

Framing Objectivity in Agrarian Conflict Reporting: A Comparative Analysis of Local, Sectoral, and National Media Coverage of Pakel Village

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze and compare the objectivity of three online media portals in constructing news about agrarian conflict in Pakel Village. The study method used is the framing analysis model of Zhondang Pan & Gerald M. Kosicki, which divides the way for the media to construct facts through 4 elements, namely, syntactic structure, script, thematic, and rhetorical. The results of the study show that objectivity in reporting agrarian conflict in Pakel Village by journalists from Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co has written information and facts by writing news that is sourced from statements related to the incident. Comparison of the objectivity of these three online media news portals, namely Banyuwangi.viva.co.id focuses more on the narrative of harmony and mediation, but tends to be less critical of the authorities. Betahita.id is more on the side of farmers, emphasizing aspects of advocacy and criticism of injustice. Tempo.co provides a more balanced and in-depth report with an investigative style that considers various perspectives.

Keywords: Construction of Reality; Framing; News; Objectivity; Pakel Village

Abstrak

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dan membandingkan objektivitas tiga portal media online dalam mengonstruksi pemberitaan konflik agraria di Desa Pakel. Metode Kajian yang digunakan yaitu analisis framing model Zhondang Pan & Gerald M. Kosicki, yang membagi cara untuk media mengonstruksikan fakta melalui 4 elemen yaitu, struktur sintaksi, skrip, tematik, dan retorik. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa objektivitas dalam pemberitaan konflik agraria di Desa Pakel oleh wartawan Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, dan Tempo.co sudah menuliskan informasi dan fakta dengan menulis berita yang bersumber dari pernyataan-pernyataan yang berhubungan dengan kejadian. Perbandingan objektivitas ketiga portal berita media online ini, yaitu Banyuwangi.viva.co.id lebih fokus pada narasi harmoni dan mediasi, tetapi cenderung kurang kritis terhadap pihak yang berwenang. Betahita.id lebih berpihak pada petani, menonjolkan aspek advokasi dan kritik terhadap ketidakadilan. Tempo.co memberikan laporan yang lebih berimbang dan mendalam dengan gaya investigatif yang mempertimbangkan berbagai perspektif.

Kata Kunci: Berita; Desa Pakel; Framing, Konstruksi Realitas; Objektivitas

CoverAge

Journal of Strategic
Communication

Vol. 16, No. 1, Hal.17-37
September 2025.

Fakultas Ilmu Komunikasi,
Universitas Pancasila

Accepted August 29, 2025

Revised August 28, 2025

Approved September 2, 2025

INTRODUCTION

The public views mass media as a forum for debate among various groups and as a platform for the exchange of information that develops within society. Mass media conveys its message through the construction of a reality chosen through issue selection. Essentially, whether consciously or not, the public will ultimately accept the information offered by the media (Rachmaria, 2022). The news or information conveyed by the media sometimes contains material that embodies the economic and political interests of certain groups. These group interests can influence the objectivity or bias of news coverage. The existence of certain ideologies in mass media, whether in print, electronic, or online, can influence the objectivity of reporting. Public views or perspectives depend on how the media constructs reality. Media is considered an effective tool for organizing the masses, resulting in many groups controlling or exploiting the media monopolistically to achieve specific interests (Arvino, 2014). In this regard, "mainstream media has now shifted much of its role to citizen journalism as a primary source of information, which they then republish on their various platforms" (Salsabila, Salamah & Nurhadi 2024). This demonstrates that the framing formed in both mainstream and alternative media contributes to the representation of conflict within complex social realities.

The news available in the mass media is the result of construction as an effort to shape

a reality within the community environment. Phenomena deemed important are then packaged into compelling news stories with layouts and titles. News texts published on various online media portals are the result of constructing a reality using language as its foundation. This is relevant to the theory of social construction of mass media. Essentially, what is presented by the media is the accumulation of diverse influences. Socially constructed content is born through several stages: the stage of preparing construction materials, the stage of construction distribution, the stage of constructing reality construction, and the stage of confirmation. Furthermore, news products are also inseparable from framing, particularly news related to the context of development or government programs. Through this framing, audience perceptions and opinions of the information conveyed align with what is expected (Taufiqurrahman, 2024). This aligns with the findings of Ningsih, Asmawi, and Chatra (2023), who stated that "the dynamics of communication in handling customary land conflicts continue to experience changes in patterns, content, and channels, including the involvement of emotions and political pressure from local governments in handling the conflict." This means that the media can choose to present the dimensions of conflict in an intense, emotional way, or to tone it down through neutral language.

Agrarian conflict is a persistent problem in Indonesia, reflecting the tension between

the rights of local communities and corporate and state interests. Data from the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) shows that in 2023, there were at least 400 cases of agrarian conflict spread across various sectors, such as plantations, forestry, infrastructure, and mining. One case of agrarian conflict that received widespread attention was the conflict in Pakel Village, Banyuwangi Regency, East Java. This conflict arose due to a land dispute between local communities and PT Bumi Sari, which claimed management rights to the land based on a Land Use Rights (HGU). In this context, the media plays a crucial role in framing the narrative of agrarian conflict. The media not only serves as a source of information for the public but also as a tool for shaping public opinion that can influence decision-making by relevant parties. The media can strengthen the narrative of community struggles or, conversely, present perspectives that support corporate and government interests. As emphasized in the research of Bulqiyyah, Kurniawan, and Dewi (2024), "human interest features have the ability to generate emotional reactions in readers... and narrative writing can bring the experience of conflict to life on a personal level." Thus, news writing style becomes part of the framing strategy used by the media to influence the public's perspective on conflict.

The media exploits these conditions to mitigate conflict, some use them as a propaganda tool, and others simply provide information. Therefore, to assess the

objectivity of media news in constructing a phenomenon, framing analysis is necessary as a method for analyzing news content. The concept of framing in communication science literature has been widely used to describe the process of constructing reality by the media (Fauzi, 2019). Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki define framing as the construction and process of news creation, a set of cognitions for coding and interpreting events that are then linked to newsmaking conventions. The framing of reality carried out by the media can provide various meanings depending on the interests and perspectives of the media. Each media has a different ideology and creativity, both in terms of language and other aspects. Therefore, it can be concluded that each media will highlight certain aspects, which are certainly different. Media framing in *Republika's* coverage of the death penalty discourse for corruptors illustrates how facts are not entirely omitted, but public opinion is shaped through language emphasis, narrative selection, and source preference.

To analyze the construction and framing of news coverage of the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village, *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id*, *Betahita.id*, and *Tempo.co* were selected as research objects. The selection of these three media outlets in this study was based on the uniqueness of each media outlet and its relevance in framing the issue of agrarian conflict in Pakel Village. *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id* was chosen because it is a local media outlet that focuses on issues in Banyuwangi, offering

the perspective of the local community, including the voices of farmers and the local government. Local media like this, according to the Press Council Report (2023), are often the primary source of news coverage of agrarian issues in their region. Betahita.id is a specialized media outlet specializing in environmental and agrarian issues, providing in-depth analysis of the ecological impacts of the conflict. Its consistency in reporting on agrarian issues based on data is recognized in the annual report of the Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA). Meanwhile, Tempo.co, as a national media outlet with a reputation for investigative work, provides a broad and balanced perspective, encompassing views from various parties such as the government, the community, and corporations. The Reuters Institute Digital News Report (2023) noted that Tempo.co is among the most trusted media outlets in covering strategic issues. The combination of these three media outlets covers local, sectoral, and national dimensions, providing a comprehensive basis for analyzing the framing of news coverage of the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village.

Considering the above-described issues, the researcher is interested in conducting a more in-depth analysis of the objectivity of news coverage of the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village, created by online news portals, using the framing analysis method. This framing will then be applied to three online news portals with different ideologies: Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and

Tempo.co. The framing analysis conducted by the researcher will ultimately reveal how reality is created in the news. The difference between this study and previous studies lies in the object of the study. The object of the study is news coverage of the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village, with the aim of determining the objectivity of news coverage in three different online news portals.

Previous studies on media framing in agrarian and social conflicts show that this issue has received considerable attention in communication research. For instance, Nursanty (2021) highlighted the framing of national media in the Kendeng agrarian conflict, which was largely influenced by elite political interests, while Andini (2022) analyzed Kompas and Tempo in the Rempang conflict by emphasizing the narrative of development versus community resistance. Similarly, Syafitri (2020) revealed that national media framing tends to prioritize government perspectives over local community voices. From these studies, it can be concluded that most research focuses on mainstream national media or high-profile cases that attract broad public attention.

The research gap arises from the limited number of studies that comparatively examine cross-media objectivity—local, sectoral, and national—in reporting agrarian conflicts. The Pakel case in Banyuwangi is relevant because it demonstrates how local media (Banyuwangi.viva.co.id), sectoral media focusing on environmental issues (Betahita.id),

and national media (Tempo.co) construct the same reality with different emphases and perspectives. Previous studies have rarely combined these levels of coverage simultaneously, leaving room for analysis to reveal differences in reality construction across multiple layers of media.

The novelty of this study lies in its analytical approach that combines Pan & Kosicki's framing model with Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's social construction perspective. This combination not only identifies framing devices within news texts but also examines how the reality of agrarian conflict is constructed and legitimized through media language. Furthermore, this study uniquely offers a comparison of objectivity across three different levels of media—local, sectoral, and national—which has rarely been addressed in previous agrarian conflict research. Based on this explanation, this study aims to reveal the differences in objectivity among online media in constructing the reality of the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village through Pan & Kosicki's framing analysis, complemented by Berger & Luckmann's social construction perspective.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The process of the emergence of social construction in mass media occurs through several stages: a) the stage of preparing construction material, which includes three important aspects, namely the media's alignment with capitalism, pseudo-alignment with society, and alignment with the public

interest; b) the stage of construction dissemination, the basic principle of which is real-time, where all information must reach the audience as quickly and accurately as possible based on the media's agenda. What the media considers important becomes important for the public; c) the stage of construction formation, which consists of two phases. First, the formation of justification reality construction, which includes justification narratives, willingness to be constructed by the mass media, and its role as a consumptive choice. Second, the formation of image construction, namely the desired outcome of the construction stage; d) the confirmation stage, where both the mass media and the public provide arguments and accountability for their choices to engage in the construction process (Bungin, 2007).

Framing is a process that refers to the highlighting of certain aspects within a news item, becoming a key mechanism in shaping perspectives that influence public opinion according to the interests of the media itself (Hafidli et al., 2023). Since news is always closely tied to the culture of particular groups, information or messages in the text are reconstructed in accordance with the audience's beliefs, thereby forming perspectives aligned with what each group constructs (Anggoro et al., 2023; Siregar & Qurniawati, 2022; Sofian & Niken, 2021). According to G.J. Aditjondro, as cited in Sobur (2018, p. 165), the concept of framing is a method of depicting reality where the truth of

an event is not completely denied but subtly redirected by emphasizing certain aspects, using terms with specific meanings, and employing photos, caricatures, or other visual tools.

Empirical studies also demonstrate how media framing directs public perception. For instance, research on *Republika*'s coverage of the death penalty discourse for corruptors revealed that facts were not eliminated but reframed to highlight specific narratives and sources that aligned with editorial agendas (Aladdin & Hanafi, 2023). Similarly, an analysis of Chinese aid coverage showed that *The Washington Post* framed the issue in terms of geopolitical interests, while the *South China Morning Post* emphasized international cooperation and solidarity, indicating how different ideological positions of media outlets influence framing outcomes (Ananda & Wijaya, 2024).

There are two key aspects of framing. The first involves the selection of realities or facts. When facts are selected, certain news may be omitted or excluded, while others are emphasized. This entails adopting a particular perspective, choosing certain facts, and disregarding others, resulting in each event having a unique structure. The second aspect concerns how selected information is reported to the public. Particular elements are emphasized to gain greater attention than others. Prominent realities are more likely to be recognized and to shape audience perspectives about a situation (Furqon, 2020).

The strategy of processing and constructing news is defined as framing by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. In interpreting events and coding information that connects conventions and routines of news production, cognitive tools must be applied. Pan and Kosicki highlight two interrelated conceptions of framing: sociological and psychological. The psychological conception refers to how an individual manages and processes information within themselves through specific schemas. The sociological conception refers to how an event is interpreted by an individual through a particular worldview. To understand oneself and the reality outside oneself, one must be able to interpret, classify, and organize their social experiences (Nisa, 2020).

No	Structure	Framing Device	Unit of Observation
1	Syntactic	How journalists organize facts	News schema: headline, lead, background information, quotations, sources, statements, closing
2	Script	How journalists narrate facts	News completeness: 5W + 1H
3	Thematic	How journalists write facts	Details, sentence intention, relationships, sentence forms, and pronouns: paragraph, proposition
4	Rhetorical	How journalists emphasize facts	Lexicon, graphics, and metaphors: words, idioms, photos/images, graphics

Table 1. Framing Devices of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki Model

Source: Processed by the Researcher (2025)

In their book *Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse*, Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M.

Kosicki (1993) elaborate four structural dimensions of news texts as framing devices: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical. This model assumes that every news item has a frame that functions as the core of idea organization. A frame is closely related to meaning, as the way an event is understood can be observed through the semiotic devices embedded in the text. Within this approach, framing devices are divided into four major structures (Handariastuti, Abidin Achmad, & Bramayudha, 2020).

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative research method with a framing analysis approach. Framing analysis is a text analysis approach that provides researchers with insight into issue perspectives, information prominence, omissions and distortions of issues, and factors related to media ideology (Butsi, 2019). According to Butsi (2019), framing analysis is not used for statistical generalization, but rather to deconstruct texts by examining their structure and comparing them with realities outside the text itself. The units of analysis in this study are news headlines, lead sentences, source identities, and quoted statements. The data source in this study is news about the agrarian conflict in Pakel village in Banyuwangi, which was reported by three online media portals in 2024.

The framing analysis approach of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's model was used as the analytical method in this

study. The process of making a message more prominent, displaying more information than others so that the audience focuses more on the message is called framing by Pan and Kosicki (Kusnia, 2019). This led the researcher to observe how the construction of reality was built by online media reporting on the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village in Banyuwangi in the 2024 period. This approach was used by the researcher to describe comprehensively and in depth the framing process carried out by the media Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co in writing news about the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village. The researcher used primary data sources in the study obtained from news texts about the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village presented by the media Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co in the period from January to December 2024. The stages of this research are data presentation, data reduction, data verification, and drawing conclusions.

The framing analysis method was used with the aim of this research, namely to determine how the objectivity of news reporting is carried out by online media. The framing analysis method model Zhondang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki was chosen as the method in this research. Pan and Kosicki (Sobur, 2018) in their writing *Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse* operationalize four structural dimensions of news text as a tool in framing a news story: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. First, the syntactic structure is how journalists organize facts. The

observable unit of this structure is the news outline (headline, lead, background information, sources, and so on). Second, the script structure is how the storytelling or narrative strategy used by journalists in packaging the news. The observable unit of the script structure is the elements of news completeness (what, who, when, why, where, and how). Third, the thematic structure relates to how journalists express their views on events into propositions, sentences, or relationships between sentences that form the entire text. Fourth, rhetorical structure is related to the way journalists emphasize certain meanings as seen from the use of word choices, idioms, graphics and images.

Based on the statement above, there are several questions in this research, namely (1) What is the syntactic structure of the news coverage of the Pakel Village agrarian conflict on the online news portals Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co?; (2) What is the structure of the news coverage script of the Pakel Village agrarian conflict on the online news portals Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co?; (3) What is the thematic structure of the news coverage of the Pakel Village agrarian conflict on the online news portals Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co?; (4) What is the rhetorical structure of the news coverage of the Pakel Village agrarian conflict on the online news portals Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Researchers will analyze 15 news stories for objectivity across three different online media portals. The researchers will present the analysis of news stories from Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co, specifically covering the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village in 2024. Five news stories from Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, five from Betahita.id, and five from Tempo.co will be analyzed. The framing analysis of 15 news articles from three media outlets reveals consistent patterns in coverage. *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id* tends to be pro-authority, highlighting the role of the government and corporations as harmonious mediators while minimizing the experiences of farmers facing criminalization. *Betahita.id* is more sympathetic toward the farmers, emphasizing narratives of legal injustice, criminalization, and intimidation, with a critical and advocative style of reporting. *Tempo.co* is relatively balanced, presenting the voices of the government, corporations, farmers, and independent institutions such as Komnas HAM, while still providing room for criticism regarding alleged human rights violations. These findings are consistent with the study by Aladdin and Hanafi (2023), which demonstrated that *Republika* framed the issue of the death penalty for corruptors in line with editorial interests. A similar pattern appears in *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id*, which supports the status quo through optimistic narratives. Furthermore, these results reinforce Ananda

and Wijaya's (2024) research that international media framing is shaped by ideological orientations; in this case, *Betahita.id* is clearly influenced by environmental and agrarian advocacy ideology. However, this study contributes a new perspective by examining three levels of media simultaneously—local (*Banyuwangi.viva.co.id*), sectoral/thematic (*Betahita.id*), and national (*Tempo.co*)—which are rarely analyzed together in framing research.

News Analysis Banyuwangi.viva.co.id

The following are the results of the framing analysis of 5 news items from the online media portal *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id* regarding the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village using the analysis model of Zongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The relevant analysis is presented in detail in Table 2.

Betahita.id News Analysis

The following are the results of the framing analysis of 5 news items from the online media portal *Betahita.id* regarding the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village using the analysis model of Zongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The relevant analysis is presented in detail in Table 3.

Tempo.co News Analysis

The following are the results of the framing analysis of 5 news items from the online media portal *Tempo.co* regarding the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village using the analysis model of Zongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The relevant analysis is presented in detail in Table 4.

In reporting on the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village, the three online media portals mentioned above differ significantly. These differences can be seen in the way journalists write their stories and the biases they take in their articles. This bias can be seen in both the journalists' writing style and the content of the stories. The comparison of news objectivity regarding the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village, Banyuwangi on *viva.co.id*, *Betahita.id*, and *Tempo.co* is presented in Table 5.

Coverage of the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, reviewed by *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id*, *Betahita.id*, and *Tempo.co*, demonstrates differences in how the media frames issues (framing) and constructs meaning of reality (reality construction). Referring to Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's framing theory, the media shapes public perception through syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures. Meanwhile, Berger and Luckmann's reality construction theory explains how media reporting becomes a tool for constructing and maintaining social meanings accepted by society.

Banyuwangi.viva.co.id: Positive Framing by Authorities

News about agrarian conflicts on *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id* emphasizes a narrative of harmony, portraying the government and companies as mediators in conflict resolution. Syntactically, the headlines tend to be optimistic, for example, emphasizing the success of mediation or compassionate

agreements between residents and PT Bumisari. The script structure highlights mediation efforts without adequately reflecting on the experiences of the affected farmers.

The agrarian conflict in Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, has become an issue that has attracted the attention of various media outlets, each with its own distinct reporting approach. The objectivity of the reporting produced by Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, Betahita.id, and Tempo.co demonstrates variations in how each media outlet frames the issue, which can be analyzed using the framing theory of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, as well as the reality construction theory of Berger and Luckmann. These reporting approaches not only shape public perception of the conflict but also reflect the journalistic stance and mission of each media outlet.

Banyuwangi.viva.co.id focuses its coverage on the harmony narrative and the active role of the government and companies in managing agrarian conflicts. It highlights mediation, compassionate aid, and peaceful solutions offered to farmers, often through optimistic headlines such as "Bumisari Compassion Relief Phase Five: Pakel Residents Happy to Receive Business Capital." This news syntactic structure structures facts with a focus on the success of the government and companies, without delving much into the direct experiences of farmers experiencing intimidation or criminalization. From the

perspective of Berger and Luckmann's theory of reality construction, Banyuwangi.viva.co.id creates a social reality that supports the status quo narrative, in which the government and companies are positioned as agents of solution. However, this media is less critical of the authorities, potentially overlooking the dimensions of injustice experienced by farmers.

In contrast, Betahita.id takes an advocacy approach, with a strong focus on the experiences of farmers as victims of agrarian conflicts. Syntactically, headlines such as "Farmers Arrested by Police While Having Dinner" and "Criminalization of Pakel Farmers" immediately demonstrate framing that emphasizes injustice. The thematic structure used provides in-depth details about farmers' experiences, the intimidation they experience, and criticism of the government and corporations. Based on framing theory, this media reinforces a frame that builds public empathy for farmers and presents a narrative critical of the authorities. However, the objectivity of Betahita.id's reporting is limited because the perspectives of corporations and the government are not widely represented. From the perspective of reality construction theory, Betahita.id creates a social reality that challenges the dominant narratives of government and corporations, but in the process, tends to favor a particular group, namely farmers.

Tempo.co, on the other hand, demonstrates a more balanced approach to

reporting. It presents views from various parties, including farmers, companies, the government, and independent institutions such as the National Commission on Human Rights. Its syntactic structure utilizes factual headlines, for example, "The Supreme Court Frees Two Farmers in Pakel Village," and highlights legal decisions or investigations. Tempo.co prioritizes an in-depth thematic structure, encompassing the chronology of the conflict, statements from various parties, and recommendations for conflict resolution. In framing theory, this investigative approach demonstrates framing that seeks to avoid excessive bias toward one party. From a reality construction perspective, Tempo.co creates a more complex reality, allowing readers to understand the agrarian conflict from various perspectives. This demonstrates the media's effort to present more neutral information, without losing critical elements of those who could potentially abuse their power.

In comparison, Banyuwangi.viva.co.id tends to present narratives that favor the authorities, resulting in relatively low objectivity. This approach reduces the opportunity for readers to understand the losses experienced by farmers or to critique the system. Betahita.id offers highly critical reporting on the government and companies, with a strong advocacy narrative, but its objectivity is limited because it rarely includes the companies' perspectives. In contrast, Tempo.co falls somewhere in the middle, with a more balanced investigative approach that

covers all relevant parties, allowing readers to view the conflict from multiple perspectives.

These differences in objectivity demonstrate how media can influence public perceptions of the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village. Based on the theory of reality construction, each media outlet constructs different social meanings: Banyuwangi.viva.co.id reinforces trust in government and corporate authorities, Betahita.id challenges dominant narratives by voicing marginalized groups, while Tempo.co creates more inclusive and critical meanings. These differing approaches not only reflect each media outlet's editorial policies but also demonstrate how framing can be used to influence public opinion on complex conflicts such as agrarian conflicts. The findings further illustrate how media outlets frame agrarian conflict differently depending on their ideological positions and levels. For instance, Banyuwangi.viva.co.id reported: *"The Pakel Village Government together with Muspika will continue to oversee the dispute resolution process to maintain conduciveness"* (Banyuwangi.viva.co.id, 2023). This statement reflects a pro-authority framing with an emphasis on stability and social harmony, similar to Aladdin and Hanafi's (2023) findings on *Republika*, which highlighted moral legitimacy. In contrast, Betahita.id foregrounded advocacy aspects, as in the report: *"The Pakel farmers have been fighting for their land for decades, but what they face is*

intimidation and criminalization" (Betahita.id, 2023).

Such framing aligns with Ananda and Wijaya's (2024) argument that media ideology shapes biased narratives, where advocacy-oriented outlets tend to portray communities as victims while highlighting structural injustice. Meanwhile, *Tempo.co* adopted a more balanced approach. One article stated: *"PT Bumi Sari claims land use rights (HGU) over the disputed area, but residents reject it because they believe the land is their ancestral inheritance"* (*Tempo.co*, 2023). By presenting both corporate and community voices within one narrative, *Tempo.co* demonstrates relatively neutral framing, diverging from the tendencies of other national outlets that often lean toward government perspectives, as observed in Syafitri's (2020) study. These excerpts suggest that local media framing tends to safeguard the legitimacy of local authorities, sectoral media foreground community advocacy, and national media attempt to craft a more balanced narrative. This variation indicates that the construction of agrarian conflict in Pakel is not uniform but shaped by each outlet's orientation. Thus, this study not only affirms the patterns identified by Ningsih, Asmawi, and Chatra (2023) regarding political pressures on local media but also extends them by providing a cross-level comparison that is rarely undertaken in previous research.

Overall, *Tempo.co* demonstrated the highest objectivity due to its balance, while

Betahita.id excelled in community advocacy, albeit with a certain bias. *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id*, while informative, tended to reinforce the status quo without presenting an in-depth critical perspective. This analysis confirms that media framing and construction of reality play a significant role in shaping public understanding of social issues such as agrarian conflicts. Theoretically, this study reaffirms the relevance of framing theory (Pan & Kosicki) in illustrating how differences in syntactic, thematic, and rhetorical structures shape diverse realities before the public. From the perspective of social construction (Berger & Luckmann), the media is shown not to be neutral but to actively construct social reality according to its ideological orientation. The position of this research lies between previous framing studies while offering a novel contribution: integrating cross-level media analysis (local, sectoral, national), thereby broadening the understanding of how agrarian conflicts are not only interpreted differently across outlets but also reproduced in line with their scope and editorial interests.

No	News Title	Structure	Analysis
1	Polresta Banyuwangi Jembatani Tali Asih Warga Pakel dan PT Bumisari	Syntax	The news story begins with a headline emphasizing the role of the Banyuwangi Police in mediating the amicable settlement between Pakel residents and PT Bumisari. The lead includes the time, place, and purpose of the meeting. A quote from the Police Chief highlights efforts to create harmony. The closing emphasizes the hope for a harmonious life.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Banyuwangi City Police, Pakel residents, PT Bumisari. What: Handover of the love gift. When: April 24, 2024 evening. Where: Pakel Village Office. Why: Creating harmony. How: Official mediation by the City Police.
		Thematic	The news story is structured logically, including the time, location, and purpose of the meeting. The sentences are active and informative, explaining the role of the Police as a mediator. The paragraphs flow smoothly, supporting the main theme of harmony between residents and the company.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "bridging" and "harmony" emphasize positive mediation. Photos of the handover reinforce this fact. The metaphor of "bridging interests" illustrates the neutral role of the police.
2	Warga Pakel Bersuka Cita Usai Tanda Tangan Kemitraan dengan PT Bumisari	Syntax	The news story opens with a headline highlighting the joy of Pakel residents after signing a partnership with PT Bumisari. The lead describes the joy, especially among the women. Quotes from residents and an emphasis on the role of local figures reinforce the narrative, while the closing emphasizes the free gift of compassion.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Pakel Village residents & PT Bumisari, What: partnership, When: April 26, 2024, Where: Pakel Village, Why: creating harmony, and How: facilitated by community leaders.
		Thematic	Details focus on the atmosphere of the event, the presence of important figures, and the benefits to the community. Clear, active sentences make the information easy to understand, with each paragraph conveying a single main point. The interconnections between paragraphs are logical, reinforcing the theme of social harmony.
		Rhetorical	Word choices like "rejoice" and "live in harmony" emphasize a positive atmosphere. Photos accompanying the news emphasize the residents' happiness, supporting a harmonious and collaborative narrative.
3	Tali Asih Bumisari Tahap 5: Warga Pakel Banyuwangi Gembira Dapat Modal Usaha	Syntax	The news story begins with a headline about the joy of Pakel residents over the fifth phase of the aid program from PT Bumisari. The lead highlights the enthusiasm of residents gathered at the village office. A quote from recipient Siti Hurairah and a statement from PT Bumisari emphasize the program's purpose as a form of caring. The closing section highlights the use of funds for community businesses.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Pakel Village residents and PT Bumisari, What: Fifth stage of compassionate aid distribution, When: Sunday, May 26, 2024, Where: Pakel Village Office, Licin District, Banyuwangi, Why: As a form of PT Bumisari's attention and concern for the local community, How: Each recipient receives IDR 3 million, used for business capital and improving welfare.
		Thematic	The news item details the funds and their use, structured logically using short sentences. Each paragraph supports the main theme of the economic benefits of the charity program.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "enthusiastic" and "very happy" emphasize the positive impact. Quotes from beneficiaries reinforce the narrative, while the focus on the well-being of residents creates a powerful and humanistic message.
4	Pohon Ditebangi OTK, Warga Pakel Banyuwangi Minta Pihak Tak Bertanggung jawab Berhenti Picu Masalah	Syntax	The news story opens with a headline highlighting the demand of Pakel Village residents for the provocative actions to stop. The lead explains the losses caused by trees being cut down by unauthorized persons. Mathorah's quote highlights the significant economic impact, while the closing emphasizes the residents' desire to live in peace.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who : Residents of Pakel Village, especially Mathorah, and irresponsible parties, What: Trees belonging to residents were cut down by unknown persons, When: No specific time was mentioned in the news, Where: Pakel Village,

5	Banyuwangi Bersiap Akhiri Konflik Lahan Pakel		Licin District, Banyuwangi, Why: Allegedly due to the victim's family receiving compassionate funds from PT Bumisari, How: Unknown persons cut down mangosteen, durian, and coffee trees in Mathorah's garden, causing significant economic losses.
		Thematic	The sentences are arranged logically, with paragraphs that support the main theme about the negative impact of destruction on the lives of residents.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "destruction" and "provocative" emphasize the negative nature of the actions of the OTK. Mathorah's emotional quote reinforces the message about the impact of the destruction on the economy and the well-being of citizens.
		Syntax	The news story begins with a headline about Banyuwangi's efforts to resolve the land conflict in Pakel. The lead highlights the government's optimism, with background information on the role of the Integrated Team (Timdu) as a mediator. A quote from the Banyuwangi Regional Secretary affirms confidence in a peaceful solution, and the closing offers a cooperative land management scheme.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Banyuwangi Government, Pakel Village residents, and PT Bumisari, What: Efforts to end land conflicts, When: Thursday, August 15, 2024, Where: Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, Why: To reach a peaceful agreement between residents and the Company, How: Through the formulation of solutions by the Integrated Team involving land management cooperation.
		Thematic	The news focuses on conflict resolution, with logically structured paragraphs and informative details. Active sentences highlight the collaborative steps being planned, supporting the main theme of a peaceful resolution.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "solution," "mutually beneficial," and "optimistic" reinforce the positive narrative. Official quotes add authority, emphasizing reconciliation.

Table 1. Analysis of news framing on Banyuwangi.viva.co.id

Source: Processed by the Researcher (2025)

No	News Title	Structure	Analysis
1	Catatan OMS: Banyuwangi Ibarat Kuburan Keadilan Petani	Syntax	The headline highlighted Banyuwangi as a "graveyard of justice" for farmers, amplifying criticism of the judge's verdict, which was considered odd. The lead described the injustice of the agrarian conflict, with a quote from a CSO highlighting the need for agrarian reform.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Three farmers, a panel of judges, a plantation company, and CSOs, What: A court verdict that is considered unfair to farmers, When: No specific time is mentioned in the news, Where: Banyuwangi, Why: Agrarian conflict between farmers and a plantation company, How: Through a court process that CSOs view as not being in favor of farmers.
		Thematic	The details focus on the views of the CSO and the impact of the court's decision on farmers. The paragraphs are logically structured, supporting the theme of agrarian injustice.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "graveyard of justice" and "inequality" highlight the urgency of the issue. CSO quotes reinforce criticism of the court's verdict.
2	Somasi Mahkamah Agung, TeKAD: Bebaskan Pejuang Agraria Desa Pakel	Syntax	The headline highlighted TeKAD GARUDA's summons to the Supreme Court demanding the release of three farmers from Pakel Village. The lead explained that the basis for the summons was the Constitutional Court's decision to annul the articles used to imprison the farmers. The closing statement stated that the Supreme Court planned to report the Chief Justice if the summons was ignored.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: TeKAD GARUDA, the Supreme Court, three farmers in Pakel Village. What: An open summons to release three detained farmers. When: The summons was sent on April 8, 2024. Where: Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, East Java. Why: The legal basis for the detention has been declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court.

			How: Through an open summons letter to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.
		Thematic	The news focused on the criminalization of farmers, with details about the Constitutional Court's revocation of the articles. The chronological sentences supported the main theme, namely efforts to legally liberate farmers.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "criminalization" and "unconstitutional" reinforce the urgency of the issue. Citing TeKAD GARUDA adds legitimacy to the demands.
3	Mahkamah Agung Bebaskan Kepala Desa Pakel	Syntax	The headline highlighted the Supreme Court's acquittal of the Pakel Village Head. The lead explained that the appeal was granted because the articles implicating him were declared unconstitutional. A quote from Walhi East Java highlighted concerns about continued intimidation if the agrarian conflict remains unresolved.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Mulyadi, Supreme Court, Banyuwangi District Court, Walhi East Java, What: Mulyadi's acquittal from the accusation of spreading fake news, When: Supreme Court decision in May 2024; Mulyadi returned to Pakel on May 20, 2024, Where: Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, East Java, Why: The Supreme Court granted Mulyadi's cassation after Articles 14 and 15 of Law No. 1 of 1946 that ensnared him were declared invalid by the Constitutional Court, How: Through the Supreme Court's cassation decision which overturned the Banyuwangi District Court's verdict.
		Thematic	The news item details Mulyadi's release and concerns about further criminalization. The paragraphs are structured logically, highlighting the agrarian conflict as the core issue.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "criminalization" and "intimidation" emphasize the injustices against farmers. Walhi's quotes add authority and relevance to the news.
4	Polisi Diduga Main Culik Petani Pakel saat Makan Malam	Syntax	The headline highlighted the alleged kidnapping of Pakel farmers by police. The lead explained the warrantless arrests were related to agrarian conflicts. A quote from LBH Surabaya emphasized this action as a form of criminalization. The closing highlighted the long list of criminalizations of farmers in Pakel Village.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Muhriyono, a farmer from Pakel Village, and police officers, What: Arrest without official procedures against farmers, When: Sunday, June 9, 2024, during dinner, Where: Pakel Village, Licin District, Banyuwangi Regency, Why: Allegedly related to an agrarian conflict with PT Bumisari Maju Sukses, How: The arrest was carried out without an official letter, considered a form of criminalization.
		Thematic	The details focus on the chronology of the arrests and LBH's criticism of criminalization. The paragraphs support the main theme of farmer intimidation.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "kidnapping" and "criminalization" emphasize injustice. Quotes from LBH Surabaya representatives lend legitimacy to criticism of the unlawful arrest procedures.
5	Besok Sidang ke-13 Kriminalisasi Petani Pakel x PT Bumisari	Syntax	The headline highlights the 13th trial in the Pakel farmers' criminalization case. The lead explains that Muhriyono is accused of assault related to an agrarian conflict. Quotes from legal counsel highlight inconsistencies in PT Bumisari's testimony, while the closing criticizes the government's lack of seriousness in addressing the conflict.
		Script	News fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Muhriyono, farmer from Pakel Village; PT Bumisari Maju Sukses; Ramli Himawan, legal advisor; Banyuwangi District Court, What: The 13th trial of the alleged assault case by Muhriyono against PT Bumisari security. When: Wednesday, October 30, 2024. Where: Banyuwangi District Court. Why: Muhriyono was accused of assault while preventing PT Bumisari from cutting down crops belonging to Pakel farmers. How: Through a trial process with the agenda of examining the defendant.
		Thematic	The news focused on the chronology of the case and criticism of the legal process. The paragraph supported the theme of criminalizing farmers fighting for land rights.

Rhetorical Lexicons like "criminalization" and "inconsistency of testimony" reinforce criticism. Quotes from legal counsel lend legitimacy to criticism of the legal process.

Table 3. Analysis of news framing on Betahita.id

Source: Processed by the Researcher (2025)

No	News Title	Structure	Analysis
1	PT Bumisari Bantah Intimidasi dan Aniaya Petani Desa Pakel, Ini Penjelasan Manajemen	Syntax	The headline highlights PT Bumisari's denial of allegations of intimidation and abuse of farmers in Pakel Village. The lead provides the company's official statement, while background information explains the agrarian conflict related to land claims. The closing statement confirms the 2018 BPN report, which stated that Pakel Village was not included in PT Bumisari's HGU (land use permit).
		Script	News fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: PT Bumisari Maju Sukses and farmers in Pakel Village, What: PT Bumisari's denial of allegations of intimidation and abuse of farmers, When: The conflict has been ongoing since 2018, with a denial statement released in January 2025, Where: Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, Why: There are allegations from farmers regarding intimidation and abuse by the company, How: PT Bumisari issued an official statement denying the allegations.
		Thematic	The details focus on the history of the agrarian conflict and the claims of both parties. The paragraphs support the main theme that PT Bumisari denies allegations of intimidation.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "deny" and "claim" emphasize the company's defensiveness. Management quotes legitimize PT Bumisari's position.
2	Petani Desa Pakel Banyuwangi Dilaporkan Balik oleh Satpam PT Bumisari atas Dugaan Pengeroyokan	Syntax	The headline highlighted a counter-report filed by PT Bumisari security guards against farmers in Pakel Village for alleged assault. The lead explained that agrarian conflicts are increasingly complex. Quotes from PT Bumisari security officers reinforced the rationale for the report.
		Script	News fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Pakel Village Farmers and PT Bumisari security guards, What: Counter-report by PT Bumisari security guards regarding alleged assault by farmers, When: Thursday, March 21, 2024, Where: Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, Why: An incident of road access being blocked by farmers which triggered a confrontation with PT Bumisari security guards, How: PT Bumisari security guards reported three Pakel residents to the Banyuwangi Police regarding alleged assault.
		Thematic	The paper details the chronology of the incident and the responses of each party. Each paragraph supports the main proposition that the agrarian conflict between the Pakel Village farmers and PT Bumisari has become increasingly complex due to the mutual reporting between the two parties.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "reported back" and "gang assault" highlight the tension. Quotes from PT Bumisari security personnel provide the company's perspective on the incident.
3	Komnas HAM Ungkap Warga Desa Pakel Kecewa dengan Pemda Banyuwangi, Polres, dan PT Bumisari	Syntax	The headline highlights the Pakel residents' disappointment with the local government, the police, and PT Bumisari. The lead explains the National Human Rights Commission's visit to the conflict site. The closing section outlines the Commission's recommendation to stop the intimidation and initiate dialogue.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Komnas HAM, residents of Pakel Village, Banyuwangi Regional Government, Police, and PT Bumisari, What: Residents' disappointment with the parties involved in resolving land conflicts. When: Sunday, April 7, 2024, Where: Pakel Village, Licin District, Banyuwangi Regency, Why: Residents experienced intimidation and violence, but their reports were not followed up, while PT Bumisari's report against residents was processed, How: Komnas HAM held a dialogue with residents and directly inspected the land that was the object of the conflict.
		Thematic	The news item details residents' experiences, dialogue with the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM), and recommendations for conflict resolution. Each paragraph supports the main proposition that Pakel Village residents are disappointed with the handling of the land conflict by the Banyuwangi Regional Government, the Police, and PT Bumisari.

		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "intimidation" and "disappointment" highlight the residents' plight. Quotes from Komnas HAM commissioners lend legitimacy to the residents' statements of disappointment and the recommendations made.
4	Mahkamah Agung Bebaskan Dua Petani Desa Pakel Banyuwangi, Permohonan Kasasi Dikabulkan	Syntax	The headline highlighted the Supreme Court's acquittal of two farmers from Pakel Village. The lead explained that the appeal was granted, overturning the previous verdict. The closing statement emphasized that the case stemmed from allegations of spreading false news.
		Script	The news fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Two farmers from Pakel Village, Suwarno and Untung, and the Supreme Court, What: The release of two farmers after the cassation petition was granted. When: The cassation verdict was decided on Tuesday, April 23, 2024, Where: Pakel Village, Banyuwangi, Why: The two farmers were previously found guilty of spreading false news that could cause unrest, How: The Supreme Court granted the cassation petition and released the two farmers.
		Thematic	The details focus on the chronology of the case from sentencing to acquittal. Each paragraph supports the main proposition that the Supreme Court acquitted the two farmers from Pakel Village after granting their appeal.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "acquitted" and "criminalization" emphasize legal victories. Quotes from representatives of the GARUDA TeKAD Team lend legitimacy to the information conveyed.
5	Konflik Agraria di Desa Pakel Banyuwangi, Petani Ditangkap Polisi saat Makan Malam Sepulang Menggarap Lahan	Syntax	The headline highlighted the arrest of Pakel farmers by police during dinner. The lead explained the chronology of the arrest without official warrant. The closing emphasized that this case was part of the criminalization of agrarian conflict.
		Script	News fulfills the 5W+1H elements. Who: Farmers from Pakel Village and police from Banyuwangi Police, What: Arrest of farmers while having dinner after working on the land, When: Friday night, February 3, 2023, Where: Pakel Village, Licin District, Banyuwangi Regency, Why: Related to accusations of spreading fake news that could cause unrest, in the context of an agrarian conflict with PT Bumisari, How: Dozens of unknown people who were later identified as police arrested farmers without showing an official arrest warrant.
		Thematic	The news item details the chronology of events and the context of the agrarian conflict. Each paragraph supports the main proposition that the arrest of the Pakel Village farmers by the police is related to the ongoing agrarian conflict.
		Rhetorical	Lexicons like "intimidation" and "criminalization" highlight the pressure on farmers. Quotes from the Civil Society Coalition lend legitimacy to the view that these arrests represent a form of pressure on farmers fighting for their land rights.

Table 4. Analysis of news framing on Tempo.co

Source: Processed by the Researcher (2025)

Banyuwangi.viva.co.id	Betahita.id	Tempo.co
Tends to highlight successful mediation and conflict resolution efforts by local governments and relevant parties. Focuses on harmonious reporting and emphasizes the role of the police or government as mediators.	Oriented to the perspective of the community, especially farmers, who are disadvantaged in agrarian conflicts. Criticizing the criminalization of farmers, highlighting the injustice of the legal system, and underscoring the impact of the conflict on local communities.	It presents more balanced reporting, featuring perspectives from various parties, including farmers, PT Bumisari, local governments, and the National Commission on Human Rights. However, it is also quite critical of alleged violations of farmers' rights.
The focus is on the mediation process, conflict resolution, and government or corporate steps to maintain stability. The narrative tends to be optimistic and solution-oriented.	Focusing on aspects of conflict and injustice, with a more empathetic perspective toward farmers. Emphasis is placed on criminalization, intimidation, and the impact of conflict on the well-being of local communities.	Focusing on reporting the facts of the conflict, presenting the context, chronology, and statements from all parties, Tempo.co also considers investigative elements regarding allegations of intimidation and criminalization.

Using light and optimistic language, with little criticism of the authorities, the writing style is more informative than investigative.	Using a more critical and descriptive writing style, focusing on details that reveal the impact of conflict on communities. Oriented toward advocacy for farmers' rights.	Uses a formal, professional, and investigative writing style. Balanced presentation of facts, with quotes representing various parties.
The news' objectivity is somewhat weak, as it tends to favor authorities or companies. It doesn't explore the perspectives of disadvantaged farmers much.	Moderate objectivity, but more biased towards farmers as victims of agrarian conflict. Critical perspectives toward the government and corporations are more dominant.	Objectivity is strong, with a variety of perspectives presented. However, criticism of governments and corporations remains prominent in some reports.
Provides an optimistic narrative, but does not delve into the farmer's perspective.	Emphasizing advocacy for farmers, even though it seems more biased.	Offering more balanced reporting with an in-depth investigative approach.

Table 5. Comparison of the Objectivity of News on Agrarian Conflict in Pakel Village on *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id*, *Betahita.id*, and *Tempo.co*

Source: Processed by the Researcher (2025)

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study reveal that differences in media framing translate directly into differences in objectivity, which in turn shape distinct versions of social reality regarding the agrarian conflict in Pakel Village. *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id* adopted a pro-authority stance, emphasizing government and corporate roles as mediators of harmony, while minimizing the experiences of farmers who faced intimidation and criminalization. This selective framing limits objectivity because it privileges stability and optimism over the complexity of the conflict. In contrast, *Betahita.id* employed an advocacy-oriented framing, highlighting injustice, intimidation, and structural inequality faced by farmers. Although this approach amplified marginalized voices, it simultaneously reduced inclusivity by underrepresenting government and corporate perspectives. Meanwhile, *Tempo.co* pursued a relatively balanced framing strategy by presenting narratives from multiple actors—farmers, government, corporations, and

independent institutions such as Komnas HAM. This more inclusive approach reflects a higher level of objectivity, offering a comprehensive and nuanced representation of the conflict.

These variations in framing had significant consequences for how the public constructed reality around the conflict. Audiences exposed to *Banyuwangi.viva.co.id* are more likely to view the situation as a manageable local dispute under state control, while readers of *Betahita.id* are encouraged to perceive the conflict as an ongoing injustice rooted in structural power imbalances. On the other hand, *Tempo.co*'s framing provides a space where the conflict is recognized as a multidimensional issue, requiring both critical scrutiny and acknowledgment of diverse stakeholders. In this way, framing becomes more than a journalistic technique; it is a mechanism that actively shapes public interpretation, influencing whether the agrarian conflict is seen as a harmonious

process, a site of injustice, or a contested social reality.

From a theoretical perspective, this study confirms the usefulness of Pan and Kosicki's framing theory in demonstrating how syntactic, thematic, and rhetorical structures construct competing meanings from the same set of events. At the same time, it extends Berger and Luckmann's theory of social construction by illustrating how these meanings crystallize into distinct social realities that condition public discourse. By integrating both frameworks, this research shows that framing not only structures the presentation of news but also serves as a foundational process in the social construction of agrarian conflicts.

The main contribution of this study lies in its cross-level comparative approach, which examines local (*Banyuwangi.viva.co.id*), sectoral (*Betahita.id*), and national (*Tempo.co*) media simultaneously. Previous studies have tended to focus either on national media or on individual cases, leaving a gap in understanding how media at different levels construct conflict in ways that reflect their ideological orientations and audience reach. By addressing this gap, the research enriches the scholarly conversation on framing by highlighting the layered nature of objectivity across media contexts. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the construction of agrarian conflicts is not monolithic but instead dynamically shaped, contested, and

reproduced across multiple spheres of the media ecosystem.

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