

President Prabowo's Political Communication on Environmental Issues in Constructing Climate Change Narrative

Lontar: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 2025
 Vol. 13 (1), 2025
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 DOI: 10.30656/lontar.v13.i1.10322
<https://ejurnal.lppmunsera.org/index.php/LONTAR/article/view/10322>

Article History
 Submission: Feb 208th 2025
 Revised: June 24th 2025
 Accepted: June 25th 2025

Bakti Abdillah Putra*
 Universitas Pembangunan Jaya
 Email: bakti.abdillah@upj.ac.id
 (* = Corresponding Author)

ABSTRACT

President Prabowo Subianto officially won presidential election in 2024 and began his administration effectively in October. He had some plans and policies to support national development, including food security and the expansion of palm oil plantation. His ideas for national development triggered public debate and concern in the society since the people are questioning the impact on climate change and conservation. Through his official speech, President Prabowo put certain priorities over the environmental conservation which made a lot of attention to the media and public. This research aims to analyze the framing on President Prabowo's political communication regarding environmental issue. The analysis was conducted with framing theory of Robert N. Entman including his four main components, (1) define problems, (2) diagnose causes, (3) moral judgment, and (4) treatment recommendation. Two media which were observed by the researcher are Tempo.co and Betahita.id with qualitative approach. Researcher also applied Agenda Setting theory with critical discourse analysis to see how media perceive the President in addressing environmental issue.

Keyword: political communication, environmental issues, framing theory, media, climate change

INTRODUCTION

In this vast and dynamic world, environmental issue has been one of the challenges that force the countries to establish some strategies for anticipation. Environmental issue does not recognize international or political borders. It could impact various countries in any form of destruction. Rich and developing countries are competing in minimalizing emission to maintain sustainability because climate change could affect economy negatively(Rigas & Kounetas, 2024). Our earth is still surviving to sustain global ecosystem which is facing the threats from the climate change.

Climate change is a global phenomenon where the temperature raises due to the accumulation of greenhouse effect in the atmosphere (Abbass et al., 2022). This circumstance is triggered by human activities, such as fossil fuel combustion, deforestation, and industrialization which produce carbon and other gases contributing to the global warming. The effect of global warming is very realistic and disastrous, for instance, heat wave, flooding, drought, and the raise of sea level which enforces the life on the islands and coastal area. Climate change also impacts on some critical sectors, for example agriculture, food security, and public health.

Accordingly, countries in the world, including Indonesia, prepare for the crisis by agreeing on international policies and treaties, one of them is Paris Agreement 2015 (Siraj, 2019). The convention aims to suppress global emission and restrict the temperature rise under 1.5⁰ Celsius. Nevertheless, the challenges get more difficult in terms of the countries' commitment in raising global awareness to sustain the environment-friendly consumption and production.

Indonesia is one of the countries that participate in maintaining the global ecosystem. This country own huge biodiversity and play an important role in tackling environmental issues (Ramli et al., 2023). However, Indonesia also faces some environmental disruption, such as deforestation, the increase of carbon emission, and ecological / natural disaster which was caused by the exploitation of natural resources (Fitra Yuza & Abdul Manaf, n.d.). This phenomenon should be taken into account by some parties, for instance, the people, non-profit organizations, private sectors, law enforcers, and the government.

In October 2024, the new president of Indonesia was just inaugurated after winning the election in February. Prabowo Subianto, former Lieutenant General and Minister of Defense, succeeded in his fourth attempt of presidential election after three failures (Hata Poda et al., 2024). He won the election with the new Indonesia's Vice President, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who is the first son of the 7th President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo. They made a cabinet consisting of 109 officials, including ministers, vice ministers, directors, and other executives. The cabinet will commit to and support the President and Vice President in addressing some critical issues.

Environmental issue is one of the focuses that the President has been concerned. He attended international forum and encountered some important figures to bring up collaboration and global synergy for nature conservation. He highlights his commitment to continue overcoming the climate change (*ID-CREAs-Response-to-COP29-G20-Summit-Commitments-1-1*, n.d.). Through his ambitious plan, he is going to invite his fellow nation leaders to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Notwithstanding, the President's statement regarding the expansion of palm oil plantation and food estate became the media and public debate. The huge plans can impact on the deforestation even though the President did not consider that as an emergency. He said that palm oil trees, as plants, still can process photosynthesis where plants can absorb carbon dioxide because they grow leaves. Research says that deforestation and the change of land use can increase the amount of carbon dioxide in the air (Rosaprana et al., 2023). For the protesters, this statement elicits that the expansion can significantly cause ecosystem degradation and severe deforestation.

Additionally, President Prabowo also announced his ambition to discharge all fossil fuel power plants in Indonesia within the next 15 years (Ekonomi et al., n.d.). He plans to increase the capacity of renewable energy; He believes that Indonesia can reach zero emission in 2050 which is sooner than previous target. Nonetheless, the experts said that Indonesia still highly depend on coals and will face a lot of challenges while in transition towards renewable energy.

The president's perspective regarding environmental issues are driving the activists to question his consistency and the impact he will make due to his policy. Media in Indonesia really paid attention on this issue, from local to national media. For instance, Tempo.co, one of national online media, considered that the president does not act consistently in implementing environmental policy. His target in the next 100 days after inauguration is not realized and did not achieve the real target. Besides that, Betahita.id, an online media outlet focusing on environmental issue, the president put the climate crisis as less prioritized which cause the activists and the people worried about the future. Media in Indonesia regard environmental issue is a significant topic because it lacks strong anticipation and consistency in dealing with the problem.

The author also has some reasons in selecting and comparing two online media. Tempo.co is online mainstream media which have run quite long for investigative journalism and criticized the government. Meanwhile, Betahita.id is online platform that specifically focuses on environmental issues and sustainability and analyzes the climate change and conservation sharply. Furthermore, Tempo.co highlights more on the way President Prabowo deliver his communication regarding the policy on environmental issue. On the other hand, Betahita.id discusses more on the direct impact of the president's policy on the environment itself.

This framing research will be examined with the theory from Robert N. Entman and agenda setting theory. Entman's theory has systematical framework to analyze environmental news from the media with its four elements: defining problems, cause diagnose, moral judgement, and treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993). Entman's theory, in this research, also explores the difference of perspective between two media, Tempo.co & Betahita.id regarding President

Prabowo's political communication on environmental issues. For instance, Tempo.co is more concerned of political aspect, meanwhile Betahita.id emphasizes on consequences of environmental policy and climate activism. According to Agenda Setting Theory by Lippman & Cohen, media are able to determine which issue or topics are crucial to discuss in the public. In this theory, the function of mass media is to give emphasis on certain topics and make the public accept the news as important (Tambusai et al., n.d.)

This research aims to analyze President Prabowo's political communication strategy regarding environmental issues with framing theory and to identify main elements on climate change narrative constructed by the government. It will be beneficial for the readers, especially those who pay attention political communication and environmental policy. Moreover, this study also gives recommendation for the government and political communication strategist in formulating more effective environmental communication strategy.

RESEARCH METHODS

The author applied qualitative approach in this research (Bumbuc, 2016). With qualitative approach, the author can create meaning, interpretation, and also framing strategy used by media. Related to framing method by Entman, there are four elements that will be explored in discussing this research, such as defining problems, cause diagnose, moral judgement, and treatment recommendation (Anggoro et al., 2023). While defining problem, the author will analyze how both media, Tempo.co and Betahita.id exemplify the environmental policy made by President Prabowo. In causing diagnose, the author will find out whether his environmental policy is a success or failure for wider community. Third component, moral judgement, examines how the media assess President Prabowo's political communication since it can turn into pro-environment action or just political branding. Lastly, as treatment recommendation, the author will decide whether those two media reinforce his policy or offer some alternatives.

After elaborating the framing theory, the author collects the data by gathering news article from Tempo.co and Betahita.id which is related to President Prabowo's environmental policy. Author found 8 articles for each media outlet based on the diction, perspective, and metaphors written on the articles. Additionally, the author observed the public reaction on social media, for instance, reading the comments from viewers on the posts. The period of the published articles will be classified from October 2024 to February 2025 since the President has spent his first quartal in administration.

The data in this research will be analyzed by three methods: critical discourse analysis, thematic analysis, and triangulation. Critical discourse analysis will help the author to study the influence of language structure, discourse, and political context in framing environmental issue (Teun-A.-van-Dijk-2015-Critical-Discourse-Analysis, n.d.). With thematic analysis, the author will be able to identify thematic patterns on relevant news, in this case, the way media portray President Prabowo on environmental discourse (Rosairo, 2023). On the third step, triangulation will combine the data from news analysis and public reaction to obtain deeper understanding and avoid bias (Srinivasan & Barclay, 2017).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The author has collected 8 articles from each media and coded them into each category based on framing theory of Robert N. Entman. The first table are news articles compiled from Tempo.co with related keywords, such as 'Prabowo' and the word 'lingkungan' or *environment* in English. Here are the articles to analyze:

Table 1. News Artciles from Tempo.co

No	Articles	Date	Define Problems	Diagnose Causes	Moral Judgement	Treatment Recommendation
1	Article 1	20 Oct 2024	Environmental issue is not one of the President's priorities. President tends to be open for forest exploitation.	It will threaten the next generation who will lose natural resources and biodiversity	President does not analytically consider the impact caused by exploitation	Exploitation policy should be moderated with environmental consideration

2	<u>Article 2</u>	21 Oct 2024	Commodity downstream does not involve the people so the waste management is not well-controlled	Commodity downstream does not give prosperity to the people	There is no desire of the President to nationalize the mining asset which is beneficial for the people	Society-based natural resource management should be continued and waste management should be more efficient
3	<u>Article 3</u>	21 Oct 2024	President Prabowo did not show his strong commitment on global environmental issue because he priorities food self-sufficiency	Environmental sustainability will be degraded and give negative impact to the people	The President did not pay attention to environmental issue and crisis which is supposed to be important for the community	The policy should benefit the conservation of environment, not exploit it
4	<u>Article 4</u>	22 Oct 2024	Environmental and human rights issue were not incorporated in President's national speech since it's not top priority	Downstream policy and oil palm plantation are ineffective in managing its impact on environment	The President did not bring up human rights and environmental issues as important as other national issues	The President needs to consider human rights and environmental issues as the strategic ones in his speech
5	<u>Article 5</u>	29 Nov 2024	To fulfill the demand of national energy, Prabowo will add 75 gigawatt and deactivate some steam power plant earlier	If the expansion of national energy only reaches 75 gigawatts, in the future, there will be more fossil fueled electricity	President Prabowo should be more strategic in making policy on energy resources in the future	Indonesia should determine when the implementation environment-friendly resources begin and expand
6	<u>Article 6</u>	24 Dec 2024	President Prabowo will condone the corruptors who dealt with natural resources and gave negative impact to the environment	The condonation for the corruptors will cause more extractive activities in economy and threaten the environment	President Prabowo only prospers his stakeholders and corruptors. Their fund will harm the community	His policy should be on the people's side because the people contribute a lot to the country, not on the corruptors.
7	<u>Article 7</u>	31 Dec 2024	President Prabowo stated that palm oil plantation will not affect deforestation	If it's not evaluated, this policy will open more opportunities to land clearing and environment degradation	President Prabowo is a national figure who does not have strong background in environmental issue, especially deforestation	Government should implement the intensification on plantation, not deforestation
8	<u>Article 8</u>	21 Jan 2025	The development of PSN Eco-City in Rampang Island, Riau Islands, unsettled the society. President Prabowo will evaluate this program and that is what the people have expected	This evaluation will dissatisfy some parties but, regardless the risk, it will continue	The development of the project was really unsettling and the people hope that President Prabowo will be discreet in facing the problem	As the President, Prabowo had to evaluate the projects that had no strategic values

Source: Tempo.co (2025)

Table 2. Artciles from Betahita.id

No	Articles	Date	Define Problem	Diagnose Causes	Moral Judgement	Treatment Recommendation
1	<u>Article 1</u>	1 Jan 2025	President Prabowo made a statement that the expansion of palm oil will not threaten the forest	If palm oil plantation is expanded and uncontrolled, there will be a lot of long-term disadvantages in ecological side and the function of the forest	President Prabowo did not seem to possess proper knowledge on environmental issue and he did not give some facts and figures	Government should evaluate the legal and ecological status and rehabilitate the area of the palm oil plantation
2	<u>Article 2</u>	3 Jan 2025	President Prabowo stated that he would secure the palm oil plantation with military approach. Instead, the plantation will harm the forest and seize people's land	Since palm oil plantation is being secured by the country like an asset, this event will only benefit the government, not the people	This approach was considered intimidating and had casualties from the community	Military forces and police are supposed to strengthen the law enforcement for those who violate and undermine the environment. The President should comprehend the regulations as well
3	<u>Article 3</u>	6 Jan 2025	The procurement of renewable energy project by PT PLN ran slowly whereas the President has targeted zero emission in 2050	There should be the new restructuration for the procurement of renewable energy project so that the supply will get higher and fulfill the President's expectation	The President's speech regarding his commitment in zero emission was a significant step and it has to be progressive and prioritized	Preparation for this project needs comprehensive collaboration between private companies, ministries, and state-owned companies to minimize procurement risks and uphold transparency
4	<u>Article 4</u>	14 Jan 2025	Land in Papua was confiscated so the indigenous people will lose their home for food security project	Sustainability and their ecosystem will be threatened due to the seizure of the land	The President's speech regarding food security was mistaken against environmental ethics and considered self-centered	Involving non-governmental organization (NGO) is the right to create a campaign for rising awareness
5	<u>Article 5</u>	20 Jan 2025	Carbon emission caused by the change of land use is bigger than carbon dioxide absorption by palm oil trees. The President was sure that the trees can do that	Greenhouse effect got higher and would not save our environment due to the change of land use	The change of land use was not considered at first so it made higher risks. Government should be wiser in making decision	Government was supposed to prioritize environment conservation and consider the expansion of palm oil plantation. Land management should consider sustainability values as well
6	<u>Article 6</u>	23 Jan 2025	A group of civil society, Kaoem Telapak, reacted to President Prabowo's speech regarding Palm Oil plantation which should be rediscussed	This policy is actually important for our economy, but it was not supported with facts and figures	President Prabowo was expected to implement good agriculture to maintain high productivity without affecting the forest	Government was supposed to enact presidential decree to strengthen palm oil moratorium and licensing governance. Violating companies should be given strict punishment

7	<u>Article 7</u>	30 Jan 2025	President Prabowo was expected to be firm in deactivating steam power plant in the next 15 years and starting energy transition	The power plant only prospers the companies, not the people, and its hazard is harmful	President Prabowo should assess the steam power plant with existing evidence because it makes the people suffer	The steam power plant in Sumatra should be deactivated earlier and transitioned to cleaner source of energy
8	<u>Article 8</u>	3 Feb 2025	More than half of deforestation cases in Indonesia last year occurred in the area with corporate license. Government does not consider deforestation as harmful and they are not transparent in releasing annual working plan.	The government policy does not give legal protection for the entire forest in Indonesia	Companies were not transparent and government did not make any action about it so they allowed the deforestation permit	The presidential decree for protecting forests in Indonesia should be enforced

Source: Betahita.id (2025)

Define Problem

In Entman's theory, define problem means the way media address the main topic of the discussion and frame it so it would be read by the public (Hafidli et al., 2023). There are some aspects that media are concerned of, for instance the urgency and the impact to the society. In this research, the author sees there is some difference between Tempo.co and Betahita.id in framing the topic.

Tempo.co defines the problem based on their critiques on technical issues and governance. They portrayed that President Prabowo's statement did not prioritize environmental issue and conservation. In the framing of Tempo.co, President Prabowo was very permissive, including for the corruptors, who did not take care of the effect of deforestation. He believed that palm oil trees plantation will not affect deforestation since, on the media, he showed that food security is more important. The people were not involved as well in hazard management so that their surroundings were not well-maintained.

Meanwhile, Betahita.id addressed the issue with some consideration on human rights. The plantation itself was secured by military and seized the people's land. Betahita.id perceived the problem was the most challenging issue for the people's right. President Prabowo's statement regarding the expansion of palm oil plantation should be reconsidered based on the assessment of a civil society, Kaoem Telapak, representing the people. Furthermore, many lost their land in Papua Island due to food security. This media expected the President to be transparent in releasing his speech about environment and his expansive mission.

Cause Diagnose

Diagnose Causes in Entman's framing is the technique used by media to identify the cause of the problem that has been identified when the problem is defined (Wibowo & Mugni, n.d.). There are some aspects that could be addressed by the researchers, for instance the main cause of the problem, the background, and also the type of the event (accidental or on purpose). Here is the discussion for 'Diagnose Cause' part in this research.

Tempo.co portrayed that Prabowo used his power / authority to make a statement saying that environmental issue is not a priority. Since he was assigned as President, he considers himself as the main figure in determining the country's top priorities or targets. People's wealth, in this narrative, is not the greatest importance, because there are many people in the outskirts struggle with the expansion of palm oil plantation.

On the other hand, Betahita.id saw the issue coming from the weak law enforcement on plantation business. That deficiency was used by President Prabowo to expand his mission in growing massive palm oil plantation. Results revealed that there are a lot of companies which

support this development (Herningtyas, 2021). Therefore, President's ambition would be in favor to give permission for deforestation.

Moral Judgement

The third component of the theory is moral judgement. This component addresses the moral assessment by media towards the topic that is brought up on the news (Jolanda Olivia & Setiawan, n.d.). There is slight difference between Tempo.co and Betahita.id in assessing the moral values in the environmental issue discoursed by the President.

Tempo.co perceived the President as someone who is not much experienced on environmental issue. Due to his weak attention on the topic, he did not really concern on climate change and the impact of deforestation. He put other profitable sectors first over the conservation and sustainability. Therefore, the people turned to be more disadvantaged because the President did not establish a mechanism to protect and to defend the effected community.

Based on the framing by Betahita.id, the statement and policy made by President Prabowo about environmental issue did not calculate the collateral damage in details. As a President, Prabowo is supposed to be wiser and concerned with the calculation before making a decision. The President also seemed to be indifferent in regarding this issue. Once the Head of State makes a mistake, the people will get the damage. Plus, he should have had some knowledge or learnt 'good agriculture' policy to avoid miscalculation in facing the climate change.

Treatment Recommendation

Lastly, another important aspect that media have to offer is the solution for every problem. In Entman's theory, this is the opportunity for media to give some recommendations for an issue and this is what researcher in communication studies call as 'treatment recommendation' (Mandarani & Fedianto, 2020). Even though both media do not support the President's narrative on environmental problem, these two media outlets have their own approach in offering solutions.

Tempo.co suggested that the President should calculate on the decision-making process which needs to be balanced with the conservation. The President was expected to focus more on the intensification for the plantation, not expanding more deforestation. His plan and projects should be evaluated and waste management process should involve the people as well.

Moreover, Betahita.id emphasizes more on the law enforcement and legal consequences for the companies / industries that violate the regulation. To strengthen the law, government have to make collaboration with private sectors and also non-governmental organization (NGO). Together actually they can create a campaign to save the environment. Sustainability is very encouraged and finding clean renewable energy is the important plan to realize in the future.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Tempo.co and Betahita.id have different way in drawing up President Prabowo's in narrating environmental issue. Tempo.co pointed out that mistreatment on environment and climate change occurred due to his mismanagement and miscalculation. Since he lacks of knowledge on environment and sustainability, he did not prioritize environment and climate change as top of his mind and national interest.

Betahita.id, as environment-concerned media, brought up more issues on human rights since many people, and also civil society, were not involved in saving their land and managing the waste. President Prabowo's statement on palm oil plantation and deforestation only benefited the company and government which does not have regulation basis on this process. People do not have a lot of space to take their voice and, additionally, his ambition will also involve military approach.

This research still needs more development for further discussion. This topic can be analyzed from the public's reception towards the President's statement. Besides, his narratives published on national media can be researched with content analysis as well to observe the objectivity of the news. Furthermore, this study will be helpful for other researchers and readers who pay attention to media studies and environmental issue as an academic reference.

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