Narrative Policy Framework :
The Role Of Media Narrative Towards Forest And Land Fire Policy In Indonesia

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Abstract

This research discusses the role of the media narrative in controlling forest fires. The research focuses on the land and forest fires that occurred in three districts in the Riau Province of Indonesia using the Narrative Policy Framework. It focuses on the elements of policy problems and solutions and characters (criminals, heroes, and victims), as well as the role of media narratives in the policymaking process. Data analysis was conducted qualitatively using the Nvivo 12 plus application. The Capture feature is used to collect data from three popular and trusted online media. Although many studies focused on forest and land fires, this research examines media narratives on forest and land fire policies. The results showed that the media narratives influenced forest and land control policies, that there is a role played by various actors involved in forest and land fire control issues, the character of criminals found in governments, communities, and companies, hero characters are drawn in the roles performed by firefighters, governments, communities, and companies while the victims in a forest and land fires are communities and companies. So far policymakers have only processed a small portion of information relevant to the problem, should they limit their attention and focus on the solutions that will be produced by ignoring political pressures, the narrative can be an effective means of achieving that.

Keyword : *Narrative Policy Framework, policy issues, policy solutions, forest and land fires*

1. Introduction

The role of the narrative in the administration of public policy has been used for a long time in the research and development of science. The narrative has been studied in a variety of disciplines, including public policy, though it is a relatively new approach (Jones, 2018) In the policy of forest and land fire management in Indonesia, the narrative started by the actor policy on the media can be used as a reference in decision-making (Crow et al., 2017). This is because the NPF itself can be used to determine the actor's policy (interest groups/media/individual) using the structure of the narrative (strategy) to introduce policy and assess their success (Weiss, 2020). The NPF studies public policy at the micro (individual), meso (group), and macro (institutional/cultural) levels and makes the narrative the object of research (Shanahan, Jones, & McBeth, 2018).

The NPF consist of the following elements of the narrative, (1) setting, the place and time of the occurrence of fires and land area burned, (2) characters, including the victims and the villains, specifically the public, companies, and the government. The hero may defend the victims and include the Police, Army, Taskforce Fire Forest and Land fires, as well as NGOs, the actors of the policy, (3) plot, which include the

characters and settings in a story, (4) moral the story, which is a solution to the policy or call to solve the problem (Lawlor & Crow, 2018).

Humans play various roles in starting forest fires. For instance, they hunt and open arable land in the forest (Sulistyowati, 2017). The artificial fire has been used intentionally by the community around the forest to open or clean agricultural land or plantation (Sunanto, 2008). Clearing land using fire is fast and more economical. However, when the fire is not used properly, forest fires may occur (Sukrismanto, 2012). Forest fires have a wide range of impacts. For instance, the air from the smoke generated may lead to respiratory disorders and interfere with human daily activities (Rashid, 2014). In the 15 Last year, the Province of Riau has been the largest region with land and forest fires in Indonesia (Purnomo, E. P., Nurmandi, A., Sulaksono, T., Hidayati, M., Ramdani, R., 2016). Case forest and land fires in Riau Province increased from the Year 2010 up to the Year 2015. In 2010 there was only 1812 point. But in 2011 and 2015, the points rose to 3336 and 6000 points, respectively (Purnomo, E. P., Nurmandi, A., Sulaksono, T., Hidayati, M., Ramdani, R., 2016). The fire in 2015 had the most devastating impacts on the country's history. The number of victims who contracted the diseases caused by smoking was 97.139 (Republika, 2015). Due to the smoke, many people had to be evacuated from their area of residence.

This research examined the forest and land fire management policy in the narrative of the existing policy in the local and two national media. The narrative policy is a story told by the actor to help define the policy issues or advocate for a solution (Jones & McBeth, 2010). Framework Policy Narrative (NPF) was developed to give experts theoretical and empirical tools for analyzing the role of narrative in the process of policy. The narrative conveyed by policy actors in the media can be an input for the government in making policy decisions to address the problem of forest and land fires in Riau Province.

2. Literature Review

Many disciplines employ the use of narrative in research, including public policy (Jones & McBeth, 2010). A relatively new approach is the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), which help empirical, structuralist, and positivist to learn narrative policy. The NPF can be used to examine how actors (interest groups/media/individuals) use the structure of the narrative (strategy) to offer policy options and assess their success (Shanahan et al., 2018). The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) is used as a general theory of the policy process and have tried to integrate the postmodern approach to understand the role of narrative in policy with a scientific methodology (Jones & McBeth, 2010). NPF can be studied at three levels: macro (cultural/institutional), meso (group), and micro (individual).

The study of Macrolevel occur involves examining how narrative policy are applied and changed over the years. This research is at the level of meso and addresses the issue of policy analysis from the media. NPF is developed on the assertion that the narrative is important but rarely tested empirically in the scholarship policy. For this reason, they have the potential to explain the dynamics, beliefs, and behavior of actors in the policy making (Crow et al., 2017). The narrative is considered an important part of human communication, especially in persuading one another or influencing the process, such as in decision-making policy (Boscarino, 2020). A narrative is the main way people use to understand themselves and communicate (Jones & McBeth, 2010).

Policy framework Narrative (NPF), is used to view the process policy, empirically studying the capacity of narrative to shape public policy at various levels of analysis (Smith-Walter, Jones, Shanahan, & Peterson, 2020). Research on the policy process seeks to unpack the complexity of the interaction temporal between public policy and the actors, events, context, and results (Petridou & Mintrom, 2020). As a theory of the policy process, the use of NPF in research makes it eases the determining of the model (Shanahan et al., 2018). The narrative policy includes some of the components of the narrative. The NPF narrative policy requires two features, including at least one character and public interests. This can be a solution to the proposed policy fully related to behavior, potential consequences, and references in the settings (Knackmuhs, Farmer, & Knapp, 2020).

According to Dupuis (Dupuis, 2019) the narrative can affect policy. In the study of the implementation of the NPF in forest and land fires, the narrative policy expressed by the actor and management issues is examined. NPF explains how a group uses the narrative policy and try influencing public policy. Also, it helps determine how an individual is influenced by narrative policy (McBeth & Pearsall, 2019). The existing policy does not explain in detail the system's land and forest fire management control. There are many actors and stakeholders involved in the forest fire and land problems in the Province of Riau in 2014-2016. Continuous forest and land fire show problems in the policies established by the government (Rasyid, 2014). Land and forest fire redirect interest groups, government leaders, policymakers, news media, and the public to identify the problem or give greater attention to the issue that potentially leads to the search for a solution after the failure of the policy (Afrian et al., 2017). Narrative formed on the media attracts attention to the policy issue. A coalition of actors looking for a change can use it as an opportunity to actively mobilize support (Crow et al., 2017). With a narrative formed in the media, the actor's policy has offered the solution to reduce the vulnerability to the danger of the forest fire expansion in the future. The narrative formed by the media on the issue of controlling forest and land fires provides input for policymaking by the government. The narratives regarding policy problems and the solutions offered to help the government understand the main problem and the possible solutions.

3.   Research Methods

This study analyses the coverage of local and national media news regarding forest and land fires in Riau Province. Sample districts taken had the most devastating impacts of land and forest fires between 2014 and 2016, specifically Pelalawan, Bengkalis Regency, and Rokan Hilir. Media articles have been used as valid data in other studies (Blair & McCormack, 2016). Content analysis is used in Pekanbaru.tribunnews.com, Mediaindonesia.com, and kompas.com to discuss forest and land fires. This is non-experimental research that focuses on the management control of land and forest fires. It determines the forest and land fire management through the narrative policy on the media. Also, the study examines the role of the narrative in the policy produced by the government. The research was conducted in Riau Province by taking the three Districts that experienced the biggest fire from 2015 to 2016, specifically Bengkalis, Rokan Hilir, and Pelalawan. Data in this study obtained from the article published in media pekanbaru.tribunnews.com, mediaindonesia.com, and kompas.com. The article taken covered the news about forest fires and land between 2015 and 2016.

Table I: Number Of The Article In The Three Media

District	The number of Article On The Media					
	kompas.com		pekanbaru.tribunnews.com		mediaindonesia.com	
	2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	2016
Pelalawan	536	326	191	681	139	248
Bengkalis	361	212	730	515	67	193
Rokan Hilir	229	352	176	105	96	162

Articles were searched using land and forest fires, the number of fires, smoke, and over the function of the land keywords. The search is performed on each media, specifically the kompas.com in the district Bengkalis, Pelalawan, and Rokan Hilir, followed by mediaindonesia.com and pekanbaru.tribunnews.com. Table 3.1 shows the search results of articles obtained. Relevant articles and supporting research were selected and entered into the database with features Ncapture on the application Nvivo12 plus. They were then encoded following the elements of the research narrative.

The analysis was done qualitatively with the use approach deductive theoretical basis for the study of narrative in public policy. According to Gray, NPF research is quite compatible with qualitative methods. The use of qualitative methods within the framework of the policy narrative is very important for the development of the overall framework (Gray & Jones, 2016). This is because it provides opportunities for a more detailed description of the results of the study. The analysis of the articles in the three media was conducted using a Nvivo 12 plus with capturing of the article associated with the research, especially the policy of forest and land fire management. The articles taken were supposed to have long narratives and focus only on forest and land fires. Data was collected from 2014 to 2016 in the Province Of Riau.

4.   Result

Policy Issue
The narrative of the policy is formed at the time of talking about policy issues (Shanahan et al., 2018). By identifying the problem and their definition can be narrowed down to simplify the search for the solution proposed. The solution to the problem involves making policy or changes against the existing one. (Husseini, Aboah, & Issifu, 2020) established that when a policy problem is defined, there is a need to determine "how such a definition explains the parties interested and stakes, how it allocates the role of villains and how to change the relationship power ". It is vital to determine how the problem is defined, who defines it, and the time required. The forest and land fire management issue is narrated by various actors to discuss the problem of the policy made by the government.

Table 2: Policy Problem

policy problem	kompas	mediaindonesia	tribunnews	Total
policy obscurity	5 (29,4%)	4 (23,5%)	8 (47,05%)	17 (100%)
widespread granting of permits	9 (45%)	1 (5%)	10 (50%)	20 (100%)
law enforcement	13 (43,3%)	6 (20%)	11 (36,6%)	30 (100%)
government firmness	17 (50%)	4 (11,76%)	13 38,23%)	34 (100%)

The problem policy widely discussed is about the government firmness 50% on kompas.com, 11.76% in mediaindonesia.com, and 38,23% on pekanbaru.tribunnews.com. The law enforcement held 43,3% in kompas.com, 20% on mediindonesia.com, and 36.6% in pekanbaru.tribunnerws.com. In granting broad permission, 45% was on kompas.com, 5% on mediaindonesia.com, 50% on pekanbaru.tribunnews.com. In terms of the unclear policy, 29.4% was in kompas.com, 23.5% in mediaindonesia.com, and 47.05% on pekanbaru.tribunnews.com.

According to the media, forest, and land fire management have many policy problems, though there are also solutions narrated by the policy actors. To examine a policy problem, the narrative should be assessed systematically to measure how actors assess a policy and how it is implemented (Stephan, 2020). It can be easy to find solutions to policy issues. The policy can be found in the narrative started by the actors, decision-makers, and community leaders. According to (Shanahan et al., 2018) the core of the narrative of the policy is a discussion of the problem it contains.

The problem policies found in this research are caused by the occurrence of forest and land fires. These problems emanate from either a private person who did the actual burning, the company for which the land is burning and the measures taken by the government. In case there is a problem in a policy in land and forest fires, an alternative policy solution can be easily found (Lawlor & Crow, 2018). The problem can be found in the narrative of the policy started by actors, decision-makers, and community leaders. According to (Petridou & Mintrom, 2020), the core of the narrative policy is the discussion regarding the problems in the policy.

The granting of permission can be a problem at the advent of the actions of open land. The burning is often conducted during the dry season, hence the fire easily spread to other lands. Though the government prohibits companies from land clearing through burning in Law No. 32 of 2009, in Such legislation, an amendment allows the community to clear land by fire, with the provisions of a maximum of two hectares. This becomes a loophole for companies to utilize the community through bribes.

The problem in the policy is often accompanied by a policy solution (Shanahan, Mcbeth, & Hathaway, 2011) Policies have not specified the penalties for offenses narrated in the media. There is a need to create a more detailed policy and load the articles that can ensnare the perpetrators of the land burning, including individuals within the company and its subsidiaries. Intentional burning violates the regulations,

hence the arsonists should arrest both the offender and companies. The problem arises when the process of law enforcement is not conducted following the provisions. The cases often disappear without being solved, especially those relating to large companies.

Character

Character is an important element that should be discussed in the research narrative. In general, the characters can be the hero, the villain, and the victim (Crow et al., 2017). The narrative of policy on the media talks about the heroes, the villains, and the victims of the land and forest fires. Characters raised in the research aims are the main components of a narrative that often draw the reader's attention. Suppose someone identifies with or are sympathetic to the character in the narrative, the recipient (audience) often find the narrative more persuasive (Gray & Jones, 2016). The character of the actor can be seen from the narrative they put forward in the media. Characters can also judge how they address land and forest fires.
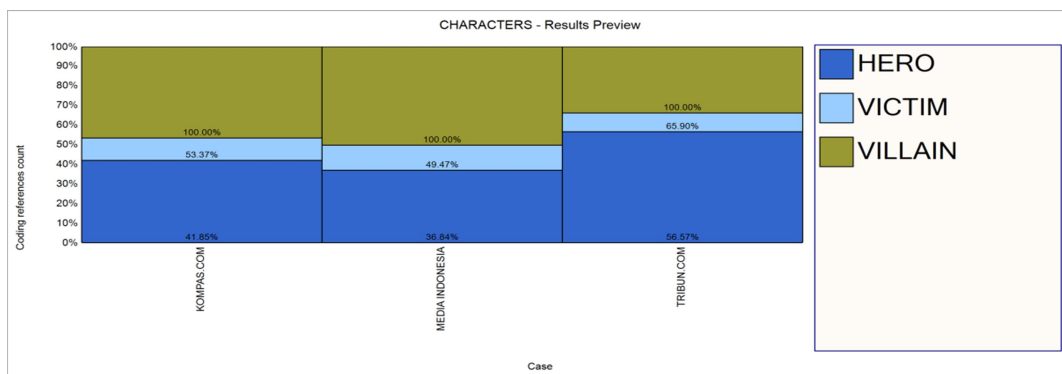

Figure 1. character

From the figure 1, most of the tribun.com characters are the heroes (56,57%), victims (9.3 percent), and Villains (34,10%). On the mediaindonesia.com hero had 36,84%, the victim 12.63% and villains 50,53%, In the kompas.com hero had 41,85%, the victim 11,53%, and the villains 46,63%. On policy issues difficult to find the solution, actors narrate themselves as the hero and the opponent becomes villains to gain the advantages of the policy made. The character of the hero appears at the moment of narrating the problems of land and forest fires and being sympathetic to the victims of the smoke generated. The character of the villain appeared at a time when the media narrates the cause of the land and forest fire. The character of the villain also appeared when the actor talks about the opponent, especially those participating in making the forest and land fire management policies.

Hero

The hero character appears at the time of the narrative started by an actor talking about the solution to the problems of land and forest fires and the narrative that sides against the victims. The actor is categorized as a hero. The narrative that suggests the process of extinguishing by the TNI, Manggala Agni, the Community, and the BPBD are also encoded into the character of the hero because of discussing their role in addressing the spread of fire.
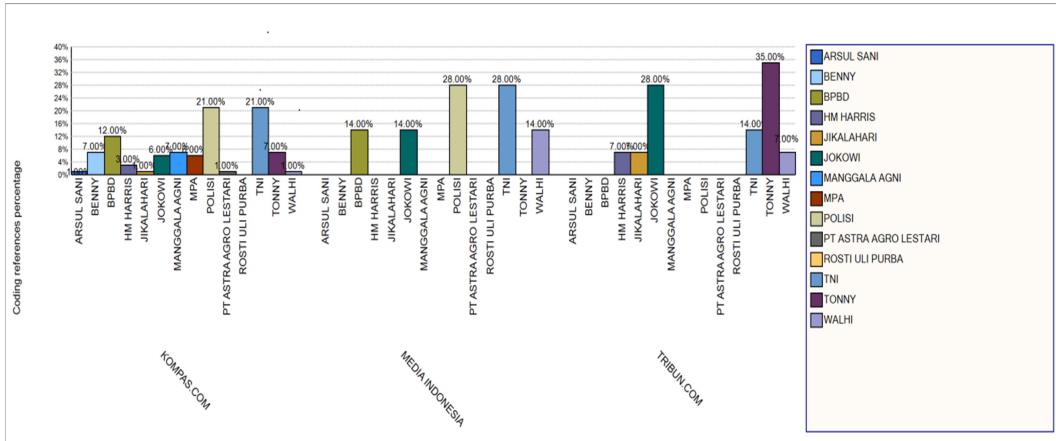
Figure 2. Hero

According to figure 2, the hero is in the management of forest fires and land. The hero is addressed to the people or institutions that help address the problem of forest fires and land, including the BPBD, Manggala Agni, the Community Concerned Fire, Police, and the MILITARY which has always been at the frontline in the process of extinguishing the burning land. A total of 28% of the hero aimed at the military and the police are down the field to extinguish the in-land fire. Then BPBD by 14% and the Manggala Agni of 10% also extinguish the fire in the burning land. The hero refers to the people or organizations that defend victims and provide solutions to policy issues (Smith-Walter et al., 2020). In this study, the hero is the actor from a political party, NGOs, and institutions charged with extinguishing the fire. The actor is a hero narrating the policy issues and offers a solution to solve the problem, siding with the victims.

Most narratives discuss the process of zoning land involving the organization. Their actions make them heroes in forest fire management and land in Riau Province. President Jokowi is also a hero of the narrative policy delivered on media. Jokowi instructed the institutions associated with the forest and fire management to manage forest and land fires immediately, including a takedown against a high-ranking Police of TNI.

Villains

The villain is identified with the people or the perpetrators of the arson. Any narrative that discusses the arsonists is categorized as a villain. The government is in the character of villains since it does not run the policy according to the rules. It is also referred to as the villain when it lacks fast response in dealing with forest fires and land. The government was instrumental in overcoming land and forest fire in the past. At the moment, it cannot handle it, hence placed in villains
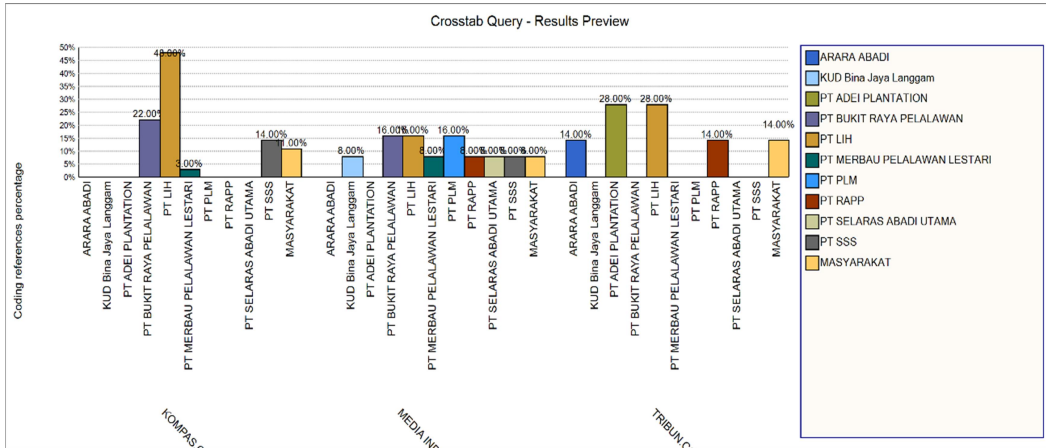
Figure 3. Villains

According to figure 3, many people and institutions facilitate the occurrence of land and forest fires in Pelalawan District. Large companies with burning land were categorized as villains since they cause fire problems. The villain consists of PT LIH which, is 49% discussed in the narrative kompas.com and 28% on pekanbaru.tribunnews.com. The PT Adei Plantation was also narrated on the same media by 28%, PT SSS 10%, Arara Abadi 14%, PT Bukit Raya Pelalawan 15%, and KUD Bina Jaya Style 7%. Apart from the company, 14% of the people are caught hand burning land.

Research in the District of Pelalawan, Bengkalis, and Rokan Hilir show the character of the villain was there on the company with the burning land, the police who did not complete the investigation, the impartial court, and the community burning the land. According to (Lawlor & Crow, 2018), villains are people or institutions that cause a problem. Land and forest fire management problems are caused by the occurrence of fires by the public or a company. (Crow et al., 2017) stated that forest fires are caused by natural factors. However, this study shows that villains are a person or company.

The victim

Respiratory infection and asthma are the most common disorders affecting the victims. Additionally, the community experiences a disruption in the skin such as allergies, irritation of the eyes, and pneumonia.

Figure 4. Victims

Figure 4 shows data on the impact of public health caused by the inhalation of smoke. Most disease suffered is ARI. In 2015, patients with RESPIRATORY infection due to smoke from forest fires were 2.675 people. In 2014 and 2016, they were 2.171 and 1.548, respectively. The disease suffered by the community is skin allergy, a form of itching affecting 1,650 people in 2014, and 1.568 and 685 in 2015 and 2016, respectively.

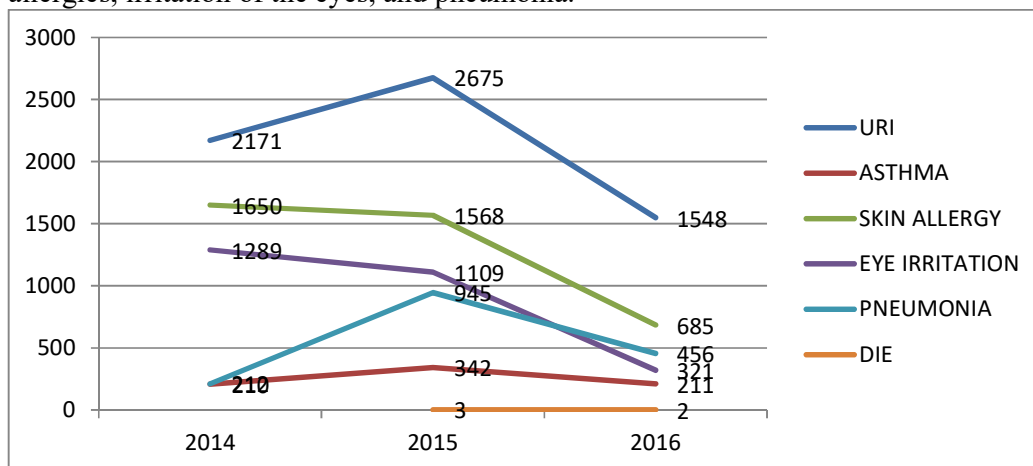Due to pollution caused by land and forest fires, the community suffers due to a lack of oxygen, causing difficulty in breathing. People also suffer from eye irritation caused by the smoke, specifically 1289 persons who suffered from eye irritation in 2014, and 1.109 people and 321 in 2015 and 2016, respectively. Pneumonia or inflammation of the lungs also affected a lot of people due to smoke inhalation. In 2014, 2015, and 2016, the victims were 212, 945, and 456, respectively.

Policy Solution

According to Shanahan, policy solutions are typically offered by the actors of the policy when talking about issues (Shanahan et al., 2011). The solution to the policy is a way of overcoming the problem of land and forest fire and is narrated by the actor policy in the media. According to Jones, the narration of policy provides solutions and is considered important in the narrative policy research in the NPF (Jones & McBeth, 2010). The problem in the forest and land fire management is about the policy of the government in giving permission to the management of the land to the corporation. Granting broad permission lessens the supervision activities of the company. There is a need to evaluate permits given to the company. An evaluation was conducted to determine the company's ability to monitor and maintain the land.

The proposed solution is new policy-making that does not provide loopholes for people and companies for land clearing by fire and to evaluate the permissions given to the company that cannot keep their land from fire. The government should be firm in cracking down on the perpetrators of the arson, especially against the corporation.

Tabel 3. Policy Solution

Policy Solution	kompas	mediaindonesia	tribunnews	Total
Evaluation of company permits	11 (30,56%)	23 (63,8%%)	2 (5,55%)	36 (100%)
Prevention focused policies	2 (16,66%)	3 (25%)	7 (58%)	12 (100%)
Unsany policy	13 (32,5%)	25 (62,5%)	2(5%)	40 (100%

According to (Jones & McBeth, 2020), the characters with a solution defends a victim or is sympathetic and attached to the hero. The actor gives solutions related to policies taken by the government. The solution offered in the District of Pelalawan, Bengkalis, and Rokan Hilir should involve making policies that do not overlap.

5. Discussion

This Research showed that the narrative played by the actors on the media affect the policy-making process. This is in line with the theory proposed by (Shanahan et al., 2018), which stated that NPF is a general theory in the policy process. The research problems narrated by a variety of actors on the media about problems in the forest and land fire management in the Province of Riau, followed by policy solutions affect the measures taken by the government. In outline, four policy issues that can be the cause of forest and land fires are narrated by the media. This includes permit provision to the cultivation of the fields of peat, not following the legal process, overlapping of the contents of the policy, and the firmness of the government.

The policy issue is narrated by an actor to criticize the actions of the government to overcome the problem of forest fires. The issue of policy should be accompanied by the solution offered to overcome problems. The role of the narrative in policy is affecting individuals. The policy is influenced by a narrative created by a person or a group of people (Jones & McBeth, 2020). The narrative policy is played by various actors for a wide variety of interests (Ceccoli, 2019). According to (Petridou & Mintrom, 2020), actors dominate the policy-making, function as marketers, and manipulate public opinion with a narration. (Dupuis, 2019) stated that the narrative affects policy. The policy can include some of the components of the narrative. In the NPF narrative study, the presence of two features, specifically one character, and interests of the public. This can be a solution to the proposed policy fully or only something related to behavior policy, potential consequences, and a reference in the policy settings (Boscarino, 2020). Forest and land fire that occurred each year shows problems on a policy, which should be identified by the stakeholders. The use of narrative in their media criticizes the policy and also provides solutions to the problems.

6. Conclusion

This study showed the existence of policy issues narrated by the actors on media with various opinions on the forest and land fire management. Policy issues include the decisive action not taken by the government against perpetrators, slow legal process, and most of the cases were discontinued against the company proven to have violated regulations in the land management of state property. Villains consist of large companies that land on fire, the police not following the legal process, and the people participating in burning the land. The hero consists of the team that attempts to extinguish the fire, including Disaster Manajemen, Army, Police, Manggala Agni, and the Fire Care community. Victim consists of the community affected by the smoke, a health problem.

The policy solutions narrated by the heroine and the actors include making policies that do not overlap in the licensing, conducting an evaluation for the permits management of land given to the company, and decisive action by the government in imposing sanctions against arsonists, mainly large companies. The narrative policy addresses the issue and offers a solution on land and forest fires in 2014 to 2016. This

includes the policies made by the central and local governments. The NPF shows the narratives stated by an actor regarding media influence on policy-making by the government.

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