



# COAL AND RENEWABLE ENERGY REPORTING IN INDONESIA

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Climate Tracker Fellows

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FOR PEACE AND SECURITY





Children play by the beach near a coal power plant in Jepara, Central Java province, Indonesia. Photo by Kemal Jufri/Greenpeace

Cover: Coal barges travel down the Mahakam River in Samarinda, East Kalimantan province, Indonesian Borneo. East Kalimantan is Indonesia's most significant coal export region. Photo by Kemal Jufri/Greenpeace

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Southeast Asia is a fast-developing region, and its energy decisions are critical to the next decade's global effort to reduce carbon-emitting fossil fuels. Yet little is known about the specific media narratives that shape the national debates on an energy transition in each country. For stakeholders wishing to influence such narratives and increase the quality of energy reporting, lessons from the past are crucial for future success. This knowledge gap is what Climate Tracker and the Stanley Center for Peace and Security wished to fill with an analysis of energy-related media coverage in five countries across Southeast Asia. This report on Indonesia is the fourth in a series of reports commissioned by the Stanley Center and produced by Climate Tracker that will be copublished as part of *Fueling the Tiger Cubs: How Southeast Asia's Media Is Covering Coal's Last Frontier*, a multicountry media analysis led by young journalists from the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam. Each of the Southeast Asian countries in our study has a unique media landscape with different challenges and opportunities for energy reporting.

Indonesia is a country with the fifth-largest population in the world and the largest in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). With relatively few restrictions on establishing media outlets, it has both the largest market and media industry in the region. There were more than 47,000 different outlets across the country as of 2017. Indonesia is experiencing rapid media convergence, however; 12 major media conglomerates dominate the media landscape and mold reporting to serve the owners' interests—most of which include significant stakes in the energy industry, specifically, coal.

Indonesia is the leading global exporter of thermal coal, with some of the largest proven coal reserves in the world. The second-ranked country in the region, Vietnam, has less than 10 percent the amount of coal Indonesia has. On a domestic level, coal power makes up more than 62 percent of Indonesia's energy mix. In contrast, renewable energy, which is dominated by hydropower, makes up only 12.24 percent of the nation's energy. While there is a goal for renewable energy to reach 23 percent of the nation's energy mix by 2025, Indonesia is well behind this target.

In our regional media analysis, Indonesia was the only country where coal was framed more positively in the media as quintessential for the nation's economy. Articles emphasized that coal mining plays an indispensable role in Indonesia's economy, despite its potential environmental harms. Even when the controversial coal mining omnibus law was discussed, most criticisms were directed at the undemocratic process by which the law was passed, rather than the environmental impacts of coal mining itself. Renewable energy, for the most part, is still in its nascent stages of development in the country; solar and wind installation remains largely nonexistent. Articles thus discussed renewables as a general concept rather than provide specific insight into the technologies and applications.

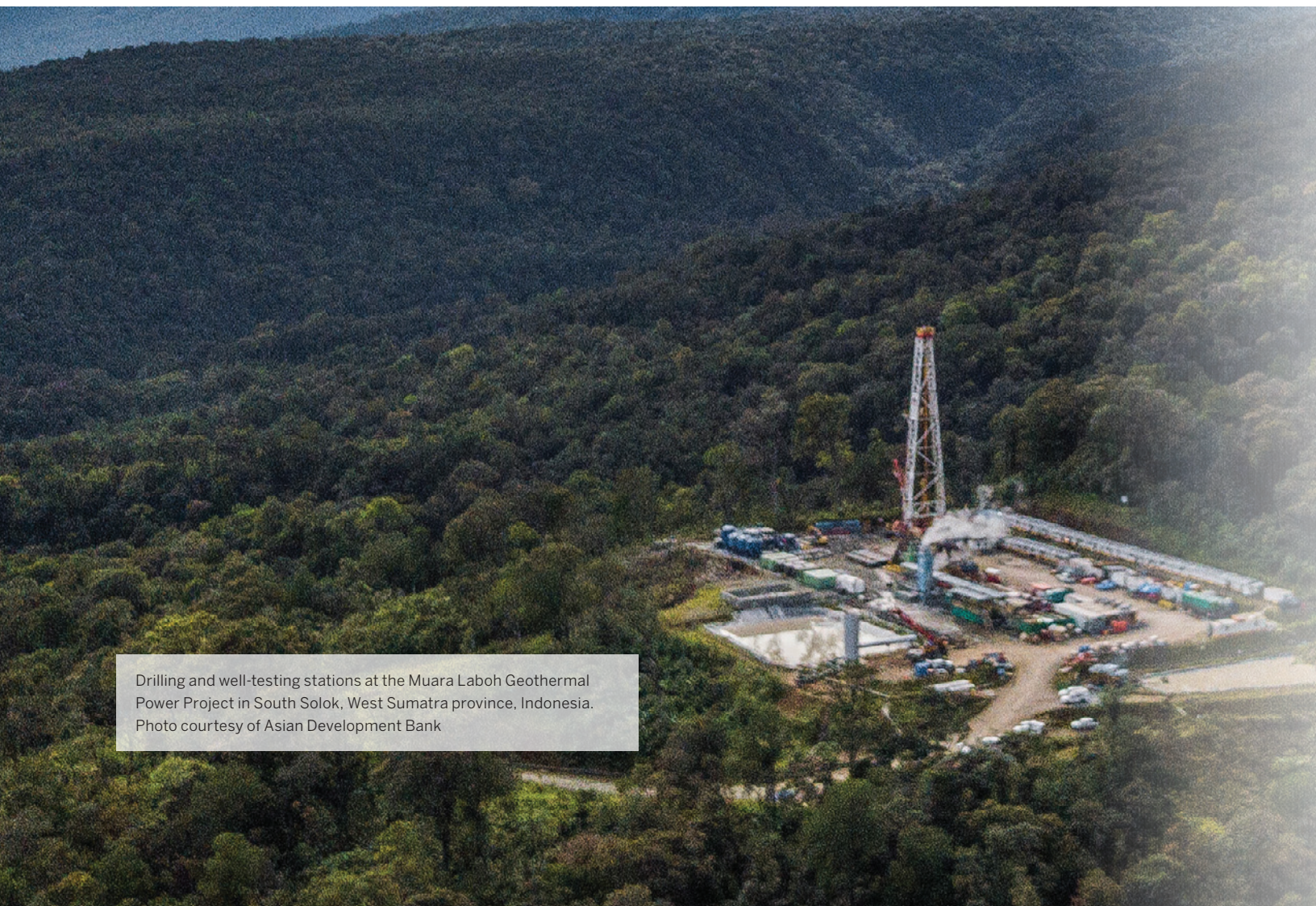
Overall, our two Indonesian researchers examined 390 articles across 10 news outlets from January 2019 to July 2020 and found that despite some positive renewable developments, “king coal” was still framed as the future of energy in Indonesia. The researchers also came to the conclusions below:

### Key Takeaways

- News articles in Indonesia framed coal extremely positively far more often than negatively. Around 67 percent of coal articles portrayed it as indispensable for the country's development. This is far more than any other Southeast Asian country included in this regional study. When environmental concerns were covered, they were regularly invalidated in that coverage by the economic contribution of the country's mining sector.
- Even when the negative impacts of coal plants or mines were discussed, we did not find any articles in the 18 months that discussed a coal phaseout in the near future. Solutions proposed were often framed around improved coal plant technology or higher-carbon coal.
- Coal mining was generally presented as safe for the surrounding community when properly regulated. When specific mining activities in certain areas were presented as harmful or risky, their legality was questioned rather than the impacts of mining itself.
- Financial ties may have influenced the choice of coal frame, according to two journalists interviewed. “When a media organization grows into a for-profit media conglomerate, it expects revenue,” stated a Mongabay journalist, Meidella Syahni, who used to work in mainstream media. “Advertorial collaborations and other [financial ties] affect any issue reported, including energy issues.” Deasy Indriwati from online outlet Inidata shared that opinion: “LOTS of business interests [in Indonesian media]; this has been a problem from the stone age to the present.” To present a good energy story, she said, a journalist must have “guts” to be able to challenge the influence and power of the energy sector.
- In our sample of seven news outlets, three—Okezone, Sindonews, and detikNews—are owned by corporations with significant coal mining interests. Okezone and Sindonews together published 62.5 percent of articles highlighting the positive economic contribution of the coal industry.
- The Indonesian government is trying to pass an omnibus law and a coal mining law, which would essentially streamline businesses' process for obtaining mining permits. Though the laws were described as controversial in Indonesian media, most criticisms were directed at the lack of legislative transparency and civil society involvement in decision making rather than the environmental and human impacts of coal mining itself.



- Forty-five percent of renewable energy stories discussed the concept in general terms without mentioning specific alternative technologies. An editor from *kompas.com*, Erlangga Djumena, said renewable energy “has limited sources [for journalists to cite/interview], because it is still rare...plus the sources are too technical. Not only the readers, the journalists are sometimes confused.” Because of this lack of understanding, it was difficult for journalists to dive deeper into a specific renewable energy source.
- More than 98 percent of renewable energy articles, however, framed it in a positive light, arguing that renewable development would ensure energy security for Indonesia while reducing its carbon emissions. In a contrast to Thai media, articles omitted mentions of coal phaseout as necessary for reducing emissions, arguing instead that replacing oil and gas—which the country currently imports—is enough.
- Indonesia’s recent rapid development of biofuel, boosted by a **20 percent biodiesel** mandate, was universally praised by the mainstream outlets. However, the biofuel primarily comes from palm oil—a **highly controversial industry tied to widespread fires and deforestation in the country**, with powerful backers.
- Kumparan, an online-only outlet published by a new media company, stands out for publishing 35 articles on renewable energy’s merits—the most of any outlet. In contrast, it published only six articles praising coal. This might stem from the outlet’s unique editorial approach, which allows for user-generated content. Half of the energy articles from Kumparan were written by external contributors and were overwhelmingly hopeful about the future of renewable energy.
- There is a severe lack of source diversity across the media industry. More than half of coal and renewable energy articles in our analysis included quotes from only one source—almost always government or business representatives.
- Hard news stories dominated the energy reporting, making up more than 80 percent of energy stories.
- While mainstream media publish far more positive stories about coal, there were more wire stories produced in the 18 months focusing on the opportunities of renewable energy than coal.



Drilling and well-testing stations at the Muara Laboh Geothermal Power Project in South Solok, West Sumatra province, Indonesia. Photo courtesy of Asian Development Bank



## METHODOLOGY

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The research was conducted by Ari Ulandari and Cherika Hardjakusumah, who examined coal and general renewable energy coverage in Indonesian media outlets. The time frame of interest for the research was January 2019 to July 2020.

### 1. Sampling

Ulandari sampled 350 online articles from seven of the largest online, commercial news outlets in Indonesia. Those outlets were:

- *Kompas*, the online version of Indonesia's most-circulated and oldest broadsheet.
- *Tribunnews*, a local newspaper chain founded by Kompas Gramedia, the company that owns *Kompas*.
- Liputan6, the online version of a television news program of the same name, aired on SCTV.
- Okezone, an online-only news portal owned by MNC Corporation.
- *Sindonews*, the online version of broadsheet Koran Sindo, a newer mainstream media outlet known for its creativity. Also owned by MNC Corporation.
- detikNews, one of Indonesia's pioneering online-only news portals, owned by CT Corporation.
- Kumparan, an online news portal where users can contribute articles.

Stories in the outlets' archives were selected using the keyword "batu bara" for coal and "energi terbarukan" for renewable energy. Sample news outlets were chosen to represent both digital and traditional media outlets. Digital-only publications included detikNews, Okezone and Kumparan. Traditional media included *Kompas*, *Tribunnews*, *Sindonews* and Liputan6.

Some online publications in Indonesia give free space for their users to publish their own stories. In this research, 52 percent of sampled stories from Kumparan were written by its users. The users of Kumparan are both amateur contributors as well as journalists from local media.

Supplemental research carried out by Cherika Hardjakusumah looked at the online archives of these three media outlets:

- *Kompas*.
- *Tempo*, the online version of Indonesia's weekly news and politics magazine of the same name.
- *Bisnis*, the online version of Indonesia's business daily.

All three outlets are privately owned, though *Kompas* and *Bisnis* are similar in being online versions of daily newspapers. *Bisnis* caters more to a business readership and has founding ties with the Nasional Demokrat Party, currently a part of the governing coalition. *Tempo*, one of the oldest weekly magazines in Indonesia, is known for its in-depth political and investigative reports. *Tempo* belongs to the Tempo Group, and its major shareholder is the Ciputra Group, **with strong ties to mining**. Hardjakusumah searched for articles using the keywords "minerba" (coal and mineral), "batu bara" (coal), "omnibus law," and "RUU" (draft bill).

### 2. Content Analysis

For the content analysis, Climate Tracker media researchers utilized a standardized **coding method** developed with the researchers' input. Using this method, they analyzed articles according to 22 parameters in five categories: Article Type, Thematic Focus, Broader Framing, Energy Literacy, and Sources Used.

### 3. Framing Analysis

From all collected articles, a representative sample of 82 of 350 articles was then selected by Ulandari and 20 of 46 articles by Hardjakusumah for more in-depth framing analysis, which involved asking questions about each article's choice of sources, imagery, and discursive strategies. The framing analysis template can be found [here](#).

### 4. Interviews with Journalists

In total, six editors and 13 reporters were interviewed throughout this research. Nine of them worked for the selected outlets Liputan6, detikNews, *Kompas*, Kumparan, and Okezone, while the rest worked for other outlets—Viva, Inidata, CNBC, ANTARA, *Republika*, the *Jakarta Post*, and *Mongabay Indonesia*. The interviewees were chosen based on their experiences in energy reporting in mainstream online news outlets in Indonesia.



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Ari Ulandari is a writer and researcher focused on environmental issues. Previously, she worked as a content writer at Kumparan. Her master's thesis discussed the 2002 Bali bombings. As a freelance writer, she uses her skills to provide more information about environmental movements, especially the climate movement.

## Introduction

In this report, I will discuss my analysis of online media in Indonesia to answer the research question, “How are Indonesian media outlets framing the future of energy in the country?” The research was conducted between June and October 2020 and covered seven of the biggest digital outlets in the country. Even though renewable energy and energy transition **haven’t been mainstream issues in national media**, analyzing existing energy frames, influences, and practices is critical to better understanding the current and potential future narratives shaping energy coverage.

Indonesia is in the nascent stages of a potential energy transition. Currently, fossil fuels are still king in this country; **coal contributed 62.07 percent to the mix in the first quarter of 2019, while renewables, including hydro, stalled at 12.24 percent**. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government is trying to reach its 23 percent energy mix by 2025, **though policies to attract solar and wind investors are woefully inadequate**. The only renewable energy source that has seen notable development in recent years is biofuel, which remains highly controversial since it **is generated from palm oil**.

## Discussion

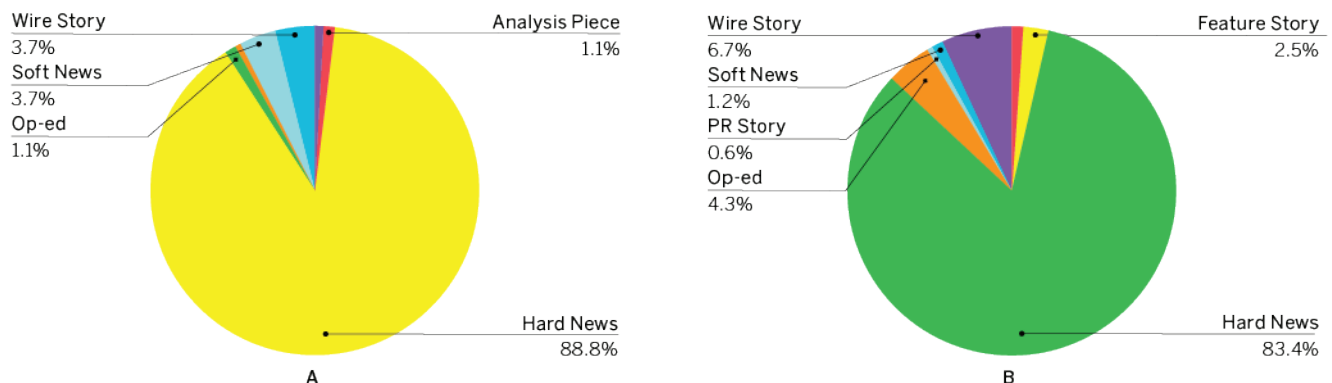
### Quantitative Analysis: Story Types and Prevalence

#### Hard news stories dominate at 80 percent of total sample

My research began with quantitative analysis, a process by which I categorized articles based on type and the sections they were published in. More than 80 percent of energy stories are presented as hard news in Indonesia. However, nuanced differences existed between renewable versus coal stories: the percentage of wire stories and op-eds about renewable energy was significantly higher than for coal. In the sample, there was only one op-ed story on coal, discussing it as an economic opportunity. Renewable energy op-eds were more diverse, covering economic, political, and environmental angles.

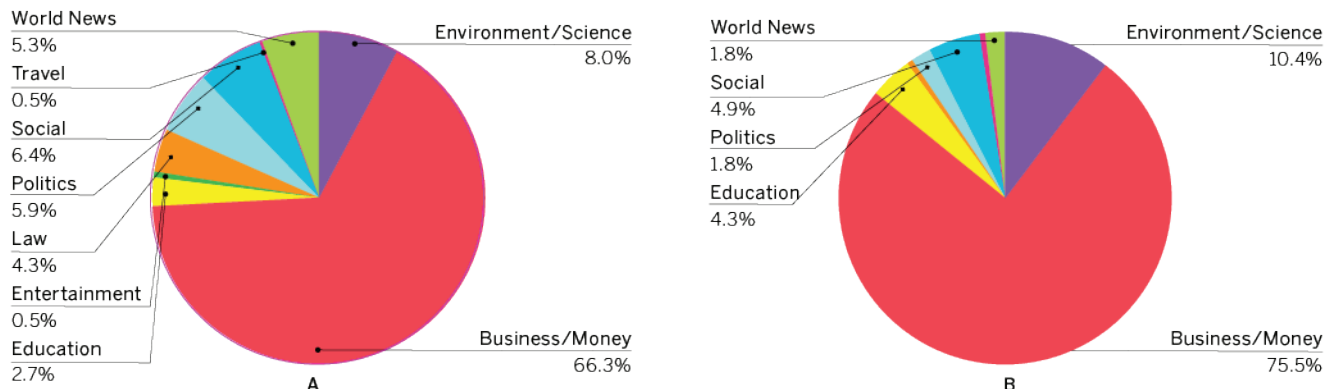
Story classifications give clues about how much time and effort a journalist spends writing a story. A journalist from Mongabay Indonesia, Meidella Syahni, said, “When it comes to hard news, usually it’s based on an invitation for coverage.” However, Syahni

Figure 1. Story type of coal (A) and renewable energy (B)



### Most stories are placed in economic section, discuss economic impacts

Figure 2. Story section on coal (A) and renewable energy (B)



explained, “when it comes to features, it is usually more in depth, we can frame it based on many angles.”

In other words, hard news is the simplest type of story, so it is possible for journalists to produce many hard-news energy stories in a relatively short time. A journalist from *kompas.com*, Rully Ramli, said pressure for views might affect decisions to prioritize hard news over other story types. Online media are “now more of a quantity over quality,” he said. “The media will present more things that will be more clickable” in a short amount of time.

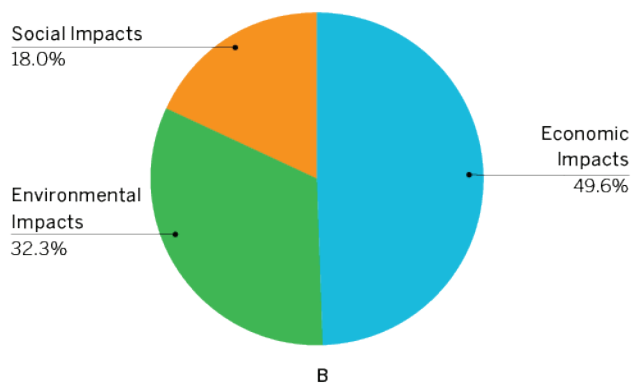
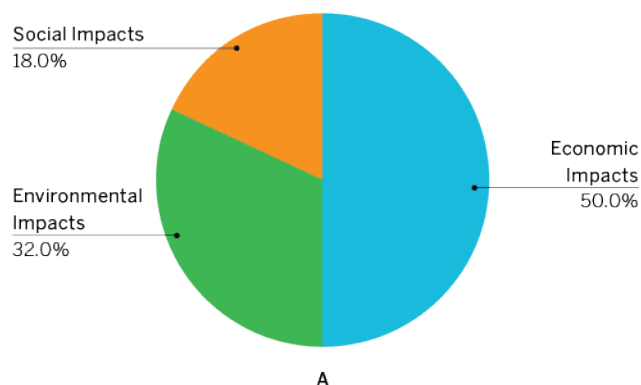
Looking at the placement of stories in each news outlet, energy articles were mostly placed in the business/finance/economy section (more than 65 percent). Among the sampled publications, three out of seven dedicated a specific subsection (within the business or economy section) that focuses specifically on energy. Outlets with such a subsection, including *Liputan6*, *Tribunnews*, and *detikNews*, published more energy articles.

A journalist from *Mongabay Indonesia*, Lusiana Arumingtyas, explained that most energy stories are placed in the business section because of energy’s close relationship with the economy. She gave the example of coverage of electrification in Papua, which focused on the economic impacts of energy.

“In Papua, they haven’t had electricity for a long time. Then they took the initiative to use village funds for microhydro development. With electricity entering the village, there is a lifestyle that has changed. ... [T]hey become more [economically] productive. They can make noken [a traditional cloth] at night.”

An editor from *kompas.com*, Erlangga Djumena, further noted that energy is not the only subsection frequently lumped under “business” or “economy.” “Everything typically goes into the money [or economy section of the publication], except crime or environmental news,” he said.

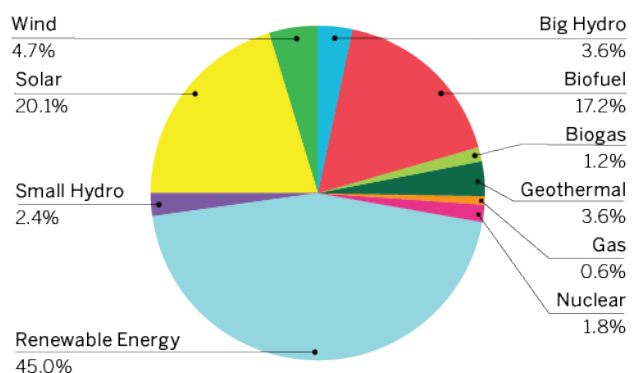
**Figure 3. Thematic framing on coal (A) and Renewable energy (B)**



There was no significant difference in terms of type of impacts being discussed in coal and renewable energy stories. Economic impacts dominated the thematic framing (almost 50 percent of total sample), followed by environment impacts (around 32 percent). Social impacts made up the smallest portion (18 percent). All the journalists interviewed who work for mainstream media were assigned to the economy desk. This likely accounts for the economic perspective dominating their stories.

### Most renewable energy stories did not focus on any one technology

**Figure 4. Renewable energy stories by technology discussed**



Surprisingly, nearly half of energy stories presented renewable energy as a general concept without providing an in-depth discussion of any one renewable energy source, such as solar or hydro. This could be because renewable energy is still relatively new or unfamiliar in Indonesia, with few concrete developments in recent years. *Kompas.com* editor Djumena said renewable energy “has limited sources [for journalists to cite/interview], because it is still rare...plus the sources are too technical. Not only the readers, but the journalists are also sometimes confused.” Because of this lack of understanding, it is difficult for journalists to dive deeper into a specific renewable energy source. Many of these planned renewable energy projects are in remote areas, which limits the journalistic coverage possible. *Mongabay* journalist Meidella Syahni noted, “In these regions it may be easier to find





A solar power system donated by Greenpeace in the coastal village in Aceh province, Indonesia, one of the areas hit worse by a December 2004 tsunami. Photo by Hotli Simanjuntak/Greenpeace



people who experience [renewable energy] directly, but in Jakarta [where most mainstream newsrooms are based], it is difficult. ... It's hard to ground the story." Not surprisingly, Kumparan, which accepts articles from contributors in provincial areas, published nearly a fifth of all renewable energy stories that mention a specific technology in this study.

When stories do discuss one energy type in depth, they mostly focus on either solar energy or biofuel. Indonesia has been identified as a country with **high potential for solar power**, though the energy source **only contributes a miniscule 24MW to the total output**. Regarding biofuel, the media have paid attention to recent government plans to develop palm-oil biofuel through the **B-20 to B-100** program, which enforces mandatory use of diesel containing 20 percent palm oil biofuel. Yet while biofuel derived from palm oil is branded by industry advocates as "clean energy," **most of the international environmental community is in stark disagreement, and many sources within Indonesia also disagree** with this characterization because of its destruction of carbon-absorbing forests.

Just from the quantitative analysis, therefore, it is clear that mainstream Indonesian media largely classified energy as a business story. For **ASEAN's largest economy**, the future of energy is not seen through an environmental lens but a predominantly economic one—despite the fact that energy affects every aspect of the average Indonesian's life.

### Qualitative Analysis: Common Energy Story Frames

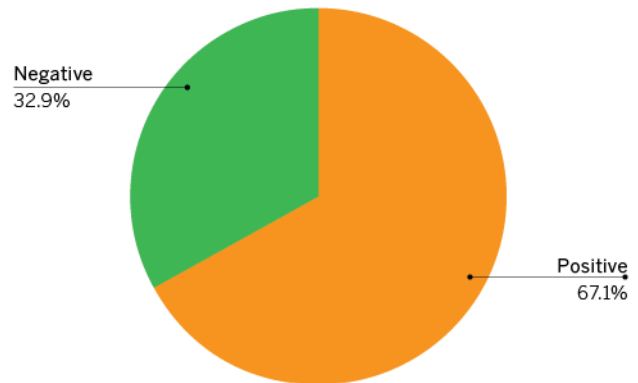
Before diving into the qualitative framing analysis results, I would like to briefly discuss the breakdown of all sampled articles according to "positive" versus "negative" attitude displayed toward an energy source. Though journalists may present diverse viewpoints in their writing, an article categorized as "positive" ends by promoting the growth of a particular energy source, while an article categorized as "negative" is more concerned with the risks associated with such growth.

Out of the 174 coal stories sampled, 67.1 percent framed the energy source positively, while 32.9 percent framed it negatively—a remarkable breakdown given that coal received more negative than positive coverage in all other Southeast Asian countries in this study. Renewable energy stories in Indonesia, however, were also less critical, with less than 2 percent of the 175 renewable energy articles employing a negative frame of the energy sources.

After identifying all stories according to the journalists' dominant attitude, I analyzed the specific positive and negative frames presented in these stories. To do this, I chose 82 stories from the original sample, half focusing on coal and half focusing on renewables, for a more in-depth qualitative framing analysis. Out of these 82 articles, I found six commonly used frames in energy reporting as shown in figure 6: the economic, the moral values, the human impact, the conflict, the attribution of responsibility, and the powerlessness frames.

Figure 5. Prevalence of positive versus negative frames

Coal articles from January 2019 to August 2020 by positive versus negative frames



Renewable energy articles from January 2019 to August 2020 by positive versus negative frames

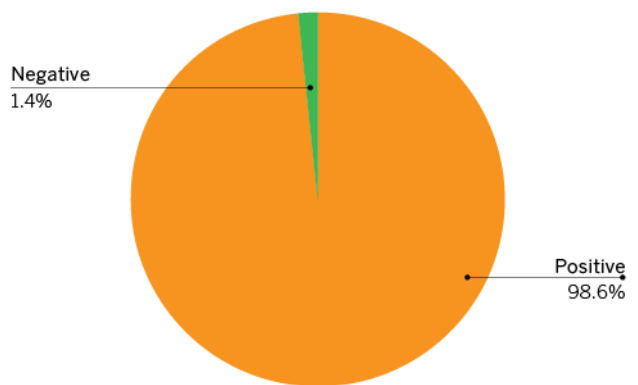
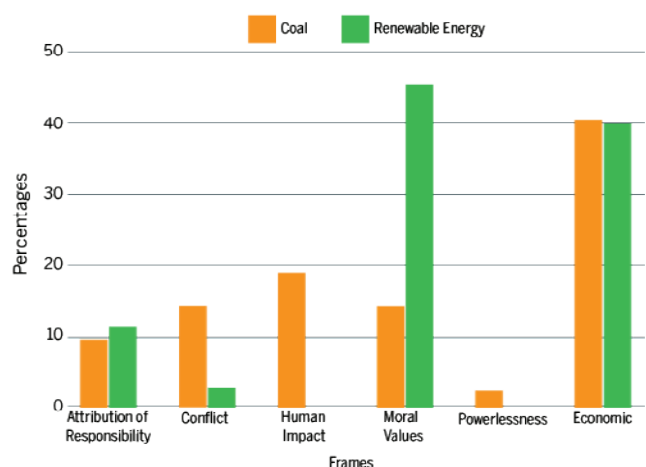


Figure 6. Specific frames for coal and renewable energy stories



A deep dive into the three most frequent frames for each energy type is shown below:

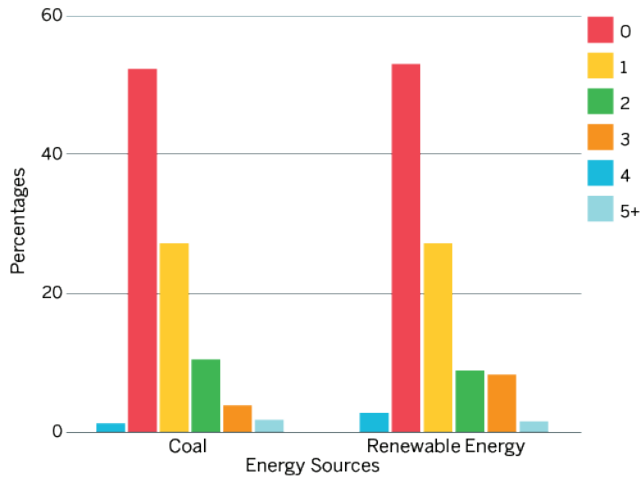
**Coal framed as indispensable for economic development by government and business sources**

The six different frames for coal are used with varying degrees of frequency. As the economic frame makes up the largest portion of coal stories, I first conducted an in-depth analysis of this frame by examining relevant article topics, headlines, sources quoted, and potential biases. Articles are categorized as using the economic frame if they focus on the economic repercussions of an energy policy or project on the national, local, industry, or company levels.

Accordingly, 17 articles (40 percent of coal stories analyzed) describe coal mines and plants as indispensable for national economic development. These 17 stories are distributed across all news outlets, although Kumparan—the only outlet that allows user-generated content—stands out for publishing only one story using the economic frame.

In terms of story content, articles about the economic side of coal discuss the dynamics of the coal industry, such as coal trade volume, price, production costs, and the impacts of COVID-19. Notably, of the 17 articles sampled, six were devoted to the topic of coal gasification, which had recently gained traction in Indonesian media, as the government has tried to increase the value of its coal reserves to protect the coal mining industry,

Figure 7. Energy stories by number of sources



In terms of source diversity, as seen in figure 7, more than 50 percent of articles on coal used no more than one source of information—in the case of the economic frame, either government or business representative. Even when two sources were quoted, most of the time they were from similar organizations with similar perspectives; only 16 percent of articles quoted three or more sources and offered more diverse viewpoints.

One example of a coal story that did a better job of quoting diverse sources was “ESDM: PKP2B [coal mining license] to Give Extension to Coal Mining Businessman” by Tribunnews’ Reynas Abdila. The

story quoted three sources: the general director of mineral and coal mining, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, and the academic Center of Reform on Economics (CORE Indonesia). While the first two government sources agreed that an expansion of the coal mining industry is already certain, the CORE representative argued that it would render Indonesia dependent on the dynamic of global coal prices. This is a viewpoint typically missing from articles that do not quote from academic or nongovernmental organization (NGO) sources. Overall, the story pushed for a progressive downscaling of the coal industry.

The next-most-discussed economic topic was the economic benefits of coal gasification programs, which convert coal into the gas dimethyl ether. Through my analysis, I found that some common viewpoints presented within this frame are that dimethyl ether will be a cheap energy source, the program will reduce the national importing of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), and the program is good for development of the coal business. Almost two-thirds of these articles were published by Sindonews and Okezone, the outlets owned by MNC Corporation. Yohana Artha Uly, a journalist of Okezone.com, wrote an article about the government’s coal gasification strategy headlined “Reducing LPG Import, Government Encourages Coal Gasification to Be a Strategic Policy.” The story began with a brief introduction of the government’s coal gasification plan, then listed the coal companies that will be the main targets. Uly used only one source, the minister of energy and mineral resources, who said gasification would add value to coal and reduce importation of LPG. Hence, the story pushed the view that coal gasification is a priority in the national mining investment plan for the next five years, and the practice will receive enthusiastic government support.

Furthermore, coal articles with economic frames claimed that Indonesia cannot move on to renewable energy easily, as there are still many unresolved factors that make the transition difficult and many parties supporting coal. A journalist from CNBC Indonesia, Anisatul, said, “coal will be gradually replaced by [renewable energy] because fossil energy has a bad impact on the environment. However, it cannot be done immediately because of various complex considerations.” Norman Joshua, a journalist from the Jakarta Post, added that although the national energy plan aims to reduce coal to 23 percent of total energy mix, several studies say Indonesia will miss that goal. “There are major policies that support the use of fossils in our economy. There is a regulation which says that coal sold in Indonesia cannot be more than \$70/tonne.”

**Coal blamed for causing human impacts globally**

After I analyzed coal articles with an economic frame, I focused on the human-impact frame, which, at eight stories, was the second-most popular. In human-impact articles, coal was framed as a potential risk for humans because it produces pollutants (two articles); contributes to global warming (three articles); and threatens the lives of workers and people living around coal mines (three articles).





A technician inspects solar panels on the roof of Istiqlal Grand Mosque in Jakarta, Indonesia. Photo by Yorri/Greenpeace





Excavators beside a peatland drainage canal cut through recently deforested and burnt peatland in Riau province, Indonesia. Photo by Natalie Behring/Greenpeace



Notably, the two stories by detikNews that framed coal as polluting were both international wire stories—in other words, they did not specifically examine coal plants and coal mining’s impacts on the local environment in Indonesia. An article headlined “[After Lockdown, the Air in China Starts to Be Polluted Again](#)” in detikNews was directly translated from the *Guardian*. An analyst for the independent Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air was quoted as saying, “The rapid return to air pollution and the rate of coal consumption across China is an early warning of what an industry-led increase in pollution will look like.” [Research from the very same organization about coal’s contribution to Indonesia air quality](#), however, was not cited. Though the story included a video about dark smog in Jakarta, it did not specifically mention coal as a potential cause.

Similarly, coal was framed as a contributor to the global warming crisis in another story. Syanti Mustika, a journalist from detikNews, wrote “[Let’s Learn More about Global Warming](#),” a vague story that presented climate science based on information from the website of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. The story briefly pointed to fossil fuel, including coal, as a cause of global warming but did not connect the issue to Indonesia’s coal industry.

The only stories that directly presented coal’s impacts on Indonesians’ life were those about coal mining, specifically “illegal” coal mining. Within the framing analysis sample, one article by a contributor of *Kompas* reporting from the coal-mining hot spot Kalimantan tackled this issue, under the headline “[Illegal Coal Mining in Samboja Kutai Kartanegara Water Dam Threatens 960 Lives](#).” The story began with a direct quote from the head of the River Area Authority of Kalimantan, who emphasized that “the illegal coal mining is just 15 meters away from the upstream of a big dam.” A bird’s-eye view of coal mining in Kalimantan helped readers imagine the current situation there. The underlying assumption of this story was that illegal activities can break the dam barrier and cause a loss of 960 lives in the area—an environmental disaster. The differentiation between “legal” and “illegal” coal mining, however, shifted attribution of blame to the illegality of some mining projects rather than the inherent dangers of coal mining itself.

### Emissions reduction framed as a responsibility toward international community

The third-most-used frame in coal reporting was the moral values frame, which raised the universal value of responsibility to discuss emissions reduction. I placed six coal articles under this category because they mentioned the word “responsibility” or lofty concepts such as Indonesia’s commitment to the international community—often without discussing the practical benefits reducing emissions would have on local society and environment. Four of these six stories emphasized [the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change’s 1.5 degree report](#), the Paris Agreement, and low-emission examples from other countries.

However, the six stories that used the moral values frame all stopped short of advocating for an energy transition away from coal, instead calling for solutions such as using technology and regulation to push for “clean” coal—defined as coal with higher carbon content burned with supercritical technology. [A story from Okezone](#), while citing Indonesia’s commitment to the Paris Agreement, stated it was possible to make coal “clean.” The minister of energy and mineral resources, Arifin Tasrif, was quoted as saying technology like advanced ultra-supercritical and integrated gasification combined cycle is “proof that we comply with the Paris Agreement in creating a clean environment.”

Though I was not able to obtain an interview with the article’s author, I brought up this frame with an editor from Okezone, Dani Jumadil Akhir, who explained the publication’s viewpoint. “Not all coal is environmentally unfriendly,” Akhir said. “There is coal which is higher in carbon content and good for the environment. [High-quality coal] does not disturb the community in general.” Hence, Akhir believes Indonesia is only responsible for using lower-emissions coal, not phasing out coal altogether.

The moral responsibility frame is not only used to describe government commitments but private sector commitments as well. Maulandy Rizki Bayu Kencana from Liputan6 wrote an article about “green financing” that discussed how Indonesia’s largest bank, [Bank Mandiri, has a responsibility to tighten loan requirements for palm oil and coal mining companies](#). The president director of the bank was quoted as saying the tight environmental requirements for financing will make people more responsible when starting mining and palm oil businesses. “We have sent a team to learn from other countries about how to slowly move Indonesia towards green financing,” he concluded. Once again, the moral value of social responsibility was used to introduce regulations rather than a reduction to coal mining activities.

The two stories above showed that even though some articles frame emission reduction and environmental protection as social responsibilities, they only call for tighter regulation rather than a coal phaseout—in direct opposition to [the Paris Agreement](#), which some of the journalists cite.

### Media outlets’ ties to coal mining could influence journalists’ reporting

To sum up the section on coal article frames, it is reasonable to say that the media largely portrayed coal as a key contributor to Indonesia’s energy and economic future. No article explicitly called for a coal phaseout, only going so far as to call for regulations and “cleaner” coal. Examining media ownership in Indonesia might provide insight into these narratives.

Three of the seven news outlets examined—*Sindonews*, Okezone, and detikNews—are owned by conglomerates with a stake in coal mining. *Sindonews* and Okezone are under [MNC Group](#), which owns more than 50 percent of Nuansacipta Coal Investment and Bhakti Coal Resources, while detikNews is owned by [CT Corp](#), whose subsidiary CT Global Resources is, according to its website,

“dedicated for the existing plantation businesses, as well as future expansions in energy, mining.” Together, these three publications are responsible for half of the articles that framed coal as indispensable for Indonesia’s economy and four of six articles promoting coal gasification. DetikNews published two articles that connected coal with air pollution and global warming; however, both were wire stories and contained no details specific to Indonesia. As discussed above, Okezone published an article suggesting that with the latest coal technology, Indonesia can still develop coal while meeting Paris Agreement goals.

No journalists interviewed from these three outlets directly acknowledged media ties to the energy sector as a factor in choosing frames for energy stories. An editor from detikNews did acknowledge that “cooperation clearly exists” between energy companies and journalists, but said this “did not have much influence on the writing process.” He described a “confirmation process” whereby journalists send other parties the text of the articles written before publishing to “fact check.”

Several journalists from other outlets spoke more explicitly about the influence of ownership and ad sources on editorial independence in Indonesia. Meidella Syahni, a journalist of Mongabay Indonesia who used to work in mainstream media, said, “Advertorial collaborations and other [financial ties] affect any issue reported, including energy issues. For example, on the issue of coal, media outlets that expect revenue from advertising will make space for coal companies to post advertisements, advertorials, and all kinds of things.” According to Syahni, reporters themselves may not be aware of such influence before the article gets published. “No matter how independent the reporter is...their articles [about coal] may be cut off or not published at all,” she said.

Deasy Indriwati from online outlet Inidata shared the same opinion in an email: “LOTS of business interests [in Indonesian media]; this has been a problem from the stone age to the present.” To present a good energy story, she said, a journalist must have “guts” to be able to challenge the influence and power of the energy sector. In light of the financial interests that mainstream



A man takes care of his horses on a grass field near a wind turbine farm in Jeneponto, South Sulawesi province, Indonesia. Photo by Muchtamir/Greenpeace



papers have in the coal sector, a journalist may also need to seek “sufficient funds” from independent sources to carry out such reporting, she continued.

Interestingly, a journalist interviewed who stated he or she experienced no outside influence worked not for a commercial outlet but for ANTARA—Indonesia’s state-owned news agency. This journalist said ANTARA “continues to prioritize independence in seeking information...there is no coercion from other parties...we are free. The important thing is that it is in accordance with journalistic ethics.” This person also said energy is a less sensitive issue than other, more political matters.

In total, two journalists with experience in mainstream media said they believed pressure from newsroom ownership and ad buyers could heavily sway article frames. The only journalist who expressed a different opinion worked for a noncommercial outlet.

### **Renewable energy development framed as a moral imperative due to environmental and security concerns**

Next, I analyzed the three most popular article frames used in renewable energy stories: moral values, economic, and attribution of responsibility. As before, I categorized article frames according to the dominant viewpoint throughout and proceeded with a deep analysis of headlines, quotes, quote placements, and language use.

Though Indonesian outlets do not discuss the need to phase out coal, they tend to frame renewable development as necessary to replace other fossil fuels such as oil and gas, which Indonesia must import. Many of these articles’ frames fall under the “moral values” category for calling on readers’ innate sense of social responsibility and patriotism. Specifically, renewable development was described as a moral imperative in 16 stories—47 percent of total renewable energy stories examined. A prevalent argument was that renewable energy can help Indonesia achieve an energy-independent future, so it should, therefore, take up a larger portion of the country’s energy output. Kumparan and Okezone stood out as the outlets that published the most stories with this frame, combining for 10 of 16 stories. Notably, on Kumparan, which allows user-generated content, two of the stories with this frame were written by the site’s users.

Seven stories, such as [this one from Okezone](#), quoted from government sources who said that even though renewable development is challenging, it is imperative for Indonesia. In the Okezone story, the director of electrification programs in the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources stated, “In the future, there are many challenges that we face in developing renewables. [But] renewables are not just clean; they help us head towards energy security by utilizing existing resources in our country, not imports.” The director then cited government plans to install solar panels in former coal-producing areas as proof of its commitment to increasing renewables to 23 percent of the national energy mix. No external source, however, is cited to verify or provide comment on those plans.

Some articles framed Indonesia’s need to reduce emissions and its responsibility to international agreements and international bodies as a moral imperative. Resya Firmansyah wrote a story for Kumparan headlined “[Willing to Advance Renewable Energy Usage in Indonesia, PLN \[National Electricity Company\] Works Together With CEIA \[Clean Energy Investment Accelerator\]](#).” This story, quoting a business representative (vice president of PLN) and an academic from the World Resources Institute, introduced the view that PLN’s commitment to reducing carbon emissions should mean supporting renewable energy investments in Indonesia.

### **Renewables framed as good for the economy**

Media outlets did not just entertain lofty ideals about renewables, however; they also reported on more bread-and-butter issues associated with an energy transition’s economic impacts. In fact, the second-most-prevalent frame I found for renewable stories was the economic frame, which, at 12 stories, made up 40 percent of renewable energy reporting. When I examined the article headlines, quotes, and reporting language, five main narratives emerged from the 12 stories: renewable energy can be a source of national and regional income (four stories), attract foreign investment (three stories), provide clean jobs (two stories), add value to agriculture products (two stories about the biofuel B-20-B-100 program), and support business development (one story). As before, Kumparan stood out for publishing five of the 12 stories—the most of any outlet.

A reason for this might be that Kumparan republishes articles from local outlets in regions with more vibrant renewable energy development. A story headlined “[Aceh Increases Renewable Energy \[Contribution\], Here Are Some of the Sources](#)” was published by Aceh Kini, a local online media that used Kumparan as a platform to deliver its stories to a national audience. This story quoted Aceh’s governor as saying the company is committed to making renewables 12.25 percent of the region’s energy mix by 2022 because of potential economic benefits for the region.

Renewable energy, as a new technology, was also framed as attractive to foreign investors. Two of the three articles that used this frame discussed the Cirata Floating Solar Power Plant Project, hailed as the biggest floating solar plant in Southeast Asia. One story from [Okezone](#) cited information from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources to show that the selling price of electricity and market share of a company involved in the project were profitable. The [second story from Detik](#) specifically mentioned that Cirata received foreign investment from the United Arab Emirates, suggesting that other countries view solar as a cheaper and more profitable investment than coal.

To sum up, when using an economic frame, journalists emphasized that renewable energy could be a source of income, attract foreign investors, provide clean jobs, add value to Indonesian products, and support business development. These five narratives contribute to future renewable energy growth seen as a positive development in Indonesia. However, noticeably absent



were articles that framed renewable energy as baseload power, and none framed it as a coal replacement.

### Renewable energy policies require further support from government and the public

The first two renewable energy frames analyzed overwhelmingly painted renewables in an optimistic light; the third-most-popular renewable energy frame, attribution of responsibility, brought up more pragmatic issues such as current roadblocks to further renewable energy development. In my analysis, I found that four stories, or 12 percent of sample renewable energy stories, called on the government and the public to support more renewable development via policy changes. In these articles, criticisms of government policies or lack of public awareness were commonly found, sometimes accompanied by potential solutions. All the stories quoted from academics at universities or NGOs, sometimes as the only source.

Nanang Wijayanto, a journalist of *Sindonews*, produced a story with the headline “**The Rules by ESDM [Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources] on Renewable Energy Seems Inconsistent, Investors Are Confused.**” The story used a quote from the director of the International Geothermal Association as he argued that current regulations on renewable energy are unstable, regulations confuse potential investors, and a law about renewable energy should be a priority for parliament. The story claimed that changeable regulation is considered common in Indonesia, but its impact on renewable energy investment is significant.

Articles also framed renewable energy development as needing support from the general public. Hanif Hawari, a journalist of *detikNews*, wrote an article headlined “**Nicholas Saputra’s Movie Helps Campaigning Environmental Issues.**” A researcher from the think tank Institute for Essential Services Reform was quoted in this article as saying she believes it is important for the think tank to communicate its findings on renewables to the public. The implication is that it is important to raise public awareness about renewable energy and related scientific reports and that there could be a benefit to academics/activists working together with the creative industry to disseminate scientific findings.

A story published by *Liputan6*, on the other hand, is unique in crediting countries besides Indonesia with renewable development responsibility. Misleadingly headlined “**RE Growth Rate in Indonesia Is the Highest in the World,**” the story highlighted Indonesia’s high biofuel growth rate under the mandatory B-20 program and framed it as a pillar of renewable energy development—even though biofuel generated from palm oil is not necessarily carbon neutral, and Indonesia’s **installed solar and wind capacity remain among the lowest in the region**. Neither of these facts was mentioned in the article, which ended with a call for the global community to install more carbon neutrality policies “like Indonesia has done.”

In general, a framing analysis of renewable energy stories revealed that Indonesian media promoted further renewable growth to

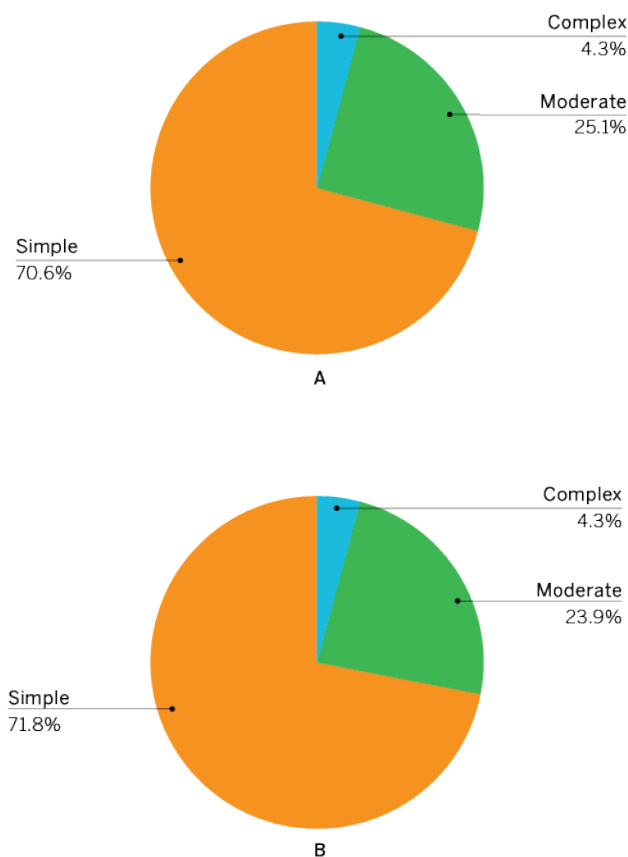
supplement the coal industry and ensure energy security as well as bring economic benefits. Though the narrative was positive, absent were articles that framed renewables as baseload energy. A small percentage of stories discussed remaining roadblocks, such as unsupportive policies and lack of public awareness.

After completing the framing analysis, I then moved on to a qualitative examination of how well energy stories were written, using three key parameters: article complexity, journalists’ energy literacy, and the editorial process.

### Qualitative Analysis: Article Quality

#### Journalists write simple stories, see energy as a difficult topic to broach

Figure 8. Complexity of the stories on coal (A) and renewable energy (B)



As seen in figure 8, most energy stories, being hard news articles, were written in a simple way, and they had fewer than 500 words. Editor and senior energy journalist Intan from *Republika* attributed this to the peculiar nature of online media, which require extreme brevity. “In online outlets, we can’t write lengthy articles because that affects page views and clicks. Not everyone wants to read a long story...and page views will determine revenue.” Meanwhile, a journalist from *kompas.com*, Rully Ramli, said



her energy articles need to be “user friendly. ... Something that can be read by the public, not too focused on technical things.”

Regarding energy literacy, most of the journalists interviewed in this research confessed it was not easy to write energy stories, especially for junior energy journalists in their first year or two on the job. A journalist from ANTARA, Afut Syafril Nursyirwan, said, “Energy is a sector that is very rare to rotate because not many people can master it and not many want it.” Nursyirwan, a journalist for four years, has not been rotated because there is no suitable replacement. Similarly, a journalist from kumparan.com, Ema, said, “Energy is complicated...dizzy...things like writing units per barrel or units for gas” can be confusing. Intan from Republika added that in the first year, he struggled to understand the terms and units of energy.

### **Editorial process: Flexible relationship between reporters and their editors**

Almost all the journalists interviewed said reporters can work without much editorial oversight. As an editor from detikNews said:

“Journalists get a reporting assignment agenda; upon arrival at the event location, journalists provide initial information such as who are the speakers present at the activities covered. From there, the editor helps provide direction to the reporter, including providing additional questions. In the process of editing the news, the editor will ask the reporter whether the information submitted is correct. ... At this stage, there is generally a short discussion between reporters and editors to determine the title of the article to be broadcast.”

Most of the interviewees said reporters and editors worked collaboratively, but reporters were given freedom in presenting energy stories. Kompas.com editor Djumena said reporters “received assignments from editors, but they were not prohibited from covering according to personal preferences.” The *Jakarta Post*’s Norman Joshua provided further insight: “For small media, there are journalists who directly post news without going through the editor. For medium media, reporters only make pitches, one to two sentences, and the editor only needs to say yes or no. If it is a bigger media, they can discuss the angles and what the source persons are before making the stories.”

To conclude, my study of article quality found that most journalists described a supportive, if slightly hands-off, relationship between editors and reporters. This would presumably be suitable for journalists with many years’ experience in energy reporting, but junior journalists frequently found the topic hard to broach. More than 70 percent of stories ended up being simple hard news articles with few nuances.

## **A CASE STUDY OF COVERAGE ON THE OMNIBUS AND MINING LAWS IN INDONESIA**

### **By Cherika Hardjakusumah | Climate Tracker Fellow**

On November 2, 2020, Indonesian President Joko Widodo signed into law **an omnibus bill** that contains a set of deregulation measures across all sectors to boost investment. The discussion about the bill has been ongoing since 2019, and it has sparked public debate for political and environmental/social reasons.

The law shifts the authority of permit issuance (for natural resources exploitation such as in mining and forestry) from local governments to the central government. It represents a significant setback from decentralization efforts that the previous administration had been working on. The law also softens the consequences for companies that violate environmental rules from criminal to administrative sanction.

In addition, on May 20, 2020 parliament passed a revised version of a **mineral and coal mining bill** that is also controversial because of the lack of public consultation in the process. My research focused on articles published on online media about these two laws.

### **Trend 1: Most common framing**

My analysis of news articles published by three media outlets—*Kompas*, *Tempo*, and *Bisnis*—show at least five common frames used when writing about the omnibus and mining laws:

The omnibus law and the revised mineral and coal law were framed in 16 articles as policies that only benefit big corporations, not the people. With the mineral and coal law specifically, this framing accurately reflects the reality that eight large coal companies will highly benefit from a new provision that allows automatic permit extensions up to 20 years, since these companies have permits that were previously set to expire within five years.

Nine articles focused on parliament rushing the process of passing the mineral and coal law, and the public, represented by civil society organizations, questioned whether this decision had followed the proper rules and procedures.

Eight articles focused on parliament’s failure to involve civil society or even government officials with relevant experience in the consultancy of the two draft bills. In a *Bisnis* article from November 2019, it was mentioned that the Ministry of Environment and Forestry was not involved in the consultation because it was not a partner of parliament’s Commission VII. Unfortunately, the writer of this article did not respond to my interview request to further explain this.

Seven articles focused on parliament choosing to discuss controversial bills when the public's attention was distracted by the COVID-19 pandemic. If this was the plan it backfired heavily, as both the omnibus and mining law bills attracted media attention and have been heavily criticized by civil society.

The shift of authority from local governments to the central government was framed in four articles as a setback to decentralization efforts and possibly a threat to democracy.

The two laws' implications for the country's energy future and environment were not used as the main framing in any of these outlets' stories.

## Trend 2: Elements that contribute to framing

Due to the controversial nature of the bills, it was common to find provocative headlines for the articles. For example:

- “Activists Consider the New Coal and Mineral Law as a Legalized Crime” (*Tempo*, June 1, 2020)
- “Coal and Mineral Law Passed, YLBHI Viewed the Parliament Betrayed Constitution” (*Kompas*, May 14, 2020)
- “The Articles on the Regional Authorities Have Been Removed from the Coal and Mineral Law, Jatam Viewed It Leads to Corruption in the Central Government” (*Kompas*, May 12, 2020)

Most of the sample articles have an equal balance of quoting government and nongovernmental actors' statements. However, there were no statements from local/regional actors, even though the law will clearly affect authorities at these levels.

Of the nongovernmental actors, Jatam (the mining advocacy network), which is more activist-centric, was the most quoted, although other advocacy organizations were quoted, such as Publish What You Pay (international advocacy) and Indonesia Corruption Watch, as were environmental NGOs like Walhi, Greenpeace, and others.

Articles included limited statements from companies and others in the private sector. In an interview, Aris Prasetyo of *Kompas* confirmed that unlike government officials from the ministries, who are generally open for interviews, only a few companies are open to doing media interviews. Since mining and coal data are commercially sensitive, it is also difficult to obtain data for research purposes. In addition, an energy journalist from a financial tabloid underscored the difficulty in getting sources from parliament. “While reporting about coal law, it was very hard to [get] the parliament's clarification,” he added.

*Tempo* magazine, however, did interview officials at two coal companies linked to the coal mining contract issue. One of these companies is owned by the family of the current minister of state-owned enterprise. The writer put this information at the end of an article headlined “Who Benefited from the Revised Coal and Mineral Law” (*Tempo*, May 23, 2020), calling into question the political and business interests behind the proposed law.

## Trend 3: Quality

Articles analyzed were narrowly focused on the omnibus and mining laws and did not provide in-depth definitions of energy terms or concepts. Both online and print media outlets frequently used photos to support the articles. *Kompas* has a strong infographic team, and decisions about what visuals to



Protesters rally against Indonesia's deregulation, or the omnibus law, in Padang, West Sumatra province, Indonesia, in October 2020. Image courtesy of Rhmtdns/Wikimedia Commons, Share Alike 4.0 International license



use are made in editorial meetings. The types of infographics it published were, for example, key dates and chronological events of the bills, key changes in the law, and coal production visuals and graphs.

In terms of article complexity, online media outlets consistently had less depth in their analysis and provided more hard news on events linked to the laws, including coverage of parliament assembly sessions, people's assembly sessions, and webinars. A senior journalist explained that this is the nature of Indonesia's online media, where quantity is prioritized over quality. "They have to publish as much content as possible, and less concern about analysis," this journalist said. Daily print outlets have slightly more depth in their analyses. Yet when those daily print outlets (like *Kompas*) offer an e-paper version, the online version is only accessible with a paid subscription.

In an interview, Retno Sulistyawati of *Tempo* confirmed that daily journalists who are assigned to work in certain ministries have good access to official sources in press conferences or for door-step interviews. However, due to the time sensitivity of the work, daily journalists have less opportunity to do in-depth research, unlike those at weekly magazines. Retno said that as a journalist working for a weekly magazine, she can invest time in a one-on-one setting with sources to get more insights.

#### Trend 4: Biases/interests/challenges

A senior journalist from an international media outlet based in Indonesia said in an interview that "advertisement is usually a major cause for a bias in an article. Companies that pay to advertise in the media may get less criticism. The second factor that leads to bias is media ownership." However, in this research, none of the journalists interviewed acknowledged coal-business ties to owners of the media outlets they worked for.

The third factor that may lead to bias is political views. For example, *Kompas* has long been known for its nationalistic or inward-looking approach (not proliberalsim/proforeign) and is keen to maintain neutrality in its articles, whereas *Tempo* is more critical, investigative, and direct in its approach. In 1994, the magazine was banned by former president Suharto for being overly critical of the government. *Bisnis* tends to be more proinvestment and business oriented.

Four of the journalists interviewed have more than 10 years' experience, and one is also a section editor. Another journalist interviewed is an energy reporter with two years' experience working at a financial tabloid. At *Tempo*, all journalists go through rigorous training and gain experience working for print newspaper and online edition for years. Once they reach a certain level of seniority, they can join the magazine team. At the magazine, these senior journalists rotate from one desk to another. All of them are expected to be at ease writing about different topics.

The advantage of this system is that it allows journalists to connect the dots using different lenses while reporting. This structure

also influences the depth and quality of the articles. For example, in "Who Benefited from the Revised Coal and Mineral Law," the writer connected chronological details of the law's revision and provided the relevant context. Moreover, the article also published a letter issued and circulated in parliament (which was not usually available publicly) that provided details of companies' contracts that are expiring soon.

In *Kompas*, on the other hand, "a journalist will be assigned to one desk and expected to remain there for years" said Aris of *Kompas*. This system fosters a journalist's expertise in writing about an issue. However, it provides less room for journalists to be exposed to other issues that may have some link to energy matters. Besides regular editorial meetings, Aris and Ichwan Susanto did not mention any other coordinating mechanisms to align messages or framing for articles that discuss similar issues (e.g., coal) in different sections (e.g., economics or humanity). So, for example, an article written by Susanto, "Celah Regulasi Picu Lubang Tambang," or "Regulatory Loopholes Trigger Ex-Mining Pits Issue," which discussed reclamation policy, only mentioned the coal and omnibus laws briefly, despite their strong links to reclamation policy. This suggests that better collaboration with journalists from other desks might help make the reports richer in terms of data and analysis.

#### Concluding Remarks

The three media outlets researched provided a great deal of coverage of the coal and mineral law and omnibus law. The peak of coverage was on May 20, 2020, coinciding with a parliament plenary session, and these articles mainly covered business and political aspects of these laws. Minor elements of social-environmental impacts were referenced, but none discussed the scientific aspects of higher carbon emissions in concrete terms.

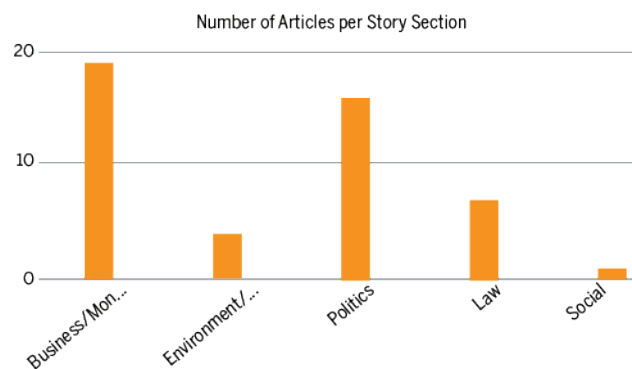
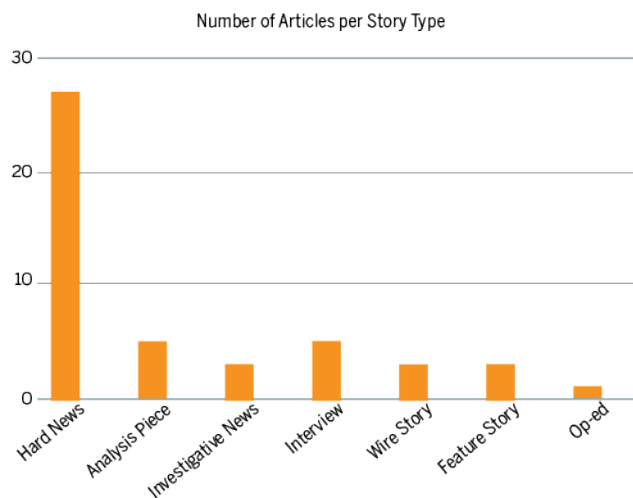


#### Cherika Hardjakusumah

Cherika Hardjakusumah is a research and communication specialist with over five years of experience in multifaceted career roles in Europe and Asia. She is passionate about climate and energy issues and has worked on various research projects related to palm oil, biofuels, and solar energy. Hardjakusumah is keen to learn more about energy access and low-carbon economic development, which she finds highly relevant to her home country, Indonesia. When she is not working on energy issues, she enjoys discussing cultural interactions, diversity, and inclusion on her podcast channel.



# Annex



## Conclusion

An in-depth analysis of coal and renewable energy reporting in Indonesia revealed that Indonesian media outlets framed coal as a major player in the country's energy future. Despite some articles that highlighted coal's negative impacts internationally, domestic coal mines and power plants were portrayed as an indispensable part of the country's economy. Renewable energy was framed as a positive development, though its role in the energy mix is to replace oil/gas and supplement coal rather than act as baseload power.

Indonesia is the only country in Southeast Asia making the world's top ten in terms of proven coal reserves. It is also the only country studied in this five-country analysis where more articles frame coal positively rather than negatively, with 67 percent of all sampled coal articles describing it as playing a quintessential role in the country's economic growth. No article explicitly called for a coal phaseout, only going so far as to call for regulations and "cleaner" coal technology.

The only stories that directly presented coal's negative impacts on Indonesians' life were about coal mining—more specifically "illegal" coal mining activities. The differentiation between "legal" and "illegal" mining, however, shifted attribution of blame to the illegality of mining projects rather than the inherent dangers of coal mining itself. The recently passed omnibus and coal mining laws, which attracted much controversy, were similarly criticized for their dubious constitutionality and lack of transparency more than their potential environmental impacts.

Renewable energy, meanwhile, was only reported in broad strokes, being in its nascent stages of development and not yet a familiar concept with Indonesian journalists or readers. As editor Djumena

from kompas.com succinctly said, renewable energy "has limited sources [for journalists to cite/interview], because it is still rare. ... Not only the readers, the journalists are sometimes confused." It is not surprising, therefore, that nearly half of all renewable energy stories do not specifically discuss any technology, while the ones that do focus on either solar energy or biofuels. Biodiesel, in particular, receives universally positive coverage from mainstream outlets, after the government introduced a law mandating 20 percent biodiesel mix. While portraying biodiesel as environmentally friendly, these articles turn a blind eye to the fact that Indonesia's biofuel is generated from palm plantations, which replaced previously carbon-absorbing rainforest ecosystems.

To conclude, all media outlets sampled faced some similar challenges in their energy reporting, including lack of source diversity and journalists finding energy a difficult topic to broach, as mentioned above. Nuanced differences did exist, however, between Indonesia's major media corporations and its more independent outlets. Three of the seven news outlets examined—Okezone, detikNews, and Sindonews—belong to two corporations with stakes in the coal mining industry. Okezone and Sindonews together published 62.5 percent of articles highlighting the positive economic contribution of the coal industry. Meanwhile, Kompas, an online-only outlet published by a new media company, ran the most articles praising renewables' merits (35) and the fewest articles praising coal (six). Editorial structures notwithstanding, journalists said they would feel emboldened to report on energy critically with more in-depth knowledge of the issue as well as financial support from noncorporate sources.



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### About Us

The Stanley Center for Peace and Security partners with people, organizations, and the greater global community to drive policy progress in three issue areas—mitigating climate change, avoiding the use of nuclear weapons, and preventing mass violence and atrocities. The center was created in 1956 and maintains its independence while developing forums for diverse perspectives and ideas. To learn more about our recent publications and upcoming events, please visit [stanleycenter.org](https://stanleycenter.org).



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Climate Tracker is the largest youth-based climate journalism project in the world. We train and competitively empower young people around the world to influence their national debates about climate change, and publish their ideas in national media. We send the most impressive young people to international conferences where they can have a direct influence on decision makers and get a hands-on experience in shaping national and international policy. [ClimateTracker.org](https://ClimateTracker.org).