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## **A FRAMING ANALYSIS OF INDONESIAN NEWSPAPER COVERAGE ON THE ISSUE OF PALM OIL DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN INDONESIA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This article provides a framing analysis of coverage by two newspapers in Indonesia, *Harian Kompas* and *The Jakarta Post*, on the issue of palm oil discrimination. Indonesia called for WTO negotiations with the European Union in December 2019, as the latter has imposed a higher tariff on palm oil. This study employed qualitative research in the form of newspaper content analysis carried out using NVivo 12. Firstly, the most frequent words used by *The Jakarta Post* and *Harian Kompas* were revealed through word frequency analysis. Then, sources, stereotyped images, and the cluster of facts or judgements used in the articles were examined. The goal was not only to see which dominant words appeared in both the newspapers, but also to discover whether positive or negative framing was more salient in the discussion of palm oil discrimination. Although *The Jakarta Post*

appeared to use fewer negative words than Harian Kompas, further analysis revealed that both newspapers adopted the same negative tone in their framing. Negative framings were consistently found in their sources, stereotyped images, and clusters of judgements. This finding suggested a level of bias in the newspapers' discussion of the European Union as the leader in fighting against climate change, and that the RED Initiative and Delegated Act as a way to attain the Paris Agreement, as these aspects of discussion were rather confined in their news coverage.

**Keywords:** European Union, Indonesia, WTO negotiation, palm oil, framing analysis.

## INTRODUCTION

Conflict among countries, from the Seven Years' War of 1754–63 to the First and Second World Wars, has become a part of global dynamics and is inseparable from world history. Military contests were used in the past to show nations' capabilities and their power in the international system. More recently, armed conflicts among countries have reduced significantly; countries now prefer to lessen their military performances, and disputes have shifted to the terrain of economics.

In recent years, the trade war between the United States and China has become one of the latest chapters in the history of economic 'battles', and an attempt to fight over 'superpower' status. Historically speaking, trade wars have existed for centuries, since the opium wars between the Qing dynasty and the British Empire over the ban on the British East India Company from China between 1839 and 1984 (Mishra, 2018). There was also trade wars in the early 1960s in which France and Germany imposed high tariffs on American chickens (Mishra, 2018). In response to this, the United States imposed higher tariffs on French brandy and German Volkswagen buses.

Liberalisation of world trade and supervision led to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). After calls for a stronger multilateral organisation for monitoring trade and resolving trade disputes, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was formed in 1995, following the completion of GATT's Uruguay Round in 1994 (Anderson, 1998). "The WTO provides a forum for negotiating

agreements aimed at reducing obstacles to international trade and ensuring a level playing field for all, thus contributing to economic growth and development” (WTO, 2020). The guarantee of most-favoured-nation principle and non-discriminatory treatment by and among members is one of WTO’s founding and guiding principles in conducting international trade.

In the midst of economic interconnectedness, however, trade disputes are still inevitable as countries attempt to achieve their national interests through implementing trade measures. The WTO has become the organisation that resolves such trade disputes under the Dispute Settlement Understanding. Indonesia, as one of the member states, has had six dispute settlements with the European Union (EU), as both the complainant and the respondent, with case statuses ranging from ‘In consultations’ to ‘Adopted’, and on topics from the issue of clove cigarettes to the most current questions on raw materials.

The trade dispute on palm oil discrimination between Indonesia and the EU has become the current negotiation between the two entities, after the request was circulated to WTO members in December 2019 as a result of a higher tariff (increased from 8% to 18%) imposed on palm oil. Previously, Indonesia also called for negotiations with the EU regarding anti-dumping measures on biodiesel that came into force in February 2018; in this instance, the WTO favoured Indonesia. Many media companies both print and online began to cover the issue of palm oil discrimination long before the call for negotiations was officially filed. Particular attention has been given to the fact that Indonesia is the world’s leading palm oil producer. The country’s export volume of palm oil rose by 4 percent in 2019, reaching 35.7 million tons (Anjaeni, 2020).

Although the EU is the third-largest destination for palm oil, accounting for 4.6 million tons (Anjaeni, 2020), the Indonesian government is not worried about losing the EU market as China and India are its largest and second-largest markets, respectively. It is more afraid of palm oil becoming a scapegoat for environmental problems. The fear of the perception of palm oil being tarnished by the EU through the RED Initiative and the Delegated Act, and the scapegoating of palm oil in relation to deforestation and being ‘not environmentally friendly’, have occupied Indonesia’s local media.

Several studies have pointed out that environmental protection can be treated as a kind of trade restriction, also known as a non-tariff barrier (Shafiee & Yeon, 2016). Such restrictions can take the form of import restrictions for goods that need to comply with labelling, packaging, or recycling standards, or that of production standards, such as minimum nutrient content, maximum toxicity or emission, and similar standards (Shafiee & Yeon, 2016, p. 97). This notion of environmental problems interacting with trade barriers, in relation to the obvious increase of the tariff on palm oil products, can be explored and examined. One method for such exploration is the framing analysis of media content, especially from newspapers.

Harian Kompas and The Jakarta Post, two of the most prominent newspapers in Indonesia, have not neglected to discuss this issue. The two newspapers may be able to provide their readers with differing analyses, in terms of perspective, content, or even writing style. In addition, the framings used by the newspapers may also be determined through these differences. There have been debates on whether newspaper coverage acts to influence or reflect public perception, or government stances, on certain issues. Although this paper may extend these discussions, it does not aim to answer these questions.

This paper makes no attempt to present a comprehensive discussion on palm oil discrimination. A number of studies have dwelled upon the impact of framing by decision-makers on both sides (the European Union and the Indonesian government). The goal of this research is to discover whether there are any differences between Harian Kompas and The Jakarta Post in terms of words and framing methods used in their news coverage on the issue of palm oil discrimination. The study is important not only in examining the process through which frames are communicated, but also in attesting that different newspapers may perform different methods of framing in their news coverage. The study's methodology will be explained in a later section.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Media analysis studies, especially regarding media framing, have been applied to various issues, ranging from news coverage on poverty in Canada and the UK (Redden, 2011) to the narratives of causes and strategies in solving urban flooding in Nigeria (Adekola & Lamond, 2017). Media framing analysis has also been applied

to political issues, to see how the media discusses them. Examples include content analysis of news stories on the Ukrainian political crisis of 2000–1 (Baysha & Hallahan, 2004), a comparative framing analysis of eight newspapers regarding coverage of the Iraq War and conflicts in Asia (Lee et al., 2006), different portrayals of terrorism in mainstream and alternative media and newspapers in the US and UK, following the September 11 and subsequent terrorist attacks in the UK and Spain (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2008), and the comparison of leading Indian and Pakistani English-language newspapers in their reporting of the Kashmir conflict (Rawan & Rahman, 2020).

Palm oil in Indonesia is mainly discussed from the perspective of its impact on the environment: topics addressed include changing land use resulting in deforestation (Austin et al., 2017; Varkkey et al., 2018; Wicke et al., 2011), ecological biodiversity, carbon balance, pollution and indigenous population (Petrenko et al., 2016), deforestation and fire (Carlson et al., 2017), and greenhouse gas emission (Lam et al., 2019). Discussions of aspects of diplomacy between the EU and Indonesia have also emerged, for instance concerning the EU's environmental diplomacy, with its three stages of norm emergence, norm leadership, and norm contestation (Robertua, 2019), in contrast to the challenge faced by Indonesia in coping with the EU's black campaign on palm oil (Suwarno, 2019b). Despite this challenge, Indonesia is considered a successful practitioner of economic diplomacy through regional and multilateral systems, including WTO negotiations (Suwarno, 2019a). The country's diplomatic strategy is to respond to and negotiate with the EU, as well as to prevent the global downturn of palm oil products (Arifin & Putri, 2019).

One study on online media discourses regarding this topic has presented the interactions and policy changes characterising the governance of sustainable palm oil in Indonesia, showing a significant paradigm shift on the importance of environmental services as a result of discourse in the public sphere (Ardian et al., 2019). Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) use the mass media to promote the framing of a discourse on sustainable palm oil. Another study also revealed that palm oil companies contributed to framing palm oil as a shared national interest and priority in the context of international relations (Choiruzzad, 2019). However, this agricultural product has nonetheless been neglected in the economic securitisation of the Indonesian government policy (Sudirman, 2017).

Starting from the absence of media framing analyses regarding the issue of palm oil discrimination, this study attempts to fill the existing gap in the literature and to give greater focus to the environmental discussion. The WTO negotiations between the EU and Indonesia on palm oil discrimination are still ongoing, allowing us to examine how the media in Indonesia is currently talking about them.

## METHODOLOGY

This study examined 14 articles from The Jakarta Post and 32 articles from Harian Kompas, all the articles appeared between March 2019 and July 2020, focused on keywords related to the WTO negotiations between the EU and Indonesia concerning palm oil discrimination. The number of articles sampled in this research reflected how often the two newspapers covered the issue. It was by no means the intention to use fewer articles from The Jakarta Post; that Harian Kompas published more articles on the issue within the chosen study period. This fact is understandable, since Harian Kompas currently has not only the largest circulation of any print media in Indonesia, but also of any newspaper in South East Asia.

This research focused on The Jakarta Post and Harian Kompas because they are substantially different newspapers, especially in terms of language: The Jakarta Post is an English-language newspaper, while Harian Kompas is in Bahasa Indonesia. The newspapers are owned by different publishers. The Jakarta Post is owned by PT Niskala Media Tenggara and Harian Kompas by PT Kompas Media Nusantara, and different markets. The Jakarta Post is targeted at business people, foreigners, and well-educated Indonesians, while Harian Kompas, as the most widely circulated newspaper, reaches a larger and more diverse readership. The Jakarta Post and Harian Kompas are daily newspapers and both provide printed and online media.

The research used only online articles from The Jakarta Post and Harian Kompas to examine news coverage on the issue of palm oil discrimination. Thus, convenience sampling was used, for reasons of time, location, and availability (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 98). Furthermore, online articles were used to conform to recent trends as growing numbers of people read newspapers online rather than in print. According to research performed by Nielsen, there are 6 million readers of online newspapers in Indonesia, while 4.5 million people read the printed versions (Reily, 2017).

Qualitative analysis was used to interpret the phenomena studied – in this case, media interpretations of events. Norman Denzim and Yvonna Lincoln defined qualitative research as studying ‘natural settings’, and as being ‘the attempt to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them’ (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, pp. 14–15). The aim of using qualitative analysis in this study was to find the meanings in article framing of the palm oil discrimination issue in Harian Kompas and The Jakarta Post. The qualitative nature of this research may also provide ‘explanatory, fluid, flexible, data-driven and context sensitive’ results, which can eventually help us to answer the questions posed (Mason, 2002, p. 24).

The first step in the research was word frequency measurement. NVivo 12 software was used to generate a list of frequently mentioned words and to compare the results from both newspapers. This step depicted the keywords used by both newspapers concerning palm oil discrimination. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software package that can help to organise and manage qualitative data gained from any virtual resources, including surveys, interviews, articles, videos, emails, social media, and web contents, and works in rich or plain text, PDF, audio, digital photos, spreadsheets, and notes.

The 46 articles in total were downloaded as PDF files using NVivo 12’s NCapture extension in Google Chrome. The files were then uploaded to NVivo 12, and a word frequency counter was put into operation. The filter for the word counter was the 1000 most frequent words, including stemmed words. The reason for using the ‘with stemmed words’ grouping instead of ‘exact matches’ was to see the existence of configurations of similar words – for example, ‘discrimination’ with ‘discriminative’, ‘discriminate’, ‘discriminating’, and so forth. This was also important to see the habitual juxtaposition of each word with another word(s) with a greater frequency than chance and the context in which it was used. The investigation also excluded the words ‘palm’, ‘oil’, ‘Indonesia’, ‘Jakarta’, and ‘Europe’ with reference to the topic, as well as places, numerical measurements, prepositions, articles, and semantically-empty words. The main goal in this word frequency count was to identify verbs, adjectives, subjects, and objects.

Word frequency analysis has been used previously in media analysis, and indeed is important in performing framing analysis, and discourse studies. ‘Analysing word frequency also provides researchers with

the focus of the corpus' (Haider, 2016, p. 21). This means that word frequency analysis not only observes the occurrence of specific words or terms, but also enables examination of the specifically determined corpus in terms of how it is constructed, so that patterns can be identified and can eventually support a framing analysis, as explained in the next paragraph.

The second step was to conduct the framing analysis, and to find several examples of passages in each newspaper that could support such an analysis through word frequency. The framing analysis undertaken in this research was based on Robert Entman's (1993) conception of the method as searching for 'the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements' (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Two essential aspects of framing analysis are selection and salience. 'To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text' (Entman, 1993, p. 52). The process of selection involves making a 'conscious or unconscious framing judgment in deciding what to say'; the next step is making a word salient, or making 'a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences' (Entman, 1993, pp. 52–53). Here, we can see how an effective and dominant framing can be useful to make audiences, or in this case, readers, perceive certain phenomena in a way that is based on the writer's perspective (which can be true or false).

To determine the framing, the corpus was examined using a step-by-step process of analysis devised by Sharan B. Merriam and Elizabeth J. Tisdell (2015). The first step was to identify segments in the data set using an open coding system. This was done by assigning codes to every piece of data; to make the research as expansive as possible, any pieces of data that seemed potentially relevant and useful were noted (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 204). Then, the open codes and master lists of outlines or classifications were grouped according to any recurring regularities or patterns (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 206). The coding process ended with identifying several nodes that were useful in the analysis, such as (1) tones and use of accusations; (2) words used; (3) official government statements; (4) other actors mentioned or mentioning the issue.

Through the use of these nodes, an attempt was made to observe how the phenomena discussed by Entman (1993) appeared in both newspapers, especially when the issue of palm oil discrimination was the focus of discussion. In this way, the selected corpus enabled an assessment of whether audiences' perceptions could be significantly led by the communicator or writer's judgement; as Entman (1993, p. 56) noted, 'dominant framing will prevent most audiences from making a balanced assessment of a situation'.

## EMPIRICAL RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Word Frequency

Running the corpus through the Word Frequency feature in NVivo resulted in 1,359 words in *The Jakarta Post* and 1,964 words in *Harian Kompas* (including stemmed words). This article listed the 10 most frequent words that appeared in both newspapers and compared them in terms of similarities and differences.

**Table 1**

*Word Frequency in The Jakarta Post*

Word	Count	Percentage	Similar Words
Trade	61	1.15	Trade, traded, trading
Exports	39	0.74	Export, exporter, exporters, exporting, exports
Government	34	0.64	Governance, government, governments
Products	32	0.60	Product, productions, productive, productivity, products
Use	31	0.59	Use, used, uses, using
Producing	28	0.53	Produce, produced, producer, producers, producing
Deforestation	26	0.49	Deforestation
Sustainable	26	0.49	Sustainability, sustainable, sustainably
Issue	23	0.43	Issue, issued, issues
Biofuel	22	0.42	Biofuel, biofuels

**Table 2**

*Word Frequency in Harian Kompas*

Word	Count	Percentage	English Translations
Diskriminasi	86	0.67	Discrimination
Pemerintah	78	0.60	Governance, government, governments
Eksport	76	0.59	Export, exporter, exporters, exporting, exports
Kita	77	0.60	We, us
Act	69	0.54	Act, acts, acting, acted
Delegated	60	0.47	Delegated
Biodiesel	52	0.40	Biodiesel
Perdagangan	52	0.50	Trade, traded, trading
Produk	50	0.39	Product, production productive, productivity, products
Kebijakan	45	0.34	Policy, policies

Other distinctive words that appeared in The Jakarta Post were ‘economic’, ‘banning’, ‘biodiesel’, ‘imports’, and ‘meeting’, while others which appeared in Harian Kompas were ‘Jokowi’ referring to the current President of the Republic of Indonesia; ‘Darmin’ which refers to the Coordinating Ministers for Economic Affairs, ‘energy’, ‘Minister/Ministry’ and ‘import’.

There were some distinctive words which appeared in both newspapers: ‘government’, ‘export’, ‘trade’, and ‘products’ were in the top 10 list. There were also several words that were not included in the table of the 10 most frequently mentioned words, but which also appeared to be significant in both newspapers, like ‘biodiesel’ and ‘import’. These results could mean that: first, the government of Indonesia is still the main actor in the WTO negotiations on palm oil discrimination. This is reflected in the fact that other actors, such as palm oil farmers, the palm oil farmers’ association, and palm oil corporations are rarely mentioned in either newspaper and thus play a minor role in the issue’s framing. Palm oil farmers, the palm oil farmers’ association,

and palm oil corporations were only mentioned six times, in different articles. Second, the issue of palm oil discrimination was mainly discussed from a trade and economic perspective. This was indicated by the salience of the words, ‘export’ and ‘trade’ in both newspapers, although ‘trade’ could also refer to the World Trade Organization.

There were also several distinctive words that were salient in only one newspaper, or vice versa. This could reflect that the exposure of the issue of palm oil discrimination in each newspaper was different. ‘Deforestation’ and ‘sustainable’ were two words that appeared to be salient in *The Jakarta Post*, while ‘discrimination’, ‘delegated’, and ‘act’ appeared to be salient in *Harian Kompas*. This difference could reflect the framing strategy used by each newspaper; this will be discussed further in the next section. Briefly, it was possible that while *The Jakarta Post* attempted to discuss the issue by giving the background behind the discrimination, *Harian Kompas* tried to emphasise the act of discrimination itself. This was reflected in the fact that ‘discrimination’ was the most salient word in *Harian Kompas*.

From the word frequency analysis, it could be deduced that *Harian Kompas* had a more negative framing in its articles compared to *The Jakarta Post*. The most apparent indicator of this was the word ‘discrimination’, which as mentioned was the most frequent word used in *Harian Kompas* with 86 occurrences, compared to 14 occurrences in *The Jakarta Post*. ‘Discrimination’ was mentioned 2.7 times in each article in *Harian Kompas*, and only once in each article in *The Jakarta Post*. This means that *Harian Kompas* was repeatedly emphasising that the EU had discriminated against Indonesia. *The Jakarta Post* also used the word ‘discriminative’ instead of ‘discrimination’. At a glance, *The Jakarta Post*’s word frequency might not indicate any negative framing. However, a more in-depth analysis showed that a negative framing occurred in this newspaper in a similar way as the *Harian Kompas*.

### Framing Analysis

This section was divided into three subsections, examining: (1) sources used; (2) stereotyped images; and (3) cluster of facts or judgements based on the framing analysis described by Entman (1993). Analysis of these three elements could help us uncover how both the newspapers discussed palm oil discrimination.

### **Sources**

The sources used by a newspaper, either primary (speeches, media interviews, press releases, etc.) or secondary (other newspapers, reports, etc.) sources can reflect whose point of view it would like to present in its news or articles. The choice of sources can also determine the words, language(s), and even tone that a newspaper adopts. Thus, to construct the lists of sources used, two nodes were used from the codes process: official government statements and other actors mentioned. These nodes allowed the lists to be compiled more easily through manual reading involving four categorisations.

**Table 3**

*Number of Sources Used in The Jakarta Post and Harian Kompas*

Newspaper	Local source		International source	
	Government	Non-Government	Government	Non-Government
	Official	Official/ Institution	Official	Official/ Institution
The Jakarta Post	47.4%	21.0%	21.0%	10.6%
Harian Kompas	68.2%	18.2%	13.6%	0%

From the source listed in Table 3, it was apparent that most of the sources used by both newspapers were similar, with only slight differences. National government officials comprised more than 60 percent of the sources used by Harian Kompas. This tendency of Harian Kompas to use more government officials as its source reflected its framing in discussing the issue of palm oil discrimination, in which the negative framing of the EU was revealed. Moreover, the newspaper's choice to use government officials as its source could be intended to reflect the views of the local public, and to gain support regarding the issue.

The Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Coordinating Ministry for Economy are the three government institutions involved in the process of WTO negotiations on the palm

oil discrimination issue. Therefore it was not surprising to see that most of the statements cited by both newspapers came from these three ministries. Statements from the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, were also easily located in the corpus. This meant that both newspapers chose appropriate sources of information.

The salience given to statements from Indonesian government officials in both newspapers could hinder coverage from the EU's perspective. Although both newspapers attempted to present a balanced view by covering statements from the EU through its Ambassador for Indonesia and Brunei, the dominant framing still came from the Indonesian perspective. Coverage on the RED Initiative, the Delegated Act, and the environmental narrative were significantly less evident in the articles from both newspapers. Entman (1993, p. 53) argued that framing was about the power of presence and absence; potential counter-framing seemed to be absent from the reporting on palm oil discrimination in the Indonesian newspapers.

Besides using statements from government officials, both newspapers also mentioned several international institutions, NGOs, and civil society organisations (CSOs). Apart from the EU and the WTO, The Jakarta Post discussed two bodies of the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the United Nations Environment World Conservation Monitoring Centre, one NGO, Greenpeace Indonesia, and two CSOs related to environmental issues and palm oil associations in Indonesia, Gabungan Pengusaha Kelapa Sawit and Jejaring Serikat Pekerja Serikat Buruh Sawit Indonesia. Harian Kompas also mentioned one NGO, the International Union for Conservation of Nature and two CSOs, Badan Pengelola Dana Perkebunan Kelapa Sawit and Asosiasi Produsen Biofuel Indonesia. These other actors were mentioned to refer either to studies that they had conducted to support their arguments, or statements given by their chosen sources, or to refer to the RED Initiative and Delegated Act, which have become the legal foundation for tariff imposition on palm oil products.

The newspaper articles mainly referred to these international institutions, NGOs, and CSOs in order to support the negative framing provided by national government officials. The following was quoted from an article in Harian Kompas published in July 2020 (Fauzia, 2020), in which 'discrimination' was attached to the EU's RED Initiative:

Ketua Harian Asosiasi Produsen Biofuel Indonesia (Aprobi), Paulus Tjakrawan, mengatakan kebijakan tersebut dinilai diskriminatif. Sebab, kebijakan Komisi Eropa itu hanya menyasar minyak kelapa sawit saja dan mengecualikan minyak nabati lain. Padahal soya oil membutuhkan lahan yang delapan kali lebih besar, ujar dia.

Translation: Chairperson of the Indonesian Biofuel Producers Association (Aprobi), Paulus Tjakrawan, said that the policy was considered discriminatory. This is because the European Commission's policy only targets palm oil and excludes other vegetable oils. Although soy oil requires land that is eight times larger, he said.

Other examples quoted from an article of The Jakarta Post, September 2019 mentioned the harm in implementing the RED policy and its poor studies on palm oil (Rahman, 2019):

GAPKI secretary-general Kanya Lakshmi told the Post that the EU's regulations could continue to harm European demand for palm oil. "The directive introduces a poor understanding of palm oil and it could spread to other palm oil products, causing demand from Europe to gradually slow, she said.

This negative framing from Indonesian CSOs was understandable. The CSOs represent the grassroots, which were experiencing a negative impact from the EU's policies and the RED Initiative. The CSOs' representatives were urging the community to pay greater attention to ecological sustainability. They were therefore contributing to the creation of a negative framing in the media, to put pressure on the government of Indonesia, and to a larger extent, the EU.

### ***Stereotyped Images***

By making two specific nodes on NVivo – (1) tones or accusations, and (2) words used – this study attempted to synthesise the framings identified by noting the choice of words used in the articles in reference to the EU, concerning either the RED Initiative, the Delegated Act, or palm oil discrimination. The function of the first node was to uncover

whether the newspapers' framing was positive, neutral, or negative. The nodes were also examined in conjunction to see whether they used the same framing tone – for example, if the framing was negative, whether the words used to create it also employed a negative tone, and vice versa.

The results on the first node for both newspapers are as follows:

**Table 4**

*Tone or accusation in both newspapers*

Newspaper	Positive tone/ accusation	Neutral tone/accusation	Negative tone/accusation
The Jakarta Post	9	18	24
Harian Kompas	12	46	69

The number of negative tones or accusations which appeared in both newspapers was higher than the number of positive and neutral ones. Some examples were given to show that Indonesia had a clear stance in objecting to the EU's discrimination, and thus would retaliate if the EU continued to impose the tariff on its palm oil products.

**Table 5**

*List of Framing Examples in The Jakarta Post and Harian Kompas*

The Jakarta Post	Harian Kompas
Statement 1: “Indonesia had previously threatened to take the issue to the WTO” (Iswara, 2019).	Statement 7: “Menurut Jokowi, hal tersebut dilakukan agar minyak yang dihasilkan mereka dari biji bunga matahari tak kalah saing. “Uni Eropa memunculkan isu tidak ramah lingkungan, sebetulnya apa sih mereka ngomong begitu? Karena sawit ini bisa lebih murah dari minyak bunga matahari yang mereka hasilkan” (Ihsanuddin, 2020).
Statement 2: Such decisions have irritated the Indonesian government, which has threatened to take ‘retaliation measures’ against the bloc” (Rahman, 2019).	Translation: “According to Jokowi, this was done so that the oil they produce from sunflower seeds is no less competitive. “The European Union raised the issue of not being environmentally friendly, what exactly are they talking about? Because this palm can be cheaper than the sunflower oil that they produce.”
Statement 8: “Kamu (Uni Eropa) enggak beli enggak apa-apa, saya pakai sendiri. Kamu enggak beli enggak apa-apa, saya konsumsi sendiri di dalam negeri” (Idris, 2019).	Translation: “You (the European Union) don’t buy anything, I will use it myself. You don’t buy anything; I will consume it at home.”

(Continued)

The Jakarta Post	Harian Kompas
<p>Statement 3:</p> <p>“He also pushed domestic airlines in mid-August to halt purchases of Airbus aircraft in retaliation for the EU’s curb on biodiesel, as reported by Bloomberg” (Rahman, 2019).</p>	<p>Statement 9:</p> <p>“Pemerintah Indonesia melalui Kementerian Perdagangan (Kemendag) akan menyampaikan protes keras kepada Uni Eropa (UE) atas dikeluarkannya proposal pengenaan bea masuk imbalan sementara produk biodiesel asal Indonesia pada Juli 2019” (Lingga, 2019a).</p>
	<p>Translation:</p> <p>“The Government of Indonesia through the Ministry of Trade will submit a strong protest to the European Union (EU) over the issuance of a proposal to impose a temporary import duty on biodiesel products from Indonesia in July 2019.”</p>
<p>Statement 4:</p> <p>“This is a very strong message. If they impose high import duties for good reasons, we will accept it. But if they make them up, we can’t stay silent. They started protectionism and a trade war,” he added”. (Gorbiano &amp; Aisyah, 2019).</p>	<p>Statement 10:</p> <p>“Pemerintah akan memperjuangkan sawit tersebut melalui beberapa cara, misalnya melakukan pembalasan (retaliation) terhadap Uni Eropa (UE)” (Lingga, 2019b).</p>
	<p>Translation:</p> <p>“The government will fight for the palm oil through a number of ways, such as retaliation against the European Union (EU).”</p>
<p>Statement 5:</p> <p>“Our governments shall review our relationship with the European Union as a whole, as well as its member states” (Gorbiano &amp; Aisyah, 2019).</p>	<p>Statement 11:</p> <p>“Indonesia mengancam akan mengkaji ulang kerja sama ekonomi Uni Eropa” (Sukmana, 2019c).</p>
	<p>Translation:</p> <p>“Indonesia threatens to review European Union economic cooperation.”</p>

(Continued)

The Jakarta Post	Harian Kompas
Statement 6: “We don’t believe the EU’s palm oil policy is solely based on noble motives to protect our planet.” (Editorial Board, 2019).	Statement 12: “Kalau dia sepihak, kita juga bisa melakukan sepihak. Emang kenapa?” sambung dia (Sukmana, 2019a).
	Translation: “If he is one-sided, we can also be one-sided. So what? he continued.”

Some specific words and constructions that reflected this negative framing included ‘threatened’ in the articles from The Jakarta Post (Statements 1 and 2), and ‘decisive response’, ‘RED as a threat’, ‘black campaign’, and ‘threatening to boycott’ in Harian Kompas. In sum, both newspapers performed negative framing of the issue in their news content, with 54 percent in Harian Kompas and 47 percent in The Jakarta Post.

On the other hand, positive tones or accusations were also found in several articles. These referred to the dialogue and negotiation processes that were required to constructively find the best and fairest solution. In addition, in articles that tagged neutral tones or accusations to their sentences, statements from Vincent Piket, the EU Ambassador for Indonesia and Brunei, appeared to be salient. These statements were intended to clarify that the RED Initiative and the Delegated Act did not propose to ban palm oil, and that the EU was also aware that palm oil was the largest commodity exported by Indonesia.

Regarding the second node, ‘words used’, which examined words perceived to be dominant or representative of each article, the general framing still employed a negative tone. Words and constructions like ‘warned’, ‘retaliation measures’, ‘countervailing’, ‘unjustifiable discrimination’, and ‘feud’ appeared in The Jakarta Post, while ‘black/negative campaign’, ‘discrimination’, ‘playing an issue’, ‘threat’, ‘oppose’, and ‘boycott’ appeared in Harian Kompas. Other words, like ‘regretted’ or ‘objected’, also appeared, but the tendency was towards negative words, matching that of the first node as explained above. In sum, the stereotyped images of the EU, the RED Initiative, and the Delegated Act employed a negative frame.

The discussion of palm oil discrimination in both newspapers tended to be ‘provocative’ through its use of the words previously mentioned. For example, in Statement 2, ‘irritated’, ‘threatened’, and ‘retaliation’ were used in the same sentence. Moreover, in Statement 5, the suggestion that the government of Indonesia should review its relationship with the EU sent a message that the government was going to take action on the issue of palm oil discrimination.

The main results regarding negative framing derived from the stereotyped images analysis indicated that the choice of words used both in the statements made in sources and by newspaper editors could lead readers to see the EU, the RED Initiative, and the Delegated Act as ‘black’ or ‘negative campaigns’ against Indonesia’s palm oil exports. This meant that the EU’s attempts to position environmental problems as a global issue had not succeeded, at least in Indonesia.

### ***Cluster of Facts and Judgements***

Statements were often quoted from government officials and other actors who had previously been mentioned in the articles. In such cases, negative framing referred to the articles in their entirety. This meant that the articles had consistently used negative words, omitted certain keywords, or used imbalanced sources. In this section, clusters of facts or judgements in statements from Indonesian government officials will be examined. The motive behind this is to see which frames Indonesian government officials employed to talk about the EU, the RED Initiative, the Delegated Act, or palm oil discrimination. For this purpose, a third node is needed: (3) official government statements.

In The Jakarta Post, the statements were framed to indicate that the inclusion of palm oil in the RED Initiative and the Delegated Act could not only create the unwanted perception that palm oil was environmentally harmful, but could also jeopardise Indonesia’s exports. Despite this, the Indonesian government would not keep silent and would take the necessary action by threatening to leave the climate deal (the Paris Agreement) and to halt the purchase of Airbus aircrafts.

“Indonesia’s Coordinating Economic Minister Airlangga Hartato said in Jakarta on Friday that the proposed “discriminatory” two-tier system would make EU consumers “perceive palm oil as bad”

compared to other vegetable oils.” (Harsono, 2020). Moreover, “If the US and Brazil can leave the climate deal, we should consider that. Why not? said Pandjaitan.” (Munthe & Nangoy, 2019).

Similar framing also appeared in Harian Kompas, where statements from the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, were more prominent than those of other government officials. A clear governmental stance – that the EU had discriminated in regard to palm oil products – was also more visible in Harian Kompas. Damin Nasution -Minister of Coordinating Economics, gave his statement “Kami tahu, yakin dia diskriminatif. Coba lihat sudah diskriminatif secara komoditasnya mengapa dikelompokkan sawit itu high risk untuk deforestasi?” ujar Darmin.” (Sukmana, 2019b). (Translation: “We know that they (the EU) are discriminatory. Look at how discriminatory on the commodity, then why classify palm as a high-risk for deforestation?” said Darmin). Another statement from the Director of Trade Security of Ministry of Trade where she stated that “Sikap EU ini tidak dapat dibiarkan. Apalagi, proposal yang diajukan UE mengindikasikan adanya penerapan BIA yang menjadi sangat tidak masuk akal. Kami akan menyampaikan respons tegas secara resmi untuk hal ini,” kata Pradnyawati.” (Lingga, 2019b). (Translation: The EU’s stance cannot be tolerated. If the proposal submitted by the EU indicates the application of the best information available (BIA), which becomes very absurd. We will provide a formal, firm response on this matter, said Pradnyawati).

Joko Widodo gave his statement regarding the palm oil discrimination issue:

Menurut Jokowi, hal tersebut dilakukan agar minyak yang dihasilkan mereka dari biji bunga matahari tak kalah saing. Uni Eropa memunculkan isu tidak ramah lingkungan, sebetulnya apa sih mereka ngomong begitu? Karena sawit ini bisa lebih murah dari minyak bunga matahari yang mereka hasilkan. (Ihsanuddin, 2020).

Translation: According to Jokowi, this is done so that the oil that they produce from sunflower seed will not be less competitive. The European Union raised the issue (palm oil) of not being environmentally friendly. What exactly are they talking about? It is because palm oil can be cheaper than sunflower oil that they produce.

The facts and judgements provided in the articles, through statements from Indonesian government officials, once again provided a clear stance on Indonesia's position that the higher tariff imposed by the EU on palm oil products was a way to create a trade barrier. The repeated objections from Indonesia and the negative accusations regarding the issue reflected the negative framing provided by the government itself towards the EU. By reproducing the government's statements in the media, speeches, press releases, and other pronouncements, both newspapers carried this existing negative framing into their reporting and their articles. A stance whereby the EU was indicted as 'evil' regarding the palm oil issue, whereas Indonesia was 'the victim', was fairly apparent throughout the articles in especially, *Harian Kompas*. A goal of employing this framing was to legitimise the pursuance of WTO negotiations on the issue.

## CONCLUSION

Although *The Jakarta Post*, at the word frequency analysis stage seemed to employ a more balanced framing, with 'deforestation' and 'sustainable' appearing to be salient words, it turned out that its articles also conveyed negative framing. Content analysis revealed negative framing in both *The Jakarta Post* and *Harian Kompas*, which were achieved through the choice of sources, dominance of negative tones within articles, and clusters of facts and judgements derived from government statements. Despite the different nature of the two newspapers, they did not offer different perspectives for readers.

Although *The Jakarta Post*, targeted business people, foreigners, and well-educated Indonesians, it did not provide a more balanced reporting on the issue of palm oil discrimination. *The Jakarta Post* was generally expected to present more views that could conform to foreign perspectives, while it was expected that *Harian Kompas* would report more from the perspective of the government of Indonesia, thus providing space for a more negative framing.

The Indonesian perspective on palm oil discrimination was more salient than the explanations of the RED Initiative and the Delegated Act. Moreover, the accusations presented in the framing that an EU black campaign was behind the Initiative brought political criticism into the discussions. The EU, through its Ambassador for Indonesia and Brunei, had diplomatically explained that the Initiative was

one of its commitments in tackling climate change, in accordance with the Paris Agreement which was also ratified by Indonesia. The perspectives of the RED Initiative and the Delegated Act were needed in the newspaper coverage, not only to inform the public about these initiatives and the goals behind them, but also to prevent readers from making imbalanced assessments of the WTO negotiation process based on partially informed articles.

To complement this article, further research could be conducted to assess the significance of media framing in the policymaking processes within the EU and palm oil exporting countries. Such research would be valuable because this issue involves not only governments, but also the WTO. For this reason, investigating the impact of media framing and discussions on the policies adopted are a crucial part of the negotiation process.

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