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The Representation of Social Actors' Strategies Enfolded in Australian Newspaper

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to explore how and why Sydney Morning Herald communicates its ideologies through the social actors represented in news reports. The data collected were analyzed by using Fairclough's and Van Dijk's model of Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) and Theo Van Leeuwen's framework of the representation of social actors. The findings show that the newspaper viewed the Outgroup social actors which were the Indonesian government, Indonesian army, and Indonesian military officers, and Ingroup social actors which were Australian, Papuan activists and those who support Papua conflict, in terms of assimilation, nomination and categorization, functionalization and identification, and Impersonalization. Those who are related to the Outgroups emphasize their brutality, superiority, and dominance towards the indigenous Papuans. However, Ingroup social actors were indicated as peacemakers. These findings illustrate Australia's political ideologies and hidden agenda for Indonesia. As a liberal country, Australia respects individual freedom. That is why it also became Australia's responsibility to give aid to Papuans who were seeking a better place as stated in the international law. Furthermore, Australia's attitude in trying to interfere with the conflict by providing a place for the Papuan asylum seekers is a picture of how it is concerned towards Indonesia.

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1. Introduction

These issues of political conflicts in Papua had become international attention as they were published in mass media aggressively. Mass media (hereby newspaper) play its role in disseminating information to the readers. The question is whether the newspaper is neutral enough in spreading some information to the readers or not. Fowler (1991) says that news is an illustration of reality construction because the language used to describe the issue does not reflect real reality. The newspaper often acts as the mouthpiece of the authority and does some propaganda to win certain Group's support towards the issue it highlighted.

Sydney Morning Herald (hereby after SMH) as one of the influential Australian newspapers in Australia has an important role in shaping readers' valuation of the news it is reported and obviously, including the news about the conflict between the Papuans and Indonesia Government. As an Australian newspaper published in Australia, read mostly by Australians and written by Australians, and the mouthpiece of the Australian Government, SMH is assumed to have hidden missions regarding the political conflicts in Papua. Thus, the style of the writing from this Australian newspaper is interesting enough to analyse because by analysing its writing style, people will realize the ideologies SMH has. Language is not value free of fact (Fowler, 1996), it means that language is the representation of a writer's interests and ideologies. Fairclough (1995) adds that as media can be manipulated by various institutions in society, it is impossible to say that media is the representation of a "reality" but only the "representations of reality." Through his language, a writer can communicate his hidden messages and goals.

As the newspaper is considered as not a value-free reflection of fact as Fowler says (1991),

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Some researchers were curious about how the way the newspaper communicates its ideology to the readers such as the use of certain lexical and grammatical features as found in research entitled *Newspaper Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Headlines on Syrian Refugees In Published Newspapers* carried out by Ulum in 2016. In his research, he found that Ideologies are reflected in the way the newspaper constructed the headlines, and western editors constructed different headlines from the eastern editors (Ulum, 2016). Western editors view the issue by looking at the problems that appear because of high flow of Syrians into the union. Meanwhile, Turkish media views the issue as referring to the fact that Syrians who come to Europe are in hard conditions (Hasan, 2010 in Ulum 2016). The ideology constructions in the newspaper headlines are also meant to influence the readers' attitude towards certain issues such as found in the research carried out by Hasan in 2018. He analysed the ideological constructions reflected in Pakistani News Bulletin Headlines and their impacts on the readers. He furthermore found that the headlines in the bulletin reveal power relations and various ideologies which trigger the readers' negative attitude towards the informative headlines of news channels (Hassan 2018). The research only focuses on the textual and processing levels of analysis or what Fairclough (1989) says it as a description and interpretation stage of analysis. In the context of text analysis, the analysis focuses on the description of formal and structural characteristics of text such as lexical and grammatical aspects (Fairclough, 1989). Meanwhile, in the processing level of analysis, the texts are analysed by considering production and interpretation aspects. Thus, the previous research does not precisely mention the reasons why such ideology formulations were communicated so the readers could not determine the reasons behind those formulations (Rashidi & Rasti, 2012; Liao, 2012; Naghy, 2010; Ghannam, 2011). Such research just showed the readers that some journalists used some strategies in communicating their ideologies, however, they could not explain to the readers about reasons underlying the use of those strategies.

The current research has a different perspective from the previous ones. The social analysis or explanation stage conducted by the researcher is to portray a discourse as part of processes of social struggle within a matrix of the relation of power. It describes discourse as a social process, as a social practice showing how it is determined by social structures and those discourses can sustain or change the social structures (Fairclough, 1989). By combining Theo Van Leeuwen's (1996) theory about the representation of social actors and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), such ideological text can be examined because CDA is regarded as an important tool for examining text as the language used in the text is often used to achieve the change and maintenance in (Bloor M and Bloor T, 2007). In CDA, one will focus on the examination of bias and the transparent structural relationship of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as represented in language. Power is related closely to ideologies and ideologies are closely related to language because language is a medium of showing domination and social power, therefore language is ideologically contested (Wodak & Meyer, 2006; Fairclough, 1989).

Fairclough then claims that mass media decide to hide an agenda for the readers and therefore emphasizes its power which will shape peoples' perceptions, beliefs, values, and social relations. Therefore, CDA is the right choice for revealing the ideological constructions in SMH as CDA provides an interdisciplinary framework that helps in analyzing the hidden message in mass media. Finally, the selection of CDA will help to answer the research questions of how and why SMH communicates its ideologies through such kinds of social actor representation strategies.

2. Methods

This research is a descriptive qualitative study which specifically categorized as discourse-analytical media research. The purpose of the research is on finding hidden ideologies in a newspaper discourse, SMH. The data were taken from 55 news reports about the Papua conflict in SMH. To find out how SMH communicates its ideologies and the reasons behind the use of those ideologies, the writer implemented the three steps in Fairclough, CDA which are description, interpretation, and explanation. The procedures of data analysis are; 1) the data were classified into those belonging to Van Dijk's model which operates "In and Out" groups analytical categories, 2) the data were analyzed by implementing Van Leeuwen's framework of the representation of social actors 3) the newspaper's ideologies were uncovered after the social actors' representation was done, 4) the step of explanation was done to find

out the reasons of SMH journalists having such ideologies were examined, 5) The findings were verified.

3. Results and Discussion

Referring to the concepts of ideology meant in this research, the analysis focuses on the description of the Out groups which represent the Indonesian Government and all the actors assumed to oppose the Papuans' demand to be free from Indonesia such as Indonesian military forces, and Out groups which are assumed as showing sympathy towards the Papuans and therefore support the Papuans' independence such as Australia, USA, Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM), Britain and western countries in general.

3.1. Social Actors from the Outgroup

3.1.1. Impersonalisation

Impersonalisation views the social actors through abstraction or objectivation. Hence, the strategy of objectivation in this group is the strategy of representing the social actors by means of reference to a place with which they are closely associated. SMH exercised lexical Indonesia as written below.

- (1)and *Indonesia* has already flagged concern about the non-government organization (NGO) advocating independence for Papua (PC/D.14/1.16).
- (2) *Jakarta* was irate over the way Senator Nettle was able in January to visit 43 West Papuans, who were taken into detention on the Australian territory of Christmas Island (PC/D.10/1.13)

Indonesia and *Jakarta* are impersonalized as they substituted the member of the government officers in charge of foreign affairs. In this case, the reader will be convinced that officially Indonesian government was serious in handling Australia's policy regarding asylum seekers which trigger the conflict between Indonesia and Australia since this strong commitment to solving the crisis is using the name of the institution.

Therefore, by naming the social actors based on the place where they belonged, the journalists also seemed to lead to another strategy which is assimilation because this actor is observed in collective terms which assimilates to the Indonesians having a similar ideology that they strongly paid close attention to and rejected the Australian non-government organizations in advocating independence for Papua. Audiences or readers will automatically generalize the actor who is responsible for the set of actions done.

3.2. Assimilation

Assimilation is the strategy in which the social actors are either represented as collectives or as individuals. This strategy can be seen from the data below;

- (3) *The police* were out of control and beating local journalists and suspecting protesters, but a relative calm soon returned to Jayapura (PC/D.13/1.52).
- (4) *The army* has denied involvement in their ambush, blaming rebels of the pro-independence Free Papua Movement (PC/D.6/1.120)
- (5) *The military and the police* have responded quickly to announce various inquiries, although the head armed forces, (PC/D.17/1.28)

This categorization strategy was used by the journalist in representing the participant in the terms of assimilation. The actor, *police and the army* were described as units that consist of trained warriors who have duties to protect the civilians. This role allocation is regarding the roles of the police and the army in their responsibility in keeping Papua under the Indonesian government's control. In the case of the police, SMH did not report specifically who the actors were, it just mentioned the institution which was responsible for the uncontrolled behaviour done to local journalists. In other words, the actors here were illustrated negatively by SMH, as the police which was supposed to protect the people from trouble, even made abuses towards unarmed communities such as local journalists. Meanwhile, in the case of datum 6, the army which represents the unit is suspected as the actors responsible for their

involvement in the chaos. Again, there is an effect of generalization which illustrate that the actors of the crime were all member of the police. This strategy would lead to an opinion in the readers that all the police in Papua did not keep the situation peace as they were supposed to.

3.1.3 Nomination

Another strategy used by SMH is nomination. This strategy identifies individuals in terms of their unique identity. Nomination is titulated, either in the form of horofication, the addition of standard titles, ranks, or surnames only with ⁴ without honorifics. This strategy can be seen below:

(6) Dr Yodhoyono has floated a new type of “special autonomy” for West Papua, including the creation..... (PC/D.85/1.14)

Regarding the solution to the conflict, Dr Yudhoyono, proposed a new type of ‘special autonomy’, this social actor was nominated by the title, ¹⁰ his actor has a role in the solution of the conflict, this means that despite his political competence, the President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, was viewed as a president with academic competence. This journalist showed to the readers that the special autonomy was assumed to work well to resolve the conflict in Papua since the proposal was assured by a competent President.

3.1.4 Overdetermination

These social actors are represented as a participant in more than one social practice in one case, such as the Indonesian military, the military and police, and Indonesian soldiers. The military, the police, and the soldier⁴ are described as the actors who performed human rights abuses.

(7) *The military and police* regularly raided campuses and villages searching for independence sympathisers, while Indonesia’s intelligence network kept constant tabs on their activists.....(PC/D.7/1.14). ⁹

(8) *Indonesian soldiers* stand accused of going on a rampage in the troubled province of West Papua early yesterday, killing at least eight people, injuring 19 and burning down⁴ about 100 houses, according to activists (PC/D.8/1.1).

(9) *The Indonesian military* has been recruiting, training, and funding militia groups in Papua.....(PC/D.5/1.14)

The last datum shows that the Indonesian military at the same time, also trained, recruited, and funded militia groups in Papua. Therefore, the Indonesian soldiers are suspected as the actor in the violence and behind the violence.

3.1.5 Exclusion

The strategy of exclusion was employed by SMH to represent the social actors in this report. The proposition which eliminates the social actors was identified as seen in the following:

(10) Between April and June 2003, *the army* was reported to have killed seven people and tortured a further 48 (PC/D.8/1.34).

The army as the goal was reported to have killed and tortured 48 people. In this information, the social actors were not mentioned so it leads to the idea that the informant is not important to be identified. The stress of this report is the brutal army that has killed and tortured Papuans. Therefore, the naming of the social actors is not necessary since the hidden purpose of the media is to expose the brutality of the Indonesian army. This can also be seen in two data below:

(11) Elsy Rumbiak Bonai was hit in his leg, and her 12 – year – old daughter, Mariana was wounded in the arm (PC/D.6/1.12)

The journalist of SMH may think that it is not necessary to mention the actors behind the incident as the readers would know the actors behind the shooting. Referring to the previous news reports previously in SMH, the people are assumed to be able to identify the actors of human rights abuses in Papua.

3.1.6 Functionalisation and identification

Functionalisation and identification strategy is the strategy that identifies an individual based on the functions social actors perform. This identification is divided into classification, relational

identification, and physical identification.

(12) But an army spokesman, Colonel Ali Hamdan Bogra, said soldiers had been prevented by their commander from going to the village to take revenge for the death of their comrade (PC/D.8/1.25).

SMH quoted a statement that there was a command from the commander not to take revenge for the death of their comrade. The journalist mentions the identity of Ali Hamdan as the army spokesman. This strategy of functionalisation was used to give some perceptions to the readers that the information in the media is accurate because it is from the army spokesman. Therefore, there would not be some biased information about that. It would be different if there was no additional information behind Colonel Ali Hamdan Bogra, people would not know who he was and it would consequently not convince the readers that soldiers did not take revenge. In this proposition, the actor is also represented in terms of nomination because the journalist included the army title or rank. This would add to the readers' belief that the information from one of the leaders in the army

(13) A spokesman for Indonesia's foreign ministry, Teuku Faizsyah, said; "if the incident did occur, it was not a systematic case from our standpoint" (PC/D.9/1.37).

The official statement from Teuku Faizyah a spokesman for Indonesia's foreign ministry could give a meaning that Indonesia seemed not to confess the actions done by the Indonesian military as it was accused by Papuan activists. This strategy would give affect the readers or society that the Indonesian government was not fair in observing the human rights abuses.

3.2. Social Actors from the In Group

3.2.1 Impersonalisation

In this strategy, the actors are not viewed as something abstract such as the Federal cabinet, Immigration Department, and the Australian Government.

- (1) In light of the bitter diplomatic breach that followed Canberra's belated support for an act of self-determination in East Timor, the Australian Government is trying to avoid a similar conflict in Papua (PC/D.14/1.39).
- (2) The federal cabinet is likely to consider other options and is looking at offering funds to Jakarta to help its implementation of autonomy in Papua as a way of dampening independence calls (PC/D.3/1.19).

In datum (1) SMH tried to show to its readers that the Australian Government as impersonalized social actor respects Indonesia's sovereignty over Papua. In the propositions presented by SMH, Australia never intended to interfere in Indonesia's internal problems and always supports Indonesia's political policy over Papua. This is also confirmed in his plan to offer funds to Jakarta to help the implementation of autonomy in Papua. This plan shows Australia's seriousness in supporting Indonesia to solve the conflict. The social actors are impersonalized to give the impression that officially the Australian Government supports Indonesia's policy toward Papua.

- (3) A week ago, the Immigration Department granted refugee visas to 42 Papuan asylum seekers, provoking outrage from Indonesia, which recalled its ambassador to Jakarta (PC/D.4/1.21). [41]

The Immigration Department which was responsible for managing the refugee and asylum seekers thought that granting refugee visas to 42 Papuans was an obligation. However, it provoked outrage from Indonesia which was trying to solve the conflict in Papua. The strategy of personalization was implemented by SMH to cover the real actors behind this action because this newspaper did not show specifically the actors who granted the visa to Papuan asylum seekers. There seemed to be a perception building that this policy of granting visas is official and had been done based on international law. Finally, in the strategy of personalization, the specific social actors seemed to be hidden so that there are no specific agents who are responsible for the actions they do. Regarding their involvement in the conflict, the actions done were on behalf of a certain organization and an Australian official

department.

- (4) *Australia* recognizes Indonesia's sovereignty over the region (PC/D.16/1.52)
- (5) *Papua* has enjoyed "special autonomy" since 2001, which substantially increased funding from the central government to about \$1 billion a year (PC/D.17/1.37).

The term *Australia* was used to represent the Australians who recognized Indonesia's sovereignty over the region while *Papua* was used to represent Papuans who were the actors enjoying special autonomy since 2001. It was not Papua province but the Papua society that enjoyed special autonomy, at the same time those who recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over Papua are the people of Australia more specifically the elite Australian government. This is ideologically congested as SMH was trying to be more official in presenting the issue related to Papua.

3.2.2 Specification

Some other social actors mentioned using specification strategy are *Mr L'Estrange*, *Mr Downer*, *Mr Howard*. These social actors were represented in terms of individualisation in which they are described as specific individuals such as described below

- (6) *Mr L'Estrange* had offered no big concessions, but explained Australia's new headline policies to deter future asylum seekers, sources confirmed (PC/D.3/1.18).

Mr L'Estrange on behalf of the secretary of the foreign affairs Department did not regret the visa granting to Papuans, however, Australia would implement new policies to prevent future asylum seekers. This led to an indication that Australia still considered his willingness to grant Papuan asylum seekers not to break international law. The specific social actor, *Mr L'Estrange* was included to give a picture to the readers that the Australian Immigration Department officially offers no big concession towards what Australia has done. By mentioning the name of the secretary of the Foreign affairs Department, the SMH showed the readers for sure that this person was officially chosen by the department to represent the result of the concession regarding the visa granting and avoid bias.

- (7) Another man, *Telangga Gire*, also appeared in the video with a knife placed at his throat but he is reportedly in hiding (PC/D.19/1.22).

Telangga Gire was identified as one of the victims of human rights abuses by the Indonesian military. His appearance was broadcasted in video with a knife placed at his throat. By presenting the actors as specific individuals, SMH wanted to give the impression that there was one of the victims gave testimony about the abuses done by the Indonesian military. In other words, it was not just a rumor but a fact.

3.2.3 Identification and Functionalisation

This strategy of Identification and functionalization was employed by mentioning the social actor specifically along with its position, as seen below:

- (8) *Mr Downer, the Australian Foreign Minister*, has risked further inflaming the row by telling ABC's Late line program that the onus was on Indonesia to ensure human rights were upheld in Papua (PC/D.3/1.32)

In this case, Mr Downer was represented as the Australian Foreign Minister who exposed the human rights abuses in the media and that Indonesia had admitted that there were indeed human rights abuses in Papua. By telling the precise social actor and including the position in the Australian government, SMH showed that Australia's suspect was not wrong, that there were human rights abuses done by Indonesian troops. This would be able to convince the international society that Australia's interference in Papua's conflict is needed to avoid more serious victims.

Agus Samule who was a long-term resident of Papua and adviser to Papua's Governor, *Barnabas Suebu* was described as an immigrant and a key player in drafting the special autonomy laws which created a new legislative body to represent indigenous Papuans.

- (9) *Agus Samule*, a long-term resident of Papua and adviser to Papua's Governor,

Barnabas Suebu, is an immigrant, a nationalist and was a key player in drafting the special autonomy laws which created a new legislative body to represent indigenous Papuans known as the Majelis Rakyat Papua (MRP) (PC/D.11/1.56).

By mentioning the value of the actor that he was an immigrant, a nationalist, and a key player in drafting the special autonomy laws which created a new legislative body to represent indigenous Papuans known as the Majelis Rakyat Papua, SMH's depiction of the improper implementation of special autonomy in Papua was accurate. It could convince the readers that the information given in the media was accurate, therefore the effect expected from the readers is that people would consider that Jakarta was not serious about solving the conflict in Papua and there was unequal prosperity between Papuans and other Indonesian civilians in other parts of Indonesia.

In short, the strategy of identification and functionalization was implemented to give additional information related to the occupation they have. In this case, the image wanted to build by the media is that the readers will believe all the information informed by these actors is reliable such as *Kevin Rudd* being given additional information as Labor's foreign affairs spokesman. The readers may not know who Rudd Kevin is and how important this person is, however, when SMH includes his occupation, as Labor's foreign affairs spokesman, the readers consider that the issue is accurate.

3.2.4. Categorization

Categorization identifies individuals in terms of identities and functions they share with others (Van Leeuwen, 1996).

(10) *Papuan activists* insist that more than 38 died at the hands of Indonesians (PC/D.8/1.36).

The social actors are identified in general terms which means that the journalist did not mention specifically who was meant by Papuan activists. It indicates that the journalist did not know precisely the actors who suspected Indonesians as the executors of 38 Papuans. Furthermore, the goals for choosing the categorization strategy by using the term activist are 1) to strengthen the information about the Papuan victims. Mentioning those social actors as Papuan activists would give clear descriptions of the actors, thus helping to shape the readers' awareness that the information does not fake because those involves directly in the conflict are the activists who fight for Papuan Independence. 2) to highlight the brutality of the Indonesians because the information was from the activists. This accurate information shows to the readers that the executors of the Papuans are Indonesians so it is expected that the readers will finally be sure about the inhuman attitude of the Indonesians.

3.2.5 Assimilation

The next categorization of social actors found in the research data is assimilation. The social actors in these Ingroups are represented in terms of their assimilation. This strategy of assimilation by eliminating the particular actors specifically but the newspaper mentions the social community to which the actors belong. For example;

(11) *Fairfax Media* has confirmed with the Indonesian, department of foreign affairs that the "clearing house" process remains the only legal route to West Papua (PC/D. 20/ 1.19).

The social actors found in the datum above are *Fairfax media* hence the journalist did not mention specifically which media had reported that news. Fairfax is the name of a mass media publisher which possess more than one newspaper such as Sydney Morning Herald, the Australian, and the Herald. Therefore, this strategy is identified as the strategy of assimilation because no specific identification towards the social actors was done and all the actions done by the actors would be the responsibility of the institution it belongs to and this will give impact the readers that Fairfax's statement about the complicated and difficulty of journalists' applications for serious reports about Papua was not wrong because this statement was from the influential newspaper publisher in Australia.

3.2.6. Aggregation

Referring to Van Leeuwen's categorization of social actors, in the first place, the actors in the Ingroups were represented through the collective terms that add the inclusive identity of these groups as seen in datum 16 mentioned below which is also categorized in term of aggregation stressed on the numbers of defenders towards the violence and abuses in Papua.

(12) *Now, hundreds of independence activists fear an intensified crackdown, amid police and military buildup* (PC/D.10/1.11).

The use of hundreds of independence activists shows that many activists were terrified to the onslaught done either by the military or police. The number of the sensors who were terrified was not mentioned accurately; however, it indicates that the activists who were terrified were not few. Therefore, the readers were convinced that this crackdown was a serious matter as hundreds of activists felt this would create victims among civilians

3.2.7 Nomination

This strategy of specification and nomination was categorized into two; the first one is the use of surnames such as Mr Howard in (PC/D.2/1.33). In this case the journalist mentions the actor by using a surname with honorifics, Mr. This term gives an indication that this actor is a respectable individual or the one who has an important role in the government. For example;

(13) Mr Howard said yesterday he would meet Indonesia's President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, but the time "has not arrived" (PC/D.2/1.33).

He was making a statement regarding the opinions expressed by Michael L'Estrage and Kim who stated that Howard had no guts to come to Indonesia to sort out the crisis. Therefore, this is a form of respect from the media and expresses its respect to Howard. Regarding the statements the actor made, the media identified him as a specific individual. He does not represent any institutions as they make comments in the media. For example;

(14)representation for Papuans. But, said Peter King, of Sydney University: "It seems the Indonesians are reneging on the promises they made to the West Papuans." *Dr King*, whose new book *West Papua and Indonesia since Suharto*, will be launched tomorrow, said the province was now "in chaos" (PC/D.5/1.32).

Although Dr King was working at Sydney University, he made a statement based on his expertise and evaluation of Papua. The strategy of including the academic honorification Dr, reveals the meaning that the actor was competent in his field therefore the information given was reliable since he knows well the situation

3.2.8 Indetermination

Indetermination is found in the research data. In this case, the social actors are represented in terms of their indetermination. It is indetermination since the mass media or journalist does not mention the actors specifically, however, they are represented in general or collective terms.

(15) *Foreigners in Papua viewed suspiciously, especially non-government groups*, (PC/811/1.79).

(16) *The victims speak in the Papuan dialect Lani, strongly, suggesting the video was filmed in Puncak Jaya, a regency in Papua's highlands where a unit of the armed Free Papua Movement Commanded by*(PC/D.16/1.38).

The report was telling about the issues of Papuan Independence which according to the Indonesian government that non-government groups were trying to provoke and support the Independence of Papuans. Looking at the above datum, there is a generalization towards the actor mentioned as *foreigners* and *The victims*. In this case, the journalists are assumed not to know for sure which foreigners are viewed suspiciously. Although there is more information about the foreigners'

identity, it still could not identify accurately which members from the government groups were viewed suspiciously. This also leads to the indication that SMH presents the generalization to convince the readers that Indonesia did not welcome foreigners, therefore, foreigners coming to Indonesia should be alert.

3.2.9 Exclusion

The strategy of exclusion is applied in this news report, in which the actors were excluded from the report. This might be done by the mass media to hide the behaviors who could be responsible for the actions, for example:

(17) Both units have been accused of using excessive force (PC/D.16/1.43)

(18) The five defendants were caught up in a crackdown after a national congress of West Papuan tribes last October declared independence (PC/D.15/1.20).

(19) Five activists fighting for independence in West Papua have been jailed for three years after being found guilty of treason, but their lawyers immediately vowed to appeal (PC/D.15/1.3).

The first datum above is identified as using suppression type because the reader would not be able to trace the main actor of the actions, such as in the first data (17) statement is related to the case of human violations towards Papuans, and it was reported that since numerous weapons have been stolen in the raid between Free Papua Movement and Indonesian police and military, Jakarta has sent police's mobile brigade and anti-terrorism unit Detachment 88. Although the statement in the previous text refers to the accusation of the two units, it is not mentioned explicitly the actors who made the accusation. From those two data, the social actors could not be found or are not included in the report. This is similar to the next second data.

Meanwhile, the third and fourth data are identified using backgrounding type since these five activists had been in the process in court and finally been sentenced to five years. Without mentioning the actors, the readers automatically had recognized them. The exclusion of the actors in this media is meant to show to the readers that it is not important to include them because the stress is not on the actors but on the effect of the action.

Discussion

In analyzing the news discourse using the proposed model of CDA, the social and discourse practice are considered important aspects. When analyzing social practices, what needs to be considered are economic practices (Richardson, 2007: 114). This is done to find out the socio-cultural context, as well as the ideological context in which the news was reported. Since SMH is published in Australia, read mostly by Australians and owned by Australians, it is the social practice of the Australians that is analyzed. Meanwhile, when analyzing discourse practice, refers to the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption, in other words, discursive practices of journalism are the process through which journalists produce texts, and readers use and understand them (Richardson, 2007: 78).

Discourses are always socially situated: discourse occurs in social settings (production and consumption) and the construction of discourse relate systematically and predictably to these contextual circumstances (Fowler, 1991: 36). The research findings show that this Australian media does not describe the two different groups in balance. It focuses on the positive value of the Ingroup's action while the Outgroup's actions are illustrated negatively, as stated by Van Dijk (2006) that the good things of the Ingroup are emphasized while the good things of the Outgroup are de-emphasized.

Social Practice

SMH is an influential Australian newspaper published for the middle-upper class Australian society and belongs to Australian civilians. Consequently, this newspaper is written in the social, cultural as well as ideological context of Australian society. Since contexts play an important role in the process of news production the news is the reflection of the way the Australians view the issues about the Papua Conflict.

Under Liberal party control from 1999-2007, Australia built some coalitions with some

influential countries such as England and USA, and other commonwealth countries to protect Australia's interests and security (Willoughby, 1960). One of the missions is providing international aid and assistance including helping refugees within the limits of its national resources (Hirst, 2002). It means that Australia has an underlying policy to assist asylum seekers from any country including Indonesia. Although Indonesia had protested Australia for its intentions to help asylum seekers, Australia felt that what it had done was supported by international law.

Australian Influential newspaper, SMH views the Indonesian elites and military as the representation of the Out group. This group of people is regarded as the actors responsible for the chaos in Papua during the Papua conflict such as the Indonesian government, Indonesian police, and military, and those who were assumed to oppose Papua independence because Australia through SMH views the Indonesian government acted brutally and fiercely towards the indigenous Papuans. As a liberal-democratic country that respects human dignity, self-determination, and equality, Australia felt that what had been done by Indonesia was inhuman (Crosby, 2002). Van Dijk (Nd, p.140) in Surjowati (2015) adds that there are some relations between underlying ideologies in social cognition, mental models in personal cognition, and actual comprehension of the production of text or talk which are influenced by mental models of the situation. He furthermore says that ideologies unconsciously control the way a social group thinks and believes which finally becomes the fundamental social characteristic of a group (Van Dijk; 1995 in Asmaradhani, 2019). This means that what is printed in the news report is the reflection of the news workers' way of thinking, their behavior and their reaction towards a particular issue, such as an issue of Papua conflict. As opposed to Australia's foundations that are put forward freedom, tolerance, and an egalitarian sense of fairness (Hirst, 2002), Australia through SMH then expresses its disappointment with the way Indonesia handled the conflict by giving negative evaluations towards the elites and military.

The conflict in Papua does not seem difficult to end as there are some interferences from other countries. May and Kagan (1978) say that the main source of political conflict in Papua is inequality in every aspect of life such as economic, political, cultural, and social. Some other countries such as Australia and USA notice the potential natural sources in Papua, hence, they use this conflict as the reason for supporting the Papuans' independence. Based on the policy they practice; represents their hidden goal. Australia in particular which also once played its role in East Timor Independence seemed to play again in Papua. Liberals believe that Papuans have freedom of choice because they have no hopes anymore for the government which must protect them from threats and strengthens them economically as the Federal Platform of the Liberal Party of Australia (2002) says that prosperity and peace can be obtained only when people are given the opportunity, and responsibility. They will feel real freedom when they are given an opportunity to build their dream. When the ruler and the people respect each other, then the strength of being united can be reached. Hence Australia's ways of viewing political conflict in Papua get negative responses from Indonesia which certainly cause the relationship between these two neighbouring countries to a tense situation. According to Indonesia, Australia's willingness to assist the Papuan asylum seekers illustrate its opposite policy with the Indonesian Government which reflects the embodiment of its hidden political interests toward Papua. Australia and Indonesia have never had a sincere relationship as there are tension, distrust, and suspicion (Burchill and Damien, 2001, p.67). Moreover, Australia's strong coalition with the USA adds to Indonesia's suspicion of hidden and big design Indonesia because the USA had been involved in the Papua conflict since 1969 when the act of free choice was done. Papua has been a strategic target for the USA to conquer. It has been considered a strategic area to conquer because Papua is well known for its wealth of natural resources such as gold, coal, and copper.

Discourse Practice

Discourse practices of journalism are related to the process of text production and how the readers use and understand them (Richardson, 2007). Text production refers to the process through which the manuscript has to go through in the printing office. It involves the process of editing or deciding whether this text will be highlighted or occupied on the other page. As an influential newspaper in Australia, SMH becomes the mouthpiece of the Australian government although journalists of Australian media have a strong commitment to the idea of the media as the Fourth Estate, the independent watchdog of power. Objectivity, fairness, and neutrality are of great concern and are described as 'core values' to journalists. However, news media is also considered the 'propaganda model' of news production, as

elaborated by Herman and Chomsky (2002) in their book title *Manufacturing Consent*, which says that money and power can filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across the public. Hence, although the control of information does not normally come from the government, the major threats to information flow come from the interference of proprietors, biased journalists and editor self-censorship. SMH historically endorsed the conservative coalition at the 2007 NSW State election and had been endorsed liberal party since Sir Warwick Fairfax's management. This influences its attitude in viewing the conflict in Papua. SMH's tendency to be on the side of the Australian government and its people would also influence the attitudes of all this media staff which includes the journalist, editors, and proprietors towards the issues they report. Referring to Van Dijk's statement that those who belong to us will always be regarded as good, however, those who belong to them are regarded as bad (2006). Therefore, although similar strategies are used in both the In and Out groups, they represent different purposes. The strategies implemented in the Outgroup are to shape negative public opinion which most Australians about Indonesia's involvement in the violence in Papua and those who are responsible for the conflict and tragedy, the Ingroups, on the other hand, uses a similar strategy to highlight Australia's commitment to helping world society in general and Papuans in particular.

4. Conclusions

There are two different allotments of representing the social actors in SMH namely the Out group (Indonesians) and the In Group social actors (Australians and pro-independence activists). Both the Out group and In Group social actors were represented in terms of assimilation, nomination, and categorization, functionalization and identification, impersonalization, exclusion, overdetermination, specification, aggregation, nomination, and indetermination. However, these representations serve different purposes. The Out group is presented as a bad group of people who tend to show their negative attitude towards the conflict solution in Papua such as arresting and torturing the Papuan activists, intimidating the villagers, and exploiting the natural resources, meanwhile, the Ingroup is presented as a good people who always have goodwill towards the people who suffer. In the case of the Papua conflict, these people play an important role in supporting the Papuans' life such as facilitating the Papuan asylum seekers by granting some visas to them and facilitating the Indonesian government and Papuans to negotiate.

The different views about the In and Out group are based on Australian ideology. Australia is a liberal country that locates freedom as a priority. Every individual has the freedom to decide their own goals and every individual within society has the right to get justice and protection from the government. Therefore, as Indonesia's neighbouring country, and a leader in Asia-Pacific, Australia has a responsibility to protect the Papuans who are assumed to receive terror from the Indonesian government. It is also Australia's responsibility to give aid to Papuans who are seeking a better place as stated in international law, furthermore, Australia's attitudes towards this conflict in Papua is assumed as a reflection of its hidden political agenda for Indonesia that this country put special attention to political condition in Indonesia.

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