

National Strategic Projects that are not Strategic for Small Communities: a Critical Discourse Analysis on Tempo.co and Kompas.com

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to elucidate the media's involvement in reporting on Wadas over environmental issues that transpired in 2022. Case studies were performed on the internet platforms Tempo.co and Kompas.com, which covered the significant progress of the project and the opposition from the local population. The methodology for gathering primary data is executed by documentation and observation, categorized into video and textual formats. Concurrently, secondary data encompasses books, journals, and additional sources. Sample acquisition with purposive sampling. Data analysis employing Critical Discourse Analysis via textual practice, discursive practice, and social practices. The CDA analysis indicates that the government's policy is unfavorable to the Wadas community. According to the practice text, Tempo.co's reportage generally favors the oppressed, whereas Kompas.com maintains a neutral stance with formal diction, overtly aligning with one party. Discursive practice generates Tempo.co and Kompas.com, both emphasizing the impact of institutional frameworks and social dynamics on the creation and dissemination of texts. The Wadas conflict affects the economic, political, ecological, cultural, and social factors on a broad scale. Thus, it shows the government's failure to realize the third principle of the 1945 Constitution, which is to bring welfare to all Indonesian people, by causing unrest and turmoil in the local community with policymakers.

Keywords: National Strategic Projects; Environmental Communications; Critical Analysis Discourse

Proyek Strategis Nasional yang tidak Strategis bagi Komunitas Kecil: Analisis Wacana Kritis Tempo.co dan Kompas.com

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap peran media pada pemberitaan Wadas dalam meliput permasalahan lingkungan yang telah terjadi dalam kurun waktu 2022. Studi kasus dilakukan pada online media Tempo.co dan Kompas.com yang memberitakan gencarnya pembangunan proyek dan perlawanan oleh masyarakat setempat. Teknik pengumpulan menggunakan data primer dilakukan dengan dokumentasi dan observasi yang terbagi dalam bentuk video dan teks. Sedangkan sekunder berupa buku, jurnal, dan lain-lain. Pengambilan sample dengan menggunakan purposive sampling. Analisis data menggunakan AWK melalui text practice, discursive practice, dan social practices. Hasilnya berdasarkan analisis AWK, kebijakan pemerintah tidak berpihak kepada masyarakat Wadas. Berdasarkan text practice Tempo.co kecenderungan pemberitaan lebih berpihak terhadap orang yang tertinda dan Kompas.com memberitakan secara netral dengan diksi formal secara eksplisit berpihak pada satu pihak. Discursive practice menghasilkan Tempo.co dan Kompas.com keduanya menyoroti pengaruh struktur institusional dan kekuatan sosial terhadap produksi dan penyampaian teks. Dan social practices dimensi makro, konflik Wadas berdampak pada dimensi ekonomi, politik, ekologis, budaya, dan sosial. Sehingga memperlihatkan kegagalan pemerintah dalam mewujudkan sila ke 3 undang-undang 1945 yaitu menghadirkan keseimbangan bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia dengan menimbulkan keresahan dan kerusuhan pada masyarakat setempat dengan pemangku kebijakan.

Kata-kata Kunci: *Proyek Strategis Nasional; Komunikasi Lingkungan; Analisis Wacana Kritis*

INTRODUCTION

As a country advances, various developments are carried out in each development sector to increase economic value. Now that the average urban population worldwide has exceeded the rural population, the sustainability of urban centers increasingly determines economic growth, social inclusion, exploitation of environmental resources, and people's livelihoods (Parahita, 2016). Likewise, the Indonesian Government is boosting the implementation of the National Strategic Project (PSN), one of its development priorities. Various facilities are provided for these projects, including allocating forest areas for implementation (Maskun et al., 2021).

Acceleration steps the development undertaken should pay more attention to analisis dampak lingkungan (AMDAL) before implementing projects that benefit the country. Practical requirements for maintaining or restoring ecological connectivity within and between new and existing protected areas around the world are simply ignored (Cumming & Tavares, 2022). The development process should involve multiple stakeholders, project alternatives, identification of potential impacts, and mitigation measures to overcome the adverse consequences of project activities, including the communities most likely to be impacted (Afzal et al., 2023).

The above conditions result in decision-making regarding the implementation of infrastructure development being dominated by the Government and the private sector. Meanwhile, the community's role is minimal and often only accepts the socialization of decisions and implementation of existing projects (Maftuchan, 2021). The environmental problem, is finding ways to guarantee and make the earth and its natural surroundings a habitable space for a peaceful, prosperous life (Herlina, 2017).

One effort to advocate for the public regarding problems that occur as a result of environmental destruction can be through environmental journalism; this term appears basically to avoid impartiality, neutrality, and objectivity because it defends ecological preservation and the public interest so that it inherently becomes a supporter of environmental conservation and the public interest (Parahita, 2016). Media can be a link between the Government as policymakers and society as parties experiencing policies.

The media can persuade audiences through its various content, through media campaigns expressed in the form of news, and by encouraging changes in people's behavior, as well as local and national policies to create a better-maintained environment. (Cenderamata & Darmayanti, 2019)(Princess, 2017). Through the news platform, it carries out one of the functions of helping to become a watchdog for every activity related to government activities (Aini, 2023).

Online media play an essential role in disseminating information and shaping modern communication (Cenderamata & Darmayanti, 2019). News sites like Tempo. co and Kompas.com make it easier for the public to access news, including reports on social issues such as environmental damage. Online media delivers

news and influences public perception through framing and news agendas.

Tempo. co and Kompas.com are some of the many media reporting problems resulting from the National Strategy Project (PSN), especially the construction of the Bener, Wadas, Purworejo dams in Central Java province. Several previous studies highlight the role of the media in addressing social issues and government policies. For example, (Khotimah & Khotimah, 2024) research uses Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to reveal how online mass media reports on the issue of Japan's nuclear waste disposal. This research

found that the media plays a vital role in shaping public opinion on global issues through news framing.

Another study, such as the one conducted by (Daga et al., 2021) analyzes discourse in crisis communication that supports the Government's narrative. This research reveals that the media often highlights the Government's success narratives while ignoring the stories of victims or criticism of policies. This shows how the language used by the media can shape public perception.

Additionally, (Bintan Humeira, 2021) highlights environmental journalism practices at Kompas.com related to the reclamation of Jakarta Bay. The media's focus on legal and political aspects overlooks ecological and social impacts and provides little space for affected communities such as fishermen. This research recommends that the media be more critical of policies that harm the environment and enhance public literacy about their impacts.

These three studies demonstrate the media's role in shaping public perception, policy communication, and advocacy on social and environmental issues. However, the research also identified media bias supporting particular interests and the need for an integrative approach in critical discourse analysis.

Analyzing media reporting using critical discourse analysis, Fairclough offers a three-dimensional model representing three domains that must be studied, namely text (speech, writing, visual images, or a combination of the three), discourse practice encompassing the production and consumption of texts, and social practice (Munfarida, 2014). In the future, this research aims to elaborate on online media activities, particularly on issues arising from policies that do not favor society and the environment. Researchers will be able to reveal the impact of reporting by Tempo.co and Kompas.com on environmental damage, such as PSN in Wadas village will be able to reveal the implications of reporting by Tempo.co and Kompas.com on ecological damage, such as PSN in Wadas village.

RESEARCH METHOD

Qualitative research is usually used in social and cultural sciences. According to Ahmad Tanzeh Suyitno (2006), this study focuses on human behavior and meaning, which cannot be measured (Ratnaningtyas, 2023). The steps used in this research are the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach from Norman Fairclough's perspective: analyzing texts, which are representations and articulations of thoughts, interests, and ideologies attached to texts (Munfarida, 2014). Researchers use the CDA Norman Fairclough approach because it suits the nature and objectives of researchers who want to know and understand "Emergency Environmental Communication for National Strategic Projects in Online Media Tempo.co and Kompas.com Berita: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study."

Unit of Analysis and Sampling Techniques

The unit of analysis in this study is news published by Tempo.co and Kompas.com related to the National Strategic Projects. (PSN). The news analyzed was selected based on the following:

Publication period

Tempo.co

- Chronology of Wadas Residents' Resistance Has Not Stopped Since 2013, news published February 2, 2022.
- Wadas Residents Opposing Andesite Mining Arrested by Police Suspected of

Being Thugs, News published on February 8, 2022.

Kompas.com

- The Sit-in Conflict Case in Wadas Village that Resulted in Residents Being Surrounded and Arrested by the Authorities, news published on February 9, 2022.
- Wadas Residents Summoned by Bidpropam of Central Java Regional Police as Witnesses to Alleged Disciplinary Violations of Members of the Central Java Regional Police's Satbrimob, news published on March 3, 2022

Keywords: "National Strategic Projects" and "environmental impact of NSP."

Type of news: Main news (hard news) relevant to the theme of environmental emergency communication.

Number of news articles analyzed

A total of 4 articles, with a distribution of 2 articles each from Tempo.co and Kompas.com, were selected using purposive sampling. This technique allows researchers to choose news based on its relevance to the research objectives.

Data Collection

Data were collected using primary and secondary sources. Primary data included news articles from Tempo.co and Kompas.com reporting on the National Strategic Project (PSN). Articles were selected based on their relevance and analyzed for textual, visual, and narrative elements (Fairclough, 2013). Observational techniques involved reading, reflecting, and documenting patterns within the text and visuals. Secondary data from books, journals, and websites complemented the analysis by providing theoretical and contextual insights (Ratnaningtyas, 2023). Data collection adhered to Fairclough's three-dimensional method, examining text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice to uncover hidden meanings and ideological frameworks within the discourse (Dr. Haryatmoko, 2016), used as follows:

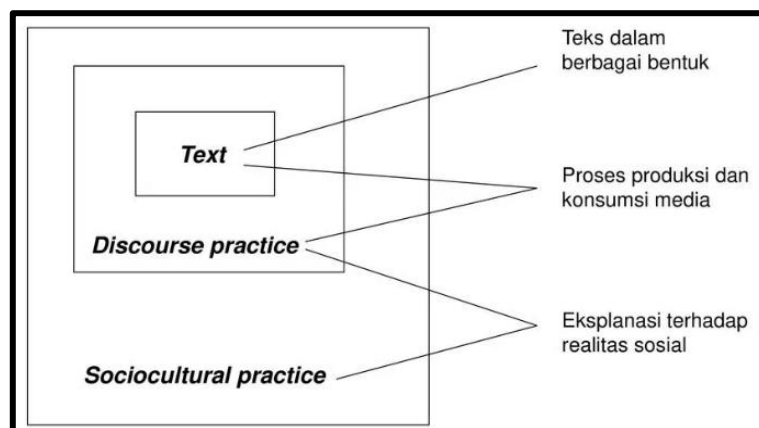


Figure 1. Norman Fairclough's Framework for Analysis

Source: Dr. Haryatmoko, 2016

- Text Practice (microstructural) aspects of the text are examined linguistically by examining the vocabulary, semantics, and syntax.
- Discursive practice (mesostructural) production and consumption of texts are components of discourse practice.
- Social Practices (macrostructural) are dimensions related to contexts outside the text.

RESULT

Here is a collection of news articles gathered from two news portals, Tempo.co and Kompas.com:

Table1. News data about Wadas

Media	Data	News Title
Tempo.co	1.	Chronology of Wadas Residents' Resistance Has Not Stopped Since 2013
	2.	Wadas Residents Rejecting Andesite Mining Arrested by Police Allegedly Increase
Kompas.com	3.	The Sit-in Conflict Case in Wadas Village that Resulted in Residents Being Surrounded and Arrested by the Authorities
	4.	Wadas Residents Summoned by Bidpropam of Central Java Regional Police as Witnesses to Alleged Disciplinary Violations of Members of the Central Java Regional Police's Satbrimob

Source: Processed by researchers, 2024

Microstructural Analysis

Based on the various linguistic tools used by these media in reporting on the Wadas National Strategic Project, there are two tools that mark the representation of a person's theme, namely through vocabulary; diction (choice of formal and non-formal vocabulary), euphemistic expressions and grammar; grammar; syntactic function and form of statement.



Figure 2. Tempo.co News About Chronology of Wadas Residents' Resistance Has Not Stopped Since 2013

Source: Tempo.co (9/2/2022)

Textual dimension in (1) Tempo.co's report regarding "Wadas Residents' Resistance Has Not Stopped Since 2013." In the report sentence, an expression of affirmation is given to the National Strategic Project (PSN) problem, characterized by a syntactic function. According to Verhaar (2010), it is a space with a specific role, categories are word forms, and roles are semantic meanings in forming elements. -These elements form the logical structure of the language(Wahyuni et al., 2019). The statement "resistance" as a syntactic function is a topicalization of discourse, which is then strengthened by the Never Stop clause. The presence of the phrase "Do not stop" as an adverbial phrase is one of the essential components where the position of the adverbial phrase can be at the front and the

back of the sentence so that we understand the context of the sentence.(Bilmona, 2018). Tempo.co wants to highlight the negative side resulting from the activities of the National Strategic Project through the sentence "Chronology of Wadas Residents' Resistance Has Not Stopped Since 2013," effectively conveying information that the wave of Wadas residents' resistance for 13 years has not stopped against the construction of the Bener dam in Wadas, Central Java.



Figure 3. Tempo.co News about Wadas Residents Opposing Andesite Mining Arrested by Police Suspected of Being Thugs
Source: Tempo.co (8/2/2022)

In news report (2), "Wadas Residents Rejecting Andesite Mining Arrested by Police Allegedly Increased" is included in the declarative sentence, usually used by the speaker or writer to make a statement so that the content is news for the listener or reader(Alwi et al. 1993:353 in Astuti, 2016). The sentence tells of an arrest incident resulting from the construction process of the Bener dam in Wadas, Central Java. The adverb "arrested" has a negative form, referring to the arrest of residents in the andesite mining area. The syntactic function of the statement Arrested by the Police is the topicalization of the discourse, which is then strengthened by the clause Suspected of Increasing. The presence of the phrase "allegedly increased" functions as an adverbial phrase that modifies the verb "arrested." It is suspected that this increase indicates that Tempo.co wants to highlight the negative side/image resulting from National Strategic Project activities. The choice of this sentence effectively conveys information that the number of Wadas residents arrested in connection with their opposition to the andesite mining project is estimated to have increased.



Figure 4. The Sit-in Conflict Case in Wadas Village that Resulted in Residents Being Surrounded and Arrested by the Authorities
Source :Kompas.com (3/2/2022)

In news report (3) "Conflict Case Sitting in Wadas Village Which Caused Residents to Be Surrounded and Arrested by Authorities," a declarative sentence is known as statement words used to make a statement or declaration. Stating a conflict in Wadas Village, this sentence is identified as the cause, which led to the citizens being surrounded and arrested by the authorities. Subject The phrase "which caused the citizens to be surrounded and arrested by the authorities" provides information about the subject. This sentence is a complex sentence consisting of two or more independent clauses joined together by a coordinating or subordinating connection (Grammarly, 2023). The two independent clauses in this case are as follows: Conflict Case Sitting in Wadas Village: "Residents were surrounded and arrested by authorities."; These two clauses are united by the subordinating conjunction "which caused," which shows the cause-and-effect relationship between the two events. Therefore, the sentence "There was a conflict case in Wadas Village which resulted in residents being surrounded and arrested by authorities" is declarative and complex. It was used to make statements about the conflict in Wadas Village and the events leading up to the arrests.



Figure 5. Wadas Residents Summoned by Bidpropam of Central Java Regional Police as Witnesses to Alleged Disciplinary Violations of Members of the Central Java Regional Police's Satbrimob

Source: Kompas.com (9/2/2022)

In the report (4) "Wadas Resident Summoned by Bidpropam Polda Jateng as Witness to Alleged Disciplinary Violation of Members of Satbrimob Polda Jateng" is a multilevel compound sentence, according to Gorys Keraf (1996) a multilevel compound sentence is a relationship of patterns that are not the same as higher components known as the main sentence and the lower part which is known as the subordinate clause (Jehane, 2021). In the context of reporting the child's

sentence "as a witness to an alleged disciplinary violation of a member of the Central Java Regional Police's Satbrimob," it explains further information about the subject of the main sentence, namely "Wadas Residents." The syntactic function of the statement "Alleged Witness" is the topicalization of discourse, which is strengthened by the Warga Wadas clause. The presence of "Wadas Residents" functions as a developer sentence to support the main sentence. Using Wadas Citizens indicates that Kompas.com wants to highlight the positive side resulting from alleged disciplinary violations by members of the Central Java Regional Police Satbrimob. The choice of this sentence effectively conveys information that Wadas residents were involved as witnesses to alleged violations of discipline by Satbrimob

members while on duty in the PSN area in Wadas, Central Java.

Mesostructural Analysis

In mesostructural dimension analysis, it focuses on how the text is formed. The process that connects the production and consumption of texts or becomes a reader's interpretation (Dr. Haryatmoko, 2016). Focuses on how narrative creation shapes discourse with the power relations that occur:

Table 2. Mesostructural Analysis

Media	Discourse Practice
Tempo.co	<p>Tempo, a pioneering digital news site in Indonesia since 1995, has provided sharp, intelligent, and balanced event coverage since 2008. Since 2008, Tempo has been reborn with a new face and quality news feed. The site aims to maintain high standards of journalism and is available on personal computers, mobile phones, BlackBerrys, iPhones, iPads, and Android tablets. Tempo has won the Silver Award "The Best Mobile Media 2011" from the Asia Digital Media Award 2011 and became world champion in the media hackathon competition organized by the Global Editors Network in Vienna, Austria.</p> <p>At Tempo.co, Indonesia's leading online news portal, generates revenue through various sources, including advertising, subscriptions, e-commerce, and collaborations. Primary sources of income include banner ads, native ads, sponsored ads, Tempo.co plus subscriptions, Tempo fashion magazine, Tempo.com shop, affiliate marketing, events and seminars, and collaborations with other parties. Advertisers pay Tempo.co based on ad views, while native ads imitate editorial content but are paid. Tempo.co also creates sponsored content like articles, videos, or infographics. Tempo also offers a paid subscription, which provides exclusive content and access to content about fashion and lifestyle. Tempo.co also organizes paid events and seminars and collaborates with various parties to generate income. Factors influencing Tempo.co's revenue include the number of visitors, content quality, and economic conditions.</p> <p>From the description above, as a medium, Tempo.co is an online media that can influence the opinion of the Indonesian public quite widely. Refers to SimilarWeb's Digital Data and insights, enabling thousands of customers, from small businesses to large international companies, through the top traffic source for Tempo.co is organic search traffic, driving 66.68% of desktop visits last month, and Direct is in second place with 26.05% traffic. The least used channel is Paid Search(Statista, 2024). Through the text production process at Tempo.co, it is not just a stand-alone series but an institutional series involving journalists, editors, editors, and the editor-in-chief. The realization of the texts made by Tempo.co in the reports "Wadas Residents' Resistance Has Not Stopped Since 2013" and "Conflict Case Sitting in Wadas Village Which Causes Residents to Be Surrounded and Arrested by Authorities" is considered to be in line with Tempo's goal of trying to apply high standards of journalism in covering events and writing about them. With a tagline Sharp, intelligent.</p>
Kompas.com	<p>Kompas.com is a pioneering online media platform in Indonesia, first launched on the internet on September 14, 1995. It provides a platform for Kompas distributors to distribute their products in various locations, enabling distributors to distribute Kompas products in various countries. As a result, Kompas Online became a business unit under PT Kompas Cyber Media (KCM) on August 6, 1998. KCM's role is to distribute Kompas products and update the development of new content. KCM's role increases internet usage in Indonesia, making it an essential part of everyday life. In 2008, Kompas.com changed its name to Kompas.com, focusing on providing distributors with quality journalism and up-to-</p>

date information. This rebranding aims to make Kompas.com a valuable resource for good journalism in Indonesia.

Kompas.com, a media company, does not directly earn money from economic activities such as advertising or sales transactions. Instead, they use economic factors as a business model, including advertising on the platform, offering premium services, sponsorship of certain content, and e-commerce platforms.

From the description above, as a medium, Kompas.com is an online media that can influence the opinion of the Indonesian people quite widely. This refers to Statista, a global data and business intelligence platform with an extensive collection of statistics, reports, and insights on more than 80,000 topics from 22,500 sources in 170 industries, presenting Kompas.com as the Leading websites in Indonesia from December 2022 to November 2023, by session length(Tempo.co Traffic Analytics, Ranking & Audience [March 2024], nd). The text production process at Kompas.com is not just an independent series but an institutional series involving journalists, newsrooms, editors, and others. The realization of the text made by Kompas.com in the reports "Wadas Residents Rejecting Andesite Mining Arrested by Police Suspected of Increasing" and "Wadas Residents Summoned by Bidpropam of Central Java Regional Police as Witnesses to Alleged Disciplinary Violations of Members of the Central Java Regional Police's Satbrimob" is considered to be in line with Kompas' aim of being present among readers as journalism which gives meaning and becomes a reference for good journalism amidst the rapid flow of information whose truth is unclear.

Source: Proceed by researcher

Macrostructural Analysis

The third dimension involves macro-level analysis. Fairclough distinguishes social practice by determining who "makes" the text and the field from which it originates. The editor's or journalist's room is not a sterile area or empty space, but is greatly influenced by factors outside the media itself (Fairclough, 2013). Sociocultural practices in the Wadas conflict, which involved residents' rejection of andesite mining, had a significant impact in four sociocultural areas: economics, politics, cultural, and ecological conditions, all of which had an impact. The following is a structured impact analysis:

Table 3. Macrostructural Analysis

Dimensions	Impact	Description
Economy	Government policies that do not side with farmers (Muryanto, 2021)	The majority of people are farmers, and if mining occurs, it will damage and disrupt the livelihoods of these residents. The Bener Dam was never intended to irrigate the agricultural sector but to provide water for the YIA airport and hotels planned in an aerotropolis.
	Loss of livelihood (IPUMY & LHKP PPM, 2022)	The area of land in Wadas Village that will be dredged for andesite mining will reach 145 hectares and potentially damage 28 water springs, damaging agricultural land.
Political	Repressive Actions by State Officials (Executive Summary of Monitoring and Investigation of Excessive Use of Force in the Land Measuring Process in Wadas Village	The Republic of Indonesia's National Human Rights Commission discovered acts of violence during the arrests by police officers on Tuesday, February 8 2022 against Wadas residents who

8 February 2022, nd)	refused to quarry. As a result of these acts of violence, several residents suffered injuries to their foreheads, knees, and calves and pain in several other parts of their bodies. However, none of the victims were treated in hospital.
Polemic regarding mining issues in the absence of a Mining Business Permit (IUP) (IPUMY & LHKP PPM, 2022)	That led to the approval of mining and the construction of reservoirs. And the role of the Governor of Central Java. The position of this national strategic project is one of issuing a Governor's Decree. One controversial decision that is one of the roots of the conflict is the Decree of the Governor of Central Java Number 590/20 of 2021 concerning Updates on Determining Locations for Land Acquisition for the Construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo. In the State's position as the leading actor in development, the involvement of Ministries such as the Ministry of PUPR and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources is motivated by the fact that the Bener dam construction project is included in the National Strategic Project (PSN) which is stipulated through Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 56 of 2018 concerning the Acceleration of Implementation of National Strategic Projects, This means that President Joko Widodo's government considers that the Bener Dam project will be a supporting factor for economic improvement, equitable development, community welfare and regional development.
Policies that violate people's rights (M. Harland Pariyatman, 2022)	residents experience unfair treatment because of the andesite mining policy in their area, which is protected as an area prone to landslides. This policy contradicts Purworejo Regency Regional Regulation Number 27 of 2011 concerning Purworejo Regency Spatial Planning for 2011-2031, which determines Wadas as not a mining area. This regional regulation reflects legal recognition of the rights of Wadas residents to live in a safe area and avoid the danger of landslides. The designation of Wadas as a mining area violates this right and shows the feeling of injustice experienced by residents. According to Axel Honneth, legal recognition means that subjects receive fair treatment. In

		this case, Wadas residents did not receive fair treatment because mining policies violated their rights. This shows that the designation of Wadas as a mining area is a policy that is legally invalid and immoral.
	Cyber Crime Movement (IPUMY & LHKP PPM, 2022)	There are structured efforts to silence critical voices and freedom of opinion from the community regarding mining in Wadas Village. This effort is carried out through digital repression, such as account hacking and event disruption, which only targets parties who oppose mining projects. This shows a malicious intent to manipulate information and silence criticism to launch the project.
Cultural	Trauma and Fear (Alleged Violence in Wadas, Komnas HAM Conveys Initial Findings, 2022)	Wadas residents experienced trauma and fear due to arrests, intimidation and criminalization of activists.
	Stigmatization (M. Harland Pariyatman, 2022)	Wadas residents are identified with rejection and resistance, potentially triggering stigmatization and discrimination.
Ecological	Andesite mining for the construction of the Bener Dam has negative impacts on the environment, among other things (Basaib, 2022):	Climate crisis: Dams can exacerbate the climate crisis by releasing methane gas from submerged and rotting vegetation.
		Damage to wetlands and beaches: Sedimentation in rivers blocked by dams can damage wetlands and disrupt agriculture.
		Extinct fish populations: Dams can disrupt the life cycle of fish and cause their populations to disappear.
		Heat and drought: Dams can cause river water to become hot and dry, damaging ecosystems and reducing water quality
		Clean water is wasted: Much of the dam water evaporates and cannot be used by the community, especially during the dry season.

Source: Procced by Researcher

DISCUSSION

The news published by Tempo.co and Kompas.com utilizes various linguistic devices to construct representations of the raised theme, namely the conflict of Wadas residents related to the national strategic project. Based on textual analysis, both media use diction choices, adverbial phrases, and complex sentence structures to shape narratives and convey specific ideologies. For example, in the Tempo.co news, the phrase "the resistance of the Wadas residents does not stop" underlines the residents' determination to reject the andesite mining project. According to (Verhaar, J.W.M., 2010) such syntactic functions can

reinforce discursive meaning through the logical structure of language. The adverbial clause "not stopping" highlights the continuity of resistance that seems as if it will never wane, giving an impression of criticism towards the government project. This aligns with (Bilmona, 2018) research, which emphasizes that sentence structure can influence readers' understanding of a particular context.

On the other hand, Kompas.com tends to use more formal and neutral diction, for example, in the news about Wadas residents being summoned as witnesses for disciplinary violations by Satbrimob. Complex sentences provide more complex information, with subordinate clauses highlighting cause-and-effect relationships. Keraf's theory states that complex sentences elaborate the main idea with additional details (Gorys Keraf, 1984). In this context, Kompas.com strives to uphold journalistic professionalism by not explicitly cornering one party.

In the mesostructural dimension, the discourse practices of both media show significant institutional influence on how texts are produced and delivered. Tempo.co presents a critical approach that aligns with its vision of being a sharp and intelligent media outlet. At the same time, Kompas.com emphasizes information balance through the journalistic values that form its foundation. (Fairclough, 2013) states that texts are only partially autonomous but somewhat influenced by the institutional structures and social forces surrounding them.

In the macro dimension, the Wadas conflict impacts the economic, political, ecological, cultural, and social dimensions. The economic impact is evident in the loss of livelihoods for residents due to the conversion of land into mining areas. This reinforces Axel Honneth's view on recognizing legal rights as the foundation of social justice, where the mining policy in Wadas disregards the residents' rights to live in a safe environment (Räber, 2023). From a political perspective, the research found state repression against citizens, including arrests and intimidation, which caused collective trauma.

Ecologically, mining andesite for the construction of the Bener Dam has the potential to exacerbate the climate crisis and damage the local ecosystem, according to (Kismunthofiah et al., 2021). This impact proves that development policies that do not consider environmental sustainability can cause long-term losses. Therefore, the results of this research emphasize the importance of a more inclusive, equitable, and sustainable approach in national strategic policy-making.

The position of local communities becomes vulnerable to matters of ownership or livelihood due to conflict situations, as explained by Ralf Dahrendorf. According to Ralf, this is often due to violence carried out by parties who aim to maintain the status quo so that residents are affected by the intensity of the conflict (Abouarjie, 2021). The government carries out projects to improve the country's economic conditions. However, between the community and the policy, decisions are not taken in favor of residents, especially those affected by the construction of the Bener Dam in Wadas village, Purworejo, Central Java. The attention due to this conflict could be one of the events due to the PSN launched by the central government, like the reporting carried out by Tempo.co and Kompas.com regarding conflicts between residents and related parties. This issue had become hot, especially in the Wadas community, after the decision to continue policies that did not contradict the general public.

The conflict is between residents who first visited the area and the national government. Residents are affected by the loss of local livelihoods and damage to the

surrounding environment. To repair the damage that has occurred, Dahrendorf believes that quasi-group transformation into an essential part of society requires social-political conditions through patterned communication, and non-structural psychological conditions (for example, internalization of role interests) can be achieved. Added to these factors (Dahrendorf, 1959; (Abouarjie, 2021)

Improvements in socio-political conditions must be made to reduce the increasing intensity of conflict. The government must consider the community's aspirations regarding the problems occurring. At one level, the commitment to consistency of means and ends reflects what Weber called a logic of action based on rationality, in which action is guided by values and not instrumental efficiency (Leach, 2013). Under the pretext of efficiency alone, the government is accelerating development, ignoring that the instruments of cultural, economic, and ecological values found in society still need to be fully accommodated. In this case, Weber argues that prefigurative strategies are based on direct action, namely implementing the desired change directly rather than asking others to make changes on one's behalf (Leach, 2013). This will create a free social space for society to transition by providing a protective space for the growth of prefigurative innovation (Törnberg, 2021).

Two ideas from both Ralf and Weber want to show that society's position is disadvantaged due to conflict. The conflict in Wadas Village is an example of how national development projects that do not pay attention to the aspirations of local communities can trigger conflict and worsen socio-political conditions. According to Ralf Dahrendorf, this conflict occurred because of an imbalance of power between communities (Abouarjie, 2021).

Structural transformation and patterned communication between society and government are needed to resolve this conflict between the national government and local communities in Wadas. The government must pay attention to the community's aspirations and accommodate the cultural, economic, and ecological values in Wadas Village. The prefigurative strategy proposed by Max Weber, in which society directly implements the desired changes, can be a solution to create a social space that is free from conflict and allows society to live and develop well.

The conflict in Wadas Village exemplifies how unsustainable development and not paying attention to community aspirations can trigger conflict and worsen socio-political conditions. Resolving this conflict requires structural transformation, patterned communication, and prefigurative strategies to create free social space and enable society to live and develop well. Its impact transcended local boundaries, sparking national debates about social justice, democracy, and natural resource management. This conflict is a reminder of the importance of dialogue, transparency, and accountability in making decisions that impact society and the environment.

CONCLUSION

The media plays an important role in reporting environmental issues and the impact of PSN on local communities. Analysis of news articles from Tempo.co and Kompas.com shows that the media uses various linguistic and syntactic tools to represent environmental issues caused by PSN. Through CDA, it is revealed that the media employs various linguistic features, including formal and informal passwords, euphemistic expressions, and grammatical structures, to convey the negative impact of PSN on the environment and local

communities. Importance considering the sociocultural context in which the media operates like Tempo.co tends to use language that positions itself against the authorities, namely the government, and defends the oppressed, namely the Wadas community, whereas Kompas.com is a media outlet that tends to use normative and balanced diction without favoring any particular side. Analysis of news articles shows that media representation of environmental issues is influenced by the sociocultural context in which they are produced. It also finds that media representation of environmental issues is shaped by the values and beliefs of the society where these issues are produced. In the subsequent research, it is hoped that it can provide further insights into the importance of providing forms of community participation in the development process that impacts their lives.

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