



## **ANALYSING THE INDONESIAN GOVERNANCE'S PERFORMANCE ON CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Climate change throughout Earth's history has continued to change in a slow process of time. Today, however, these changes are increasing faster than in previous years. Governments, in this case, the Indonesian government certainly must do anything necessary to take care environmental problems. Moreover, geographically, the territory of Indonesia is included in the area that is vulnerable to the effects of climate change. In addition, developing countries including Indonesia are considered to have higher vulnerability due to various non-physical aspects. This study will use a qualitative approach with relevant research sources, which will focus on the extent to which the Indonesian governance actors (government, private sector, and civil society) are trying to address climate change and see the dynamic between those actors. This paper highlights the failures of each actor on the efforts in addressing climate change and environmental problems. This paper finally suggests that in the end, civil society hold pivotal role to control the environmental performance of the other two actors.

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**Keywords;** Climate Change, Governance, Civil Society, Environmental Politics

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### **A. INTRODUCTION**

There is no doubt that the Earth is gradually experiencing inevitable global warming due to climate change. It is even said that global climate conditions are getting worse every day (Montesori, 2019). A big number of scientists have confirmed that the world is entering the stage of the climate crisis. Extreme climate change events are one of the causes, these circumstances bring a domino effect to other countries. But according to the results of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change report not all the impacts of climate change are felt by countries in the world, the results of the study show that developing countries are considered more vulnerable to the effects of climate change. Furthermore, although developing countries have a lower contribution to global warming, they actually get the most vulnerable position

affected (Akhtar, 2021; Ngcamu, 2023). Because developing countries do not have adequate infrastructure to respond to the effects of climate change. Even in 2030, it is predicted that \$ 75 billion a year will be needed to protect countries from the effects of climate change, and developing countries are not predicted to have that much money for it (Akhtar, 2021). Different levels of vulnerability from climate change impacts are strongly correlated with existing patterns of income inequality. However, developing countries still have to pay attention and devise strategies to address these challenges. The dynamics of inequality between developing and developed countries related to climate change is becoming a serious discussion internationally (Ngcamu, 2023). In fact, this situation gave birth to CBDR (Common but Differentiated Responsibilities) or the same but different responsibilities, the CBDR program effort is an initiation carried out by the United Nations (UN), through the Paris Agreement to help developing countries to reduce emissions and adapt to climate change.

Indonesia, one of the developing countries, is unfortunately one of the largest emitters in the world. The World Resources Institute ranked Indonesia as the fifth country with total emissions of 2,053 MtCO<sub>2</sub>e in 2011 and in 2022, ranked eighth (Sturmer et al., 2015; Syahputra, 2022). The number increased to 2,160. 64 MtCO<sub>2</sub>e in 2013 - 2019 and decreased in 2021 (Hannah, n.d.; World Research Institute, 2013). Most of the carbon emission is mostly related to the poor forest management whereas Indonesian forest is among the largest in the world (Goldenberg, 2015; Wardah, 2023). Indonesian forest decreases around 2% every year. It means there is at least 1.1 million hectares of Indonesia forest disappear due to deforestation and forest fire (WWF Indonesia, 2017). Forest fire and intended deforestation that happens every year are not only causing carbon emission gets higher and higher but also damaging the ecosystem. Furthermore, the infliction of the smoke caused by forest fire harms local human population especially in Sumatra and Kalimantan as well as the neighbouring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. All this harm is mainly because facilitating new palm plantations (ICCTF, 2016). Although many point out palm oil industries to be blamed for this mess, it is the Indonesian government that allows such industrial arrangements to perform as it does.

Despite of those circumstances, Indonesian government proclaims as one of the most committed countries to the global effort of reducing carbon emission and

creating a more sustainable environment. According to the Ministry of National Development Planning, Indonesia has put more details targets to reduce carbon emission in its national short-term action planning (RPJM) 2015-2019 (ICCTF, 2016). Furthermore, Indonesian government also declare to reduce 29 % of carbon emission by 2030. Indonesian government further states that the carbon emission could be reduced to 41% only if developed countries would support Indonesia financially and technologically (Goldenberg, 2015; KOMPAS., 2022; Reuters., 2021).

However, some problems remain regardless Indonesian government's ambitious goal. Firstly, the goal itself is considered hazy because it does not contain a lot of information and detailed action plans (ForestDeclaration, 2018; Goldenberg, 2015). Furthermore, in Indonesian forest governance, the challenges are including lack of capacity, legal system ambiguity, and corruption (Mulyani & Jepson, 2013; Talumepa, 2020). On the other hand, the large number of population in Indonesia certainly poses threat to environmental sustainability (Caritas Australia, 2017). Its increasing population could consume more natural resources. Finally, although it appears to be effective, Indonesian effort on reducing carbon emission still depend much on international fund and program such as REDD+ (The Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation Plus) (Astuti & McGregor, 2015). This dependency toward international fund will certainly pose challenge to the more sustainable action to create sustainable environment.

Thus, academic analysis of the factors contributing to the underperformance of Indonesian governance remains highly urgent, yet it has not been extensively explored. Many studies on environmental and climate change issues predominantly focus on the government, particularly in terms of policy (Astuti & McGregor, 2015; Bache et al., 2015; Goodell, 2018) and governance (Climatetrackeraction., 2021; Di Gregorio et al., 2019; Mulyani & Jepson, 2013). While some studies do address the role of the public and civil society (Carvalho et al., 2019; Sarzynski, 2015; Sudarmadi et al., 2001), only a limited number examine the involvement of the private sector (Choi et al., 2023; *Creating an Enabling Environment for Private Sector Climate Action*, 2023; World Bank Group., 2023). However, these studies often analyze each actor in isolation while addressing environmental and climate change issues necessitates the collaboration of all stakeholders (KEMITRAAN., 2021; Malihah, 2022).

Eventually, the need to answer a further question why Indonesian performance on climate change has been low remains important, especially melihat dari sisi lebih komprehensif yakni governance actors. This paper initially analyse the performance of the three governance actors (government, private sector, and civil society). It further offers two leading causes as the main arguments that will be discussed in more detail. The first cause is the economic struggle experienced by Indonesia. The discussion of financial struggle will not only be related to Indonesian government but also Indonesian citizens. The second cause is the weakness of civil society. It will be linked to the little public awareness about environmental urgency and how it weakens civil society against the government. It will be concluded by discussing how those factors make environmental politics in Indonesia quiet. Nonetheless, it is interesting to understand the context of Indonesia as the government is struggling to develop the country while at the same time face environmental challenges.

## **B. METHOD**

This study employs a systematic literature review method to critically examine environmental politics in the Indonesian context. This approach is instrumental in systematically mapping existing literature and deriving conclusions aligned with the study's objectives. The method involves several key procedures, including formulating research questions into more operational inquiries, collecting and identifying relevant publications, analyzing content and gathering evidence, interpreting findings, and drawing conclusions meticulously.

Guided by the foundational theory of governance, the study evaluates the performance of three primary governance actors in Indonesia: the government, the private sector, and civil society. It also delves into the underlying causes of ineffective environmental politics in the country. To support its analysis, the study relies on literature research to gather relevant sources, including academic journals, news articles, and government reports. These materials are critically analyzed, synthesized, and presented as part of a comprehensive scholarly discussion in this article.

## C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Indonesian Government's Performance on Climate Change

With regard to environmental considerations, governments should normatively prioritize maintaining a balance in development initiatives. Consequently, sustainable economic development must adopt a holistic approach, ensuring its implementation is comprehensive across regions, sectors, and generations (Malihah, 2022). In fulfilling their commitments, governments are expected to adhere to the general principles of good governance, including the principle of accuracy, which requires careful and thorough consideration of various factors during the decision-making process (Lianti & Utami, 2023). Furthermore, governments must actively engage with and incorporate feedback from relevant stakeholders, particularly when evaluating the legal implications of decisions related to environmental issues (Lianti & Utami, 2023).

However, Indonesia as a developing country is ranked in the top three countries in the world in climate change risk (World Bank Group & Asian Development Bank, 2021). This is as a result of the geographical area of Indonesia located between two continents and oceans with more than 17,000 islands. Natural events such as extreme weather, heat waves, floods, and droughts certainly threaten Indonesia. This is exacerbated by increasingly uncontrolled greenhouse gas conditions. The National Disaster Management Agency said Indonesia experienced forest fires with an impact of 942,484 hectares. Indonesia also experienced 3,350 natural disasters that occurred in 2022 (Pangesti, 2022). Peatland fires are increasing every year causing conditions to get worse, these fires cause increased carbon emissions released by the territory of Indonesia (Change, 2007).

With that in mind, the government should have taken action against it. There are indeed two main roles as suggested by Goodell (2018). First, governments must take a role to reduce emissions that are clearly linked to the fact that climate change occurs due to the accumulation of carbon in the atmosphere. This can be realized by encouraging a rapid transition to sustainable energies such as solar, water and wind. Second, governments should support adaptation by carefully looking at climate impacts such as summer extremes and wildfires and implementing a range of countermeasures arrangements. So far, the Indonesian government, indeed, is targeting a medium-term sector-level collective policy to reduce emissions by 2%

(WIT, n.d.). This step is supported by the preparation of an action plan by funding using a multi-sector coordination scheme. Even now the Indonesian government has entered the stage of studying the National Action Plan-climate change adaptation (RAN-API). This policy makes Indonesia get a fairly high assessment of climate governance related to the governance structure. However, the Indonesian government has not played a good role. (Climatetrackeraction., 2021) study gave a red score to the Indonesian government. They considered that the government was bad in terms of political commitment and accountability in policy implementation. They further said that coordination with each other between government agencies was inconsistent, adding that the government was working to increase industrial production of palm oil and coal expansion. Greenpeace also added that in the period 2011-2019 the Indonesian government conducted (Times & Dewi, 2021). Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI) has the same opinion about the government, they assess that the policy decisions taken by the government have actually threatened environmental sustainability over the past two years (Davina, 2021). From the discussion, it is indicated that the Indonesian government is actually not ready to go further as a country with net zero emissions.

Eventually, The Indonesian government should have carried out the stages of policy adaptation, such as carrying out evacuation plans to overcome disasters due to climate change. Moreover, looking at the condition of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide that are increasingly out of control that they have an impact on atmospheric pollution which is at risk of accelerating climate change (Pratama, 2019).

Specifically regarding to greenhouse gas, some practical effort can actually be taken by the Indonesian government such as maximizing the carbon tax Program by requiring the largest greenhouse gas producers to pay for the consequences of what they do through the attachment of costs on emissions (Putri, 2022). Therefore, the government can be expected to be able to use the income from the carbon tax to pay for the implementation of a more productive policies and programs such as social programs, increasing clean energy investment and reducing public taxes.

## The Contributive Role of The Private Sector in The Environment

The private sector certainly has a significant role in addressing climate change. Such as through investment in low-emission technology, development of technological innovation, and strengthening climate resilience in its investment and operational activities (World Bank Group., 2023). The involvement of the private sector can provide benefits for themselves, such as improving their profile image as an environmentally friendly business, and most importantly, developing a better business model to face future climate challenges (NDA, 2021). Under certain conditions, private sector participation in climate adaptation efforts can play a significant role in closing the funding gap and increasing the resilience of communities vulnerable to the negative impacts of climate change (Choi et al., 2023).

Furthermore, in the context of environmental development, the government cannot completely do on their own, the private sector can be an important reference to contribute. The involvement of the private sector will provide more value in supporting the government's development mission which also tries to increase state revenue and reduce poverty in Indonesia, their presence contributes 60 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) (Hadad, 2020). The positive impact of the private sector must be maintained, for economic growth and other areas. This is according to his theory Adam Smith who said that economic growth will occur depending on the level of investment, the higher the investment will be the higher the level of economic growth (Hafriandi & Gunawan, 2018). Therefore, every country is competing to create convenience for the private sector, in fact, most of them are given convenience and legal protection both directly and indirectly.

However, that the government provide over protection for the industry would have a negative impact. Hoffmann et al. (2020) mention that economic growth that is widely driven by the private sector will increase environmental degradation through the process of high use of Natural Resources. Whereas they should also have a great responsibility to maintain the sustainability of the environment, in line with the opinion (Choiriah et al., 2018). The government of Indonesia has a big role to manage this problem, by monitoring and engaging the private sector to maintain the environment



in running its business in accordance with Regulation Number 11 of 2020 on job creation<sup>1</sup>.

The ease of investing too much will become a new problem for the government, such as the issue of environmental sustainability and climate change, because basically the main goal of the private sector to invest is to achieve the greatest possible profit. Related to the performance of the private sector in the environment, several studies show that the private sector is a major threat to the sustainability of the environment. For example, PT. KA, PT. SPS II, PT.NSP, PT RKK, and PT. WAJ is responsible for land fires resulting in pollution and environmental damage (Naldo & Purba, 2018). This is reinforced by the report (Fitria, 2022) which shows that 40 companies consisting of 13 oil palm companies and 27 industrial plantation forest companies spread across the provinces of Riau, Jambi, North Sumatra, Central Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, and Papua, committed gross violations of the law such as forest destruction, confiscation of customary forest land, and several corporations whose operating licenses (Fitria, 2022). In the research of Choiriah et al. (2018) shows that manufacturing companies only enter environmental information in the season is still not satisfactory, the data provided is only 38%. So far, the presence of the private sector has not been able to help the government in the context of environmental development.

Indeed, the success of economic development is inseparable from the existence of other supporting factors, one of which is the private sector. The private sector has an important role here because the preparation of economic development plans will always pay attention to the capital to succeed in the development. In achieving economic growth, large financing is a pivotal necessity, therefore it is not possible for the government to finance and implement it independently. Therefore, each country is competing to create a supportive and comfortable economic environment for the private sector. In fact, most countries provide conveniences and legal protection either directly or indirectly. However, the activities of investors from the private sector must still be closely monitored, because basically, the main purpose of the private sector is profit which makes them have the opportunity to ignore many other fields, in order to achieve high profits (Dona, 2022).



The private sector is indeed needed in assisting the national economic growth in Indonesia, but without good supervision from the government of course this will provide bad news for the sustainability of the environment and climate change. Rapid economic growth, with industry as its backbone almost always results in a decline in the environmental quality. Because it is difficult to make this industry and the environment go hand in hand, let alone the private industrial sector, which makes profit the main goal (Afia Hidayat, 2018). Whereas every corporation has an obligation to maintain environmental sustainability by participating in preventing it. The dilemma faced by the government, on the other hand, is not an easy thing. The government has to provide economic growth which is in need of the private sector but also has responsibility to protect environment. Thus, without good supervisory, Private sector performance will also have a bad impact. The government should make sure that the private sector is responsible for the environmental degradation they created. To this extent, the responsibility of manufacturing companies to include environmental information in their annuals has not been satisfactory as it is only 38% (Choiriah et al., 2018). Therefore, the government as a regulator has an obligation to properly supervise companies to improve their compliance with applicable regulations, in order to achieve the government's goal to participate in the handling of global climate change, in accordance with the 2015 Paris Agreement.

In shorts, the private sector is basically still far from expectations. They do not seem to have a focus on environmental sustainability. The nature of private sectors is still focused on the economic context only. Governments with these conditions cannot fully rely on them for Sustainable Development. Instead, Indonesia government should supervise them and further incorporate and collaborate with them in the efforts of making the economic growth more sustainable.

#### Economic Struggle Impedes Indonesian Effort on Climate Change

Indonesia, despite the fact that it is a member of G20 which means one of those who has big economic growth in the world, still has economic problems. Indonesia's growth rate is indeed scale up slightly. Its economic growth last year mark at the rate 5%, 0.1% higher than the previous year. It is forecasted that it will continue grow to 5.3 in 2018 (Asian Development Bank, 2017a). It means that economic condition of Indonesia is getting better over years. However, this growth rate does not cover the

fact that Indonesia is still economically struggling. The growth indeed shows promising economic condition, but on the other hand, the gap between the rich and the poor is still high. Indonesia is still struggling against poverty especially in remote areas. Around 10.9% of population in Indonesia live below the poverty line (Asian Development Bank, 2017b). Furthermore, development is not yet spread equally among regions. Eastern areas of Indonesia and many other remote areas from its capital cities are much less developed than Java areas. Those regions mostly lack not only economic infrastructures but also basic facilities such as schools, health services, etc.

Therefore, for around two decades, Indonesian government has always been focusing on national development. This means that many national resources are allocated to raise economic growth and at the same time alleviate poverty. Development of eastern regions and many remote areas of Indonesia has always been challenged as well. Therefore, for Indonesia, it is necessary to keep a good rate of growth to engage more investment so that it can provide more jobs for its huge number of population and more infrastructure developments for the less developed regions. In fact, the main agenda of Jokowi's government is infrastructure development (Negara, 2016).

Unfortunately, Indonesian pursuit on development has environmental consequences. Firstly, in order to get more foreign investment on the country, the government should loosen up some restrictions including environmental restrictions. This will allow corporations that work on natural resources get an easy passage. Recent case of Kendeng, Central Java shows that factory development persists because it is allowed by the government regardless the fact that it has already caused environmental problems. The farmers, supported by the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI) and National Commission of Human Rights, stepped up against the factory and governments' decision. However, there has been no change in government decision on the cement factory (Sapiie, 2017).

This loosen down regulation against corporation is worsened by the practice of corruption in Indonesia. Informal agreements are made to smoothen permission on natural exploitation. Particularly in forestry, many official at local level up to national level gives land rights to corporations making it more vulnerable to deforestation

(Sundstrom et al., 2016). It often happens especially during election so that politicians can raise enough money to win the election (Mathiesen, 2016). Therefore, it appears that deforestation is not only conducted legally based on the need of national development, but also illegally by corruption.

Another consequence of irresponsible economic development on environment is over exploitation on natural resources. As mentioned before, Indonesian contribution on carbon emission is mostly from deforestation. Deforestation seems to be inevitable, creating more environmental problems such as soil erosion, water and air pollution (Obidzinski et al., 2012; Wardah, 2023). That is because palm plantations are perceived by Indonesian government as beneficial. It improves local economy by creating more jobs with better salaries as well as local and national income (Obidzinski et al., 2014; Wardah, 2023). Therefore, it is unlikely for Indonesia to stop deforestation for palm plantation because it is perceived to contribute a lot to economic development.

Over-focusing on economic development also has resulted on dependency of Indonesian government on foreign aid to deal with environmental issues. This is because most of the national budget is surely spent on national development (Negara, 2016). Fortunately, Indonesia has its forests to gain more fund from developed countries which already lost their forests for industrialization. It is indeed essential that the burden of global warming efforts needs to be shared. Developed countries needs to provide necessary fund to support developing countries' efforts on sustainable development. Indonesia especially after Paris agreement has all justification to demand more fund from developed countries to support its environmental programs, especially to stop deforestation.

However, this dependency on foreign fund surely creates more problems. Firstly, Indonesia efforts for sustainable environment itself is not sustainable. That is because most of environmental budget is from voluntary foreign aid or foreign loan. Therefore, when there is no longer foreign aid, the effort's sustainability is in question. Secondly, Indonesian efforts on environmental are adjusted to comply and satisfy the donor. Therefore, Indonesia put more focus on forestry and seems to neglect other important efforts on climate change such as renewable energy, industrial emission, recycle, etc.

In shorts, Low economic development has impacted on low performance of Indonesia on climate change. Several adjustments have to be made to allow more infestation coming to Indonesia. Unfortunately, environment sustainability is also sacrificed by over exploitation on natural resources. Therefore, Indonesia depends on foreign aid to solve environmental problems. However, this dependency blurs its commitment and sustainable efforts for more sustainable environment from different aspects such as renewable energy, recycle, and sustainable production of corporations.

### Civil Society and Public Awareness on Environmental Issues

Normatively, civil society is expected to play an active role in policymaking processes, including those related to environmental and climate change issues. This involvement is a fundamental aspect of democracy, which mandates the distribution of power within the political system (Antlöv et al., 2010; Barnes et al., 2017; Clarkson & Pye, 1966; Fung & Wright, 2001). Civil society also holds a pivotal position in promoting and upholding good governance (Antlöv et al., 2010; Climatetrackeraction., 2021; Fung & Wright, 2001). Therefore, it is imperative for civil society, in its various forms, to remain well-informed and aware of environmental and climate change issues (Herfana & Rijal, 2022; Mustangin, 2017). Without this awareness, civil society's ability to fulfill its critical oversight role in the policy process would be significantly diminished (Herfana & Rijal, 2022).

The strategic position of Indonesian 'public' in environmental issues is often related to the huge number of the population. Currently, the number population in Indonesia is around 270 million people. That number is surely indulging as the marketing targets for any corporation. That huge number therefore will create massive consumption that threaten environmental sustainability. Furthermore, with current economic condition, many Indonesian citizens will surely choose cheaper products to sustain their daily necessities which its production ignore sustainable standards (Sudarmadi et al., 2001).

Eventually, the core of climate change is human being themselves. Global warming is a fairly complex problem, regardless of mitigation measures taken by the current government, climate change is expected to occur, and will continue into the

future. Therefore, more active actions from human beings themselves are crucial to tackle environmental problems. In realizing zero carbon emissions, for example, Civil society certainly has a big role to play. The steps taken can be from the smallest thing, a contributor to global warming which can be part of people's daily activities must be considered, one of which is reducing the use of earth's fossil-based energy and protecting forests and recycling waste ("The Role of Society in Energy Transitions," 2016). On a small scale, the community can participate to reduce the causes of climate change, such as reducing the use of private vehicles, reducing the use of cleaning materials that threaten the environment, saving energy and encouraging humans to Green the surrounding environment and recycle waste and utilize new renewable energy (Risnawati & Handayani, 2021; Triana, 2008).

Civil society as the representative of public has also been acknowledged as an important actor in politics and policy making. It has influential roles especially in democratic countries like Indonesia such as monitoring and advocating role. Many NGOs' activities are indeed closely related to broader public. Grassroot activities such as 'garbage bank' or recycle bank are indeed doing well. However, that kind of program works in a very few communities managed by few NGOs. The recycle bank has not been implemented more broadly involving greater number of Indonesian populations. On the public's perspective, their engagement in recycle bank is driven by economic motives because it add a little income to the family (Ayuningtyas & Endi, 2016).

Unfortunately, Indonesian civil society's performance in environmental policy appears to be low. There are indeed various efforts and activities performed by some NGOs. Those advocating NGOs has contributed to strengthening global efforts on reducing carbon emission especially due to deforestation in Indonesia. However, not many of them has the capacity and program to take part in environmental policy making through advocating. On the other hand, not all environmental issues are effectively advocated. Certain issues that catch government's attention are those which are related to government's concerns and program such as forest- related issues and environmental disasters.

Other issues that can effectively bring attention to the government is those with broader public involvement. They are effective when public are against natural

exploitation that directly affect their daily lives. It is evident in the case of public resistance against cement factory development in Kendeng (Sapiie, 2017). Because many societies are involved against it, NGO's advocating become meaningful. this demonstrate that when broader public is affected and civil society rise against over exploitation, then the issue catches the attention of media and therefore politicians and policymakers. This situation poses opportunities to challenge government to issue new policy or to revoke the existing policy endangering environment. Therefore, in Indonesia, when public is conscious about the environmental danger they face, they can rise and form significant political power against government.

Unfortunately, public is not yet fully conscious of the importance of their contribution to the environment sustainability. Although educated group of citizens have better perception and more aware of domestic and international environmental issues, they do not develop proper environmental actions and ethics (Islamiyah et al., 2022; Sudarmadi et al., 2001). More and more people have private fossil-fueled vehicles and not many people have recycling habit. In fact, waste management has always been a problem to many Indonesian regions, especially the capital city, Jakarta. Public awareness on waste management and the importance of recycling is still low. Public was even against taxed plastic bag to reduce plastic bag usage. Again, the public rejection is based on their economic struggle. The lack of public environmental behavior shows that public awareness on environmental issues in Indonesia is still low.

The lack of public environmental behavior is also correlated to minimum facilities provided by the state. The use of private vehicle keeps rising because the public transportation is still not appealing from various aspects such as time consuming, availability, comfortability, and even security (Van Mead, 2016). Recycling behavior is not popular because there is no waste selection facility. Less government facility on waste management leads to improper waste management by community such as throwing out in the same dump field, river, or sea, or burning it out without any recycling process (Islamiyah et al., 2022; Meidiana & Gamse, 2010). On the other hand, NGOs' efforts on raising public awareness appear to be ceremonial when few environmental activists are gathered for campaign on earth day. The efforts of civil society to raise awareness such as earth day campaign and ceremony are not yet fully

successful. Environmental actions and behavior of Indonesian citizens is still less developed (Risnawati & Handayani, 2021; Sudarmadi et al., 2001).

The fact that public awareness on environment is low in Indonesia has resulted some disadvantages. Civil society which representation of public become weak as well. Environmental NGOs are not popular among societies. This has resulted on low political interest on environment especially issues that are not closely related to public's daily lives. Therefore, government's position that is continuously allowing deforestation will never be challenged domestically. Government will always be able to justify their action toward natural resources as necessary to improve growth and raise public welfare. Therefore, the role of civil society is crucial in Indonesian environmental politics and so far, it is achieved only if the issue affect public directly.

### The Dormant Environmental Politics in Indonesia

Environmental politics in Indonesia probably is not as dynamic as other countries. There have been not many political issues regarding environment. Commotions in Indonesian politics is rarely about environment. Political aspirations are hardly about environmental sustainability (Hoffmann et al., 2020). Media coverage about climate change is rare as well (Aranditio, 2024; Muslikhin & Prawira, 2023). As discussed before, media will put more when it comes to the suffering of people that is directly influenced by corporate exploitation on natural resources such as in kendeng (Sapiie, 2017) or in Karimunjawa (Saturi, 2023).

This is when two major factors can explain these circumstances. Both the government and public are struggle economically. Therefore, Indonesian government will not likely focus on national development (Lianti & Utami, 2023) while public will likely act against policy that put more burden on their financial situation. Furthermore, as mentioned before, public aspiration is hardly about climate change due to low public awareness (Sudarmadi et al., 2001). Therefore, government's policy that is related to environment will never be challenged domestically.

However, Indonesia's good intention and commitment on climate change efforts (KEMITRAAN., 2021; Malihah, 2022) should also be appreciated. Furthermore, Indonesia has been progressing toward more sustainable environment (ICCTF, 2016). This progress is also due to involvement of international actors such as UN, World



Bank, international NGOs, that contributes on the implementation of Indonesian commitments. Although, most of advocacy of international actors is related to forestry, the biggest carbon emitter in Indonesia. Therefore, if international actors join forces with fully aware local civil society, there will be significant change on environmental politics in Indonesia.

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

Indonesia is strategically positioned to contribute to addressing global climate change. The Indonesian government has agreed to the 2015 Paris Agreement and has moved to realize the reduction of carbon emissions, but in fact, Indonesia is a developing country that is still trying to eradicate poverty as a priority. The dynamics between the role of government and the condition of civil society and the private sector that is still not controlled make climate change campaigns in this country still a question. In the future, the Indonesian government should fix these shortcomings, of course, the role of civil society and the private sector is needed to achieve better conditions.

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