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Media Discourse Contestation on Indonesia's Energy Transition Policy: Network and Structural Analysis

Firdaus Cahyadi¹, Soeryo Adiwibowo², Edy Hartulistiyoso³

¹Institut Pertanian Bogor, Bogor, Indonesia, cakfirdaus_cahyadi@apps.ipb.ac.id

²Institut Pertanian Bogor, Bogor, Indonesia.

³Institut Pertanian Bogor, Bogor, Indonesia.

Corresponding Author: cakfirdaus_cahyadi@apps.ipb.ac.id¹

Abstract: The Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP) is a climate financing initiative launched by France, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union. It was first introduced at the 26th Conference of the Parties (COP26) held in Glasgow, United Kingdom, in 2021. The JETP framework involves collaboration among various stakeholders, including governments, the private sector, and civil society organizations (CSOs), with the primary goal of supporting the implementation of the Paris Agreement. South Africa was the first country to receive JETP support, followed by Indonesia in 2022, during the G20 Summit in Bali. This study explores the contestation of energy transition policy discourses linked to Indonesia's JETP initiative as represented in online media. To investigate this, the research analyzed 37 articles published by ten Indonesian online news outlets between January until December 31, 2022. The study employed Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) software to map patterns of discourse, and MICMAC (Matrix of Crossed Impact Multiplications Applied to a Classification) analysis to determine key discourse themes. The findings reveal that issues of transparency and public involvement emerge as central themes that significantly shape the direction of energy transition policy under the JETP initiative. This discourse of information transparency and public involvement is the gateway to expanding the space for energy transition policies. By expanding the space for policies, government dominance can be limited. These themes were consistently highlighted across media discourse, indicating their relevance both in academic inquiry and practical policymaking.

Keywords: Energy Policy; Public Policy; Policy Discourse; Discourse Analysis; Mass Media

INTRODUCTION

Greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions responsible for driving the climate crisis continue to rise in the Earth's atmosphere. Fossil fuel consumption is a major factor behind rising emissions. Consequently, international pressure has been mounting on countries to accelerate their energy transition. The Low Carbon Development Initiative (LCDI, 2020) noted that since 2010, developed nations have consistently reduced their energy sector emissions,

achieving a 9% decrease by 2019. In contrast, emissions from developing countries, including Indonesia, have continued to rise.

However, for developing countries such as Indonesia, the energy transition requires substantial investment. The International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA, 2022) estimates that Indonesia will need between US\$73 billion and US\$76 billion in energy investments through 2050.

One major funding initiative for energy transition is the Just Energy Transition Partnership (JETP), a collaborative scheme involving developed nations. The JETP for Indonesia was announced during the 2022 G20 Summit in Bali, co-led by the United States and Japan. The term "*just*" in JETP signifies the importance of fairness and equity in the transition process.

In general, public policymaking is influenced by two core components: policy actors and the discourses they promote (Kartodiharjo, 2023). Further explains that discourse influences every stage of the policymaking process, from problem framing to solution development. The narratives promoted by different policy actors vary depending on their political interests, which in turn shapes the policy solutions they advocate.

So far, research related to energy transition has focused more on technical issues. There has been no research related to energy transition related to the debate on discourse in the media. In fact, the debate on discourse in the media reflects the direction of future energy transition policies. In line with the research objectives, this study aims to:

1. Analyse the contestation between actors and discourses surrounding the JETP energy transition in media narratives.
2. Identify the key discourses that emerge in the process of formulating energy transition policies.

METHOD

This study adopts a conceptual framework that links discourse, policy space, and the political interests of the actors engaged in shaping energy transition policies.

The online media outlets analyzed in this study include: (a) Kompas.id; (b) CNN Indonesia; (c) Liputan6; (d) Detik.com; (e) Tempo.id; (f) Tribunnews.com; (g) Jawa Pos; (h) Merdeka.com; (i) Sindonews.com; (j) Kumparan.com; (k) Suara.com; and (l) Tirto.id. These platforms were selected based on findings from a Reuters Institute survey, which identified them as the most trusted sources of online news in Indonesia (Steele, 2023). The keywords "Energy Transition" and "JETP" were used to select articles from these online media.

Table 1. Media analyzed

No	Online Media	Number of Articles	Period
1	Kompas.id	5	2022
2	CNNIndonesia	3	2022
3	Liputan6.com	2	2022
4	Detik.com	1	2022
5	Tempo.id	4	2022
6	Tribunnews.com	2	2022
7	Jawa Pos	3	2022
8	Merdeka.com	3	2022
9	Sindonews.com	2	2022
10	Kumparan.com	4	2022
11	Suara.com	3	2022
12	Tirto.id	5	2022

As illustrated in Figure 2, seven key discourses were identified and debated within the analyzed media sources. In the network visualization (Figure 3), red lines indicate instances where actors oppose a specific discourse, while green lines represent support or agreement with a discourse. Figure 3 highlights a general pattern of opposition between civil society organizations (CSOs) and government actors across most discourse areas. However, in the discourse surrounding electricity liberalization, civil society appears split—some CSOs such as CSIS support it, while others like the PLN Workers Union and the Center for Energy Policy oppose it. A similar division exists in the discourse on coal-fired power plant (PLTU) co-firing. For example, Trend Asia opposes co-firing as a transitional solution, while METI (Indonesian Renewable Energy Society) supports it.

From the media discourse analysis using DNA, several key variables related to the energy transition in Indonesia were identified. Based on the seven main discourse variables concerning the energy transition and JETP, expert interviewees assigned scores to assess which variables exert the most influence on the pursuit of a just energy transition in Indonesia. These scores were then processed using MICMAC (Matrix of Crossed Impact Multiplications Applied to a Classification) software. In this analysis, a score of 3 represents a variable with a very strong influence, while lower values indicate lesser degrees of impact. The Transparency and Participation in JETP (TP_JETP) discourse emerged as a highly influential variable. It strongly affects several other discourses, including Electricity Liberalization (L_Electricity), Electricity Prices (H_Electricity), JETP-related Debt (U_JETP), PLTU Moratorium/Early Retirement (M_PLTU), and Co-Firing (Co_Firing). Additionally, TP_JETP has a strong influence on the discourse surrounding Renewable Energy Prices (ET_Ekonomi).

Another central variable is JETP Debt (U_JETP), which also exerts a very strong influence on several other discourses, including Electricity Liberalization, PLTU Moratorium, and Transparency and Participation in JETP. U_JETP is also strongly linked to Electricity Prices, Renewable Energy Prices, and Co-Firing. Overall, the mapping of discourse influence reveals that transparency within the JETP framework is a key discourse variable that significantly shapes and drives other areas of discussion in Indonesia’s energy transition landscape.

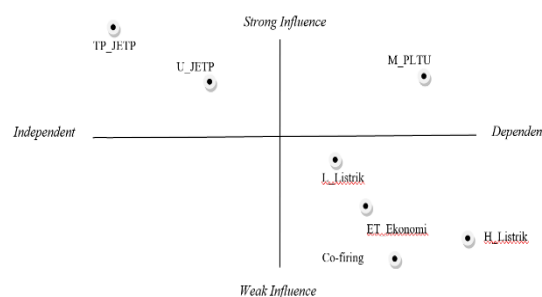


Figure 3. Discourse Influence Map

As illustrated in Figure 3, the discourse on Transparency and Participation in JETP (TP_JETP) stands out as an independent variable with a significant degree of influence over other discourse themes. The second most influential discourse variable is JETP Debt (U_JETP), which not only exerts strong influence but is also more susceptible to being influenced by other variables. The third most influential discourse variable is the Moratorium or Early Retirement of Coal-Fired Power Plants (PLTU), although it is largely shaped by the dynamics of other discourse variables.

The discourse surrounding JETP transparency has the potential to exert a strong indirect influence on both the moratorium of PLTU and future electricity pricing in Indonesia. Insights

from interviews with several informants particularly those from civil society organizations (CSOs) revealed a critical perception of the public consultations organized by the JETP Secretariat. According to these informants, the sessions resembled socialization efforts rather than genuine forums for public input and deliberation.

CONCLUSION

The media analyzed had a limited time period for the year of data collection (2022). In that year, JETP had just been launched, so there were not many policies that could be reported by the media. However, even so, the dynamics of discourse can be seen in leading transition energy in the media.

In issues related to electricity liberalization, the position of civil society tends to be divided. For other discourses, the position of civil society tends to be at odds with the government. The issue of transparency and civil society involvement is a discourse raised by civil society activists in the media. The discourse became stronger because it received a serious response from the JETP secretariat.

Through discourse analysis conducted with Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) and further examined using MICMAC, it becomes evident that the discourse surrounding transparency and public participation in energy transition particularly within the JETP framework emerges as a key discourse variable. This variable has the potential to influence numerous other discourse areas. In this context, the promotion of information openness and the involvement of civil society represents an important entry point or policy space for shaping the direction of energy sector reforms.

The discourse of information transparency and public involvement in energy transition policies is the entry point to expand the space for energy transition policies. Transparency and civil society involvement in energy transition policies, for example, can be realized if the JETP secretariat holds public consultations on planned and implemented projects periodically.

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