

The Role of Media Framing as Watchdog for Forest and Land Fires in Indonesia

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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords <i>Framing of News;</i> <i>Online Media;</i> <i>Forest and Land Fires;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT Media surveillance in forest and land fires in Riau during 2019 is essential in protecting the environment and enforcing environmental crimes perpetrators. Online media coverage, apart from having a vital obligation to disseminate information to the public and a form of control over the government. The purpose of this study was to determine how the framing used by Tirto.id was related to the coverage of forest and land fires in Riau in 2019. The news was analyzed using Robert Entman's framing analysis method. There are four elements used in this research, namely, define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and treatment recommendation. The results found were that Tirto.id tended to frame the arrest of suspects who caused forest and land fires in Riau in 2019 as defining problems. Then, Tirto.id framed that the forest and land fires in Riau in 2019 were a deliberate mistake by humans, that it was an easy and cheap method to extend the farm. The assessment given by Tirto.id is that the government has been negligent in overcoming environmental problems. Therefore, Tirto.id provides a solution in providing fair laws to the suspects of forest and land fires in Riau in 2019.</p>
<p>Kata Kunci Framing Pemberitaan; Media Online; Kebakaran Hutan dan Lahan;</p>	<p>ABSTRAK Pengawasan media dalam kasus kebakaran hutan dan lahan di Riau selama tahun 2019 menjadi penting dalam menjaga lingkungan sekaligus penegakkan hukum pelaku kejahatan lingkungan. Pemberitaan media online selain memiliki satu kewajiban penting untuk menyebarkan informasi kepada publik sekaligus bentuk kontrol terhadap pemerintah. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk mengetahui bagaimana framing yang digunakan oleh Tirto.id terkait pemberitaan mengenai kebakaran hutan dan lahan di Riau tahun 2019. Berita-berita yang ada dianalisis dengan menggunakan metode analisis framing milik Robert Entman. Terdapat empat elemen yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini, yaitu define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgement, dan treatment recommendation. Hasil yang ditemukan ialah Tirto.id cenderung membingkai penangkapan tersangka penyebab karhutla di Riau tahun 2019 sebagai define problems nya. Kemudian, Tirto.id membingkai bahwasanya kebakaran hutan dan lahan yang terjadi di Riau tahun 2019 merupakan sebuah kesalahan yang disengaja oleh manusia, yang dilakukan dengan alasan sebagai metode yang mudah dan murah. Tirto.id menilai bahwa pemerintah lalai dalam menanggulangi persoalan lingkungan. Oleh karena itu, Tirto.id memberikan penyelesaian berupa saran untuk pemberian hukum</p>

		yang adil bagi para tersangka kebakaran hutan dan lahan di Riau tahun 2019.
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Introduction

According to data from the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB), over the past ten years, from 2009 to 2019, Indonesia has experienced 1,226 forest and land fires. In 2019, BNPB recorded 141 incidents of forest and land fires (Katadata, 2019). Forest and land fire incidents are in the national spotlight. Reporting from Tempo.co (2019), fires occurred in 28 provinces throughout 2019. Six of them were in the fire emergency alert category, such as West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, South Sumatra, Jambi, and Riau. One to burnt forest and land was sufficiently prominent in Riau in 2019. Referring to data from the Riau Regional Disaster Management Agency (*Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Daerah Riau*, abbreviated as *BPBD Riau*), forest and land fires in Riau Province have reached 647 hectares spread across nine districts and cities in Riau Province (Antaraneews.com, 2021). Forest fires have negative impacts on ecological aspects, including degradation of biodiversity, decreasing economic value of forest and soil productivity, and micro and global climate change. Besides, the smoke generated also has a negative impact on socio-economic aspects, worsening public health (especially respiratory problems), land, water, and air transportations between ASEAN countries, especially countries bordering Indonesia, such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam (Fernandes et al., 2018).

However, through the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK), the government has sealed 42 companies and one community-owned land suspected of being responsible for forest burning, 5 of which are in Riau (Tirto, 2019a). Not only that, but President Jokowi also ensured that the National Police would take legal action against those involved in the sealing of 10 company concessions related to forest and land fires in Riau. Quoted from Tirto (2019b), what is unfortunate about this annual event is that there is no change, from prevention to handling by the government, as if the government has not learned from previous events. The unreasonable reaction expressed by Moeldoko, as the Head of Presidential Staff for the 2014-2019 period that forest and land fires were a disaster from God, further added to the irony of this incident. From the incident to the burning of the forest and land in Riau to the government's unfavorable response, such as Moeldoko's response - finally, it has become a news item for many media. However, the coverage of each media in highlighting fires and land has a different perspective. The difference in framing is necessary because the media cannot be free from interests or ideologies (AR, 2018; Coban, 2018; Entman & Usher, 2018).

Several studies have focused on the media in constructing news about forest fires, including research from Junaidi (2015) which examines three different online media from three countries: Kompas.com from Indonesia, Utusan Malaysia Online from Malaysia, and

TheStraightTimes.com from Singapore in constructing forest and land fire occurrence. This study indicates that Kompas.com, as an online media from Indonesia, framed the causes of the haze events that occurred due to natural factors and also the act of human's doing Kompas.com framed that the cause of forest and land fires was the act of oil palm companies owned by Malaysia and Singapore. Unlike the Malaysian online media, Utusan Malaysia Online instructed a Malaysian-owned oil palm company not to be involved in causing forest and land fires and said that residents caused the forest and land fires. Meanwhile, the media of Singapore, namely The Straits Times, constructs the importance of cooperation between Singapore and Indonesia to tackle the haze episode.

Research by Andriany et al., (2019) which highlighted Kompas.com (Indonesia) and The Star Malaysia (Malaysia) in constructing news about forest and land fires, also revealed that there was a tendency to take sides with each country. The results show that the two media mutually construct the news by defending their respective countries through elements of diagnosing causes. Kompas.com constructs the news that the Malaysian side caused the forest and land fires, while The Star Malaysia constructs the news that the Indonesian side caused the forest and land fires.

Further research from Indrayani et al., (2016) has done a comparative study about news framing between news portal Kompas.com and the Ministry of Health of Indonesia's official website. The results show that Kompas.com framed the hazing incident as the government's failure to manage natural resources, impacting future generations' quality. Also, kompas.com mentioned the number of acute respiratory infection sufferers in several areas affected by the haze. Meanwhile, it is different from the Ministry of Health's website, which displays news about the government's assistance for affected victims.

Three studies described above show that any media's featuring events (fires and land) to the public with different viewpoints. It is at this level that the media construct news about an event according to its interests and ideology (AR, 2018; Coban, 2018; Entman & Usher, 2018) - the same time, it supports Chomsky (2005) statement that the facts in the mass media are only the result of reconstruction. Furthermore, for processed media workers, it is difficult to say this is an indisputable fact. One of the theories used to dismantle the construction of media coverage of an event is to use framing theory or analysis methods (Eriyanto, 2002) - as well as Junaidi (2015), Andriany et al. (2019), and Indrayani et al. (2016). They used the framing analysis method in their research to find out the construction or framing of news on forest fire events.

The media does framing to simplify reality to be easily understood by the audience (D'Angelo, 2017). Furthermore, framing is a way for the owners of power to control or hegemony the public (Chomsky, 2005) However, on the other hand, the frame can emphasize the watchdog's role to the authorities or, at the same time, monitor the environment (Sujoko et al., 2020). The authorities use framing as an instrument of hegemony community to exploit the environment. Framing technic aims to emphasize watchdog to the government, national police or to oversee the exploitation of the domain (Sujoko et al., 2020) - in the end, showed that framing into the certainty of reporting by the mass media on an event of environmental damage such as forest and land fires.

Referring to the forest and land fires in Riau during 2019 and reporting the incident by online media, such as Tirto.id, we decided to study how online media Tirto.id to events forest and land fires Riau. Researchers chose Tirto.id because, within two years since it started operating in 2016, this media has succeeded in becoming one of the Indonesian online media that passed the verification of the International Fact-Checking Network or IFCN (Damaledo, 2018). Tirto also provides news with credible, accurate, and accountable data in presenting the news. Tirto.id also has a different perspective from other mass media in Indonesia (Ciptadi & Armando, 2018).

Then, the theory of framing used is the analysis model framing owned by Entman (1993), which has four elements to analyze data. They are the define problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, treatment recommendations. The Entman framing analysis model's choice is because the use of this model to dismantle media construction on a controversial issue and directly connect to parties in power such as the government and politics or economic capital owners (Andriany et al., 2019; Anggoro, 2014; Entman, 2010; Knüpfer & Entman, 2018). The context in this study is forest and land fires in Riau in 2019.

Method

This study uses a qualitative method design with a constructivist paradigm to look at the reality that seeks to build systematic knowledge through social phenomena. As Berger & Luckman (1966) stated, the constructivist paradigm's primary assumption is that truth is not formed naturally but is formed and constructed. In connection with this research, the constructivist paradigm views that news texts result from media workers' active construction (Dharma, 2018; Eriyanto, 2002).

Then, this study uses a qualitative approach to explain systematically and deeply through a text narrative related to how the online media Tirto.id constructed or framed the

events of forest and land fires in Riau. Neuman (2011) explained that a qualitative approach attempts to find the meaning behind social phenomena and events by explaining them through text narrative and not in numbers.

Entman (1993) framing analysis method becomes the analytical tool to reveal the online media Tirto.id in framing forest and land fires in Riau. Entman (1993) framing analysis model rests on four elements: *First*, define problems, namely determining the issues in the news text. *Second*, cause diagnosis, determining the cause of the problem in the news text. *Third*, moral judgment, which is to provide an assessment of the right or wrong of the problem that occurs. *Fourth*, treatment recommendation, which is the recommended solution to solve the problems that occur.

Data collection techniques in this study used documentation techniques, namely systematic procedures that aim to review and evaluate existing documents, both printed and electronic forms. Then, the existing copies are used as data sources to be tested and interpreted to produce empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009). The collection of data through technical documentation Tirto.id do in the online media that contain the fires and land in Riau in August–October 2019. This period's selection was based on increasing reports about forest and land fires in Riau in 2019 (SiPongi, 2019). As for the news analyzed in this study amounted to 59 news, which were published on the online page Tirto.id during the period August-October 2019.

Results and Discussion

Table 1. News Title Category Based on Define Problem

News Title	Publication Period
Pekanbaru Karhutla Smoke Starts Disturbing Health and Activities of Residents (Asap Karhutla Pekanbaru Mulai Ganggu Kesehatan dan AktivitaWarga)	4 August 2019
Forest and Land Fires in Sumatra (Kebakaran Hutan dan Lahan di Sumatera)	7 August 2019
Eid al-Adha 2019: Sumatra & Kalimantan are still surrounded by forest and land fires (Iduladha 2019: Sumatera & Kalimantan Masih Dikepung Karhutla)	11 August 2019
BMKG: 260 Hotspots spread across Sumatra on Monday Morning (BMKG: 260 Titik Panas tersebar di Sumatera pada Senin Pagi)	19 August 2019
Impact of Riau Karhutla Haze: Residents Irritated Skin and Eyes (Dampak Kabut Asap Karhutla Riau: Warga Kena Iritasi Kulit dan Mata)	10 September 2019
Different Data on Forest Fires BNPB vs KLHK: Riau Most Affected (Beda Data Kebakaran Hutan BNPB vs KLHK: Riau Paling Terdampak)	10 September 2019
Haze increases the cost of living for Pekanbaru residents (Kabut Asap Bikin Biaya Hidup Warga Pekanbaru Meningkat)	13 September 2019
Karhutla Handling and Residents' Stories When Haze Rampant (Penanganan Karhutla dan Cerita Warga Saat Kabut Asap Merajalela)	14 September 2019
Riau Karhutla: 27 High Category Hotspots Detected (Karhutla Riau: 27 Titik Api Kategori Tinggi Terdeteksi)	15 September 2019
BMKG Call Riau Karhutla Smoke to Singapore and Malaysia (BMKG Sebut Asap Karhutla Riau Sampai Singapura dan Malaysia)	17 September 2019

Walhi Called Artificial Rain Deliberately Lowered When Jokowi went to Riau (Walhi Sebut Hujan Buatan Sengaja Diturunkan Saat Jokowi ke Riau)	18 September 2019
Pekanbaru Air Quality and 4 Cities Affected by Forest Fire Smoke (Kualitas Udara Pekanbaru dan 4 Kota Terdampak Asap Kebakaran Hutan)	20 September 2019
Controversial Statements by Indonesian Officials on Forest and Land Fires (Pernyataan-Pernyataan Kontroversial Pejabat Indonesia soal Kebakaran Hutan dan Lahan)	20 September 2019
Ministry of Environment and Forestry Seals 52 Lands in Kalimantan and Sumatra in relation to forest and land fires (KLHK Segel 52 Lahan di Kalimantan dan Sumatera Terkait Karhutla)	21 September 2019
Dense Haze Again Covering Several Areas in Sumatera (Kabut Asap Pekat Kembali Menyelimuti Beberapa Wilayah di Sumatera)	11 October 2019

Table 2. News Title Category Based on Causes Diagnoses

Police Seeking Linked between 23 Suspected Karhutla and Corporations (Polisi Cari Keterkaitan 23 Terduga Pelaku Karhutla dengan Korporasi)	8 August 2019
60 People and 1 Corporation for Forest and Land Fire Suspects in Riau to Central Kalimantan (60 Orang dan 1 Korporasi Tersangka Karhutla di Riau Hingga Kalteng)	12 August 2019
Polri: PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera Becomes Suspect of Riau forest and land fires (Polri: PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera Jadi Tersangka Kebakaran hutan dan lahan Riau)	12 August 2019
Ministry of Health: 9630 Residents Experience ARI due to forest and land fires in Riau (Kemenkes: 9630 Warga Alami ISPA Akibat Karhutla di Riau)	15 August 2019
Riau Karhutla: List of Affected Flights 13 September 2019 (Karhutla Riau: Daftar Penerbangan yang Terdampak 13 September 2019)	13 September 2019
Riau Karhutla Makes Pekanbaru Yellow and Residents Start to Evacuate (Karhutla Riau Bikin Pekanbaru Menguning dan Warga Mulai Mengungsi)	13 September 2019
Pekanbaru Smog Getting Thicker, Hundreds of Residents Fall Sick (Kabut Asap Pekanbaru Makin Tebal, Ratusan Warga Jatuh Sakit)	13 September 2019
BNPB Calls the lack of local government roles to be an obstacle to handling Karhutla (BNPB Sebut Minim Peran Pemda Jadi Hambatan Penanganan Karhutla)	14 September 2019
The Impact of Karhutla: It is like being confined in a room with a furnace (Dampak Karhutla: Seperti Dikurung dalam Ruang Bersama Tungku Api)	15 September 2019
Polri's version of the Karhutla Extinguishing Constraints: Water and Location (Kendala Pemadaman Karhutla versi Polri: Air dan Lokasi)	16 September 2019
Causes and Consequences of Forest Fires in Kalimantan to Sumatra (Penyebab dan Akibat Kebakaran Hutan di Kalimantan Hingga Sumatera)	17 September 2019
Diseases Due to Haze Forest Fires in Kalimantan-Sumatra (3 Penyakit Akibat Kabut Asap Kebakaran Hutan di Kalimantan- Sumatera)	17 September 2019
What Is Karhutla That Cause Haze in Sumatra & Kalimantan? (Apa Itu Karhutla yang Sebabkan Kabut Asap di Sumatera & Kalimantan?)	19 September 2019
The government is not alert, will the 1997-1998 forest and land fire disaster be repeated? (Pemerintah Tak Sigap, Akankah Bencana Karhutla 1997-1998 Terulang?)	20 September 2019
BMKG: Jambi, Palembang & Pekanbaru Air Quality is Still Unhealthy (BMKG: Kualitas Udara Jambi, Palembang & Pekanbaru Masih Tak Sehat)	22 September 2019
Riau Provincial Government Sets Air Pollution Emergency Status Forest and land fires (Pemprov Riau Tetapkan Status Darurat Pencemaran Udara Kebakaran hutan dan lahan)	23 September 2019
Blunt Law Enforcement Causes Recurrent Forest and Land Fires (Tumpulnya Penegakan Hukum Penyebab Karhutla Terulang)	7 October 2019

Table 3. News Title Category Based on Moral Judgment

Chief of Police and Commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces Observe Riau Karhutla blackouts (Kapolri dan Panglima TNI Tinjau Pemadaman Karhutla Riau)	12 Agustus 2019
Regarding Karhutla, Minister of Environment and Forestry: Holders of Land Concessions Don't Play (Soal Karhutla, Menteri LHK: Pemegang Konsesi Lahan Jangan Main-main)	13 August 2019
Polri is now handling 100 cases of forest and land fires with 87 suspects (Polri Kini Tangani 100 Kasus Karhutla dengan 87 Tersangka)	15 August 2019
Police Cannot Hold Boss of PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera (Polisi Tak Tahan Bos PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera)	15 August 2019
Minister Siti Nurbaya Protests to Malaysia about the Karhutla Haze (Menteri Siti Nurbaya Protes ke Malaysia Soal Kabut Asap Karhutla)	11 September 2019
Individual Suspects of Karhutla in Sumatra and Kalimantan are 185 (Tersangka Perorangan Karhutla di Sumatera dan Kalimantan Jadi 185)	16 September 2019
Karhutla suspects in Sumatra and Kalimantan are 218 people (Tersangka Karhutla di Sumatera dan Kalimantan Jadi 218 Orang)	17 September 2019
What is wrong with Moeldoko's statement regarding the Riau Karhutla Victims (Yang Keliru dari Pernyataan Moeldoko soal Korban Karhutla Riau)	17 September 2019
Wiranto claims the smoke caused by forest and land fires is not as bad as the coverage in the media (Wiranto Klaim Asap Akibat Kebakaran hutan dan lahan Tak Separah Pemberitaan di Media)	18 September 2019
Spotify Create "Hazed and Confused" Playlist Talking About Smoke Disaster (Spotify Buat Playlist "Hazed and Confused" Singgung Bencana Asap)	19 September 2019
Forest Burning: The Elite Profiting, Cultivator to Blame (Pembakaran Hutan: Elite yang Untung, Peladang yang Disalahkan)	21 September 2019
Greenpeace: Citizens' Lungs Are Dirtier Than Jokowi's Shoes (Greenpeace: Paru-Paru Warga Lebih Kotor daripada Sepatu Jokowi)	22 September 2019
Forest and land fires: Elite Conspiracy and Alleged Borehole Corruption (Kebakaran hutan dan lahan: Konspirasi Elite dan Dugaan Korupsi Sumur Bor)	7 October 2019
Nonsense of Officials on Forest and Land Fire that You Don't Need to Trust (Omong Kosong Pejabat Soal Karhutla yang Tak Perlu Dipercaya)	8 October 2019
Riau Police to Immediately Designate Corporations as Karhutla Suspects (Polda Riau Segera Tetapkan Korporasi sebagai Tersangka Karhutla)	21 October 2019

Table 4. News title category based on treatment recommendation

Polri Conducts Evaluation of Forest and Land Fire Handling Every Month (Polri Lakukan Evaluasi Penanganan Karhutla Setiap Bulan)	14 August 2019
Karhutla Task Force Evaluates Handling of Fire Fighting Cases (Satgas Karhutla Evaluasi Penanganan Perkara Pemadaman Api)	14 August 2019
Wiranto: Handling forest and land fires is not only the responsibility of the center (Wiranto: Penanganan Karhutla Tak Hanya Tanggung Jawab Pusat)	21 August 2019
The Malaysian Palm Oil Company Suspectedly Burned Land Sealed by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (Lahan Perusahaan Sawit Malaysia yang Diduga Dibakar Disegel KLHK)	14 September 2019
Ministry of Environment and Forestry Seals 42 Companies Allegedly as Forest Burners (KLHK Segel 42 Perusahaan Diduga Pelaku Pembakaran Hutan)	14 September 2019
DKI Pemprov Sends 65 SKPDs to Help Handling Land and Forest Lands in Riau (Pemprov DKI Kirim 65 Orang SKPD Bantu Tangani Karhutla di Riau)	17 September 2019
Karhutla: Malaysia Sends Letter to Jokowi, Singapore Offers Assistance (Karhutla: Malaysia Kirim Surat ke Jokowi, Singapura Tawari Bantuan)	19 September 2019
When Wiranto is Challenged to Stay Longer at the Karhutla Location (Saat Wiranto Ditantang Tinggal Lebih Lama di Lokasi Karhutla)	19 September 2019
How to Overcome Karhutla in Kalimantan-Sumatra from Jokowi to BNPB (Cara Atasi Karhutla di Kalimantan-Sumatera Versi Jokowi hingga BNPB)	20 September 2019

Preventing forest and land fires, Peatland Restoration Agency Invites Bees Livestock Residents (Cegah Karhutla, Badan Restorasi Gambut Ajak Warga Ternak Lebah)	9 October 2019
345 people and 17 corporations named as forest and land fire suspects (345 Orang dan 17 Korporasi Ditetapkan Sebagai Tersangka Karhutla)	22 October 2019
Police Determine 4 People and 2 Corporations for Forest and Land Fire Suspects (Polri Tetapkan 4 Orang dan 2 Korporasi Tersangka Karhutla)	22 October 2019

Framing Techniques from Tirto.id Against Forest and Land Fires in Riau 2019

From the documentation technique used, this study found 59 reports from Tirto.id discussing forest and land fires in Riau during the period August - October 2019. As explained by Eriyanto (2002) and D'Angelo (2017), media framing aims to highlight a particular point of view in a specific issue or event - the goal is for the audience to get the reconstructed issue/event's point of view. Online Media Tirto.id perform framing on 59 preachings in several ways as follows:

First, the use of graphics. Tirto.id always presents illustrations to support its news during forest and land fires in Riau in 2019. The graphics are photographs related to blackouts, Riau conditions, pictures depicting the emergency forest and land fires in Riau. The graphics can help the media to emphasize or stress the standout. In this case, Tirto.id can influence how the audience interprets the existing reality through the graphics used. From a visual communication perspective, the pictures in print media or online media can attract readers' attention to look at it and read the news.

The news report on October 7, 2019, entitled "The Blindness of Law Enforcement Causes Recurrent Forest and Land Fire," inserts an illustration of Jokowi teaching about forest and land fires through a blackboard with the background of a burning forest. This illustration illustrates that Jokowi only makes theoretical statements and is not balanced with appropriate practice. What Tirto.id presents in this newsletter is a form of criticism against Jokowi, who often utters nonsense to repeat forest and land fires.

Not only that, the report entitled "Karhutla: Elite Conspiracy and Alleged Drilling Well Corruption" on October 7, 2019, also included illustrations related to forest and land fires. In this newsletter, Tirto.id illustrates a small family wearing a complete anti-smoke mask, confused about where to go amid the fire burning the forest and the surrounding land. This illustration implies that the community is most affected by the forest and land fire because the bad conditions make them isolated.

Another report from Tirto.id related to forest and land fires in Riau which also used illustrations, was the news "The Nonsense of Unbelievable Karhutla Officials" on October 8,

2019. The sketch depicts Jokowi walking away from the burning forest wearing a mask. Tirto.id implied that it was as if Jokowi was trying to ignore that forest and land fires continued to burn.

They are *second*, labeling. In framing the news, Tirto.id also carried out the labeling given by Tirto.id to a group of officials, such as Minister of Political Economy and Law Wiranto, Chief of Staff of President Moeldoko, Minister of Villages, Disadvantaged Development and Transmigration Eko Putro Sandjojo, and President Joko Widodo as "Jakarta officials" in the coverage of "Controversial Statements by Indonesian Officials on Forest and Land Fires" on September 20, 2019. "Jakarta Officials" implies a group of officials who live and work in Jakarta, which is far from the fire area in Riau, are knowledgeable about the conditions of a fire in Riau. According to Tirto.id, these officials only conveyed nonsense about Riau's fine shape to the public, even though the reality was the opposite.

Third, word repetition. Tirto.id has several times reported the events of forest and land fires in Riau in 2019, often using the word 'quibble' to explain the government's statement in raising issues related to forest and land fires Riau in 2019. The use of the word 'quibble' shows that Tirto.id is framing the government and its apparatus to find a specific reason to cover up a mistake. This information can be seen in the news on August 15, 2019, entitled "Police Cannot Hold the Boss of PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera." On this news, Tirto.id use the word 'air d over; to explain that the Police cover up the reality regarding the forest and land fires committed by PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera because PT SSS is still under investigation by the Police. Thus, the detention of the boss of PT SSS was deemed not necessary by the Police.

Tirto.id also used the word 'arguing' in the news "BNPB Called Minimal Role of Local Governments a Barriers to Handling Karhutla" on September 14, 2019. Tirto.id implied that the Kopassus Danjen was considered insensitive regarding forest and land fires which had many destructive impacts versus positive impacts. Tirto.id explained that Danjen Kopassus said that forest and burned land could be used as business land, ignoring the fact that forest and land fires cause many losses.

The latest news that uses the word 'quibble' is entitled "Wiranto Claims the Smoke Due to Forest and Land Fire is Not As Bad as the Media Coverage" on September 18, 2019. In this case, Tirto.id implied that Wiranto continued to lie to the public regarding the actual situation in Riau by saying that Riau was in good condition, not as bad as what the media reported. The number of people with acute respiratory infection sufferers in Riau continues to increase due to the haze generated by forest and land fires.

Tirto.id through three techniques, namely the use of graphics, labeling, and the repetition of words, demonstrate a desire to criticize the government's and private companies; and show the harmful effects of forest and land fires. Tirto.id tries to carry out its function as a watchdog to oversee parties who have political and economic power by framing its news (Sujoko et al., 2020). In this case, the media can exercise control over the government's performance as a determinant of policies and private companies as indicated in the forest and land fires in Riau 2019.

At that level, as an institution, Tirto.id, through the construction of the story, wants to build public opinion to perceive that the government and the company were even responsible for forest and land fires in Riau 2019. Implicitly, construction reports are done online media Tirto.id strengthening the basic assumption of agenda-setting theory. The media creates public awareness by emphasizing specific issues to be considered essential and trusted (Entman, 2007; McCombs et al., 2014). At the same time, it strengthens the statement of Lippman (in Simonson, 2016) and Entman (2004) that the media has the power to form public opinion on a particular issue or event - in this case, the forest and land fires in Riau 2019.

Then, through the framework of the Entman (1993) framing analysis model, this study succeeded in identifying the Tirto.id framing construction through four elements, namely *defining problems*, diagnosing causes of forest and land fires; *moral judgment*, an assessment of right or wrong on forest and land fires and their handling; and *treatment recommendation*, a recommended solution for resolving forest and land fires in Riau 2019.

Define Problems of Forest and Land Fires in Riau 2019 by Tirto.id

In defining the problem (define problems), Tirto.id tends to define the news problem in the arrest of suspects that caused forest and land fires in Riau in 2019. Researchers found 15 out of 59 news stories that had similar definitions of the problem, namely regarding the issue of arresting a suspect in forest and land fires in Riau, starting from the determination of the suspect, land sealing, to the threat given by the Minister of Environment and Forestry to the suspect in the burning case. The news entitled "National Police: PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera as a suspect in burning forest and land fire in Riau" on August 12, 2019.

The news shows that Tirto.id defines PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera as a Riau suspect by the Police as the problem. The definition indicates that natural disasters are not a single factor that caused forest and land fires, but another factor is greedy human beings. PT Sumber Sawit Sejahtera appointment as a suspect also implies that law enforcement officers do not remain silent in handling forest and land fires in Riau. Then, the news entitled "The National Police is

Now Handling 100 Forest and Land Fire Cases with 87 Suspects” on August 15, 2019, also frames an increase in the number of fire cases and the performance of the Police in handling suspects. Tirto defines the problem that the Police are not playing games following up on the forest and land fires.

On October 22, 2019, Tirto.id reported a new suspect's appointment related to the causes of forest and land fires in Riau. Apart from corporations, the Police also named new individual suspects. The report on the determination of the suspect indicates that the Police have remarkably handled it. Furthermore, Tirto. id's framing regarding this suspect's decision also shows law enforcement officers' performance who are serious and enforcing laws against anyone who violates the law.

Meanwhile, the problem's definition by the following four news shows that it is different among the other 59 news. First, the news about hotspots detected by BMKG in Riau in the news entitled "BMKG: 260 Hotspots scattered in Sumatra on Monday Morning" on August 19 be objective in looking at the issue of forest and land fires on September 11, 2019, in a report entitled "Minister Siti Nurbaya Protests to Malaysia Concerning Haze of Forest and Land Fires." Third, on September 13, 2019, which defines the increasing cost of living in Riau due to the disaster of forest and land fires as the problem in the news entitled "Haze Increases the Cost of Living for Pekanbaru Residents." Finally, the information related to peatland restoration in the report entitled "Prevent Forest and Land Fires, the Peat Restoration Agency Invites Residents of Beekeeping" on October 9, 2019.

Diagnose Cause of Forest and Land Fires in Riau 2019 by Tirto.id

Based on an analysis of diagnostic causes, Tirto.id tends to frame that the causes of forest and land fires in Riau 2019 are the act of greedy human beings, both individuals and corporations, as the forest cause and land fire problems that occurred in Riau. We found 22 of the 59 articles discussing human greed as the cause of forest and land fires in Riau in 2019 by Tirto.id. Tirto.id framed that humans, both corporations and individual farmers, deliberately burned land to clear the land and turned it into oil palm concession areas.

The reasons for removing the land by burning it are the easy method and the low price. Tirto.id's report entitled “In Sumatra and Kalimantan, suspects increase to 218 People” on September 17, 2019, regarding the increasing number of suspects in cases of forest and land fires in Riau. The Police, who previously named 185 individual suspects and four corporate suspects, have now again called 33 people and one corporation as suspects in the case of forest and land fires. One of the corporate suspects mentioned by Tirto.id is PT Sumber Sawit

Sejahtera, located in Riau. Tirto.id implies that forest and land fires can not be separated from the act of humans who deliberately burn land for their interests.

News entitled "How to Overcome Forest and Land Fires in Kalimantan-Sumatra in Jokowi's perspective and the National Disaster Management Agency's perspective" on September 20, 2019 shows that Tirto.id framed corporations and individuals intentionally burn forest and land. The clearing of land earmarked for oil palm concessions using the burning method was deliberate by the suspects. Meanwhile, the accidental act was that the suspects did not think about the long-term effects of the environmental damage they had done.

Apart from that, the controversial statements made by the government even confused the situation. Tirto.id publish "How Troubled Public Communication of Jokowi Ministers" on September 24, 2019. This framing points that several statements made by Minister Wiranto, Minister Arman, and Minister Eko did not try to find a solution and did not even show empathy for the people of Riau. They only thought about defending their boss. Tirto.id tends to rarely frame fire as the cause of forest and land fires in Riau. Only one news, Tirto.id reports one news item, namely the statement entitled "Forest and Land Fires in Sumatra" on August 7, 2019.

Tirto.id has only once framed the harmful particles in smoke caused by forest and land fires that can trigger the disease. That news is in a report entitled "Pekanbaru Smog Getting Thicker, Hundreds of Residents Falling Sick" on September 13, 2019. On September 16, 2019, Tirto.id also framed fire areas that were far from water, dry land prone to burning, air pollution as the cause of forest and land fires in Riau. In a report entitled "Obstacles to Extinguishing Karhutla by the Police: Water and Location," and Tirto.id also framed the revitalization of peatlands as the cause of forest and land fires so that the land remains wet and does not trigger their land and forest fires. Each of those previously mentioned is the causes framed by Tirto.id, which only amounts to one out of 59 news stories.

Moral Judgment of Forest and Land Fires in Riau 2019 by Tirto.id

Based on the moral judgment analysis, Tirto.id assessed that the government was negligent in handling forest and land fires in Riau 2019. We reveal that 16 out of 59 news stories had the same framing regarding the government's negligence in overcoming forest and land fires, both preventive and repressive, especially in Riau in 2019.

Also, Tirto.id points out that government is not serious in taking legal action against the suspected causes of forest and land fires - so that in the end, forest and land fires will recur. As reflected Tirto mentions in the report entitled "When Wiranto is Challenged to Stay Longer at

the Karhutla Location" on October 19, 2019. In this news, Tirto.id assesses that the government is hands-off in forest and land fires. Implementing the Istisqa prayer, which is not followed by fire extinguishing activities from related parties, shows that the government is powerless to deal with forest and land fires.

The report, entitled "How to Overcome Karhutla in Kalimantan-Sumatra, Jokowi's Version of the BNPB," was uploaded on September 20, 2019, contained Tirto. id's assessment of the government, which so far has only been concerned about economic and infrastructure issues, as well as ignoring environmental problems. The government has allowed the ecosystem to be increasingly damaged by human greed. The government ignores the laws that should be enforced on forest and land fire suspects so that forest fire suspects do not deter and repeat the action every year. The lack of transparent law enforcement causes forest and land fires to recur every year. Tirto. id's report on October 8, 2019, entitled "The Nonsense of Officials About Forest and Land Fire that You Do Not Need to Trust," implies that the sanctions imposed by the government were only a formality.

Tirto.id also provided an argument in the form of a decrease in the number of hotspots in the forest and land fires in a report entitled "The National Police is Now Handling 100 Karhutla with 87 Suspects" on August 15, 2019. Then, Tirto.id also considered that the fires were getting more expansive because the burned area is far from water, making the land prone to fire. This information is in a report entitled "Karhutla Suspects in Sumatra and Kalimantan" on September 17, 2019.

Furthermore, Tirto.id also assessed the need for collaboration between the community, businessmen, and the government in cultivating honey bees to revitalize peatlands in a report entitled "Preventing Karhutla, Peat Restoration Agency Invites Beekeeping Residents" on October 9, 2019. However, the third of these assessments has no similarity with each other or the 59 news items analyzed.

Treatment Recommendations for Resolving Forest and Land Fires in Riau 2019 by Tirto.id

Based on the analysis of treatment recommendations, Tirto.id offers some solutions to forest and land fires in Riau. We found that 17 out of 59 news reports had similarities in the answers given by Tirto.id, namely the tendency to go directly to the field to see the actual conditions, enforce balanced laws against the suspects that caused forest and land fires. Examples include the provision of criminal sanctions and fines, even administrative sanctions

in revocation of company licenses. Tirto stated that the news solution on August 8, 2019, entitled "Police Seek Linkages of 23 Alleged Karhutla Actors with Corporations."

The Tirto.id report on August 21, 2019, entitled "Wiranto: Penanganan Karhutla Tak Hanya Tanggung Jawab Pusat" (Wiranto: Handling Forest and Forest Lands is Not Only the Responsibility of the Central Government) implies that a synergy between local governments and law enforcement officials is essential to deal with the problem of forest and land fires. For example, namely, the revocation of corporate licenses that cause forest and land fires. Active coordination between the two of them will give good results on the forest and land fires issue, which has not yet found a clear spot.

In the report on September 14, 2019, Tirto.id also conveyed the settlement to form a special commission to follow up on environmental law to ensure the correct and fair implementation of Indonesia's existing regulations. The excerpt from Wiranto's statement in Tirto's report shows that environmental law enforcement is still not going well. Likewise, local governments have not implemented the regulations. If this continues happened, forest and land fires will continue to recur.

Tirto.id also provided several other solutions such as re-ensuring the land area burned between the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and BNPB to immediately resolve forest and land fires. Unfortunately, the answer mentioned is only one of the 59 news items analyzed by the researcher—the news entitled "Different Data on Forest Fires vs. BNPB. KLHK: Riau Most Affected by September 10, 2019, revealed that solution.

Tirto's recommendation for resolution related to forest and land fires in Riau 2019 shows that Tirto.id as an online media acts as an agent of change. This media participates in generating change by providing awareness to the public socially (Paul et al., 2013), morally and culturally (Zhang, 2009). In this case, public attention to address forest and land fires in Riau 2019 is significantly essential.

During August-October 2019, there are 62 news stories about the forest and land fires in Riau in 2019. However, researchers only analyzed 59 news stories. The three articles that the author did not explore were stories entitled "Extinguishing Karhutla, KLHK Team Sent to Riau to West Kalimantan" on August 1, 2019; "Riau, Anies reject Karhutla Extinguishing Aid: We Submit BNPB" on September 18, 2019, and "BMKG Calls Air Quality in Smoke- Affected Areas Still Unhealthy" on September 24, 2019.

Conclusion

From the result and discussion, the researchers conclude that: *First*, Tirto.id use graphics, labeling, and the word's repetition to confirm the news framing of the forest and land fires in Riau 2019. *Second*, defining problems framed by Tirto.id regarding forest and land fires in Riau in 2019 tends to highlight the news related to the determination of the suspect who caused the forest and land fires in Riau in 2019 the Police. *Third*, the causes of problems that tend to be highlighted by Tirto.id from the news related to forest and land fires in Riau in 2019 are the actions of humans who deliberately burn land and forests for the sake of clearing land with an easy method and at a low cost. *Fourth*, the moral judgments framed by Tirto.id related to forest and land fires news in Riau 2019 were ignorant of the government regarding forest and land fires in Riau. *Fifth*, the problem resolution or treatment recommendation given by Tirto.id regarding the reporting of forest and land fires in Riau 2019 is law enforcement that is appropriate for the suspects who caused forest and land fires. This action is like establishing a special environmental law commission so that legal practices are carried out by what is written in the law, imposing sanctions, and revoking land permits.

Then, it is necessary to see the events of forest and land fires in Riau more fully by carrying out further research using other framing analysis models, such as Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis model. It aims to complement how the media construct the forest fire case. More importantly, it is to conduct framing analysis with the same model and the media coverage affiliated with the government, such as [Mediaindonesia.com](http://mediaindonesia.com) or [Medcom.id](http://medcom.id). From the analysis of phrasing this, we will know that the media, with their interests, differ in communicating an event, especially the controversy.

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