various problems. The user may have conflicts between communities if they have different opinions. Thus, through the ease of accessing Instagram, readers must be more careful, thorough, and selective in accommodating posts or topics that are discussed.

In addition, Papuan issue has been selected as the topic of the study because the issue has been popular not only in national but also international level. For example, researchers found and analyzed the emergence of various hoax news that publish journals about how hoax news strategy in the digital world about Papuan racism cases. Siahaan, Nahria, & Tampubolon (2001) examined whether Papuan students properly analyzed information obtained from various sources, especially digital media. So, it is known from the research that it is clear that hoaxes are surprising and provocative information. They are a form of news about issues that are not true and sources that come from an incident perspective. In addition, other

research is also in the realm of racism (Nufus. et al., 2020; Coram, 2016; Baware, Lesmana, Yoanita, 2021; Webb-Gannon, 2019). Nasution and Wiranto (2020) also researched violence in Papua through social media. Research shows that the issue of racism propaganda has a fairly serious impact on the level of information dissemination and changes the attitude of Papuans to become destructive, and other negative situations arise.

However, this study analyzes the discourse controversy of #PapuaLivesMatter through Fairclough critical discourse analysis. Since the text is produced by western people or non-Indonesian and non-Papuan, the study analyze the proposition discourse which support Papua as a part of Indonesia and the opposition supporting Papua's separation. The discussion of discourse controversy is considered important to portray the holistic social phenomenon of Papuan in reality. In addition, this present study continues the previous studies done by Fisabilillah (2020). In her study, Fisabilillah (2020) focused on analyzing news stories that contain Papuan issues. She divided the research focus into three research problems; cohesion and coherence, lexical choice, and sentence structure. The present study follows up Fisabilillah (2020) study by extending the discussion using three dimensions of Norman Fairclough's analysis (2020).

B. Research Questions

1. How is the discourse controversy of #PapuanLivesMatter and its counter discourses discussed in social media?

C. Significance of the Study

The results of this study are expected to contribute to the related field practically. In practice, this study has an explanation of information about controversial cases of anti-racism and its counter discourse that is useful for everyone, such as students, lecturers, and the government. So that the public can respond well, they have a critical awareness of discourse that is not easily provoked, be wiser, and filter information properly. This research is also important to regenerate the image of the Indonesian people who are friendly, polite, highly tolerant, and love diversity.

D. Scope and Limitation

The scope of the research in this study is Critical Discourse Analysis. The research focuses on the text in posts that discuss two sides of discourse of #PapuanLivesMatter through western netizen's point of view. As a limitation, this study will analyze the Instagram caption with hashtag PapuanLivesMatter without conducting any interview. The data was taken from January to September 2021 when the case emerged and take both national and international attention.

E. Definition of Key Terms

1. **Critical Discourse Analysis:** The study or research approach that studies and analyzes text, speech, and visual images aimed at finding various meanings that contain the power, social structures, and ideology.

The form of discourse analysis that involves social phenomena in the use of language is known as critical discourse analysis. In this case, this approach term views discourse as a social interaction that is revealed through the use of language.

2. **#PapuanLivesMatter:** A term used as a form of people's propaganda against anti-racism that occurs in Papuan society. It contains people's views on social issues of Papuan society by.
3. **Anti-Racism:** Anti-racism includes beliefs, actions, movements, and policies adopted or developed to combat racism. In general, anti-racism aims to promote an egalitarian society in which people do not face discrimination on the basis of their race, but are defined.
4. **Instagram:** A mobile application that features capturing, editing, posting photos or videos to the main application page and connecting with other application networks. It can be used as a place to share moments, information, or opinions on things or posts.
5. **Counter Discourse:** Discourse that contains the opposite fact which aims as an effort to counteract or justify a claim or propaganda. In linguistics, discourse is a larger unit of language than sentences. Thus, counter discourse is discourse that is supported by actual situations.

F. Previous Studies

There are some previous studies related to this research. Not a few studies on Papua have been published, especially on #PapuanLivesMatter.

Through technological developments there are also many studies that examine a topic in digital media. So, the researcher took several previous studies that used digital media and the same topic of discussion.

The first previous study is a journal by Panjaitan and Janah (2022), they researched the emergence of #PapuanLivesMatter after #BlackLivesMatter, which discussed the Relation Identity Collective in Twitter activism. They use the appraisal theory of Martin and White (2007) to identify the relationship between identity collective to the emergence of #PapuanLivesMatter after #BlackLivesMatter. Researcher state that identity collective, or sense of belonging, marks the importance between One with another in a relation in the social and digital sphere. Through theory and process analysis, they obtained results study congruent or similarities at the level abroad, and there are differences at the group level. Hashtags of the same background started from voicing differences from community social groups skin black. However, #papuanlivesmatter is spreading different and directed ideologies and goals to matter politics.

Prihartono and Suharyo (2022) researched an event called #Cool Debate about Papua - Budiman Sudjatmiko vs Dandhy Laksono, which was posted on the YouTube account Watchdoc Documentary. Researchers try to explain the structure of discourse and ideological discourse built in each speaker's perspective. According to the researchers, the two perspectives of the two presenters, Budiman Sudjatmiko and Dandhy Laksono, provided a new point of view not only for Papuans but also for Indonesians. This study

uses the critical discourse analysis theory modeled by Teun A. van Dijk, which uses text analysis, social cognition, and context. Through the discussion, the study's results found that the two presenters had different attitudes.

Budiman responded to the topics discussed as the Indonesian nation, while Dandhy had the opposite tendency. It can be easily identified through the text analysis, as an example in the semantic analysis spoken by the speakers Budiman and Dandhy. Budiman tried to explain that Papua Province is still part of Indonesia. Meanwhile, Dandhy said that if the views on the nation differed, then people who disagreed would feel coerced. Through the aspect of social cognition, Budiman Sudjatmiko said that administratively Papua is still part of Indonesia which the United Nations recognize. Dandhy Laksono revealed that it is easier to empathize with the condition of the Papuan people if you see it through the perspective of the Papuan people themselves. The context section briefly suggests that completion must begin with an internal dialogue from below. Dialogue that is structured and safe so that it can solve problems that exist in the Province of Papua.

There is research discussing two online news media that are quite popular. Fauziyah's research (2021) entitled "Representation of Reporting on Issues of Racism Against Papuan Students on Kompas.com and Republika.co.id". One of the protests held in Papua ended in riots. The existence of the mass media as a provider of information also influences the

cognition of the community or the public towards ethnic Papuans. This research was conducted as an effort to raise public awareness that news presented by a media is not always neutral, so that people are expected to be more objective, selective, and critical in understanding news. Researchers took data uploaded by the mass media on 2 quite popular news platforms, namely Kompas.com and Republika.co.id.

This research uses Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis theory which involves macro structure, super structure, and micro structure applied to 6 news texts. The data was taken for the period 18 August 2019 - 5 September 2019. The results of the research found that Kompas.com raised the dominant theme in favor of the Papuan ethnic group by reporting good things about events related to the Papuan people. Meanwhile, the theme raised by Republika.co.id tends not to side with the Papuan people because it emphasizes bad news and tends to place individuals who commit acts of racism in a safe position. Kompas.com news tends to represent partiality towards Papuan students and Papuan people. Republika.co.id reporting represents impartiality towards Papuan students by reporting things that corner Papuan students.

On the use of local regional news media, this research discusses the representation of Papuan identity in local newspaper reporting in Yogyakarta (Dalimunthe, Irawanto, & Budiawan, 2020). One of the things that underlies this research is the important role of the media which is quite crucial in presenting a group that is stigmatized. In addition, Yogyakarta is

also included as a preferred area for Papuans to visit for various purposes, such as studying. The daily newspaper *Kedaulatan Rakyat* was chosen as the substance of this research. This newspaper is the second oldest newspaper in Indonesia, and has the highest circulation in Yogyakarta. The construction of identity has implications for the stigmatization and stereotypes of society towards Papuans where stereotypes of ethnic Papuans in practice are not a new phenomenon. The concept of representation does not only produce or display something back to the public, but also the concept of representation presents certain goals to the public or audience.

This study uses an interpretive qualitative approach that aims to identify, describe, understand, and interpret the data obtained. The type of analysis method is Teun A van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis. The results of the research show that the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* newspaper still displays several news related to education issues. Stylistically, *Sovereignty of the People* uses certain language or terms as a tool to legitimize the power it has and apply to Papuan groups. Discourse about the Papuan ethnicity as a group that is troubling and dangerous continues to be strengthened through various domains of discursive formation. Therefore, it is difficult for readers as audiences to leave or be separated from stereotype practices.

Eleonora Sofilda (2019) explains the government's efforts in implementing its strategy in focusing on improving the land of Papua. Based on the test results, it is known that the magnitude of the influence of the education budget allocation and the health budget allocation has a growth

and significant effect on the poverty level. This condition is in accordance with the theory that fiscal decentralization is expected to have an impact on people's welfare. Meanwhile the budget allocation for infrastructure does not have a significant effect on the poverty level in Papua, this is more because the impact or multiplier of infrastructure development which is the main target of the Government's development has not yet been felt. Infrastructure development by spending a budget for infrastructure development in Papua province is expected to facilitate the mobility of economic work between districts which will eventually attract investors to invest in Papua province. With the creation of investment in Papua, it will create new job opportunities so that better infrastructure will improve development conditions and have the effect of increasing people's welfare and poverty alleviation.

Ciputra Iha (2017) said that the evaluation of the role of the government bureaucracy in the implementation of special autonomy to improve the welfare of the community through increased education. In general, people feel that the role of the government is quite good in improving the welfare of the community through improving education. This is because bureaucrats or the government have further improved public education by preparing funds or personnel for educational services for school-age children. Evaluation of the role of the government bureaucracy in the implementation of special autonomy to improve the welfare of the community through opening up employment opportunities, in general,

people feel that the role of the government in opening employment opportunities is quite good. This is because the bureaucracy or the government has prioritized the sons and daughters of the region to be accepted as employees. Evaluation of the role of the government bureaucracy in implementing special autonomy to improve the welfare of the community through improving public health services. In general, people feel that the government's role in health services is successful. This is because bureaucrats or the government have built health centers, provided ambulances, laboratory medicines and procurement of pharmacies.

Sari MD (2016), explained about Papua in three national news media and also used Norman Fairclough's theory in his analysis. First, throughout the history of the Indonesian press, especially the Reform Press, the media in Indonesia began to actively report on every issue and problem. The government is no longer able to control the dissemination of information in the community because the community has the freedom to exercise their rights as public users to obtain any information, including the issue of the conflict in Papua. This study also aims to see the extent to which the importance of media ideology and political economy affects the news production process. Two of the three media outlets are church-affiliated, while the majority of Papuans are non-Muslims, while the other media are affiliated with Islam. From both, after being analyzed, it can be concluded that media affiliation greatly influences how an issue is reported in the media.

In addition, this study also has a difference that uses 2 steps of analysis in the process. The first is using the framing analysis method by Robert N Entman (1991) and the second is using Fairclough theory. This was done by researchers because the framing analysis method involves several aspects such as social, political, and cultural in analyzing communication signs. So that researchers seek the first step of analysis aimed at producing the reality of media construction. According to Eriyanto (2002), framing approach lets an event get bigger portion in the media than other events.

Through the various studies above, these studies have several similarities using linguistic methods and qualitative approaches. Not only the critical discourse analysis method, there are several studies that also use other methods such as descriptive analysis. Several considerations also emerged by observing previous research such as the cultural values of various regional languages in Indonesia which describe each identity of a cultural group and its relation to the use of social media.

From the above description, many researchers have done study critical discourse analysis. They use various objects and theories in analyzing their studies. Some previous studies have a subject or research focus that analyzes news media or a literary work. The various differences and similarities found with previous research are expected to help and do future research structured and produce various innovations. In this study,

researcher discusses cases of anti-racism and focus on research subjects on the Instagram social media application.

G. Research Method

1. Research Design

This study is a descriptive qualitative research. Through this method, the researcher builds an in-depth interpretation. So that factors such as ideology, social practice, and language use are analyzed through this theory which is very suitable for the purpose of the study. Qualitative research provides insights from what has been found in the data. It is used to develop knowledge using the concept of constructivist thinking by taking the meaning of occasions that are the focal point of examination through the activities of exploration subjects (Rahardjo, 2020). It is different from quantitative, which only provides an explanation of the field findings.

The topic that the researchers are working on is in line with the CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) framework because it discovers how text is constructed, distributed, published, and consumed. Norman Fairclough's model is trying to combine the tradition of textual analysis with the wider context of society. Researcher combines the framework with qualitative methods because it is in accordance with its purpose, which is to achieve clear and detailed descriptions. Qualitative research must be shown for research that is exploratory and descriptive and emphasizes the importance of context, setting, and terms of reference for research subjects. The hope is

to obtain a deep and complete understanding of an entity within a certain time (Rahardjo, 2010).

2. Data and Data Source

Credible research is surely upheld and dictated by the validity of the information. It means that the topic under study, supported by correct data, is done in a serious way (Rahardjo, 2020). The research data was taken from a social media application called Instagram and selected several Instagram posts. The data used in this study are text and captions containing PapuanLivesMatter hashtag.

3. Data Collection

Instagram posts on 12 January 2021 to 30 September 2021 are selected as the data. Though the conflict over the Papua issue has been going on for a long time, selected time range is taken as the data because in such time range the case becomes more popular and takes both national and international attention. To figure the social phenomenon, it is also necessary to understand someone in the latest context (Astuti, 2014).

4. Data Analysis

In this study, researcher analyzes the text through the critical discourse review. In particular, the critical approach aims to interpret and therefore understand how various social groups are constrained and oppressed. Several steps are carried out by researchers in the process of research analysis. First, the researcher analyzes the structure of discourse as

a textual dimension within the Instagram post with #PapuanLivesMatter and its counter discourse. Second, the researcher analyzes the discursive practice behind the production and consumption of the text in Instagram post with #PapuanLivesMatter and its counter discourse. Third, the sociocultural practice which explores the historical, social and cultural intriguing the production and consumption of the text in Instagram post with #PapuanLivesMatter.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This section consists of aspects related to the literature related to the theoretical framework, including an explanation of critical discourse analysis, representation of racism, the definition of Instagram, and the Papuan Lives Matter movement. The researcher explores the definitions and philosophies that are contained to be used to examine the research subject. It explains how the structure of the text in the subject of research, the process of social analysis, and the tradition of sociological analysis in the #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse post according to the theory put forward by Norman Fairclough.

A. Text dan Discourse

Text is part of language use in a form of written or spoken. It is a collection of meanings related to the context or situation in which the language is applied. According to Kridalaksana (2011) text is, (1) the complete language unit that is abstract, (2) a series of sentences, words, and so on that makeup speech, (3) speech produced in human interaction. In addition, Sobur Alex (2012) called text as a nothing more than a collection of letters that form words and sentences that are assembled using a sign system that has been agreed upon by the community, so that a text when read will be able to reveal the meaning contained in the text.

Nababan (1987: 64) argues that "text is the essence of the form of language". That is, the text is realised in the form of discourse and is more conceptual. When compiling text for a particular purpose, we choose the form and structure of the text that will be used so that the desired message can be conveyed correctly. The speaker's choice of structured text to achieve the goal is determined by the context of the situation at hand. Communication actions taken to achieve a particular goal are realised in a concrete form in the form of text.

Likewise, the opinion of Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) is that the text refers to a communicative event. The text is transmitted through a suitable channel or medium and will have a function that fulfils its intended communicative purpose. Action in a communicative situation provides a framework in which the text with its function has its place, and the text can only be understood and analysed more profoundly and concerning the framework of action in the communicative situation. The definition also represents that a text is entirely a communicative signal used in communicative interaction.

We can analyse the form of language on its parts, word form, sentence structure, and based on the content of meaning (semantics). Therefore, we seem to think that language is an object that can be separated. When individuals interact, language cannot be seen as a communication tool that can be broken down into parts, such as, phrases, sentences, and meanings. All these elements come together to form a single unit. Likewise, when we are dealing with discourse embodied in a text. We can not only view the text as a word or

sentence. The text must be seen as a meaningful language unit with all the contexts that surround it. Renkema (1993:1) states that "discourse is a scientific discipline that examines the relationship between the form and function of language in communication". This definition focuses on the use of language in communication that carries certain functions.

In its development, linguists use the word discourse more widely in linguistic studies, while the term discourse and its discursive adjective form are more widely used by social scientists (Mulyana, 2005). On the other hand, Alwi (1998) states that discourse is a series of related sentences that connect one preposition with other prepositions that form a unity. This definition views discourse as sentences that are interrelated with one another and form a unified whole. This concept brings us to the face of written discourse.

Another linguist, namely Tannen (1994), describes the concept of discourse in three points of view, namely the point of view of structuralism, functionalism, and sociolinguistics. Structural understanding views discourse as the highest unit of language. The discourse will be defined as a language unit that is grammatically above the sentence or the clause. It is a structural approach in viewing discourse. It strengthens the assumption that sentences are part of the discourse. The consequence of this view is that discourse should be viewed as language above sentences, and we expect discourse to exhibit a structure similar to that of sentences that make up or become part of the structure, although that may be an expectation that may not be realised (Stubbs, 1983).

However, a person's speech unit does not always appear as a sentence. This fact causes discourse analysis with this understanding to be challenging to do because there are smaller units of sentences that can be considered as discourse in #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse. To bridge the concept of discourse as a unit above sentences and sentences as units of discourse, Lyons (1977) distinguishes between sentence-system and sentence-text. System sentences are well-formed sequences produced by grammarians, while text sentences are context-dependent speech signals (or parts of speech signals) that can occur in a given text. With this explanation, Lyons wants to argue that discourse consists of texts, not system sentences. In addition to the linguistic aspect in the structure of the text, there are other aspects that need to be considered in order to find the meaning of a discourse, namely the interpretation of the production and consumption of the text and the socio-political aspects that influence the making of the text.

B. Critical Discourse Analysis

The discussion about discourse is straightforwardly identified with the conversation of language abilities, especially productive language skills, namely speaking and writing. It starts from the term discourse in the general public, which has several meanings. In sociology, discourse adduce the notion of focus on the social context of language role. Different with linguistics definition, discourse is a language part that is preponderant than a sentence. It

is a unit that has a higher level than words, phrases, clauses and sentences (Silaswati, 2019).

Discourse is exhaustive entity of language in linguistics (Chaer, 1994). As with many words used, sometimes the use of language does not know what its function is and what the words are used. The term discourse was introduced and used by linguists in Indonesia and other Malay-speaking countries to translate the English term discourse. So, discourse analysis is also translated into discourse analysis (Rahardjo 2004).

In this study, discourse is a text that contains a discussion about a particular topic or thing intended to be conveyed. Discourse is structured continuously or continuously in the process of meaning. It has a contextual relationship from an element in the text and has a logical relationship between sentences in a paragraph. Discourse analysis is interpreted as an effort made to dismantle specific intentions and meanings in society both behind the visible discourse. According to Tarigan (1987, p.27), discourse is "a complete and highest language entity above a sentence or clause with continuous high cohesion and coherence that has a real beginning and end delivered orally or in writing". The analysis effort is carried out critically because it has the aim of dismantling profoundly and connecting with other elements that are continuous with the text.

Discourse discussions also have diverse objectives in many other studies and skills ranging from language studies, psychology, politics, communication,

literature, sociology, and others. In linguistic studies, this critical discourse analysis uncovers the meaning or aim behind phenomena, issues, or affairs that happen in society, such as social problems or political affairs that cannot be deciphered by conventional discourse analysis. Eriyanto (2001) explains that discourse analysis in linguistic studies is a reaction from traditional linguistic forms (which pay more attention to units of words, phrases, and sentences without seeing the relationship between these elements). Discourse analysis is the opposite of formal linguistics because it focuses on levels above the sentence, such as grammatical relationships formed at a level more significant than the sentence.

There are three main things related to discourse, namely text, context, and discourse. Eriyanto (2001) then explains the three meanings as follows. Text is all forms of language, not only words printed on sheets of paper, but also all kinds of communication expressions, speech, picture music, sound effects, images, and others. It explains that context includes various situations and things outside the text and affects the use of languages, such as participants in language and the situation in which the text is produced. Discourse here is interpreted as text and context together. This theoretical model is an innovation for developing the scientific field in responding to the study of descriptive discourse with linguistic aspects that are very important and has an attachment to social aspects in the development of social structures and systems. This model is the most appropriate because the research subject contains complex

texts, discourse practices, and social practices. It also follows the assumption of scientists who consider language a social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

In particular, critical discourse focuses on the structure of discourse that creates, confirms, legitimises, reproduces, or opposes relations of power and domination in society (Van Dijk, 1993). Meanwhile, its function for society is to dismantle practices of abuse of power, domination, hegemony, ideology, social class, gender, race, discrimination, interests, reproduction, institutions, social structure, or social order. In social practice, critical discourse analysis makes language an essential element that contains an exclusive context. Discourse analysis appears as a reaction to pure linguistics, which cannot fully reveal the nature of language (Darma, 2009).

Critical discourse analysis is a process of parsing or an attempt to explain the text (social dimension) that is studied by a person or dominant group who has a tendency to aim to get what is desired, so that there is a context that must be aware of the importance (Firmansyah, 2018). Therefore, the analysis that was formed subsequently was realized that it had been influenced by the author from various factors. Of the various discourse analysis approaches, CDA is the most suitable for the subject of this research where the researcher aims to explain the text critically and appropriately. This study aims to explain the discourse on the representation of racism in #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram. This study focuses on textual strategies and aspects of anti-racism ideology in the discourse conveyed in #PapuanLivesMatter and its counter discourse.

C. Norman Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis makes language an essential element in its social practice, and this is because it contains an exclusive context. According to Eriyanto (2001), the model built by Norman Fairclough is integrated with discourse analysis based on linguistics, social and political thinking. Moreover, it is generally integrated into social change. For Fairclough, language is a practice of power (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, Fairclough's approach is a discourse analysis based on the assumption that language is a fundamental part of social life. According to Fairclough (2003), social analysis and research must always consider language, because dialectically it is interconnected with other elements in social life.

The facts show that critical theory is one of the schools of social science based on the ideas of Karl Marx and Engels (Seiler, 2008). The characteristic of the critical paradigm is the critical paradigm's self-basting of research methods and methodologies. The critical paradigm, in this case, emphasises the researcher's interpretation of the object of his research. It means that there is a dialogue process in all critical research. Critical dialogue is used to take a deeper look at the social reality that has happened, is currently, and will happen. This fourth characteristic places the researcher's social interpretation at the representation of each symptom, in this case, the mass media as discourse and the text it produces. In the critical paradigm, the research concerned cannot avoid researcher subjectivity, and it can lead to different interpretations of social

phenomena from other researchers (Diamastuti, 2015). In relation, Fairclough (1997) concludes the main principles of CDA as follows (Supriyadi, 2015).

1. CDA focuses on social issues
2. The power relationship is discursive
3. Discourse shapes society and culture
4. Discourse examines (does work) ideology
5. Discourse is historical
6. The relationship between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action

The basic assumption in the critical paradigm related to the information above is the belief that a latent force in society is so powerful in controlling the community's communication process. It means that the critical paradigm sees the reality behind the control of society. The problem is, who has the control power? Why control? What is the interest? With these few questions, it appears that critical theory sees a process of domination and marginalisation of certain groups in the whole process of community communication. It shows that the dissemination process and mass communication activities are also strongly influenced by the political-economic structure of the community concerned (Sutarso, 2012).

Fairclough's (2001) analytical model has a research framework consisting of three dimensions. First, the analysis dimension is the analysis process based on the semantic structure, vocabulary, and meaning. The first dimension is also known as the microstructural dimension. Then the second dimension, namely the practice of discourse, relates to the implementation and use of the text. It is also known as the mesostructural dimension. Finally, macrostructural, sociocultural practice is a process that contains the relationship between humans and culture or the elements behind the context of a text. The three elements certainly have different ways of analysis. The first dimension uses a description to get text analysis results such as cohesion, coherence, diction, and grammar. Then, the implementation element aims to produce a text view of how it is produced, published, and consumed. The explanation process aims to determine the form of macrostructural elements, which start from the situational, institutional, and social levels.

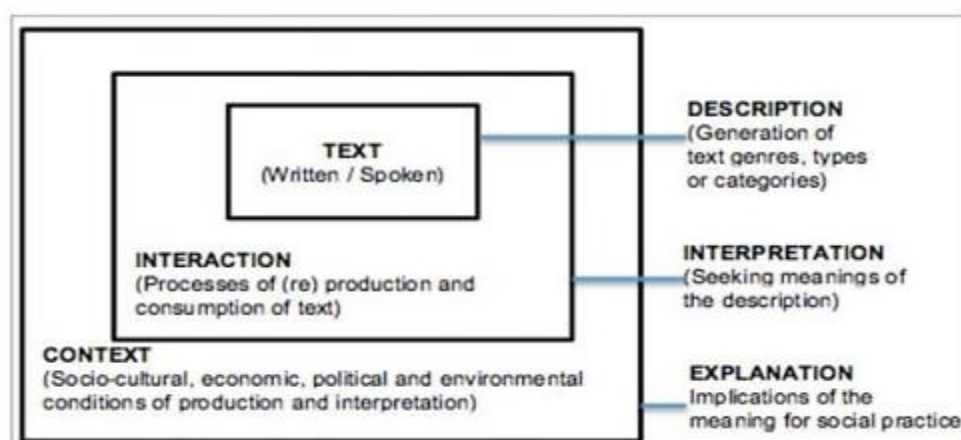
Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on the effects of the relationship between power and inequality that produces social problems. In addition, Fairclough (2001) developed the concept of a three-dimensional framework in to study discourse. In this approach, discourse is seen as a social practice. That is, there is a relationship between discursive practice and social identity and relations. Therefore, Norman Fairclough's analytical model is also known as a social change model. Fairclough uses discourse to denote language as a social practice. Thus discourse is a form of action in which a person uses language as

an action in the world, especially as a form of representation when facing reality.

At the level of text, the dimension is a process of parsing or an attempt to explain the text studied by a person or dominant group who has a tendency to aim to obtain what is desired, so that there is a context that must be aware of the importance. In critical discourse analysis, linguistic structure is used to 1) estimate, transform, and obscure the analysis of reality, 2) regulate the ideas and behavior of others, and 3) classify society (Rohana, 2015). To realize these goals, critical discourse analysis texts use elements of vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure as the analysis material. Critical discourse analysis reveals discourse as a form of social practice so that holistic and contextual criteria need to be considered (Fairclough, 1995).

In the next level, critical discourse analysis is placed as an effort that seeks to reveal and explain the relationship between the construction process and the discursive process. This aspect presents the results of the interpretation of the production and consumption of the text as well as the aspects that affect the making of the text. In this aspect, various cultures/ideologies of language and thoughts of the discourse maker can be understood. This is certainly an advantage of critical discourse analysis in reviewing ideologies related to social practice and the difference lies in ideological positioning and analysis (Fairclough, 1995).

The analysis of sociocultural practice consists of an investigation of what happens within a particular sociocultural framework. The relationship between texts and sociocultural practices is not direct but is mediated by discourse practices. Eriyanto (2001) stated that Fairclough made three 3 levels of analysis in sociocultural practice: situational, institutional, and social levels.



Picture. Three-Dimensional Framework of Fairclough (Turhan and Okan, 2017)

The interpretation contained in the image above is a description of textual analysis consisting of text genres, text types and categories located in the most profound chart. The middle chart consists of interpretations of the production and consumption of texts that explain the meaning of a text. The outermost chart explains the social conditions that can affect the production and acceptance of the text. The Three-Dimensional Framework Fairclough is very suitable to answer questions in research related to Papuan Racism as assumed by some foreign western netizens which is depicted in several posts on Instagram media. Fairclough (2010) believes that sequencing research on social and cultural change can be done using a theoretical approach to critical

discourse analysis. In this microstructural dimension, the study focuses on the opinions contained in #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizens point of view and its counter discourse which involve contextual, lexical, and text structure forms. In the mesostructural dimension, it leads to the problem of the relationship between discursive forces that shape society and culture. Discourse as a social and interpretive action contained in the macrostructural dimension. This kind of analysis prioritizes attention on textual form, structure, and organization at all levels: grammatical, lexical, and higher levels of textual organization with regard to the system of change (division of conversation turns), argument structure, and activity types.

D. Counter Discourse

Today's communication is very much supported by the rapid development of technology. One technology that facilitates communication is the presence of the internet which provides easy interaction and communication between humans. Nowadays, everyone can easily interact and communicate with other people in any part of the world without knowing the limits of distance, space and time with the presence of the internet which can now be used by everyone.

Social media that is very active and diverse has changed the way in which information is delivered and received by the public. The purpose of using social media also varies. Not only as a need for information and entertainment, people or groups can use social media to convey propaganda or form a new framing of society. Not to mention, it has an impact on the dissemination of discourse and

its truth value. The role of social media, especially Instagram, which was originally a media for documentation and various photos and videos, has turned into a means of business, sharing news, voicing opinions, the movement of a campaign, and others. Not a few social media users also use anonymous accounts or fake accounts in order to freely convey various information and propaganda (Kurnia, 2018).

Identity in online media, especially social media, can generally be recognized from names, profile pictures, posts in the form of photos or graphics, videos or text. So, someone can freely highlight a few seconds of content that is constructed in such a way as to display the desired identity. In addition, a person's tendency to show the best side of himself is an impetus to create online media accounts, especially social media that displays an untrue identity. Stuart Hall (2008) states that identity is not because it has existed in the individual since his birth, but he arises and is formed from collecting images outside of ourselves, "by the ways we imagine ourselves to be seen by others".

Identity on social media is an identity that has been modified in its use. According to Wood and Smith (2005), broadly speaking, the identity used by a person in online media is divided into three types, namely the original identity is referred to as real life identity, identity that is not real but in some cases can still be known as the original identity or pseudo identity, and a new identity that is completely different from the original identity that is owned is called a new identity.

Social media users also often have a second account or what is often referred to as an alter account that has a tendency to be different from the first account. The first account usually uses a real life identity, or pseudo identity. While alter accounts often use a new identity or new identity, so that it can no longer be recognized who the real account owner is, in other words the second account is a fake account or an anonymous account.

Although there is no regulation on anonymity in Indonesia, the rapid development of internet technology in Indonesia since the early 2000s has become a space for the growth of the phenomenon of anonymity in various mediums ranging from the web, blogs, and social media. It can be seen that the phenomenon of anonymity on social media is a unique phenomenon in the practice of democracy in Indonesia. On the one hand, their existence has guaranteed freedom of expression for the people of Indonesia, but on the other hand they have created new problems such as the problem of transparency and accountability of the information they carry.

Through the previous explanation, where the anonymity and various identities of social media users have been explained. In this discussion, the researcher conveys what counter discourse is and what its role is. Through the freedom of discourse in social media, counter discourse in this study intends to provide information and other perspectives in the form of facts or actual events. So that the researcher juxtaposes free discourse on social media with the counter discourse that is obtained. This is very important where counter discourse contains information that can be traced to the level of accuracy of the data. In

other words, it has the purpose of providing a true explanation or for the delivery of information itself, it produces a "counter-discourse". Counter discourse is not another theory, but practical involvement in political struggles or other things (Deleuze and Foucault 209). In this brief sense, the act of speaking is judged to be highly political, and little Foucault's thinking encourages or helps to provide a space where the previously silent may begin to speak (Moussa & Scapp, 1996).

E. Anti-Racism Ideology

Ideology is a representational system that disguises one another in society with real relationships. This is due to the way of constructing imaginary relationships between people or society in social life. In addition, ideology is a basic belief that is owned by a group and a view of life that is developed based on the interests of a particular group, class or social class in the political, social and economic fields (Van Djik, 2000).

Racism is not a trivial matter, "Racism" means a belief system or doctrine which states that the inherent biological differences of the human race determine cultural or individual achievement, that a particular race is superior and has the right to rule over others. While the notion of "race" itself is a group of nations based on physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair color, body size and eye color.

Racism is generally accepted as an attitude or perspective on the social world and is part of the political aspect of the masses. Racist theories say that

the human race is different, has different social and intellectual talents. Racists firmly believe that the mindset of a nation is largely determined by that nation. The implication is that there is a sentiment and racial prejudice. Its form is forms of action that “distinguish”, “limit”, or “choose” only based on race and ethnicity. Even further, his actions can have a direct impact on racial violence.

In his book Harun Yahya (1993) entitled "Humanity Disaster Due to Darwinism" that Darwinism Theory reads "the strong will survive, while the others lose and perish". Departing from this understanding, many people who misunderstand then justify an understanding of racism, fascism and colonialism, which are finally instilled in their children and grandchildren until now (Kurniawan, 2012).

The word "racism" was first used generally in the 1930s. The phenomenon of racism has actually appeared long before. The definition of racism itself is always changing. Tribalism/ethnicism, xenophobia (fear of hatred (fear, anxiety) towards strangers or something that is not yet known; hatred of the all strangers), arrogance and prejudice as well as hostility and negative feelings towards one ethnic group or nation to another sometimes accompanied by brutal attitudes, often associated with racism.

Van Dijk (2000) states that Racist ideologies govern other shared social representations, and especially racist attitudes, prejudices, etc. These attitudes are negative opinions on (the role of) minorities in various social domains: immigration, housing, welfare, work or education. The ideology of racism is an

attempt to maintain and transform power relations. While anti-racism is a belief, action, movement or a policy developed to fight racism. Basically, anti-racism is the antithesis of racism itself. Anti-racism comes from two words namely anti and racism. Meanwhile, according to Kombium racism is a view that looks down on a group that has certain characteristics that they are born with so that they make a difference and discriminate against that group. So anti-racism means opposition to behavior that discriminates against a group because of certain characteristics that distinguish them. Anti-racism is a view against racism (Shinta, 2010).

The form of rejection of racism is the anti-racism movement. This anti-racism rejects all racist assumptions and arguments and fights for equality or equality among all existing races. The fact that humans are indeed made up of several races is a reality that cannot be denied, but it does not recognize the difference in rights between one race and another. No race is superior to any other race. Anti-racism rejects forms of racial discrimination in the name of anything (Dinillah, 2022). Awareness of racial diversity needs to be raised in a multicultural and multiethnic society.

According to Sjaifullah (1983) explains that social nature is a trait that is directed to the person of other humans. This trait gives birth to two types of noble willingness in humans, namely the willingness to always want to make contact with each other and the willingness to pay attention to the interests of others, which can increase to a willingness to sacrifice for others. Social nature can give birth to attitudes that can create the desired social reality such as unity,

cooperation, social sacrifice and so on. The indicators (Kurniawan, 2012) are (a) the nature of anti-racism related to the social nature of the individual, where a person is willing to pay attention to the interests of others and (b) the nature of anti-racism is related to the social nature of the individual, which gives birth to an attitude where he can create unity

Ideology will have an impact on the production of texts. Ideology constructs meaning for its subject. Therefore, to see an ideological structure can be through an analysis of language. Wodak (1996) states that linguistic structures can be utilized, utilized, functioned to convey an ideology, on the other hand, language forms can be explained through an analysis of the work of ideology in society. In Thomson's (1990) view, ideology is a practice that operates in the process of producing meaning in everyday life, whereas meaning is mobilized in order to maintain power relations. Regarding the understanding of discourse and ideology, Titscher states that discourse has no meaning without social meaning, in that case, of course there is a strong relationship between discourse and social structure. Therefore, ideology is closely related to discourse, which can be understood as a type of social practice, besides that ideology places humans in special ways as social subjects (Titscher, 2009).

F. The Nature of Social Media

The development of information technology brings a change in society. The birth of social media makes people's behavior patterns experience a shift in both culture, ethics and existing norms. Indonesia with a large population with

various ethnic, racial and religious cultures has a lot of potential for changes in social discourse. From various backgrounds and ages, almost all Indonesians own and use social media as a means to obtain and convey information to the public. The use of language that is understood as a social practice is not only distributed through printed or written language or through face-to-face communication (Fairclough, 2010).

Internet users are increasing. In 2020 until the second quarter, internet users reached 196.7 million or 73.7 of the population (Jatmiko, 2020). Based on the results of Hootsuite's Wearesocial research, in January 2009 social media users in Indonesia reached 150 million or 56% of the total population. Gadget social media users reach 130 million or around 48% of the population (Databoks, 2019).

Social media is an online medium, with its users being able to easily participate, share, and create content including blogs, social networks, wikis, forums and virtual worlds. Blogs, social networks and technology applications are the most common forms of social media used by people around the world. The positive impact of social media is that it makes it easier for us to interact with many people, expand relationships, distance and time are no longer a problem, it is easier to express ourselves, information dissemination can take place quickly, and costs are cheaper. While the negative impact of social media is to keep people who are close and vice versa, face-to-face interactions tend to decrease, make people addicted to the internet, cause new conflicts, privacy problems, vulnerable to bad influences from others, and free information. and

uncontrolled discourse. The existence of social media has influenced social life in society.

Media is simply defined as a means of communication. According to experts, the well-known expression "medium is the message", shows that the medium or media is a message that can change communication patterns, communication culture to language in communication between humans (McLuhan & Fiore, 2011). This understanding shows the complex aspects of a media and communication, that media is a communication tool as it is generally defined. Meanwhile, the potential trends of social media that are developing and widely used by the public released by Sensor Tower are TikTok, Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat (Moedia, 2020). In Indonesia alone, the penetration of social media users continues to increase to 59% of the 272.1 million total Indonesian population (Moedia, 2020). The reality is as predicted by many experts and experts, the dominant social media that are widely used are Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram, Telegram and various other types of internet-based applications. Social media is able to change people's lifestyles, especially during the current pandemic.

A significant increase in internet users with the dominance of the use of social media shows that people have become increasingly media literate or what is more often called digital literacy. The presence of share, like, hashtag, trending topics on social media cannot be denied has been very influential in reading the interest and consumption of audience information. Through these features, news and information can be shared freely and in groups. Digital

literacy is defined by experts as "the ability to access and process information from any form of transmission" (Potter, 2019). This definition shows that people have the ability to access and process the transmission of data and information in various media platforms. It aims to disseminate and receive information from various parties. So that in today's reality, social media is becoming very widespread and is directly related to aspects of people's lives in obtaining and disseminating information. People who originally interacted in real and face-to-face spaces, with the presence of the internet, can now interact with anyone, without having to be limited by values and norms (Sugihartati, 2014).

The dynamics of community life are developing very rapidly. Cultural acculturation with a touch of information technology is the driving phenomenon for these changes. Talking about the development of various discourses cannot be separated from the role and influence of social media on life in our society. Personal freedom in conveying ideas, criticisms, suggestions and even "blasphemy" is often encountered every hour and day through various variants of the media used.

Hemawan (2009) states that the use of social media can also easily create a forum where individuals can communicate with each other and exchange ideas with each other. This makes it very easy for individuals to communicate and comment on various topics and cases discussed by other individuals. Individuals can also build assumptions, emotions and beliefs through comments as well as the perspectives and thoughts of other individuals

on social media, making it possible to reactively comment and draw conclusions (Trisnani, 2018).

The existence of the internet as an online medium makes unverified information spread quickly. In just seconds, an event can be directly spread and accessed by internet users through social media. Indeed, social media provides the widest possible freedom for users to express themselves, their attitudes, their views on life, their opinions, or maybe just share their thoughts. However, with this freedom, social media can be used positively or negatively.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter contains several posts that have been uploaded using the hashtag #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram as the object to analyze in the findings and discussion section. The findings contain an explanation of Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis of the data that has been previously taken. Meanwhile, the discussion includes the gap between the findings and previous research that can answer the research question.

A. Findings

The findings section will be divided into three sub-chapters, namely textual analysis, discursive practice, and sociocultural practice. Following Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis, discourse must be seen simultaneously as (1) language texts, (2) discursive practice, discussing the plausible claims behind the text production and text interpretation, and (3) sociocultural practice, namely changes in society, institutions, culture that determine the form and meaning of a text discourse (Fairclough, 1995).

1. Textual Analysis

In this section, there are 25 data that discuss #PapuanLivesMatter. Each datum will be discussed in detail before discussing them in the next part of analysis.

- (1) @humanemagazine: #BlackLivesMatter does not mean other live don't. But, we are now turning out attention to specifically

- (2) the **Black community** and **the systemic racism** they face until now. Because racism is also a queer issue. #HumaneMag #SilenceIsViolence #PapuanLivesMatter (June 3, 2020)

In datum 1, Black community” is mentioned along with the statement of “systemic racism”. Both of those two phrases are mentioned and linked with the conjunction “and”. It shows that the writer claims that Black community is entitled with the systemic racism. The black community refers to a group of black people who is receiving less attention or being marginalized. The phrase following black community is “systemic racism”. Linguistically, systemic has the meaning of and is related to the system or related to the body as a whole. It means that racism has been experienced by the black community for such a long time up to present and in every aspect of their lives.

- (3) @chrismonapoure: Minister of Social Affairs will directly oversees social assistance data in Papua. “We **have to** go there. So, we have to **pick up the ball**, including in Papua there are seven regencies that have not updated at all,” said the Minister. Source: www.papuataalk.com #papua #indonesia #papuanlivesmatter #sayapapua #papuadamai #ilovepapua (March 22, 2021)

Datum 2, the author directly mentions the identity of the subject in question through the job title which aims to provide data clearly to the reader. The author uses the verb 'oversees' to show that what the subject does is more than just seeing, guarding, and accompanying. It implies the subject's firmness and openness in carrying out the mandate as a minister. In addition, 'pick up the ball' and 'have to' expressions refer to a proactive response toward the problem.

Datum 1 conveys a statement that there has been racism treatment until now. It backlashes datum 2, which shows the current situation in Papua. The user

explained that the Minister of Social Affairs in Papua is providing comprehensive social assistance which is the impact of the covid virus pandemic. In addition, through the assistance provided, it shows that the government's attitude towards the community is fair and equitable. Precisely at this time, the government is approaching the Papuan people through cultural and other means to develop Papua (Rumansara, 2015). The dissemination of information about confusion and hoaxes with the issue of racism resulted in misunderstandings that disturbed the comfort of the Papuan people, resulting in mass mobilization and riots (Hanifah, 2019).

(4) @freewestpapua.australia: Skin colour is not reasonable suspicion. We need justice. Say no to racism, Papuan Lives Matter! (June 14, 2020)

In datum (3), @freewestpapua.australia explains his opinion to the public using a simple sentence model. He also uses two types of sentences based on their function; statement and invitation or command sentences. The first, the statement sentence, serves to state something, usually in the form of information or facts that are conveyed to the public. This can also be called a declarative sentence, where this sentence aims to provide information without asking for a reply or reciprocity from others. Referring to the process, the declarative mode involves the types of processes: actions, events and attributions (Fairclough, 1989). He gave a statement that the color of a person's skin should not matter since qualities or attitudes are not reflected through skin color. The next statement gives an implicit message that people with different skin color may get different justice. The sentence clearly conveys the points or message in

question without involving a party or perpetrator of racism. Such message is replaced with a request not to commit racism which is clearly seen through the existence of an affirmative article. In addition, the sentence does not reveal the perpetrator in a sentence.

- (5) @freewestpapua.nl: ‘We are living in a **warzone**’: violence flares in West Papua as villagers forced to flee. Violence has flared with journalists and activists targeted, an internet blackout, and villagers forced to flee into the jungle. #PapuanLivesMatter (May 11, 2021)

In datum (4), @freewestpapua.nl acts as a Papuan citizen illustrates Papuan’s place of as a warzone. His claim is in contrary with the fourth paragraph of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that Indonesia is a democratic country based on Pancasila which guarantees and protects human rights for every Indonesians. The word “warzone” with its negative meaning supports the tense of the situation. The situation described depicts the dissonance of Indonesia as a sovereign and independent country.

- (5) @detectivekoman: West Papua Daily. Papua will again enjoy **Indonesia’s media spotlight** as it was the 16th National Para Games (Peparnas) on November 2-15 following its great success in convening the 20th National Games (PON) in October 2-15. #beautifulpapuan #papuanlivesmatter (November 1, 2021)

- (6) @detectivekoman: Co-hosted by Jayapura city and the districts of Jayapura, Mimika, and Merauke in the midst of the **COVID-19 pandemic**, the multi-sport event was strategic for Indonesia and Papua Province. The event convincingly demonstrated to Indonesians and the international community that Papua is safe and secure, and, therefore, is ready to host large-scale events, Prabowo remarked. “These all **can** have happened due to the hard works of TNI, police, and various elements of society,” he said. #beautifulpapuan #papuanlivesmatter (November 1, 2021)

In datum (5), the phrase “Indonesia's media spotlight” gives hint that being in the spotlight of the national media is valuable for Papua as a location of two large national-scale events. It boosts Papuan’s popularity both nationally and internationally. Meanwhile, in the data (6) @detectivekoman uses complex sentences to show that the sentences are complete enough to be displayed since the dependent clause helps the independent clause in conveying information. Through paradoxical figure of speech, the writer mentions the opposite expression between dependent clause and independent clause. The author said that in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, multi-sport events were strategic for Indonesia and Papua Province. This explicitly shows the seriousness of the organizers in running a national event and their confidence in being able to provide the best even with the new protocol system. Using ability modal verbs ‘can’, this relational modality can be demonstrated as a genre which is a social “certain way of acting” (Fairclough, 2010, p.358).

While data (3) and (4) indicate problematic situation in Papua, data (5) & (6), as a counter discourse, implies the situation that is currently happening in Papua Province. By holding a big event, government demonstrates that Papua Province is safe, peaceful, and successful as the host of the national event organizer. It would be impossible if a warzone holds such big national events exposed nationally and internationally. In fact, the government's goal is also to show the international community by placing Papua Province as the location of the event in order to get media attention about the current situation that is far beyond the opposition’s claims. It implies that the government has also given

special rights or special autonomy to further advance Papuans (Marit & Warami, 2018). It also explains that the Papuan people have equal rights and there is no suspicion of racial differences.

(7) @forpeaceproject: After Papuan lives matter, what now? It has almost been 60 years since Papuans officially became part of the Republic of Indonesia, **yet** some people seem to not fully realize that they are also Indonesians. #papuanlivesmatter #papuaindonesia (October 1, 2020)

(8) @forpeaceproject: Seeing these cases, it is clear that racism in Indonesia has been embedded since childhood. Racism occurs because the majority wants to maintain their identity and power. This racist behavior continues to be applied by, consciously or not, to the next generation, like a vortex with no end. As youths, something we can do is to stop ourselves from doing it! Don't make any offensive jokes about ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations. Treat everyone equally regardless of their background. Additionally, use the media to form an antiracism movement. Let's fight against racism together! #PapuanLivesMatter #HumanRights #antiracism #Indonesia (September 21, 2020)

In datum (7), @forpeaceproject explains his question using a compound sentence with the conjunction "yet". It serves to connect two independent clauses. However, the second clause displays the opposite intention with the first clause. This description strategy gives a direct picture to the reader of a thought that the government has paid less attention to Papuans in more than half a century.

In datum (8), @forpeaceproject begins the statement by using the passive voice to emphasize the point in time of the incident. The sentence shows and highlights that racism has been carried out since childhood. Beginning with a statement about the vulnerable age of young readers as the target recipient of information, the author aims to convey what invitations or orders should be

done by young people. The author hopes that today's young people and those who read the post can respect others, use the media wisely to support the anti-racism movement, and avoid racism.

(9) @gabriellarebbeka: The Interest of **Papuan Teenagers** to Become a Candidate for **Indonesian Armed Forces** is Still High. The interest of **indigenous Papuan youth** to become Indonesian Army soldiers in Mimika Regency is quite high. Serda Rusdin Wali said that he had provided socialization to community leaders to encourage indigenous Papuan youth to register as candidates for army soldiers. Babinsa Koramil 1710-02/Timika Serda Rusdin explained that the Timika Koramil had registered teenagers to become Indonesian Army soldiers located in Timika. The young generation who were interested were finally registered at the Koramil 1710-02/Timika to prepare the necessary administrative documents. #PapuanLivesMatter #papuanofnkri #indonesia #usa (July 12, 2021)

In datum (9) @gabriellarebbeka, the use of the noun phrase 'Papuan teenagers' is attached to the Indonesian Armed Forces. It depicts the solidarity and nationality of the Papuan teenagers toward their mother land, Indonesia. Indirectly, this incident shows that young people still have a sense of concern and a sense of defending the country which does not hesitate to help the Indonesian National Army in protecting the community and carrying out their duties. In addition, the author mentions 'indigenous Papuan youth' to imply more specific meaning and showing differences.

(10) @wilnan_yabi: "Keep working and fighting by bringing the goodname of the family and Papua. Being smart is not enough if you don't have good characters. As a Papuan child, you must move forward, continue to compete with positive things and always pray." The Jayapura Police Chief, AKBP Victor Dean Mackbon, gave motivation to 9 best students from Papua, members of the Indonesian U-15 National Football Team, who will return to general education and soccer school in Bandung, West Java, after the 2020 Christmas holiday. Next generation has to be better than their

predecessor and this is the prove of great youth of Papuan
#papuanlivesmatter #papuamaju #papuahebat (January 30, 2021)

In datum (10), @wilnan_yubi begins the statement by using an imperative sentence. It tells the reader to do something. He pointed it out to the Papuan children to keep going, have good character, and try. Then, the author also uses a form of euphemism to make a comparison by using soft words such as 'predecessor'. Then a compound sentence is displayed, which connects and explains the context of the previous motivational expression. The author exposes the character who motivates the Papuan child by displaying his full identity.

In datum (7), the author begins the statement by using a rhetorical sentence. He asked the continuation of the defense of rights and stated that for 60 years Papua was part of Indonesia yet not acknowledged. However, datum (10), exposes that Papuan youth receive coaching and education about football in Bandung. Such fact counters the racism accusation done by the Indonesian government. By taking Papuans as national football players, Indonesia has acknowledged them as a part of the society. In addition, Papuans also sing the Indonesia Raya anthem before starting mass activities (Syuhudi, 2019). Through his explanation, singing the National Anthem of Indonesia Raya before starting religious activities has been done long ago. Not only religious activities, but also social organization activities. What they did was to instill national values, as well as to strengthen their love for the homeland (Syuhudi, 2019). This shows that, Papuans already have a value awareness of the meaning of Indonesia.

(11) @bilumandbilas: Our skin shouldn't define our worth.
#blacklivesmatter #papuanlivesmatter #indigenousslivesmatter (June 7, 2020)

In datum (11), a simple sentence form performed with the possessive pronoun 'our' implies that the sentence applies to all individuals in general. In this data, the author implicitly brings up the social judgments saying that skin color equals worth and encounter such judgments explicitly by negation “shouldn't”.

(12) @melanesianspotlight: Papuan students currently studying in Solo, Central Java: supporting government programs related to Special Autonomy for the progress of a peaceful and **prosperous** papua. #PapuanLivesMatter (May 31, 2021)

In the datum (12), 'prosperous' means a safe and secure conditions. It also implicitly gives hope to the government and other elements for the future of Papua. Datum (12) becomes the counter discourse of datum (11) because if Papuans are worthless, Indonesia will not give any special autonomy for a prosperous Papua. It shows that the Indonesian government has treated society fairly and equitably, not based on differences in the identity of every human being, in this case is skin color. Not to mention, datum (12), as a counter discourse also shows that not only Papuan is acknowledged by Indonesia but also Papuans itself gives their best contribution by supporting the Indonesian government's program.

(13) @freewestpapua.nl replied by @joycematita: How insane is this! These people become refugees on their own island Papua!! **Indonesian regime is insane...SICK!!!** (September 7, 2021)

In data (13), @joycematita statement begins with an exclamatory sentence to show his feelings of annoyance to the situation occurred using sarcasm figure

of speech. The expression of 'how insane' which attaches to 'Indonesian regime' implies that the Indonesian government does not do their best to their society, Papuans. By mentioning Papuans become a refugee in their own land, it implies that the government has given an unfair treatment to the society.

(14) @melanesianspotlight: Special autonomy for the welfare of the Papuan people. Papuan problems must be resolved with constructive dialogue. The revision of the Special Autonomy Law is a step to improve Papua's future. #papuanlivesmatter #like4like (May 26, 2021)

In data (14) @melanesianspotlight, the phrase 'constructive dialogue' implies the most appropriate solution in overcoming Papuan problems. Constructive itself means an approach that gives rights and opportunities by fostering and building mutual understanding. It uses a passive voice strategy which emphasizes the focus on 'constructive dialogue'. The author also explains that the revision of special autonomy is a good step towards the future of Papua. It implicitly explains that the government's role is certainly very important in overcoming problems and building the future of Papua. Such tweet is “a trace and cue of expressive value for the writer's evaluation of relating to that reality” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 112).

In data (13), users say that the Indonesian government is cruel and the Papuan people are refugees on their land. Meanwhile, the data (14), the author shows a different discourse in which the Indonesian government has tried to give rights equally with the existence of special autonomy. This is also an effort by the government in realizing the future of Papua. In addition, the government's efforts in advancing Papua can be seen from the current focus of

development. The efforts show the government's seriousness in building a better Papua. The governor or regional government of Papua is led by indigenous Papuans. Special treatment in granting rights or development such as special autonomy and scholarships has also been given by the government (Malak, 2012).

(15) @freewestpapuacampaign: Under #Indonesia's colonial rule, the people of #WestPapua are denied basic rights including freedom of speech, freedom of political choice, and freedom of expression. West Papua has become an **apathoid state** where racism and discrimination are rife. #PapuanLivesMatter (February 25, 2021)

In data (15), @freewestpapuacampaign begins with a complex sentence. The dependent clause describes the timing of a situation and is then completed with an independent clause after it. At the end of the independent sentence, the writer uses epistrophe figure of speech. It describes the repetition of words or phrases that have significant meaning and are intertwined. In addition, according to Fairclough (2010, p.95), discourse is "a language of use that is understood as a social practice". Then, the author presents a noun phrase 'apathoid state' which means a state or civil government that has a racial segregation system or racial policy. Apartheid is an example of a serious crime committed in society where it has a wide impact, great influence, and on a mass scale.

(16) @detectivekoman replied by @erhil0193: The best thing is that infrastructure development in Papua and West Papua aims to **reduce poverty**, lower the cost index, and support equitable distribution of infrastructure development. #indonesiatimur #beautifulpapuan #papuanlivesmatter (November 1, 2021)

In the data (16), @erhil0193 expressed his opinion that infrastructure development in Papua is a good thing. It uses a complex sentence model which aims to display complete information. The word 'poverty' is shown as the first supporting data where it is widely known that the eastern region is known as an underdeveloped area. Through a referential meaning, the use of the word indicates that the Papuans' inability to meet the minimum standard of basic needs includes food or other needs. Some of these problems the government is trying to overcome by building Trans Papua as a very meaningful first step. It is hoped that the program provided by the government is long-term in the future so that it can reduce poverty (Rahman, 2012). This shows each of three main types of processes namely the type of action, event, and attribution (Fairclough, 1989) which is dominated by the action process.

In data (15), the user states that the Papuan people do not get fair freedoms. This is inversely proportional to the data (16) which says that the best current situation is that infrastructure development in Papua aims to reduce poverty, lower the cost index, and support equitable. In addition, through data (14) it is also found that there is special autonomy to support the rights of the Papuan people. In the current situation, Papuans have been granted their democratic rights. In the Papua region, there is a Noken system used during general elections that has socio-cultural elements in a political system (Ronsumbre, 2019).

(17) @fri_westpapua: Papuan Lives Matter **No Peace No Justice** #PapuanLivesMatter (August 9, 2021)

In data (17), @fri_westpapua uses a noun phrase language strategy. Within this dimension, textual analysis is provided in the description (Fairclough, 2010). 'No Peace, No Justice' is meant to display absence or not having. So, it has an implicit message that if justice is not possessed then there is no peace.

(18) @detectivekoman: Regarding the convening of Papua's Para Games, Youth and Sports **Minister** Zainudin Amali has expressed confidence that the event would run in **secure and safe** manner. The Indonesian police, military, and State Intelligence Agency (BIN) have been making their utmost efforts to secure and safeguard the convening of the multisport event as they had successfully done during PON, he said. #beautifulpapuan #papuanlivesmatter (November 1, 2021)

In datum (18) @detectivekoman begins with a statement about the words of a Minister in the form of a complex sentence. The author displays the complete identity of the subject where the full name and occupation are displayed. He stated that the event would be safe and secure. The subject's statement implicitly believes that organizing a national event will not harm or endanger other people. The next sentence, several state security agencies are mentioned to support the statement in the first sentence. He said the security agency would try its best to maintain the smooth running of the national event. Through the three security agencies that have been mentioned, it explicitly shows how serious the minister is in carrying out national events

Datum (17) backlashes the datum (18). The Minister of Youth and Sports said that Papua had successfully held a major event which showed that peace and justice had been implemented. Considering the protocol, any national or international event will not be held if the location is not safe and secure. Though,

in other incidents there were also KKB (Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata) who took bad actions against medical personnel, workers, and residents themselves yet the government's commitment in public to make Papua safe and sound shows the best effort that the government is trying to create (Mubarok, 2022).

(19) @gdesastra: **We**'re not trying to start a **race** war. We're trying to end one. Messages need to **retell** and **retell** again until it works. #blacklivesmatter #papuanlivesmatter #auckland #newzealand (July 16, 2020)

In data (19), @gdesastra uses the pronoun 'We' to mean Papuans. Then, the account owner displays the noun phrase form. In a referential meaning, 'race' is an ethnic group or classification of a particular tribe based on certain characteristics. This gives an understanding that through these differences there is a problem that is serious enough to lead to hostility and even violence. Parallelism figure of speech is implemented by the author in rewriting the words in the sentence in order to provide an affirmative language. Finally, the repetition strategy is also used by the author as the repetition of the word 'retell' which is considered important to emphasize the context. Fairclough (1989) emphasizes that the preference to use 'we' as pronoun implies power relations and solidarity among the actors.

(20) @usaforfreewestpapua replied by @syasyamelinda: THIS CASE IS FINISHED! BOTH ALREADY PEACEFUL! And this Papuan policeman, Yakub Yakum, will still be punished and have been arrested! And if I hear from my friends in Nabire, this is **purely** a misunderstanding, the beginning of this case was because Nicolas Mote (the resident in the video) when asked about the validity of the DPT answered loudly. Moreover, there were reports of residents being drunk, so to prevent riots he was arrested, especially when the incident occurred during the re-voting, so for the common good he was secured. Don't let you say this is racism because both the

perpetrator and the victim are the same as the Papuans! (July 28, 2021)

In data (20), @syasyamelinda displays an exclamatory sentence form. This provides direct confirmation of where the initial statement is constructed. Then he explained the punishment that was obtained from the actor or perpetrator. Not to forget, he also clearly shows the actors and other characters involved where the perpetrator is a policeman named Yakub Yakum and a victim named Nicolas Mote. Furthermore, the author tries to illustrate the events that occurred through the information obtained in order to clearly show how the chronology of the problem is. The use of the word 'purely' explicitly shows that the problem occurs naturally or unintentionally, regardless the race and nationality. At the end of the statement, he writes an exclamatory sentence as a final form of affirmation or reminder aimed at the reader so as not to get misunderstanding or disinformation.

In datum (19), the user expressed his thoughts that he did not start a race war but ended it and it is important to recount the events that occurred. Meanwhile, datum (20), @syasyamelinda said that it is not good to post an issue that is not true. Based on datum (20), it is not easy to call any incident as a racist case, because it happens between individuals and among Papuans. How can a group of people consider racist treatment, when they hurt their own brother and other people who are there. Not a few of the medical personnel, midwives, or workers who are not carried out properly by the KKB.

(21) @usaforfreewestpapua: Who owns this **sacred land**? Rio tinto, there is blood on your hands. RioTinto are operating in the middle

of a **genocide** in occupied West Papua. #PapuanLivesMatter (February 4, 2021)

In datum (21), @usaforfreewestpapua begins by using an interrogative sentence which also uses an associative meaning. He described the land of Papua as a sacred land. Then, he uses litotes as a figure of speech that uses condescending expressions. The author mentions that there is blood on your hands, implicitly what is meant is a struggle which as a native Papuan and ancestral blood flows. He wrote the word 'genocide' which is a form of act that destroys or exterminates a racial, ethnic, or religious group. It is very clear that this is an attempt at constructing discourse towards the reader by providing inappropriate facts and using very cruel illustrations. Based on current facts, no genocidal treatment has been carried out against the people of West Papua Province. This is evidenced by the government's current focus on the development of Papua Province from several sectors (Hardiyanto & Saryono, 2023; Tenau, 2023; Balabuana, G. B., Sanito, R. C., & Alfons, A. B, 2023;) Leading this type of opinion is the topic that gets the most comments from social media. It is a play as victim strategy by framing a story where Indonesia is a party that is actually negative and its image does not uphold democracy and humanity (Pranata, Bainus, & Herdiansa, 2022).

(22) @papuansspeak: No one left behind! **Papuan women** must be fully, equally and effectively involved in every decision-making to end violence, uphold justice, build peace, and create a sense of sustainable security in Papua. #PapuanLivesMatter (September 24, 2021)

In the datum (22), @papuansspeak begins the statement by using an exclamatory sentence giving direct affirmation. Implicitly, the author warns that

do not underestimate or ignore the role of a woman. @papuansspeak mentions that actors use the phrase 'Papuan women' to highlight the form of differences in treatment that are obtained due to gender. He uses the word 'women' to give a general or broad perspective on all women. Then he uses coordinating conjunctions to connect two or more elements in providing additional explanations or explanations of behavioral rights that must be obtained. Using Fairclough (2012), the researcher found out how the word choice was used to represent equality as a female leader and what kind of representations and statements have been made. Fairclough (2003) explains that placing social actors as actors in a process means that the author seeks to emphasize social actors as people who do things and make things happen.

(23) @melanesianspotlight: The Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Ma'ruf Amin, **fully supports** the proud of **travelling movement** in Indonesia, especially in Raja Ampat, West Papua. To show the characteristics of Papuan culture, while still complying with health protocol standards. This movement is expected to support the acceleration of the recovery of the tourism sector in Papua. #PapuanLivesMatter #PapuanUpdate #indonesian (June 30, 2021)

In data (23), @melanesianspotlight uses complex sentences which provide clear information with the dependent clause that supports the independent clause. The first dependent clause describes the role or position of an actor. Fairclough (2003) explains that placing social actors as actors in a process means that the author seeks to emphasize social actors as people who do things and make things happen. It aims to provide additional information so that more target readers know the actor being talked about. Then the writer displays the phrase 'fully supports' to provide information to the reader that the actor fully

or absolutely supports the movement mentioned. The phrase 'traveling movement' means that with the advancement of current transportation modes, various new movement initiatives have emerged, such as the example of the traveling movement. Thus, vacation or travel is an activity that needs to be campaigned where it has become a tertiary need. Finally, the author mentions that the movement that is supported is expected to have a positive impact on the community which improves the economic sector of the Papuan people. Implicitly, this illustrates as one of the government's efforts to equalize the economy as well as concern for Papua.

(24) @melanesianspotlight: Papuan Community Leaders Support Regional Expansion. The government continues to strive to improve services to the Papuan people. One of these efforts was pursued through the strategy of expanding the Papua region in order to accelerate development and create people's welfare. In a meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs, the National Police and the TNI Commander, the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Mahfud MD confirmed that Papua would be divided into five regions based on Law 21 of 2001 on Papua's Special Autonomy. The aim focus on maximizing the welfare of the Papuan people, because Papua is an inseparable part of Indonesia. Regarding this discourse, Hans Mote as the Head of the MeePago Tribe in the Sentani area, Jayapura Regency **strongly agrees** and gives full support to the government for the expansion of a new autonomous region in Papua. #PapuanLivesMatter (June 30, 2021)

Datum (24) @melanesianspotlight shows that the form of a good relationship between the community and the government. Through the actions taken, it implicitly shows that the government pays attention and cares for the Papuan people. Then, in the next sentence, it explicitly shows that the decision-making process also involves many government figures. Then, the response from the local community is shown through the statement of the MeePago tribal

chief who explains that they agree and provide support to the government which is considered a pro-people decision. The phrase 'strongly agrees' represents that the community as a whole is very much in line with the government's actions. Fairclough (1995) suggests that the output-oriented aspect of media is ideological in shape.

(25) @shanetortilla: If you matter, they matter too. I want to use my platform to show where I stand. I want to amplify the voices of not only our **black** friends in America, **but also** our black brothers and sisters in Papua, Indonesia. The discrimination and brutality they faced everyday is beyond any mind's comprehension and it saddens me how most of the people know this fact and put on **a blind eye**. Systemic racism is implemented in our country and it's stopping the oppressed from raising their voices and stopping them from having a home Like ours. "Privilege is when you think something is not a problem because you aren't affected personally." I want my privileged friends in Indonesia to stop standing in silence and voice their opinions. Start educating yourselves on these matters and stop pretending these issues aren't real-racism is real, it's been rooted deeply in our nation for generations, and it's killing our brothers and sisters-and if you think that isn't a problem, you are one of the problems. Their pain matters, their rage matters, their lives matter, they matter. #blacklivesmatter #papuanlivesmatter #BLM #ACAB (June 1, 2020)

In datum (25), @shanetortilla states that parallelism is an affirmation in the form of repetition of words in a line or sentence. She uses conditional sentences where it begins with 'if', it signifies the existence of a condition or event as a condition for reaching a thing or agreement with a conditional sentence. Then she also applies the form of a compound sentence to connect the next statement. It uses the correlative conjunction 'but also' to connect dependent clauses which have the same syntactic status. There is a form of irony figure of speech used by the author to provide satire in 'know this fact and put on a blind eye'. The phrase 'a blind eye' has a negative connotative meaning. This is a form of

figurative meaning or not the actual word and is related to the value of taste or image.

As Fairclough (1989), suggests that there are two types of presuppositions: the modality indicative and the modality imperative type. Type of obligation (modulation) *positive outlook* proposal with the median value level attached to the capital appraisal. The vocabulary of “blind” if interpreted lexically means blind, but in this case the meaning shown is closing one's eyes. After conveying his opinion, she suggests the reader to use imperative sentences which aim to give warnings, instructions, or advice. This she displays in the form of a compound complex sentence. This provides information about his opinion completely and clearly which is supported by more than one dependent clause and an independent clause. In addition, she also uses a climax figure of speech which states that several things are sequentially increasing over time. Fairclough (2010) clarifies that a text is shaped by the nature of the discourse practice of text production.

2. Discursive Practice

After, analyzing the data textually, the discussion of #PapuanLivesMatter is extended to the discursive practice of the discourse. Discursive practice refers to the process of text production and process of interpretation. Several plausible assumptions provoking the author to create such text and the target text to interpret that way are narrated here.

The various forms of text created in #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse posts on Instagram are formed through various individuals or groups of social media users who have various backgrounds and their respective goals which create illustrations of different perspectives of readers. There are various motives that encourage them in producing such discourse. Their thoughts and feelings that are turbulent in themselves because of different points of view and ideas makes them use producing such text in creating discourse. In this paper, the difference of ideas and point of view have led the controversy of discourse regarding #PapuanLivesMatter. The controversy falls into the classification of those who support Indonesia as the prime land and nation of Papuan citizen and another group opposes and accuses Indonesia exerting racism action toward Papuan.

In this section, it is also necessary to know the explicit understanding of two things, namely the discursive practice of discourse and counter discourse from #PapuanLivesMatter. In general, the purpose of using #PapuanLivesMatter is to voice justice, equality, and also rights which are the roots of the idea of #BlackLivesMatter. This can also be seen from the research data discourses that have been taken. So that many posts on Instagram social media also have the same intention about using the hashtag #PapuanLivesMatter. This discourse is quite dangerous for readers or social media users because do not use actual facts that are currently happening, such as an example of using incorrect information on the word "genocide" in a post by @usaforfreewestpapua. This is worrying

because people in general only pay attention to explicit meanings (Sari, Radhiah, & Safriandi, 2021).

Then counter discourse, the discourse that is contained in the post explicitly uses a situation that is in accordance with the truth or a fact. It has the goal of providing actual information because it is very important to provide information supported by data or facts. Nazim & Mukherjee (2013) explain simply explicit knowledge as knowledge that has been systematically arranged in text, numbers or pictures. Apart from that, the characteristics of a user can also be known from a brief background, not as an anonymous account and posting counter discourse because they have the courage to present real facts. The presence of counter discourse posts is very important in social media because it also helps reduce the spread of false information. Based on the data that was collected, the Masyarakat Telematika (Mastel) Indonesia released the results of a survey which stated that in 2019, 34.60% of respondents received hoax news every day (Witro, 2020).

Before analysing the plausible discourse behind the text production and interpretation, it is better to look the incidents that makes #PapuanLivesmatter goes viral. On May 25th, 2020, police officers apprehended George Floyd at a Minneapolis intersection for suspected counterfeit bill use at a nearby grocery store (Ayers, 2023). It invites the humanity action throughout the world. In social media, Floyd tragedy is marked by #BlackLivesMatter. Later on, several parties relates the discourse of the incident to the Papuans cases happened in Surabaya on August, 17th 2019. In Surabaya, the case was started when

Indonesian flag was found in the gutter of Papuan boarding house. No one know who put the flag in the gutter yet people speculate that Papuans college students have disrespected Indonesian by letting the flag there. It provokes some Surabaya people to state a hate speech toward the Papuan college students and call them “monkey”. Such calling is regarded as a racism action. Floyd’s death in 2020 recalled this incident and starts the movement of #PapuanLivesMatter in social media.

Meanwhile, for the proposition group, supporters of Indonesian government, believed that those case are way different. Obby’s case in 2016 and Papuans case in Surabaya in 2019 are way different with Floyd cases. Floyd cases started by the allegation of Floyd using counterfeit money in a retail store. He was then knocked down by officers (Ayers, 2023). It is surely a form of violation in disciplining the society. Meanwhile, Obby cases started by the allegation of having secret meeting discussing the independence plan of Papua. It is considered as a serious action since Indonesia avoid the separation of Papua. Unity is fundamental for Indonesia. Diversity is what makes Indonesia solid.

Fairclough (2010) has confirmed that discourse has a potentially significant causal effect in the process of social construction. Thus, the cases of Obby and Papuans college students have been the causal effect of constructing social image of Indonesia and Papuan itself. Indonesian is seen as a racist country due to the negative perception made in the social media. This negative perception eliminates all Indonesian’s positive contribution toward Papua. The statement

made in social media is not in accordance with the actual situation. The government is trying to develop Papua and there are also groups who do not want good for their brothers. In this way, the vocabulary structure used to represent Papuans is based on ideology and aims to justify certain points of view.

The statement made in social media aims to lead the opinion of social media readers and create particular understanding in accordance with the propaganda. For the opposition group, the propaganda would be creating more supporter of Independence Papua. Thus, the ideology that is trying to create is how Indonesia fails in giving the sovereignty of the citizen, especially for Papuans. However, considering the fact on how Indonesian government support the development of Papua and make Papuans youth involved in prestigious events and political position (in armed forces or registered scholarship), the proposition group, supporting Indonesia, believes that the ideology of unity is still become the crucial aspect to hold for the Indonesian government.

Language and social context work together in various ways to create meaning (Fairclough, 2010). Mass communication is the technological and institutional-based production and distribution of the most widely shared continuous flow of messages in society (Gerbner, 1967). Mass communication is communication that occurs between a person to the general public that cannot be recognized one by one because the audience for mass communication is heterogeneous. In this paper, social media communication is regarded as mass media communication. Social media communication is generally done when

writing status or statements on social media. Although the goal is to be seen by other people, what is written is precisely about one's own feelings, which tend to show off one's own emotions to talk about one's own life. Freddy Numberi, a senior Papuan figure (Numberi, 2020), explained that social media is very beneficial and has an important role in shaping public opinion in the current era. By using the media that mass communication can be established smoothly because it has a wide scope of audience.

In mass communication that involves a large audience, many people will face the diversity because they have different ideology. As in this paper, the controversy of discourse occurs between the proposition, supporting the unification of Papua and Indonesia, and the opposition, supporting the separation of Papua and Indonesia. Both parties surely have different ideologies to hold. The proposition believes in Pancasila as their ideology. Specifically, the third article of Pancasila “Persatuan Indonesia”. Since Indonesia becomes independence, Indonesia never leave and traet Papua as stranger and non-Indonesian people. Therefore, though it’s very hard to make due to the bombarding virtual attack on Indonesia shouting for Papua’s separation, Indonesia never thought the idea of separation reflects their principal ideology.

Despite the different ideologies, intelligence and terrorism observer, Harits Abu Ulya, said that there were indications of foreign intervention in the issue of Papua using propaganda to Indonesia (Republika, 2019). In his view, he saw the actions of foreigners who also made opinions on the Papua issue. Numberi (2020) explains that the value of this propaganda has two sides. It can be

positive in its journey, but if it is not right it will be fatal for people who want to convey propaganda through social media. Propaganda is a technique of influencing human activity by manipulating their representations (Lasswell, 1927).

Propaganda is done by deliberately inviting and persuading others to accept a view or value. Fairclough (1989) explains that words have the value of the experience of manifesting ideological differences between texts in their representation of a problem. Etymologically, propaganda means information (understanding, opinion, etc.) that is right or wrong with the aim of convincing people to adopt a certain school of understanding, attitude, or direction of action. The Grolier International Dictionary in the book *Propaganda in International Communication* (2022) states that propaganda is the systematic dissemination of certain doctrines or fabricated statements that reflect a school, thought, view, or interest.

The point of concern in Fairclough's analysis of discourse practice is how text is produced and consumed. A discourse practice will determine a text is formed or produced (Eriyanto, 2001). Because the text is constructed in the form of a systematic discourse, it forms the framework of the text as it is presented in the analysis process. Thus, power or other elements can be internalized in discourse and vice versa (Fairclough, 2010).

Fairclough (1993) emphasizes that the analysis focuses on the integration between linguistics, social thought, and politics, which are generally associated

with social change and power struggles. To carry out all forms of practice, Fairclough (2010) clarifies that a text is shaped by the nature of the discourse practice of text production. Since the text is produced in a particular discourse practice, it constructs the text as it is depicted and the interpretation of the text will be determined through the nature of the discourse practice as well. This can be seen clearly from the process carried out previously, where the form of integration of linguistics, social thought, and politics is a form of coherent relationship. It is shown from the two types of netizens found on #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse articulating two discourses that differ in their interpretation, which displays the author's position and the form of government diplomacy. On the one hand, actors who share the same idea believe in the Pancasila ideology as the nation's people to support the equality and integrity of Indonesia. Having a contradictory nature, the other side of the author who is also included in #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse displays a negative image and blames the perpetrators without filtering the information obtained for the accuracy of the data. Displaying a negative image or leading the opinions of readers, it is very important to be careful because not all netizens filter the information obtained for the accuracy of the information. Then, the form of discursive practice is derived from the sociocultural practice.

3. Sociocultural Practice

Sociocultural practice is where discourse and text practices are embedded (Fairclough, 2010). There are many factors related to the socio-cultural practice itself. Social, cultural, and political contexts that are related can influence the practice of discourse on the production, consumption, and interpretation of a text. Sociocultural practice analyzes the political (particularly with regard to issues of power and ideology) and culture (particularly with regard to values and identity) which also influence media institutions and discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Issues about Papua are one of the factors why the #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram has an ideology of anti-racism and emerged as a place of debate and a place for various public aspirations. Of course, behind that, a long history involving socio-cultural aspects is important to understand the issue. Not to mention, a long explanation is needed that involves various aspects such as socio-cultural which play an important role in understanding the issue.

Socio-culturally, West Papua within the cultural framework of the Indonesian nation is a national unity with the Papua province. These two provinces are known regionally as Indonesian in contrast to Papua New Guinea (PNG). Philosophically, in recognition of the local people, these two provinces are collectively referred to as Tanah Papua through pledges and commitments such as, "two for one and one for two" (Deda & Mofu, 2014). Two for one - one for two, meaning one Papuan Special Autonomy Law for two provinces, namely Papua Province and West Papua Province, two provinces for one development, namely Tanah Papua (Deda & Mofu, 2014). Historically, the culture and

civilization of the indigenous Papuans who inhabited the territory of West Papua Province and Papua Province had the same past experience within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The former colonization by the Dutch, in fact Papua Province has from the beginning been part of the independence of Indonesia. (Mardiani, Anisah, Hasibuan, & Fadilah, 2021). It looks at how the placement and function of discourse in social relations, especially in dominant forces and ideologies (Fairclough, 1995). The similarity of past experiences is why the implementation of Special Autonomy (OTSUS) is given by the central government and applies absolutely to the two provinces, both Papua Province and West Papua Province. In historical terms, special autonomy in Papua Province was granted based on the history of the Papuan people during the struggle for the Indonesian people to achieve independence on August 17, 1945 (Mardiani, Anisah, Hasibuan, & Fadilah, 2021).

West Irian or Papua is an Indonesian province located at the western tip of Indonesia. The establishment of Papua Province began with the Round Table Conference (Konferensi Meja Bundar-KMB) which was held on December 27, 1949. Through the KMB, the Netherlands was willing to give full sovereignty to Indonesia. However, Indonesia and the Netherlands are in conflict. These two countries still feel entitled to the land of Papua Province or West Irian. Because the Dutch still wanted the western part of Papua to be formed as their own country, they finally brought this issue to the United Nations (UN) forum in 1962. This suggests that politics is most important about making choices about how to act in response to goals and circumstances, such as choosing policies

(Fairclough, 2012). In the end, the Dutch were willing to discuss again with Indonesia, which later formed the New York agreement in 1962. Through this agreement, the Netherlands is willing to hand over its control over Papua or West Irian to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) (Novitasari, 2020). However, the Netherlands requires that Indonesia conduct a People's Opinion Determination (Pepera). It views politics as reaching decisions about what to do in the context of disputes, conflicts of interest and values, power inequalities, uncertainty, and risk (Fairclough, 2012). Thus, power can be internalized in discourse and vice versa (Fairclough, 2010).

The Pepera results show that western Papua chose to remain part of Indonesia. On October 1, 1962, the Netherlands handed over the administrative authority of Papua to UNTEA. Finally, on December 31, 1962, Indonesia's de jure rule over the land of Papua Province began, under UN supervision (Novitasari, 2020). The Dutch flag was also replaced with the flag of the Saka Merah Putih. On May 1, 1963, Papua Province was fully declared lawful to join to Indonesia (Novitasari, 2020). The position of West Papua Province became more certain after the act of free choice referendum or Act of Free Choice was held in 1969. The results of the Act of Free Choice proved that as many as 1,025 people of Papua Province or West Irian Province chose to remain part of Indonesia (Simamora & Budiharja, 2021). Then, the results of the Act of Free Choice were brought to the UN General Assembly. On December 19, 1969, the United Nations General Assembly accepted and approved the results of the Act of Free Choice. According to Fairclough (1989), a word has various meanings

with the same core to believe in the interests of the majority in a society that stands under social control. Fairclough (1993) emphasizes that the analysis focuses on the integration between linguistics, social thought, and politics, which are generally associated with social change and power struggles.

According to Professor Van Vollenhoven, the customary law community in the archipelago can be divided into 19 customary law circles, and one of them is the Papuan customary law circle, which includes the provinces of Papua and West Papua. According to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 21 of 2001 concerning Papua Special Autonomy (hereinafter referred to as the Papua Special Autonomy Law) Chapter 1, Article 1 it is stated that the Customary Law Community is the indigenous Papuan people who since their birth have lived in a certain area and are bound and subject to certain customary law with a high sense of solidarity among its members. The place and role of discourse in society and culture are historical variables (Fairclough, 2010).

The customary law communities above the Land of Papua are divided into seven (7) customary cultural areas, namely Region I called the Tabi or Mamta cultural customary area which includes the tribes that inhabit the Mamberamo river plain to the Tami River, Region II is called the Saireri cultural customary area, namely the – the tribes that inhabit the Saireri Bay area, Region III is called the Doberay cultural area, which includes the tribes that inhabit the bird's head area, Region IV is called the Bomberai cultural customary area which includes the tribes that inhabit the Bintuni Bay area to Mimika, Territory V is called the Ha - Anim cultural area, namely the area of the tribes that inhabit the area

between Asmat to Kondo (Merauke), Region VI is the La Pago cultural customary area which includes the tribes that inhabit the eastern Central mountainous area, and Region VII is Me Pago cultural customary area which includes the tribes who inhabit the western central mountainous area (Reumi, 2018).

The transformation of cultural change occurs as a process of implementing new habits or traditions that are not in accordance with what was previously believed. West Papua Province, which is the traditional territory of the Doberay and Bomberai cultures, has undergone a transformation. This cultural transformation occurred continuously starting from the time of the presence of the Dutch in 1828, Indonesia through the 1969 People's Opinion (Pepera) until the enactment of the 2001 Papua Special Autonomy Law. This transformation was general for Papua Province and West Papua Province. Certain social circumstances contribute to the emergence and change of discourse over time (Fairclough, 2010). Several case studies that can be described show that the degradation of the original values of Papuan cultural authenticity occurs as a result of the intervention of outside cultural power and this degradation is possible due to the weak control of local people's power over these interventions.

Aristotle in Chilton (2004, p. 5) and Fairclough (2012, p. 19) also says that human 'speech' is different and distinguishes 'speech' from 'sound'. It views politics as reaching decisions about what to do in the context of disputes, conflicts of interest and values, power inequalities, uncertainty, and risk

(Fairclough, 2012). Fairclough (2010) has confirmed that discourse has a potentially significant causal effect in the process of social construction. This moment also makes #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse more widely echoed and new aspirations emerge. At the moment of widespread Papuan anti-racism from some western netizen's protests, most observers viewed the demands for independence from other elements become a parasitic place to declare an independence or other interests as hardened because in the end racial distinctions were cruelly articulated. In this conflict that is still happening today, the Indonesian government continues to express its support for the future development of Papua Province (Tenau, 2023).

The ideology of anti-racism in the hashtag PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse cannot be separated from the form of western netizen that does not uphold and do not know about the value of the ideology of Pancasila and the lack of awareness in using social media wisely and lack of information what Indonesia has done to improve Papuan live. Fairclough (2003) explains that discourse can be shaped by social practice spaces in society to influence people's attitudes and behavior. In fact, Pancasila ideology can be formed from a deliberation process from and for various groups of people. In principle, there are three main meanings of the word ideology, namely (1) ideology as false consciousness; (2) ideology in a neutral sense; and (3) ideology in the sense of unscientific beliefs (Suseno, 1992). Fairclough (2010, p.257) defines ideology as "a system of ideas, values,

and beliefs oriented towards explaining a particular political order, legitimizing existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities”.

Ideology in the first sense, namely as a false consciousness is usually used by philosophers and social scientists (Malik, 2020). Ideologies are theories that are not oriented to the truth, but to the interests of those who propagate them. Ideology is also seen as a means of a certain ruling class or social group to legitimize its power.

The second meaning is ideology in a neutral sense (Pramono, 2018). In this case, ideology is the whole system of thinking, values, and basic attitudes of a particular social or cultural group. This second meaning is mainly found in countries that consider the existence of a "state ideology" important. Called in a neutral sense because good or bad depends on the content of the ideology.

The third meaning, ideology as an unscientific belief, is usually used in positivistic philosophy and social sciences (Malik, 2020). All thoughts that cannot be proven logically-mathematically or empirically are an ideology. All ethical and moral issues, normative assumptions, and metaphysical thoughts fall within the realm of ideology.

Pancasila as an open ideology is to open up space to form community agreements on how to achieve these ideals and basic values (Pramono, 2018). Ideology for a country is very important. This is because the ideology adopted is believed to bring the nation-state towards prosperity and justice (Kassab, 2016: 2-9). Ideology in a neutral sense is found in the ideology of the state or

the ideology of the nation. This is certainly an advantage of critical discourse analysis in reviewing ideologies related to social practice and the difference lies in ideological positioning and analysis (Fairclough, 1995). Moreover, such actions and decisions are based on practical argumentation (Fairclough, 2012).

Other sociocultural practices are also described from textual practices. There is a representation of Papua Province in datum 21 by @usaforfreewestpapua: "Who owns this sacred land?" (4 February 2021). The word sacred is an adjective form of respect. It really means "sacred". Fairclough (2012) states that CDA brings the tradition of social critical analysis into language studies. The word sacred carries the meaning of "purity", the quality or state of being pure (Merriam-Webster, 2021). It is also an important technical term in the scholarly study and interpretation of religions (Britannica, 2021). According to Fairclough (2003), social analysis and research must always consider language, because dialectically it is interconnected with other elements in social life.

Therefore, the mention of the word sacred in the context of Papuan LivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse on Instagram shows that the power or side of religious values and positions and influences on reader recognition. However, this statement is not correct where in fact the land has always been inhabited by Papuan Province. Currently, the government has provided acceleration of development and equity. In fact, many Papuan Province youths are given scholarships to support education in other

places and become the hope of the nation and benefit their surroundings (Islami, 2019).

B. Discussion

This study tries to describe the representation of anti-racism that portrayed in #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse on Instagram by analyzing textual, discourse, and sociocultural practices. The findings above show that there are social, political, cultural, and ideological concerns in the representation of the PapuanLivesMatter hashtag by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse. Next, the similarities and differences between this study and previous studies will be examined.

Through the findings section, there are many posts stating that Papuans need more attention and justice but it was not relevant and didn't show a real situation. This was expressed by various western netizens or users of the Instagram application. Through textual practice, various forms of Instagram users are obtained, both Indonesians and foreigners from Indonesia, displaying various posts. The use of word choice and sentence structure is very useful in displaying various meanings, forms of modalization use, placement of actors, construction of the reader's point of view, and others. It is done through various expressions as well as the displayed data. Language and social context work together in various ways to create meaning (Fairclough, 2010). However, there are many data that do not match the current reality. As in the data (22),

@papuansspeak mentions that actors use the phrase 'Papuan women' to highlight the form of differences in treatment that are obtained due to gender. This post is not in accordance with current conditions, where the Indonesian government provides equal rights and also implements gender equality for Indonesian citizens, especially Papuans. Based on the facts, there is a Papuan woman named Yohana Yembise who is a minister for the Indonesian state (Chaniago, Hasril, & Syafruddin, 2017).

The discursive practice analysis has revealed that the controversy of racism discourse happened under the #PapuanLivesMatter is influenced by racism case occurred outside Indonesia. Floyd at a Minneapolis intersection case invited the movement of #PapuanLivesMatter on social media (Ayers, 2023). The opposition believes that both cases are similar. It depicts how the minority gets injustice treatment from the national armed forces. However, the proposition believes that both cases are different. It can be seen from the causes creating the act scene. Floyd cases is literally mistreatment action because the police caught and knocked him down to death without verifying the main issue. Meanwhile, cases of Papuan college protest is caused by the finding of Indonesian flag on the ground of the boarding house. Though, up to today, the doer of the throwing flag remains unknown yet it invites the tension. This is because Indonesian flag is considered as high protected property reflecting the nationality. The tension happened is not merely because of the racial differences but because throwing national flag in the gutter is seen as a form of disrespect. Therefore, even if the boarding house was not filled by Papuans but other different racial people, the

form of disrespect would still invite the tension with other people in the neighborhood.

Meanwhile, in the sociocultural practice, it is important to look for the historical background between Indonesia and Papua Province. Historically, the Papuan conflict began in 1961. It was because of the Dutch desire to form a West Papuan Province state independent of Indonesia. President Soekarno opposed the Dutch move by getting closer to Uni Soviet. The attitude and steps of President Soekarno's efforts frightened the Netherlands and the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy. So, in short, the results of the United Nations and Pepera show that Papua Province is fully part of the Indonesian state. This effort was made because President Sukarno considered Papua Province to be part of the Indonesian body. As Sukarno states “Would someone allow one of his limbs to be amputated without putting up a fight? Would a person not be coveted, if his fingertips were cut off?” (Adams, 2014). President Soekarno meant that Indonesia should get independent including in it Papua Province. Then, during the next President's administration, the Indonesian government also received various forms of equalization and fair efforts (Muhsidin, 2021).

In the era of President Soeharto, the growing transmigration program can still be felt today. During the administration of President KH Abdurahman Wahid, he implemented government policies that prioritized a cultural approach or the value of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* to emphasize people's freedom in social and religious life. Then, President Megawati gave a special autonomy policy

where it was a form of special authority that was recognized and given to the Papuan people for prosperity and progress. This special authority covers all fields, such as infrastructure, education, health, and others. In the field of education, scholarships are provided such as superior scholarships, special affirmation scholarships for Papua, LPDP, and others (Asemki & Idami, 2021). Provincial and district/city governments are determined to implement several scholarship program policies through Governor Regulation no. 2 of 2013 (Asemki & Idami, 2021). President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono formed a unit to accelerate the development of the Papua Province. It is an institution that aims to support coordination, facilities, and implementation of regional development acceleration. During the administration of President Jokowi, efforts to implement regional development were carried out massively. President Joko Widodo is able to equalize the disparity in the price of goods through the one-price fuel policy (Erlando, 2018). This policy was appreciated and recognized by the Governor of Papua, Lukas Enembe, as one of President Jokowi's steps that greatly impacted the Papuan people (Bano, 2019).

Furthermore, institutionally the discourse on #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse is related to how the state and citizenship are regulated, which includes people's rights. Of course, #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view is not in accordance with the current situation, the Indonesian state has established regulations to prevent racism and seeks to eliminate discriminatory treatment through Law no. 40 of 2008 (Rahmadhanty, Achmad, & Nashriana, 2019). In

addition, the important thing from this research is to help provide explanations to the public about various discourses and criticize propaganda on the topics taken. The variety of social media users, especially Instagram, there are posts that do not display the actual reality due to posts submitted by people outside Indonesia and become they are anggered by invisible west. Kurnia's research (2018), the presence of anonymous accounts only presents wild propaganda. As in the word 'warzone' in data (4) written by @freeewestpapua.nl, it is wrong, through the historical context the purpose of the discourse is shown, it shows a counter to the real reality where the government's efforts to equalize rights and justice are carried out on other data. In addition, the use of the word illustrates that Indonesia remembers that it is a country with the ideology of Pancasila and upholds the ideology of the state.

Third, the word 'sacred' in data (21) in the #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse also has social implications because it has sacred values and is related to ancestral values. Socially, the people of Indonesia have no difference with the people of Papua because it is part of Indonesia. That's because as a society that lives in nationality and unity. Through cultural values, the community upholds the value of anti-racism and coexists in the values of the Pancasila ideology (Septian, 2020). Culturally, it is known that Papua upholds cultural values as shown in the sociocultural practice section. These three components are the historical aspect, the institutional aspect, and the social aspect Discourse must be seen simultaneously as (1) language texts, (2) discursive practice, (3) sociocultural

practice, that determine the form and meaning of a text discourse (Fairclough, 1995).

Many studies on the province of Papua have been carried out before which discussed regional development, news representation, and phenomena on social media (Sofilda, 2019; Panjaitan & Jannah, 2022; Prihartono & Suharyo, 2022). This is something that is interesting to study considering the implementation of a critical perspective that seeks to show a relationship or hidden thing (Fairclough, 1992a). In addition, from a critical perspective, it also analyzes other aspects outside the textual context, such as discursive and sociocultural practices (Fairclough, 1995). Previous research also has idiosyncrasy which discusses how collective identity relations are formed by social media users in the case of intersectional movements (Panjaitan & Janah, 2022).

Furthermore, there is also research that takes local and national news media as research objects. This research was also taken as an effort to raise public awareness that news presented by a media is not always neutral, so that people are expected to be more objective, selective, and critical in understanding news (Fauziyah, 2021). This is a review in analyzing things such as alignments, exclusion and inclusion strategies, news construction, and others. The word choices, types of semantic meaning, and lexicalization were obtained as a strategy in constructing the #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse representation in detail to display the implicit form of rational text form in the practice of discursive text, to present

the arguments of each netizen, and to provide opposite expressions. This form of language use, such as figure of speech, aims to reveal and describe ideas in political discourse that have been generated in the text (Sari, 2016; Fauziyah, 2021; Dalimunthe, Irawanto, & Budiawan, 2020).

This research has the same background as the issues discussed by Panjaitan and Janah (2022). Topics on #PapuanLivesMatter that discuss awareness or discrimination against black groups. However, researchers use different platforms and theories, namely Twitter and Martin and White's appraisal theory. It aims to identify how tweets enforce collective identity relationships by looking at implicit and explicit evaluations of texts based on their classification. This research also has differences because there are not many or less balanced in using counter data. In addition, the weakness in this research is that the analysis process is limited to linguistic aspects without considering the sociocultural aspects behind a post. This makes the investigation limited and cannot be resolved in detail. Even though the platforms used are different, this study also supports Panjaitan and Janah's statement that it is important for readers to have sufficient information about an incident referred to by social media writers.

The research conducted by Prihartono and Suharyo (2015) obtained different research results because they took arguments from 2 Indonesian citizens. In contrast to this research which analyzes the discourse of foreigners and the original discourse of Indonesian society. This journal, sourced from Youtube, only takes a number of arguments or discourses as material for its

analysis. There is an analytical explanation that takes the argument of describing a fictional film as an event that happened. This is not appropriate because it does not consider aspects of historical facts about Indonesia's efforts to maintain the integrity of the country after independence. Until now, the Indonesian government has improved economic equality, infrastructure, and others. With current issues, the urgency to convey to the general public about the impact of special autonomy on the Papua region and its division efforts is important considering the positive impact it has had (Pratomo, 2021).

This finding also responds to research conducted by Sofilda (2019) which stated that the provision of allocations for infrastructure did not have a significant impact on the people of Papua. Based on data (23) and (24), it is known that the government fully supports economic growth, tourism programs, and national events that can be achieved through adequate infrastructure. Several counter discourses in this study also answered that now the community has begun to feel the benefits and impacts of the development strategy carried out by the government. This has also become a counter discourse to western netizens who say that Papua is not given justice and development. Such as regional expansion which is not widely exposed, it is seen by many people outside Papua who have not been well informed so that many negative impacts appear rather than positive (Pratomo, 2021). On the positive side, there is economic development and improvement for Papua in general. This is also supported by research facts from Iha (2017), many Papuans feel an increase in

education, infrastructure, and also health. Many Papuan youths who study outside Papua or abroad also receive educational assistance.

Through meso-structural dimension analysis, this research forms the external factors of the text which consist of the ideology of the text, politics and the background of netizens, which are generated in both actors in discursive practice representing social actors or other netizens. Global opinions expressed by some westerns netizens, do not take into account the actual situation and only continue the statements that have been made. This has a substantial impact on the construction of the text as well as the theoretical views of readers who have an ideological identity. The construction of meaning to reality through language, both meaning about the world, social reality, and social identity, is ideological because it pretends to build a relationship in society (Alviniyanti, 2019).

This is described as netizens on Instagram social media represented by @shanetortilla and @chrismonapoure who have different backgrounds. They participate #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse on Instagram as a social movement (action of resistance) and a place where various forms of ideas are poured on social media. In addition, the intertextuality and ideology of each netizen on social media not only creates a rhetorical idea, but can also trigger the emergence of new discourses which of course reflect different power relations or politics. This is also dangerous where if a post appears that only highlights without checking

the concrete data. Certain social circumstances contribute to the emergence and change of discourse over time (Fairclough, 2010).

Language is not neutral, but biased and in favor of certain ideologies and powers (Kareem & Rijia, 2023). In addition, external factors have a considerable influence on the delivery of information where there is a constructed discourse reality (Rosyada, 2019). The representation of the identity of the PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse hashtag is dominated by the position as the perspective of some Papuan people who is displayed from partisanship or propaganda. It might be seen as @shanetortilla's effort to convey concern and implementation of the state's ideological values as evidence showing awareness to readers and ways to equalize human rights. Meanwhile, @chrismonapoure takes advantage of social issues that occur in his profession and shows more interest as a concern for the Melanesian race by conveying the latest information to lead his readers in maintaining the stability of the issues that occur.

The data from @shanetortilla mostly aspires to efforts to equalize human rights and justice in the state through the PapuanLivesMatter framework by prioritizing the concept of 'matter' equality. Fairclough (2012) states that CDA brings the tradition of social critical analysis into language studies. This action is one of his manifestations in criticizing the social problems that occur around her. This finding does not support that of Alvinianti (2019) who revealed that people in the United States associate black (skin color). This is usually a matter of personal interest. This is clearly different where Indonesian

people practice the value of diversity. This shows that dehumanization of people with different skin colors from receiving special treatment or animalistic stereotypes that promote racial bias and violence is no longer happening.

Then, the current research is also in accordance with Anwar (2018), he said that there are individual netizens, but there are also many netizens who create groups and act on behalf of group interests and even certain ideologies. Fairclough (1995) suggests that the output-oriented aspect of media is ideological in shape. The two social media netizens examined have the ideological views with different backgrounds of discursive practices and contribute to producing diverse representations of issues. @chrismonapoure shows a positive representation of the Indonesian government and the Papuan people as a form of service and their affiliation. She also did well where she saw the current situation for real and provided the source of the post. The ideological and social differences between social actors from the media can be identified from the internal texts used in the discourse features (Rosyada, 2019).

For Indonesia, the KKB (kelompok kriminal bersenjata) is an enemy of the state which threatens the safety and attempts of rebellion by using illegal weapons that's because they attack local residents, medical personnel, teaching staff, and others. The Papuan Armed Group carried out dangerous actions which attacked teaching and health workers in the name of the demand for independence (Mangku, 2022). On the other hand, @chrismonapoure displays a form of peace and concern for the future of Papua. This finding is different from Anwar's (2018) research which states that there is no speculation that

followers or readers of tweets can judge and direct their opinions on an issue. This finding is in accordance with research by Dewanti (2022) explaining that hoax information or content is massively spread on the internet. Based on the facts, there are still many posts that contain hate speech and give a bad image to readers which have a direct impact and are free to spread. This clearly shows that the language and social context of a post has a fairly serious impact, considering that the freedom to use the platform can be exploited by some people. Language and social context work together in various ways to create meaning (Fairclough, 2010).

On the other hand, Indonesia has a state ideology known as Pancasila. Through ideological precepts, Indonesia clearly applies equality and rejects forms of racism or inequality. In line with research conducted by Rosyada (2019), using social ideology, namely the identity of actors in forming good norms, in this era of globalization, people live side by side with multicultural social situations such as Indonesia, unable to avoid global interactions and control of various forms of media. There are many possibilities that most of the media produce varied discourse due to the influence of various internal factors (linguistic features) and external (history, culture, society, and ideology, etc.). Therefore, there is a need for an understanding of Pancasila justice in order to provide a common perception of justice which will be the basis for the formation of good law and prevent wild understanding from various sources given the freedom of social media. From the reader's point of view, #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter

discourse posts on Instagram are interpreted according to their own ideology and background interests.

The representation of #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizens and its counter-discourse as an anti-racism ideological movement that puts forward human values as a political effort that uses the interpretation of Pancasila to defame Indonesia. Of course, there is the possibility of a contextual shift in the representation where other people also use #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view as a form of division, hooking up other issues, and as a tool for personal interests. Through online, individuals or institutions have a greater possibility to take control of society in the process of forming discourse (Rosyada, 2019).

The sociocultural dimension analyzes the political (particularly with regard to issues of power and ideology) and culture (particularly with regard to values and identity) which also influence media institutions and discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Noken is an intangible cultural heritage in the life traditions of the Papuan people and becomes an inseparable part of everyday life, and in a long enough time span to be re-conserved. According to Marit & Warami (2015, 2018) mentioning that the intangible cultural heritage of the noken community has made Papuans construct symbols that contain philosophical meanings which consist of: (1) relationship symbols, (2) family symbols, (3) identity symbols, (4) a symbol of protection, (5) a symbol of economy, (6) a symbol of life, (7) a symbol of aesthetics, and (8) a symbol of spontaneity, honesty, openness, and transparency. Through these cultural values, the Papuan

people are formed and have a unified view of a group culture. This can be seen when other disasters occur, helping each other, the Indonesian government gives confidence to the world that the Papuan people get equal treatment, regional development, and also as a form of unity in the Pancasila ideology.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGESSTION

This chapter presents the conclusion of the research based on the findings and several suggestions to the readers, specifically for further researchers that will study similar topic, theoretical framework or analyze a problem related to this research.

A. Conclusion

In this section, the researcher explains the research results from the analysis and discussion process that has been described in the previous chapter. It displays the dimensions of text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. For findings regarding textual analysis, #PapuanLivesMatter's by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse textual representation is clearly and complexly described. Many discourses of foreigners are not based on actual facts.

Word choice and sentence structure are highly helpful in expressing different meanings, modalization usage, actor placement, reader point of view building, and other things. In this analysis section, it is known which posts contain hoaxes or information that is not reliable. It is accomplished using a variety of expressions and the displayed word construction attempts. For example the data (22), @papuansspeak notes that actors frequently refer to "Papuan women" to emphasize the ways in which they are treated differently as a result of their gender. The Indonesian government now guarantees equal rights

and promotes gender equality for its population, particularly Papuans, therefore this message is out of step with the times. The word "sacred" in data (21) in the #PapuanLivesMatter has social implications because it has sacred values and is related to ancestral values. Socially, the people of Papua Province have no difference with all province because it is part of Indonesia. That's because as a society that lives in nationality and unity. Culturally, it is known that Papua upholds cultural values as shown in the sociocultural practice section.

The various texts produced #PapuanLivesMatter by some western netizen's point of view and its counter discourse posts are composed of different people or groups of people who use social media and have different backgrounds and objectives, which illustrate various reader perspectives. They are motivated by a variety of factors to create such discourse. Because they have diverse ideologies, many people will encounter variety in mass communication that involves a big audience. Due to the inaccurate perception created in the social media by some western netizens, Indonesia is viewed as a racist nation. All of the beneficial contributions made by Indonesians to Papua are wiped out by this unfavorable view. The social media post does not accurately reflect the circumstances. The government is attempting to develop Papua Province, but some factions do not want what is best for their brothers. In this approach, the word structure employed to describe Papuans is influenced by ideology and serves to support particular viewpoints.

Other sociocultural practices are also described from textual practices. There is a representation of Papua in datum 21 by @usaforfreewestpapua: “Who owns this sacred land?” (4 February 2021). In this manner, the mention of the word sacred within the setting of #PapuanLivesMatter by a few western netizen’s point of view and its counter discourse on Instagram appears that the control or side of religious values, positions, and influences on peruser recognition. However, this explanation is not adjust where in reality because Papuans have always lived on the land. As of now, the government has been attempted to give speeding up of improvement and equity. In reality, numerous young people are given grants to support education in other places and become the hope of the nation and advantage their surroundings.

One of the reasons the hashtag #PapuanLivesMatter on Instagram has an anti-racist ideology by western netizens that become a forum for discussion and the expression of many different public objectives is because of issues related to Papua Province. Of course, to fully comprehend the problem, a lengthy history involving sociocultural factors is necessary. The indigenous Papuans who lived in West Papua Province and Papua Province historically shared the same culture and civilization inside the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Because of the similarities in prior experiences, the central government has decided to implement Special Autonomy (OTSUS), which is provided to both Papua and West Papua in full. Historically, Papua was given particular autonomy based on the Papuan people’s history during the fight for Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945. The westernmost

province of Indonesia is known as West Irian or Papua. The Round Table Conference (Konferensi Meja Bundar, or KMB), which took place on December 27, 1949, marked the official start of Papua Province. Through the KMB, the Netherlands was willing to give full sovereignty to Indonesia.

B. Suggestion

From this research, the researcher hopes that readers can understand how the phenomenon of social media discourse practices uses the critical discourse analysis approach of Norman Fairclough because a discourse structure has a fairly complex explanation and the factors behind its formation. This can unconsciously directly affect the reader because the discourse presented is constructed in a structured manner. To find out more accurate about the development of the #PapuanLivesMatter issue by using more reliable data, researchers suggest updating the latest posts, using a combination of other social media, and also other theoretical approaches. Apart from that, the actors behind an argument also vary, not only native people but also social media users abroad. This is also a form of concern for other readers who are vulnerable to receiving wild information. Apart from those, this thesis cannot be mentioned as the perfect research. For this reason, the other researchers can fill the gap. They can also use this as a reference for their study or thesis.

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CURRICULUM VITAE



Ahmad Zahid Taqwa was born in Pasuruan on August 03, 1999. He graduated from SMKN 1 Pasuruan in 2017. He started his higher education in the English Literature Department at Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang and finished in 2021. He is active in several organizations and committees.