

Environmental Journalism in the Environmental Conflict: A Case Study of Mainstream and Alternative Media Discourse on the Conflict of Cement Factory Construction in Rembang, Indonesia

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Abstract. This paper aims to reveal the discourse produced by mainstream and alternative media about the conflict of the cement factory construction of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang, Central Java, Indonesia. This study has applied critical discourse methods proposed by Norman Fairclough, focusing on three discourse levels: texts, discursive practices, and socio-cultural practices. The analyses were conducted on the selected texts from June 2014 to December 2015 in Liputan6.com as the mainstream media category and Selamatkanbumi.com as the example of alternative media. This study found that Liputan6.com lacks environmental and biocentric values. It tends to support the discourse of 'mining for welfare'. Liputan6.com has marginalized the arguments of the factory repellent by contrasting them with the experts' and politicians' statements without in-depth investigations on the impact of cement factory construction on the local environment. The news tends to be a one-sided reportage. Meanwhile, Selamatkanbumi.com quite aggressively publishes news about this conflict, framed with the discourse of 'mining destroys the environment'. Selamatkanbumi.com has shown its alignment with the environmental crisis and has practiced the principal attitudes of environmental journalism, except professionalism. They were lack of professionalism since they often just published press releases or opinions that met with their interest, not processes with proper journalistic works.

Keywords: environmental journalism, critical discourse analysis, conflict of cement factory construction, Rembang, mainstream media, alternative media

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Introduction

Over the past decade, the Indonesian government has really boosted economic growth through massive exploitation natural resources (Saputra, 2013:24). Areas that have mining potential, for example, will be the target of efforts to realize one of the visions of economic development. The problem is when these economic interests beat up natural resources mercilessly and trigger environmental conflicts. Thus, it can be said that environmental conflicts in Indonesia cannot be separated from structural problems involving government power relations in perpetuate industrialization.

One of the environmental conflicts drawing much attention from various groups is the polemic regarding the plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang which began to heat up since June 2014. As confirmed by Ming-Ming Lukiarti in *Rembang Melawan* (Cipta et al., 2015: 145), karst mining in Kendeng area by PT Semen Indonesia would damage the spring on Mount Watuputih and disrupt the farming activities of most of the residents of Lasem and Rembang.

However, the environmental conflict in Rembang has attracted attention many groups, ranging from activists, academics, environmentalists, public officials to the scholars. Many of them support the stop operation construction of a cement factory in Rembang, although not a few have proclaiming pro against the existence of the cement industry, which ironically comes a lot from the people of Rembang itself. There are various assumptions regarding the emergence of the pro-cement factory in Rembang. According to Petrasa Wacana et al (Cipta et al, 2015:18), this is because, in general, the public's understanding of the importance of karst functions, as a reservoir for large amounts of groundwater and as a habitat for various flora and fauna, is still minimal. Lack of understanding of enviromental sustainability has an impact on society swallowing welfare myths crammed in by corporations without understanding the potential for environmental crises in the future.

Seeing these facts, recognition and understanding of the problem the environment becomes important, in the context of the Rembang people, and presumably, the Indonesian people too widely so that there is no distortion of understanding that actually supports the parties who want to exploit nature on a large scale. In this case, the media has an important role in providing understanding the community about the importance of preserving nature. Because, in general, media workers (press) in Indonesia are fundamentally too believe in the 9 elements of journalism formulated by Bill Kovach and Rossenstiel whose one of the main points is to prioritize interests society (Kovach and Rossenstiel, 2006:6). So it is clear that the media must participate.

The importance of reporting on environmental issues has long been recognized by the press. In fact it raises a demand and hope for the ability of the press to capture the complexities of environmental issues and contribute to solving the problem. This also gave birth to a separate discipline in media studies, namely environment journalism. Ana Nadya Abrar defines environmental journalism as journalistic methods that prioritize environmental issues and in favor of continuity (Abrar, 1993:9). The role of environmental journalism in Indonesia is very important. Because, like delivered by Agus Sudiby in the book 34 *Ethical Principles of Environmental Journalism*, The main purpose of environmental journalism is to convey a call to public to participate in environmental sustainability (Sudiby, 2015:4).

This paper attempts to describe how the media build discourse in reporting on environmental conflicts in Rembang. This departs from the idea that the media are often a means to establish and spread certain ideologies or perspectives to the public. It could be that the goal is to spread ideas or ideas from the dominant group to control other groups (Barrat, 1994: 51-52). In the context of environmental issues, it is common that the existence of mainstream media, which is owned by large investors and is oriented more towards market interests, is often viewed with suspicion. In Mongabay.id, Executive Director of Walhi (Wahana Lingkungan Hidup) West Java, Dadan Ramdan, for example, revealed if the mainstream media pays less attention to environmental issues (Nugraha, 2017). This condition then makes the *raison d'etre* of alternative media model orients towards inter-subjective understanding and real awareness of the community (Karman, 2013: 25). In other words, the emergence of a number of alternative media concerning with the activities of environmental journalism shows a resistance to the dominance of mainstream media which have more focus on the market will.

Based on that explanation, this study would like to reveal the discourse of reporting on the conflicts of cement in Rembang on mainstream and alternative media from the perspective of environmental journalism. This study used a critical discourse analysis scheme developed by Norman Fairclough. Fairclough's critical discourse analysis focuses on three aspects, namely: text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice.

The mainstream media analyzed in this research is Liputan6.com, a mainstream online media. The media was chosen because it is national online news portal and had an extensive number of reporting about the conflicts in the cement plant construction in Rembang. In addition, Liputan6.com was one of the top 8 sites based on alexa.com in 2018. This shows that they are one of the mainstream media that are widely accessed by the public. Moreover, in 2016, Liputan6.com won the Best Digital Product award in the "News &

Magazine App” category and The Best Website in the “News Site” category at Social Media Award (SMA) and Digital Marketing Award (DMA) 2016 event held in Jakarta.

The alternative media chosen in this study is Selamatkanbumi.com. This media is referred to as an alternative media by considering its origin as a media initiated by the Agrarian Community Communication Forum. This media, through its reporting texts, specifically rejects all developments that cause environmental conflicts. In the context of Rembang, this media is also quite consistent in providing a narrative of resistance to the business of building a cement factory in the Kendeng karst area. They are consistent in defending people who are potentially affected by environmental damage in particular, so that they become an alternative in the midst of many media that focus more on political issues at the structural level and issues from urban life.

Literature Review or Research Background

In this section, the researcher will describe a number of research related to the topic of the conflict in the construction of a cement factory in Kendeng in media framing. Rosalita Dian Utami (2016), through her research on Mongabay.id in the context of news on the construction of a cement factory in Kendeng, shows that the practice of environmental journalism can refer to news about environmental threats and solutions to overcome them. Meanwhile, Muhammad Solihin and Novi Kurnia (2017), in their research on the construction of news about the Kendeng conflict in the online media Kompas.com and Suaramerdeka.com, emphasized how the ideological differences in the two media affected their neutrality and alignment. However, the focus of these two researches is still limited to questioning the framing of media narratives using the Robert Entman method, especially in the case of selection and highlighting issues. In fact, it is also important to explore further how the discursive practice of the media editor, which of course has a significant influence on journalists in selecting and writing news. With Entman's model framing analysis, it is difficult to understand the ideology of a media at a macro level in positioning a conflict in society because his theory does not seek to investigate further about the editorial culture of a media.

In this regard, the researcher also decided to use Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to examine the coverage of the conflict in Kendeng in this paper. Apart from not seeing the text as something separate from the influence of the context, CDA also emphasizes the importance of understanding the discursive practice of a media, in this context of news production. After the texts are analyzed, the researcher will relate them to the influence of editorial culture and socio-cultural practices in society which are certainly influenced by certain ideologies or points of view.

Talking about media ideology, so far we have often read various pessimistic opinions that are at the same time full of suspicion towards mainstream media practices. Karman (2013), in his paper, describes that the media can be a means of domination for the interests of certain groups, whose orientation is more towards profit and tends to ignore public interests. However, he also explained that the media can be a tool of struggle for certain classes. Karman's paper containing the theoretical discussion led the researcher to then conduct further research on the contestation of news coverage in two media with different modes of production and orientation: mainstream media and alternative media. Meanwhile, the issue is specifically about the environment. Thus, the perspective that is trying to be used as an analytical lens is environmental journalism.

The definition of mainstream and alternative in this study was elaborated from a research by Christian Fuchs on the European Journal of Social Theory, published in 2010, entitled "Alternative Media as Critical Media". Fuchs research indeed intended to draw a strict definition between mainstream media as a capitalist media that are not independent, with a large-scale publishing, and dominate the discourse, and alternative media as independent critical media, grassroots-based, with a small scale publishing, and generally focus on less dominant discourse. The results of the elaboration that the researchers did can be seen in the table below:

Table 1: Differences between mainstream media and alternative media

Dimension	Mainstream media	Alternatif Media
Ownership	Private industry	Communities/grasroots
Organizational media structures	Hierarchical	Non-Hierarchical
News production/content	Popular issue/dominant discourses	Grassroots discourses/critical tendency
Orientation	Make a lot of profits	Comunity advocacy/public interest
Distribution	Marketing and public relations	alternative distribution

Based on the literature review that has been described by the researcher, this paper intends to analyze the discourse in the news of mainstream and alternative media regarding environmental conflicts for and against the construction of a cement factory in Rembang. The mainstream media that the researcher uses as the subject of this paper is Liputan6.com with the consideration that this is a medium with high readability so that it can achieve the top position in the Alexa rating. Thus, this media has a very strategic role in disseminating

an idea to the public. In addition, as the researcher alluded to in the introduction, Liputan6.com has also won an award as the best digital media. Meanwhile, the alternative media that the author uses as the subject is Selamatkanbumi.com, which consistently and specifically tries to narrate environmental conflicts, especially in Rembang. This media expressly states its siding with the community potentially affected by the construction of the factory and shows a form of disappointment with mainstream journalism.

In contrast to the previous research that the researcher mentioned above, this paper will not only describe how the discourse on the conflict in the construction of a cement factory is reproduced in the news, but also the culture behind the selection of these issues, and the socio-cultural conditions reflected in the ideology or perspective of the news texts of the two media.

Methodology

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study is the news texts about the conflict of the cement plant construction in Rembang during June 2014-December 2015 period. The reason for the timing is because it was assumed that 2014-2015 was the first year when the discourses against the cement plant construction PT Semen Indonesia began and was distributed to the public. In June 2014, the cement plant construction really began. While during 2014-2015, the resistance through various forms, ranging from the dissemination of discourse to mass action, was intensively carried out not only by the Rembang community but also by activists and students outside the area.

As for the retrieval of text data, it was done some observations on all texts during June 2014-December 2015 period. Then, for the sake of the focus of the study, the texts taken were the ones explicitly discussing the environment in the Kendeng area and implicitly directing the truth about environmental conflicts there. In this case, the researcher found eight news stories from Liputan6.com which focused on discussing the agrarian conflict. Meanwhile, on Selamatkanbumi.com, researchers found as many as six news stories, some of which used narratives calling for solidarity.

Table 2: Text from Liputan6.com

Date	News Title	Link
18 Juni 2014	Pendirian Pabrik di Rembang Tuai Protes, Ini Kata Semen Indonesia	https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/2065120/pendirian-pabrik-di-rembang-tuai-protes-ini-kata-semen-indonesia
19 Juni 2014	Kalau Semen Indonesia Punya Amdal, Pembangunan Pabrik Bisa Lanjut	https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/2065771/kalau-semen-indonesia-punya-amdal-pembangunan-pabrik-bisa-lanjut
24 Sep 2014	Hari Tani, Bupati Kendal Dukung Ratusan Petani Demo	https://www.liputan6.com/citizen6/read/2109674/hari-tani-bupati-kendal-dukung-ratusan-petani-demo
20 Juni 2014	Warga Blora Tolak Pendirian Pabrik Semen	https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/2065961/warga-blora-tolak-pendirian-pabrik-semen
24 Sep 2014	Hari Tani, Bupati Kendal Dukung Ratusan Petani Demo	https://www.liputan6.com/citizen6/read/2109674/hari-tani-bupati-kendal-dukung-ratusan-petani-demo
24 Jan 2015	Pekerjaan Rumah Menanti Bos Baru Semen Indonesia	https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/2165745/pekerjaan-rumah-menanti-bos-baru-semen-indonesia
09 Nov 2015	Dirut Semen Indonesia Laporan Kemajuan Pabrik Baru ke JK	https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/2361238/dirut-semen-indonesia-laporan-kemajuan-pabrik-baru-ke-jk
20 November 2015	Kala Puluhan Petani Wanita Salah Mengadu ke KPK	https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/2137262/kala-puluhan-petani-wanita-salah-mengadu-ke-kpk

Table 3: Text from Selamatkanbumi.com

Date	News Title	Link
15 Juni 2014	Tolak penambangan dan pendirian Pabrik Semen di Rembang	https://selamatkanbumi.com/id/2014/06/15/press-release-tolak-penambangan-dan-pendirian-pabrik-semen-di-rembang/
18 Juni 2014	Chronology of Resitance to the Cement Factory in Rembang (15th -18th June 2014)	https://selamatkanbumi.com/id/2014/06/18/kronologi-aksi-rembang/
19 Juni 2014	[Rilis solidaritas dari Blora] tolak Pabrik Semen di Pegunungan Kendeng Utara!	https://selamatkanbumi.com/id/press-release-tolak-pabrik-semen-di-pegunungan-kendeng-utara/
23 September 2014	Rakyat melawan: Aksi protes Rembang, Pandang Raya dan Kulonprogo	https://selamatkanbumi.com/id/2014/09/23/rakyat-melawan-aksi-protes-rembang-pandang-raya-dan-kulonprogo/
28 November 2014	Kronologi Represi Aparat Terhadap Ibu-Ibu Penolak Pabrik Semen di Rembang 27 November 2014	https://selamatkanbumi.com/id/2014/11/28/kronologi-represi-aparat-terhadap-ibu-ibu-penolak-pabrik-semen-di-rembang-27-november-2014/
14 Januari 2015	[Seruan Solidaritas] Aksi Warga Rembang Tolak Pabrik Semen Direpresi Aparat	https://selamatkanbumi.com/id/2014/06/16/aksi-warga-rembang-tolak-pabrik-semen-direpresi-aparat/

Research Phase

This study used critical discourse analysis developed by Norman Fairclough. In *Discourse and Social Change*, Norman Fairclough viewed language as a social practice. Fairclough placed discourse as a form of action by a person or group while looking at and interpreting the reality. In addition, Fairclough also implied the occurrence of a reciprocal relation between discourse and social structure. Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis, in *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA), focuses on how language is formed and shaped from certain social relations and social contexts (Fairclough, 1998: 131-132). For Fairclough, discourse is how language use conceived as social practice as well as a sign of experience from a particular perspective. Discourse is broader than text, because text is only limited to the use of spoken or written language in a discourse event. Meanwhile, discourse

itself includes the practice of communication and the context that surrounds it, so that in order to be able to capture the 'way of marking experience', moreover from 'a certain perspective', an analysis is needed that is able to reveal the entire socio-political-historical context of a text. In this context, CDA is used to analyze the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of a text. Intertextuality is concerned with complex discourses whose configuration involves more than one text. Meanwhile, interdiscursivity refers to a combination of several genres and different discourses (Subagyo, 2018:17).

There are three dimensions offered by Fairclough in the analysis of critical discourse as follows:

a. Text

In this study, for the analysis of the text, the Norman Fairclough's scheme was used (in Eriyanto, 2009: 289) including three main points of analysis, namely representation, relations, and identity. The details are as follows:

- Representation: how situations, people, events, groups, circumstances, or anything is displayed and narrated in the text.
- Relationships: how the relationship between reporters, audiences, or news participants is displayed in the text.
- Identity: How the identity of journalists, audiences, or participants is displayed and narrated in the text.

b. Discourse Practice

Analysis of the discourse practice is centered on how the text is produced and consumed. In this case, the investigations included the condition of producing a news text, what processes were passed by a text before printed. By analyzing the discourse practice, it can be seen how the structure and content of the text were transformed. Although on the other hand, an analysis of the discourse practice could be done by identifying what discourses were used in the text and how the discourse inter-textually used other texts. In this study, the analysis by identifying discourses in the text was conducted.

c. Social and Cultural Practices

Before analyzing the social practice, Fairclough first emphasized the importance of exploring the relationship of the discourse practice and the discourse order. It was only then mapping the cultural, social, and non-discourse relationships and structures that composed the context of the discourse practice itself. Fairclough called it the discourse matrix. However in this analysis, it was necessary to trans-discipline other theories such as social theory or cultural theory in order to be able to explain the relationship between the discourse practice

and social practice (Jorgensen and Philips, 2010: 149-159). For this reason, a variety of literatures relating to environmental conflicts in Kendeng was collected and observed on the development of the conflict during the period as a whole.

Results and Discussion

Liputan6.com

a. Text

In general, the news texts on Liputan6.com during June 2014-December 2015 period were dominated by narratives that supported the cement plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia in Northern area of Mount Kendeng, Rembang.

The relationship between the cement plant company and the government was described as one vision in order to achieve economic and developmental benefits. While the relationship between the cement plant company and the community was only seen in terms of conflict and tended to be biased.

A number of texts stated that the cement plant company in Kendeng had fulfilled environmentally friendly procedures, as evidenced by the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) they had possessed.

For example, a quotation of a statement from the minister of industry, "*Karena Amdal itu sudah keluar, dia (PT Semen Indonesia) mempunyai hak untuk melanjutkan proses-prosesnya. Memang, LSM harus tetap didengarkan, tetapi sebagai investor mengacunya pada ijin Amdal... (Deny, 2014)*" (Because EIA has already been released, it (PT Semen Indonesia) has the right to continue the processes. Indeed, NGOs must be listened to, but as investors refer to EIA permit...) confirmed that EIA as something absolute and final. Although, after further study, it turned out that there were still some inappropriate things in it.

In addition, this text also stated that PT Semen Indonesia had received support related to the construction process from the religious leaders and some residents in Rembang. At this point, the news text placed the people behind the EIA procedure, religious leaders, and some residents as neutral parties as if they had no interest other than advancing the economy. Therefore, their support became moral legitimacy for the company. At the same time, some news weakened the arguments of the residents who tried to preserve their environment, especially the water source, so as not to be damaged due to the plant construction.

This debilitating news generally narrated the resistance of the residents as a result of mere concern without the support of evidence that could be accounted for. In the news entitled "*Pendirian Pabrik Semen Tuai Protes, Ini Kata Semen Indonesia*" (The Protest

against the Cement Plant Construction, PT Semen Indonesia Said) (Nurmayanti, 2014), opposing community was even considered a group not knowing that construction of PT Semen Indonesia would bring benefits to the Rembang community widely rather than environmental problems.

The support for the cement plant construction had been massive in the reporting of Liputan6.com after the emergence of text contained a support from the Indonesian Vice President, Jusuf Kala. In the news, Jusuf Kala supported the efforts to construct cement plant to meet the increase of public's cement consumption and infrastructure development. The environmental conflict involving the community in Rembang was not concerned by the second most powerful ruler in Indonesia.

Strangely, the scapegoat in the texts during June 2014-December 2015 period was more directed towards the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, as the party who was considered to have the power to revoke the license of PT Semen Indonesia. Ganjar Pranowo was not at all given an opportunity to comment on the resistance of the Rembang community in that period. Though some texts, his name was mentioned as a governor who did not pay attention to his people. However, Liputan6.com did not verify it to Ganjar Pranowo in that period. It seemed that Ganjar Pranowo really looked apathetic about the Rembang community who were resisting the plant construction because he did not give any response.

Some texts may have seemed supportive to the Rembang community. However, the texts that seemed to support the resistance towards the plant construction tended to direct the reader to sympathize with the opposing masses. In that sense, it did not strengthen the environmental discourse that the Rembang community tried to voice.

b. Discourse Practice

Analysis of the discourse practice attempts to reveal how a text is produced. In this case, the study investigated the conditions behind the production of news texts on Liputan6.com and Selamatkanbumi.com, what processes were passed by the texts before printed. By analyzing the discourse practice, it can be seen how the structure and content of the text were transformed.

First, how the discourse of Liputan6.com was produced was analyzed. Based on the interviews with Harun Mahbub, managing editor or person in charge of regional news on Liputan6.com, essentially Liputan6.com was not an ideological and political platform, it did not stand one particular issue (Harun Mahbub, interview, February 13th 2018). According to Harun In his working system, Harun Mahbub relies more on contributors from various regions to cover issues on a regional scale, because most of Liputan6.com's journalists are based in Jakarta. It was known that the contributors in the Liputan6.com work system were

paid per content, there was no fixed salary, but their work was contractually bound. This contract could be terminated if the contributors were unproductive in a certain amount of time.

As the managing editor, Harun Mahbub determined the issue and what content would be loaded. He also set the writing standards, starting from the news category to the number of words. In the work structure of Liputan6.com, executive editors are supervised by executive editor who monitors daily work. At the same time, the editor in chief has the realm of work to the political lobbies to all external parties and to maintain the stability of editorial performance.

On Liputan6.com, Harun Mahbub emphasized the news writing in the form of features or stories, which further exposed the human interest side through the depth of the narratives. The depth of the narratives is long descriptive writing with a storyline. These writings can be seen on the regional channel of Liputan6.com.

Regarding the polemic of the plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang, Harun Mahbub claimed that he was not interested. For him, the issues related to the agrarian conflict in Kendeng were not attractive in the sense that it did not gain traffics on news website. Therefore, he did not send the journalists or contributors to the area. The news relating to Rembang in June 2014-December 2015 period was the result of reporting when a mob of rejecting cement plant from Rembang took actions in Semarang or Jakarta. The rest came from the press release or broadcast of PT Semen Indonesia.

This attitude influenced the perspective of Liputan6.com in reporting the issue in Rembang, for example Ganjar Pranowo's scapegoating unilaterally without any confirmation from him. In Harun's statement, this happened because there was no intention from Liputan6.com to stand the conflict in Rembang so that the published news tended to be makeshift material without deep reportage. Furthermore, this attitude also made Liputan6.com tend to load news in bits and pieces.

The lack of news about the conflict in Rembang seemed to be inversely proportional to the news about the efforts to establish PT Semen Indonesia. In general, news on Liputan6.com covered the cement plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia as an environmentally friendly plant construction that must have been developed to meet 'market demand' and build 'infrastructure'. This discourse was morally legitimized through narratives that proclaimed the support by Jusuf Kala, "most of the residents of Rembang" as well as the support of "the religious leaders" towards the plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia. Besides the moral justification, the texts of Liputan6.com also justified the cement plant construction procedurally by narrating EIA as the absolute strength that the company had fulfilled the requirements.

This text about the imagery of PT Semen Indonesia was stronger than the argument of the Rembang community regarding their rejection. There were several points that could be observed on this matter. First, if the text on cement development was strengthened by the support of the Indonesian Vice President and the religious leaders, plus the EIA justification, the texts on the community's rejection tended to be narrated as a concern without strong evidence. Second, there was no moral justification from the figures or procedural justification to strengthen the community's arguments, for example writing from the perspective of environmentalists who were concerned about the issue. Third, the community's argument was weakened by the statement of the Secretary of PT Semen Indonesia that those who rejected the construction needed to be informed about the benefit of the construction to the community welfare.

From what the researchers have described, in the context of *liputan6.com*, it seems that the way the media journalists work is that they tend to support the cement factory rather than the public. This is influenced by the editorial power who is able to determine which topics are important for them to cover and which are not. Rembang, in this context, is never get some attention from the managing editor, besides the possibility that contributors are lazy because they are only paid per news item, so they rely more on press releases than doing in-depth coverage in the field. So that the issue is not highlighted or made into an in-depth coverage agenda by *Liputan6.com*. Most of the news about the cement construction in Rembang is obtained through the press release of the factory. As for the conflict of resistance, it is only covered if there are certain movements or demonstrations that tend to contain news value. This is what makes *liputan6.com* tend to support and strengthen the discourse on the construction of a cement factory.

Selamatkanbumi.com

a. Text

Selamatkanbumi.com, as a media that sided with the lower classes of society had shown its alignments clearly. Most of the texts, both press releases and news, supported the struggle of the Rembang community to reject the cement plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia in the Northern area of Mount Kendeng in Gunem, Rembang.

In the context of the polemic for the cement plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang, there are three aspects of environmental problems that *Selamatkanbumi.com* had shown. First, all construction activities of PT Semen Indonesia would threaten the sustainability of springs and underground caves around the Watuputih groundwater basin area, Kendeng. Second, the damage occurred due to the use of mining equipment which would destroy water infiltration points. Third, there was a social conflict

among the residents and between the residents and the authorities. This social conflict was the impact of the plant construction.

So far, Selamatkanbumi.com had presented some possible negative impacts on the Kendeng environment that would occur if a cement plant was constructed. Unfortunately, most of the texts focused on human rights violations, namely the violence by the apparatus who tried to drive the Rembang community's action out, while the ecological discourse was actually marginalized.

Another disadvantage of Selamatkanbumi.com is that the news tended to be one-way, and the narrative presented a black and white conflict: between the oppressed farmers and the oppressive cement company through the authorities. Obviously, this media did not meet ideal journalistic rules. Moreover, there was no disclaimer or objection from the authorities or PT Semen Indonesia so that there was no effort to cover both sides.

In addition, some texts on Selamatkanbumi.com also accused without strong evidence. As one of the texts, "[*Rilis solidaritas dari Blora*] tolak Pabrik Semen di Pegunungan Kendeng Utara!" ([Release of Solidarity from Blora] Reject the Cement Plant in Northern Area of Mount Kendeng!) mentioned, the efforts to destroy ecosystems in the Kendeng environment were the part of a global conspiracy. The argument seemed artificial because there was no strong evidence so that, in certain points, it had the potential to reduce the credibility of the media movement.

b. Discourse Practice

Selamatkanbumi.com is ideologically full of advocacy efforts towards the people whose their living space are threatened. The interview was conducted with Abdus Somad, one of the founders of selamatkanbumi.com. It should be noted that actually there is no hierarchy on Selamatkanbumi.com. However, Abdus Somad's duties in editorship were the same as those in media editors in general.

Based on Abdus Somad's statement, Selamatkanbumi.com positioned themselves as an alternative media in favor of the community. Specifically, they side with the people who are threatened by their living space so the discourses produced mostly talk about land deprivation and the construction of factories that have the potential to damage the environment (Abdus Somad, interview, October 28th 2017).

In their news, Selamatkanbumi.com refers to environmental journalism because their news is dominated by dynamic environmental issues. However, Selamatkanbumi.com also adheres to advocacy journalism. This means that they stand environmental issues on an ongoing basis and build space for the community. The implementation of this space is realized through citizen journalism, which then contains more press releases from the

community (Abdus Somad, interview, February 8th 2018). Previously, Selamatkanbumi.com also provided training to the communities they advocated for, such as writing and social media training. These trainings were conducted in several areas such as Rembang and Kulonprogo.

The dynamics in the newsroom of Selamatkanbumi.com, as mentioned earlier, is not hierarchical because of the spirit of partiality towards the community so that they received all press release texts from the public, with a consideration as long as the press release contains information about land deprivation or threats to the environment. If there are writings that are unfit to be published, whether due to spelling errors or lack of data, Selamatkanbumi.com does not immediately reject it. Instead they will discuss with the reporter first while giving some inputs.

In essence, all writings both in the form of news and press releases will still be published, provided that it tells about the environmental threats of the community. In this case, the higher number of press releases than the news is also influenced by the limited Human Resources of Selamatkanbumi.com because the media is only run by six people. With a small number of human resources, they share the tasks in different regions. Some report conflicts in the Surabaya area, some report in Yogyakarta, Malang, and so on. The news target is three times a month.

In addition to the lack of human resources, financial factors are also a reason why there were more press releases in that period than the direct news. By relying on their own finance to support the media, Selamatkanbumi.com often could not reach the conflict areas to the fullest. Therefore, they used the voice of citizens through a press release to be published. At the very least, with the press release, there is information that they can still convey even though it is not directly from the location of the incident.

That is the general context of the production of Selamatkanbumi.com news also when they included information about conflicts over the plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang during 2014-2015 periods. Furthermore, Selamatkanbumi.com produced several discourses to form a truth construction related to Rembang. Among them, Selamatkanbumi.com released more narratives about the violence by the apparatus against the Rembang community who rejected the cement plant construction.

According to Abdus Somad, through this narrative, Selamatkanbumi.com showed that militarism was a major obstacle to the people's struggle to save their environment. Acts of violence the violence by the apparatus showed that they had power over the people.

Regarding the press release related to the conflict in Rembang with the Jewish conspiracy, Abdus Somad claimed to have data to support the writing, but he didn't show it or give it to the researcher. Even so, the press release was actually published only to see what

reactions would emerge from the company. The Selamatkanbumi.com team was not worried about the possibility of decreasing the credibility of the movement in the eyes of public because all the data they had obtained had been discussed earlier with the community.

In the discourse production, Selamatkanbumi.com symbolized the resistance with the figure of “mother”. This could be seen from the large number of narratives about mother in the text used to refer to the mass rejecting the cement plant construction. Abdus Somad said the reason was because the figure of mother was considered more sensitive to see social reality as well as a protective figure. In the context of environmental conflicts in Rembang, mother became a symbol of a figure that saw the natural threats and tried to protect it.

In conclusion, Selamatkanbumi.com, as an ideological platform and has an alignment with the efforts to liberate the environment from the exploitation of the industrial sector, opens space for people to call for their resistance. The enthusiasm as community media alternative for the environmental movement has made Selamatkanbumi.com almost never filter the texts from the public.

For Selamatkanbumi.com, as conveyed by Abdus Somad, the community was not stupid. People understood their own environment and knew when to be quiet or to fight. Therefore, Selamatkanbumi.com is a media for people who are struggling to maintain their own environment so that every discourse relating to the call for environmental release will still be published, in the form of news and press releases. In this case, the editorial room of Selamatkanbumi.com positions itself as a public partner by discussing all the writings about to be published.

The construction of the truth, preached by the two media, certainly could not be separated from the socio-cultural conditions underlying it. It needed to be mapped how the actual socio-cultural conditions in Rembang had influenced the media discourse production of Selamatkanbumi.com and Liputan6.com.

Mining for Welfare VS Mining Threatens the Environment

Environmental conflicts that occurred in Rembang could not be separated from the construction of the meaning of “mining for welfare”. In a book entitled *Mitos Tambang untuk Kesejahteraan* (Mine Myth for Welfare) written by Hendra Tri Ardianto, it was stated that welfare discourse emerged in the era of Governor Bibit Waluyo in 2008-2013 period. At that time, Central Java had a high poverty rate, around 6.6 million people or 20.43% of the entire Central Java community. The concentration of the poverty was in rural areas.

Rembang is one of the districts that have villages with high poverty rates. Bibit Waluyo even called Rembang the second poorest residence in Central Java. This poverty condition was interpreted by Bibit Waluyo as a result of the unmanaged potential of the

regions in Rembang (Ardianto, 2016: 26). Furthermore, to alleviate poverty, Bibit Waluyo stated that there were two fields that must have been improved; infrastructure and energy. The existence of good infrastructure and sufficient energy, according to Bibit Waluyo, could open opportunities for large-scale economic investments.

In this case, cement mining was considered one of the potential investments because Central Java had a fairly abundant amount of karst. The support for cement mining was confirmed in the 2008-2013 Regional Medium-Term Development Plan of Central Java Province (Ardianto, 2016: 59-60).

PT Semen Indonesia obtained a permit to construct a plant in the Rembang area in 2012. Previously, PT Semen Indonesia had already entered the Pati area, when its name was still Semen Gresik. However, it was lost in the 2010 trial lawsuit. The presence of PT Semen Indonesia with funding of around three trillions was predicted to be able to strengthen the regional economy. Inevitably, the meaning of “mine for welfare” was echoed by Bibit Waluyo until the governor’s period was ended and replaced by Ganjar Pranowo, who also perpetuated that meaning until now.

The meaning of “mine for welfare” was created from the construction that poverty was present because of the untapped potential, and large-scale mining investment was one solution for the problem. This construction was supported by a number of activities that strengthened the position of cement plants as environmentally friendly industries in the Law No. 4 of 2009 concerning mineral and coal mining. The supporting activities were: first, there were awards for Good Mining Practice (GMP) such as Proper Gold in 2012-2013, Green Industry in 2012 & 2013 and Indonesian Green Award in 2013 (Ardianto, 2016: 83-85). These awards were used as a legitimacy that cement plant construction did not damage the environment.

Second, through the Corporate Social Responsibility activities, PT Semen Indonesia claimed that its existence contributed to a positive influence on the socio-culture of the Rembang community. The programs were realized by a variety of material assistance for the mosque construction, worker training, loans for SMEs, and so forth. Third, there is justification from academics who are experts in geology and economics from various well-known universities such as Gadjah Mada University and Diponegoro University. In addition to intellectual experts, this justification was also strengthened through testimony from the residents who had been given CSR assistance and also from the prominent religious leaders such as KH. Maimun Zubair (Ardianto, 2016: 82-113).

All of this was done to strengthen the discourse of mining company’s welfare. By placing award-giving institutions, academics, citizens, and scholars as neutral groups, PT

Semen Indonesia wanted to show the public that mining did not cause ecological damage but was beneficial for the economy of the people.

However, the welfare discourse that PT Semen Indonesia tried to promote was actually getting resistance from some of the Rembang community. This resistance rooted in the socio-cultural context within the structure of society.

According to Hidayat (in Ardianto, 2016: 169), in the Tegaldowo and Timbrangan village which are the locations of the conflict, around 70% of the residents became farmers as well as raising goats and cattle.

In general, there are two types of land cultivated by farmers in the area, namely wet fields and dry fields. However, both still use rain-fed system because there is no large river flow there. In addition to rain-fed system, the community also often takes the water from wells or springs both manually and by using diesel engines. In addition, the community also has a mechanism to fulfill their basic needs, for example by storing rice crops in the form of grain to provide food and selling other agricultural products such as cassava, corn, ginger, turmeric, breadfruit, and jackfruit to the market. Although it does not rule out the possibility that they will sell grain for certain purposes, but generally grain tends to be stored because it is durable compared to other agricultural products.

With such a socio-cultural context, people in the Rembang region, especially Timbrangan and Tegaldowo, tended to see the cement plant construction as a threat. There were a number of things that made them think such way. First, the methods of land deprivation carried out by PT Semen Indonesia were full of manipulations. Second, the people there also reflected on previous small-scale mining activities. The land close to the limestone mining area tended to not resulted in good crop because often exposed to mine pollution in the form of dust and mud when it rained (Ardianto, 2016: 166-195).

In addition, the mining site of PT Semen Indonesia located in the Watuputih groundwater basin area is a geological protected area based on Government Regulation No. 26 of 2007 concerning the National Spatial Plans Articles 53-60 and the Regional Regulations No. 14 of 2011 concerning the Spatial Plans of Rembang Regency (Cipta *et al.*, 2015: 18). Actually, PT Semen Indonesia had violated the rules. The area is also the biggest supplier of water resources for the Kendeng community.

In addition, Bosman Batubara called mining in the Kendeng area to have holes as an entrance for rain water and this water is then stored in underground rivers. Bosman also said that, based on the residents' field data, there were 49 underground caves with 4 of which having underground rivers (Cipta *et al.*, 2015: 63). With the mining in the area, the conditions of the holes and underground caves are threatened. The long-term effect is the

loss of springs which would certainly disrupt the stability of agriculture and livestock in the area. Thus, the people's livelihoods are threatened.

The conflict between companies and citizens has been going on for a long time, and it relates to the broad discourse on development. In the development discourse, the company and investment will be considered positive. However, this development discourse also raises resistance and criticism. One of them is the development that destroys the environment. From the explanation above, it can be seen that there is discourse competition that occurred during the construction conflict of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang, between the "mine for welfare" which was constructed by PT Semen Indonesia against "mining threatens the environment" which was a product of the resistance of the Rembang community who rejected the plant and a number of environmental activists.

These two discourses then influenced the news in the mass media such as Liputan6.com and Selamatkanbumi.com. Liputan6.com, indirectly, supports discourses that contain the ideology or perspective of "mine for welfare". From the eight reports on Liputan6.com that the researchers analyzed, PT Semen Indonesia received moral justification from various groups and procedural justification for EIA because mining will bring economic benefits to the region. Furthermore, the opposing mass arguments were marginalized by narrating them as parties who fought on the stalking horse and concern alone. Liputan6.com may not have a tendency to defend certain parties. The editors also have no special interest in the conflict in the cement factory in Rembang. But, the practice of journalists makes this media more inclined to support the construction of a cement factory. This conclusion was also supported by the statement of the managing editor of Liputan6.com that he received more press releases from PT Semen Indonesia even though he himself was not interested in standing the conflict in Rembang.

Meanwhile, Selamatkanbumi.com tends to accept and publish press releases from people who reject cement factories or publish news that ends with a call for solidarity. Selamatkanbumi.com became the basis of the community movement, campaigning for the discourse of "mining threatens the environment" through the news, from the militarism that oppressed the community to the negative points of the existence of PT Semen Indonesia.

Environmental Journalisme Perspective and Media Management Issues

This section examined and discussed the news products of Liputan6.com and Selamatkanbumi.com from the perspective of environmental journalism. Initially, the definition of environmental journalism should be discussed once again.

Ana Nadya Abrar defined environmental journalism as journalistic ways prioritizing

environmental issues and supporting the sustainability (Abrar, 1993: 9). This genre always talks about environmental problems with all the consequences and solutions. Environmental problems, according to the Office of the Minister of Environment (KMN LH) and the Institute of Publishing Education Research (LP3Y) (in Abror, 1993: 21), have three aspects, namely the problem of the natural environment, artificial environment, and social environment.

Thus, environmental journalism must at least cover the three aspects previously mentioned because the main purpose is to convey an invitation to the public to participate in environmental sustainability (Sudiby, 2015: 4). In other words, considering that one of the media must prioritize the public interest, every journalist must practice environmental journalism in relation to conflicts that are motivated by environmental issues. Liputan6.com could be inferred as the media that has no optimal performance in reporting news relating to environmental conflicts in Rembang during June 2014-December 2015 period. By analyzing the texts on Liputan6.com, it could be concluded that it tried to construct a truth that PT Semen Indonesia had fulfilled environmentally friendly procedures as evidenced by the Environmental Impact Analysis. Moreover, according to the reporting, PT Semen Indonesia would also strengthen the economic sector in the area. In addition, the plant construction was carried out to support the infrastructure activities and meet increasing cement demand.

Besides being seen from the issue scope, whether the media have implemented a qualified work to produce environmental news in the environmental journalism perspective can be considered from several attitudes. As explained in the book entitled *34 Prinsip Etis Jurnalisme Lingkungan* by Agus Sudiby which one is as follows:

- a. Pro-sustainability: Successfully contributing to the realization of the Environment that supports Sustainable Life, namely the Environment that can support the current generation without having to reduce the chances of future generations.
- b. Biocentric: Contributing to the realization of species equality, recognizing that each species has the same right to be in 8 living environments. So that any changes to be made must consider the uniqueness of each species and the system in it.
- c. Environmental pro-justice: Siding with the weak, so that they can have access to a clean, safe, and free environment from various impacts of environmental damage.
- d. Professional: Understanding material about the environment, journalistic rules, obeying professional ethics and being guided by law.

In addition to these attitudes, it could also be analyzed from the code of ethics of journalism by Asian Federation of Environmental Journalists in the 6th world congress of

environmental journalism event in Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1998. This code is accessed from Accountablejournalisme.org. Here are all the points of the code of ethics :

- a. The right to a clean environment and sustainable development is fundamental and is closely connected to the right to life and good health and well being. The environmental journalist should inform the public about the threats to the environment – whether it is at the global, regional, national or local level.
- b. Often the media is the only source of information on the environment. The journalist's duty is to heighten the awareness of the public on environmental issues. The journalist should strive to report a plurality of views on the environment.
- c. By informing the public, the journalist plays a vital role in enabling people to resort to action in protecting their environment. The journalist's duty is not only in alerting people about their endangered environment at the outset, but also in following up such threats and keeping them posted about developments. Journalists should also attempt to write on possible solutions to environmental problems.
- d. The journalists should not be influenced on these issues by vested interests – whether they are commercial, political, and government or non-governmental. The journalist ought to keep a distance from such interests and not ally with them. As a rule journalists should report all sides in any environmental controversy.
- e. The journalist should as far as possible cite sources of information and avoid alarmist or speculative reportage and tendentious comment. He or she should crosscheck the authenticity of a source, whether commercial, official or non-governmental.
- f. The environmental journalist should foster equity in access to such information and help organizations and individuals to gain it. Electronic retrieval of data can provide a useful and egalitarian tool in this regard.
- g. The journalist should respect the right of privacy of individuals who have been affected by environmental catastrophes, natural disasters and the like.
- h. The environmental journalist should not hesitate to correct information that he or she previously believed was correct, or to tilt the balance of public opinion by analysis in the light of subsequent developments.

The essence of the Liputan6.com texts news is construct a truth that PT Semen Indonesia had fulfilled environmentally friendly procedures, as evidenced by the EIA permit. Moreover, PT Semen Indonesia would strengthen the economic sector in the area. In addition, the plant construction was carried out to support infrastructure activities and met the increasing cement consumption.

Regarding the solutions to environmental problems in Rembang, Liputan6.com tended to have no firmness in taking sides. Because this media did not take a specific stance on the conflict in Rembang, the journalists' coverage was stuck with the tendency to support the construction of the factory. Even Liputan6.com's texts finally justify the construction of factories as a solution for improving the economic sector. This was shown in a news narrative entitled "*Pendirian Pabrik Semen Tuai Protes, Ini Kata Semen Indonesia*" (The Protest against the Cement Plant Construction, PT Semen Indonesia Said). Based on the statement of the secretary of PT Semen Indonesia, his party tried to introduce the benefits of the cement plant construction to those who still rejected.

In essence, it is as if the solution to end the conflict is to inform or educate the Timbrangan and Tegaldowo residents that cement mining had a positive impact on their lives.

Meanwhile, on Selamatkanbumi.com, the three aspects of the environmental problem had not been covered well enough in their texts. Instead of discussing how is the impact of mining equipment on the environment in the Kendeng area in more detail, most texts tended to narrate the conflict of interest of the apparatus and the community as a result of the environmental conflict. The most reported conflict of interest was human rights violations by the apparatus which dominated the news on Selamatkanbumi.com during June 2014-December 2015 period.

The media tried to convey that the cement plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia threatened the springs in the Watuputih groundwater basin area, Kendeng. In the process of legalization, PT Semen Indonesia violated the National Spatial Plans Articles 53-60 and the Regional Regulation No. 14 of 2011 concerning the Spatial Plans of Rembang Regency which enacted the area as a geological protected area.

However, the government, who was primarily represented by the Governor of Central Java Ganjar Pranowo, supported the construction. This triggered a strong reaction from some people who then tried to stop the plant construction. Nevertheless, the actions of the people who refused this construction received a response from the apparatus in the form of physical violence.

During this period, the only solution that was offered by Selamatkanbumi.com is only to stop the plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia. Unfortunately, in terms of environmental studies, there had not been a deep enough discussion such as by conducting interviews with environmental activists who are concerned about the issues in Rembang or in-depth analysis through various literature studies.

Selamatkanbumi.com, based on the interview with one of its founders, has a pro-sustainability attitude. This could be seen from the texts that appeared during June 2014-

December 2015 period. These texts consistently supported the rejection of the plant construction of the PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang. Selamatkanbumi.com also showed a biocentrism attitude as well as environmental pro-justice by supporting the Rembang community so that they could maintain their relationship system with Kendeng Nature which was considered threatened by the existence of the cement mining.

Unfortunately, Selamatkanbumi.com still had not shown a professional attitude. First, the news published during June 2014-December 2015 period only covered one side, namely from the opposing mass. Second, it had more press releases from the public than the news. Bambang Muryanto, the former chairman of *Aliansi Jurnalis Independen* (Alliance of Independent Journalists), gave opinion that Selamatkanbumi.com did not meet ideal news writing standards (Bambang Muryanto, interview, March 5, 2018). According to Bambang, although Selamatkanbumi.com referred to advocacy journalism, they should have not been trapped in activism by highlighting the voices of the groups they were fighting for. Selamatkanbumi.com must still emphasize cover both sides and even multisided.

The loading of press releases without filtering also ultimately made Selamatkanbumi.com unable to avoid speculative information, for example about one press release that discussed about a global conspiracy. This is certainly not in accordance with the code of ethics of environmental journalism compiled by the Asian Federation of Environmental Journalists.

Meanwhile, Liputan6.com tended not to have the attitudes of environmental journalism media in the context of the cement plant construction conflict in Rembang. Harun, as the editor, claimed that Liputan6.com was an objective media and did not try to stand any issues. Moreover, he did not see the conflicts in Rembang as newsworthy.

It can be concluded that Liputan6.com automatically did not have a pro-sustainability, biocentrism, or even environmental pro-justice attitude. This attitude is also not in accordance with the code of ethics of environmental journalism by Asian Federation of Environmental Journalists which emphasizes information disclosure, education, and the spirit of environmental preservation for the community.

This can also be seen from the news texts published during June 2014-December 2015 period. The news was dominated by narratives that did not favor Rembang community. The problem of Liputan6.com is because the media did not see the conflict in Rembang as a public interest. Environmental journalism as a general principle of journalism also oriented towards the wider community, as formulated in the 9 elements of journalism by Bill Kovach and Rossenstiel (2006:6).

However, if the editor's argument is a matter of objectivity, then it is not the proper reason for not taking sides with the community. Andreas Harsono, a journalist as well as a

human right activist, said that objectivity is actually a method in journalism, not a goal. Objectivity is better understood as the efforts of a journalist to produce balanced, accurate, honest, and transparent news (Harsono, 2010:22).

By referring to the understanding described by Andreas Harsono, Selamatkanbumi.com had arguably not implemented an objective method, considering that their texts tended to be one-sided and contained more press releases.

If we examine this topic of organizational discussion, the role of media management in this regard has a significant influence on the discourse in the news texts of Liputan6.com and Selamatkanbumi.com. Morrisan (2010), through an essay entitled *Pertarungan Kekuatan Pada Media Massa dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Manajemen dan Isi Pesan Media* (The Battle of Power in Mass Media and Its Influence on Management and Content of Media Messages), explains that within the body of the media as an organization there are structural factors that have direct consequences on media behavior. In this case, this behavior refers to all systematic activities that will affect actions or performance related to the type and amount of media content produced and offered to the public (Morrisan, 2010:92).

Still in the same essay, Morrisan also touched on the role of journalists and their responsibilities to society. Morrisan cites Cohen's scheme to describe two categories of journalists, namely neutral and participant. Neutral journalists generally refer to the idea that the press, as a conduit of information, interpreter, or interpreter, and an instrument of government which means that it lends itself as a channel or mirror of society. Objectivity, in this case, becomes a value that is considered important for their profession, although it is also possible that an objective attitude arises from self-interest and the logic of the media business market. Meanwhile, participant journalists refer to the understanding that the press functions as a party representing the public, has a critical attitude towards the government, is characterized by a strong political commitment, and an active level of involvement in an issue (Morrisan, 2010:101-102). In the media business logic, participants' attitudes tend to be judged to narrow audience segmentation.

Based on the description that Morrisan describes and interviews that researchers have conducted with the editors of Liputan6.com and Selamatkanbumi.com, it can be seen how the management policies of the two media seem to have a significant effect on the reporting of journalists. Liputan6.com, which is relatively neutral, does not pay attention to the issue of building a cement factory in Rembang. This media also did not send journalists specifically to do in-depth coverage of Rembang. In the end, news about the construction of a cement factory in Rembang was mostly obtained from press releases from the factories themselves, so the texts tended to defend their agenda.

Meanwhile Selamatkanbumi.com, whose media culture is consistent in overseeing environmental issues, continues to try to report on the conflict between the people who reject the cement factory and those who support the construction of the factory in the Kendeng karst area. Selamatkanbumi.com journalists tend to position themselves as a mouthpiece for the voice of the community and become an opposition to PT Semen Indonesia.

Developmentalism as Ideology

At this point, the narrative of the two media had one thing in common; the conflicts of interest among humans. PT Semen Indonesia wanted to build a plant in Watuputih groundwater basin because of the abundance of good karst deposit, and the residents of Rembang did not want the damage of their environment since the plant construction could threaten their survivability for a long time.

If drawn to macro context, the narrative about the plant construction of PT Semen Indonesia was part of the “modernization of society” because in modernization, industry is indeed the main goal. It could be observed through the Rostow’s economic growth theory, one of the modernization versions. This theory was originally established to stem the influence of socialism during the cold war and then developed by the Indonesian military government in Soeharto’s regime since 1967 (Fakih, 2009: 50).

Modernization aspires to social change from the traditional community towards industrial society or the high consumption society. This theory actually departed from Adam Smith’s view, a classic economic view, which stated that economic activity rests on industry while the production process is carried out solely to meet consumer’s needs (Fakih: 2009: 42). To achieve this goal, the capital accumulation is needed and fulfilled by savings, foreign debt, and investment.

Modernization theory is the embryo of the theory of development. Mansour Fakih in *Runtuhnya Teori Pembangunan dan Globalisasi* (the Collapse of the Theory of Development and Globalization) defined that the theory of development was constructed in order to stem the spirit of anti-capitalist society and was a new strategy to replace the collapsed social formation of colonialism (Fakih, 2009: 178). In this case, modernization is a consequence of the Enlightenment era in which rationality became something that was exalted. However, Adorno and Horkheimer (in Hardiman, 1990:61), view enlightenment in general as all human efforts to free themselves from fear and uphold their sovereignty over nature and society. According to them, enlightenment has exposed the mysteries of the universe. Humans have succeeded in uncovering that myths about jinn or gods are also an attempt or system of knowledge to understand nature. Once rationality is able to expel this

mystical system of knowledge, nature becomes under human control. Nature becomes a neutral item and humans are able to deal with it as an object to be manipulated (Hardiman, 1990: 62). With rationality, humans understand nature and control it mathematically.

The United States spread this understanding in various ways to support a capitalistic economy. In Indonesia, this view was established by academics, NGOs, and the practices of ideology affirmation through social culture by the state government. However, practically the development discourses experienced various problems and were considered unable to solve various community problems such as disparity among classes, ideological dominance, cultural problems, gender issues, and even environmental problems. Sustainable development, in practice, is obviously counterproductive with the welfare discourses in the community.

Conclusion

The conclusion is that in the eight news stories that Liputan6.com covered during the period June 2014-December 2015, most of the texts supported the "Semen for Prosperity" discourse. This is because Liputan6.com publishes a lot of press releases from PT Semen Indonesia. This press release can be seen from the news that the construction of the PT Semen Indonesia factory has received legitimacy from several Rembang residents and the vice president, and has received the legitimacy of the Environmental Impact Analysis (Amdal).

Meanwhile, residents who refuse, in most of the texts, are positioned as parties who have weak arguments. These texts do not reinforce the environmental discourse that the people living in Rembang are trying to defend. On the other hand, Selamatkanbumi.com as an ideological medium that defends people who reject the construction of a PLTU continues to narrate the discourse of "Environmentally Damaged Mining" in the same period.

Several news texts on Selamatkanbumi.com highlighted the conflict between residents who refused and officials who defended the construction of the factory. In the text of the news, the apparatus is positioned as a supporter of the construction of a cement factory. The apparatus did not defend the community, but instead carried out violence against residents who refused to build the PT Semen Indonesia factory.

The rest, Selamatkanbumi.com is dominated by direct press releases from residents who reject the construction of a cement factory. These press releases generally demand that PT Semen Indonesia stop construction of the factory. To strengthen the argument, the residents' press release also explained the negative impacts of factory construction in the Watuputih groundwater basin area, such as the potential for damage to water sources and a decrease in the economic activity of farmers. Unfortunately, the writing on

Selamatkanbumi.com is also problematic as a product of journalism because it tends to display a one-sided perspective. This was done during the 2014-2015 period so that these conflicts were only shown in black and white.

In this case, the news texts Liputan6.com and Selamatkanbumi.com are also influenced by the editorial policies. Liputan6.com tends to be neutral and does not want to direct its frame to a certain political stance, so this media does not specifically assign journalists to do in-depth coverage of the conflict over the construction of a cement factory in Rembang. Most of the news regarding the construction of a cement factory and its conflict with the local people were obtained from press releases from PT Semen Indonesia itself. As a result, the media is trapped in a narrative that defends the construction of cement and ignores the opinions of the people who reject it.

Broadly speaking, the discourses in the texts of the two media reflect the consequences of modernity and how humans glorify rationality. Through science and technology, humans dominate nature, exploiting it for anthropocentric interests. This is reflected in the discourse on mining for welfare, which is then countered by the discourse on ponds destroying the environment.

In the end, because this research is still focused on how a text is produced in a media and its relation to the culture of the media organization and the socio-cultural background behind it. So that the lack of this research lies in proving what texts influence the reader and the extent of that influence. So, for future researchers who are interested in studying environmental journalism, the researcher suggests that you conduct research that examines impacts or audience research.

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