

Green Politics and Parties: Strategies for internalising Green Politics in Indonesia

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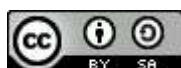
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Abstract

This study aims to put forward the idea of a strategy for internalising Green Politics in Indonesia by looking at good practices in other countries such as the practice of green party campaigns in Australia and the presence of Green Parties in Germany. This study uses Qualitative research. This method was chosen to analyse and deeply explore important issues related to Green Politic in this study. This study concludes that there are 2 (two) efforts to internalise Green Politic in Indonesia, namely First, by initiating an environment-based social movement into political parties in Indonesia such as the practice carried out by the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) by looking at the good practices of the Green campaign in Australia and the second is the idea of internalising Green Politic through the formation of Green Parties in Indonesia such as the practice of green parties in Germany with the hope that these two efforts can make changes, especially in efforts to do justice in the environmental field through the process of formulating policies that are in favour of environmental issues in Indonesia.

KEYWORDS *Politic, Green Party, Strategy, Internalising, Indonesia*



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I. Introduction

In the 1960s, Green Politics, advocating the concept of the green movement, began to emerge in Western Europe. This movement encompassed concerns about air and water pollution, hazardous substances, and the scarcity of natural resources. Since then, the presence of this political ideology has played a role in the formation of Green Parties in Europe. *Green Politics* also arose due to the dissatisfaction of citizens with established political parties in both government and opposition, which were seen as formulating environmentally damaging policies. This discontented community engaged in various actions, ranging from demonstrations to the establishment of Green Political Parties.¹ Long before that, the environmental issue originated from the thoughts of Thomas Malthus in the years 1766-1834. Malthus predicted a population explosion where the human population would increase geometrically while food production would increase arithmetically, leading to conflicts.²

This issue later became significant and garnered attention across the globe in the 20th and 21st centuries.³ One contributing factor was a scientific report in 1972 titled "Limits to Growth" by Meadows et al., which portrayed a grim outlook. The report predicted that if the management of resources, food production, industrial output, pollution, and human population were not carefully considered, the Earth would not be able to sustain rapid population growth and economic expansion in the next 100 years as it would reach its limits.⁴ This report marked a milestone, initiating radical green politics and influencing various perspectives.⁵ The

¹ Amalia Salabi, "Partai Hijau dan Politik Alternatif yang Bertenaga," <https://rumahpemilu.org/>, 2021.

² (Jerald in Ishiyama & Breuning, 2013)

³ Shridath S Ramphal, *Our country, the planet: forging a partnership for survival* (Washington: Island Press, 1992).

⁴ (Meadows in Carter, 2018)

⁵ R.A. Eble dan W.R. Eble, *Encyclopedia of the environment* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994).

issue is also intertwined with other challenges, such as economic, social, political, and even global political concerns.⁶ Elizabeth Fisher and Sanja Bogojevic's study also shows that some European countries' environmental policies are controlled by populist groups, which can threaten the development of environmental law.⁷

Environmental degradation in various countries generally arises from flawed thinking, particularly among leaders who prioritize industrial progress as a sign of a nation's success. Often, environmental concerns are sidelined in pursuit of economic growth, driven by capitalist and neoliberal ideologies.⁸ Even in the US defence issue, climate change is cited as one of the biggest threats to countries in the world.⁹

In Indonesia, environmental issues and its natural resources are closely linked to allocation and exploration practices, with a significant portion of existing resources suffering damage due to massive and irresponsible exploitation. This is in line with Suwardi Sagama's research related to the environment where it is said that the problem of environmental damage is increasingly massive in Indonesia and has the potential to endanger including future generations.¹⁰

According to Greenpeace, in Papua, Indonesia, deforestation is currently in a concerning state due to the transformation of forests into oil palm plantations.¹¹ Researchers from the Pusaka Rasen Malinda

⁶ Joseph E Stiglitz, *Making globalization work: the next steps to global justice* (England: WW Norton & Company, 2016).

⁷ S Bogojevic, "The Erosion of the Rule of Law: How Populism Threatens Environmental Protection," *Journal of Environmental Law* 31 (2019): 389–393.

⁸ Yeni Sri Lestari, "Environmentalism dan green politics: pembahasan Teoretis," *Community: Pengawas Dinamika Sosial* 2, No. 2 (2018).

⁹ Irhash Ahmady, Ari Ganjar Herdiansah, dan Husin Al-Banjari, "Gerakan Lingkungan Dan Partai Politik: Studi Tentang Perjuangan Walhi Dalam Pembentukan Partai Hijau Indonesia," *PARAPOLITIKA: Journal of Politics and Democracy Studies* 3, no. 1 (15 Februari 2022): 36–51, <https://doi.org/10.33822/JPDS.V3I1.5959>.

¹⁰ Suwardi Sagama, "Analisis Konsep Keadilan, Kepastian Hukum dan Kemanfaatan dalam Pengelolaan Lingkungan," *Mazahib* 15, no. 1 (15 Desember 2016): 20–41, <https://doi.org/10.21093/MJ.V15I1.590>.

¹¹ Greenpeace Indonesia, "Greenpeace Mendesak Pemerintah Evaluasi Deforestasi Terencana di Tanah Papua," <https://www.greenpeace.org/>, 2021.

Foundation echo similar sentiments, stating that satellite image data analysis from March to May 2020 predicts that approximately 1,488 hectares of forest have experienced deforestation in Central Kalimantan and Papua. Most of this deforestation has occurred in oil palm plantation areas in Papua, specifically in Merauke, Manokwari, Teluk Bintani, and Boven Digoell.¹² This situation is exacerbated by the fact that Indonesia is the world's largest archipelagic state, with 120.5 million hectares or 63 percent of its total land area designated as State Forest Areas.¹³

Based on data from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), sourced from the Global Forest Resources Assessment, Indonesia ranks second globally after Brazil concerning the issue of forest loss. Recent data from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry of Indonesia (KLHK) further elucidates that from 2010 to 2015 alone, Indonesia has been losing 684,000 hectares annually.¹⁴ The Agrarian Renewal Consortium (KPA) in Indonesia also presents data indicating that in the year 2021, there were 207 agrarian conflicts covering an area of 500,062 hectares occurring in 507 villages/cities, impacting 198,895 households (HH).¹⁵ A similar situation is observed concerning the issue of injustice in the management of natural resources in Indonesia.

The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) of Indonesia issued a Synthesis Note in 2018, revealing injustice in the management of natural resources in the forestry sector. Large companies control 40,463,103 hectares of forests, while communities only manage an area of 1,748,931 hectares, especially in plantations such as oil palm, where almost 2.5 million hectares are dominated by 10 large companies, with only 2.1 million hectares designated as communal plantations.

¹² Pradipta Pandu, "Deforestasi dan Pelanggaran HAM Masih Terjadi di Papua dan Kalimantan Tengah," <https://www.kompas.id/>, 2021.

¹³ (Nurofiq et.al., 2022)

¹⁴ Hendra Cipto, "Setiap Tahun, Hutan Indonesia Hilang 684.000 Hektar," [Kompas.com](https://www.kompas.com), 2016.

¹⁵ Herman WBP, "KPA Catat 207 Konflik Agraria Sepanjang 2021," <https://www.beritasatu.com/>, 2022.

This has the potential to exert pressure on the conversion of land used for community production, resulting in the loss of agricultural land of around 535 hectares every day.¹⁶ Despite Indonesia setting targets in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 18 of 2020 concerning the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) for 2020-2024, these achievements, including Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the ecological and climate change domains, are yet to be fully realized. As an important principle in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), development that is oriented towards the present while also taking into account future needs that do not exceed the capabilities of ecosystems and ensure the quality of human life.¹⁷

In Chapter VII of the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN), several achievement targets were outlined, such as strengthening law enforcement in the field of environment and natural resources in 2019. However, the actual achievement of these targets was only 30%, prompting efforts to increase it to 70% by 2024.¹⁸ Other commitments set as Indonesia's targets for 2025 include those related to national renewable energy, aiming for 23% (compared to the 2019 target of 8.55%).¹⁹ Additionally, the restoration of degraded peatland is a target, with the goal of restoring 330,000 hectares annually, to be increased nationally to 420,000 hectares per year, as opposed to the 2019 coverage of only 206,000 hectares.

Nevertheless, considering the factual environmental challenges, it is imperative for Indonesia to achieve the set environmental targets. One

¹⁶ (Sumardjono et al., 2018)

¹⁷ Irene Mariane, "The Legal Philosophy Of Environmental Management Based On Pancasila Justice," *Jurnal Pembaharuan Hukum* 11, no. 2 (26 Juni 2024): 346-58, <https://doi.org/10.26532/JPH.V11I2.38699>.

¹⁸ Alboin Samosir, "Pembangunan Berkelanjutan dan Minusnya Narasi Politik Hijau di Indonesia," <https://www.aman.or.id/>, 2022.

¹⁹ Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral Republik Indonesia, "Menteri ESDM : Perlu Upaya Konkrit dan Terencana Capai Target Bauran 23% Di Tahun 2025," <https://www.esdm.go.id/>, 2021.

contributing factor is the current political atmosphere, which still leans towards the exploitation and exploration of various potential natural resources in Indonesia. Seeing various wrong practices and environmental problems, of course, has denied the mandate of the Indonesian constitution, especially in the provisions of article 33 paragraph 3 which places control of natural resources in the State so that the State can regulate in order to provide justice for the community. This is certainly justified, because the environment should be positioned as a subject and must be managed properly for the sustainability of life, not just utilised for development.²⁰

This study is based on various issues related to the environment that have not shown the side of justice, because environmental issues are also a problem that is said to be endless, because it has been clearly seen in front of us.²¹ As research by Tyas Vika Widyastuti related to Ecological-based Environmental Justice which states that environmental management in Indonesia has not been maximised plus regulations that do not favour the community such as the birth of the Job Creation Law.²²

According to OK. Sadikin, the current development in Indonesia is based on a liberal and capitalist model of natural resource management, often neglecting the welfare of the community and leading to societal imbalances and the erosion of Indonesia's noble values. Presently, human life principles are considered to be more pragmatic, materialistic, secular, and hedonistic, giving rise to exploitative behavior and attitudes towards

²⁰ Muhammad Ali Ausath, "Upaya Penerapan Ekosida Sebagai Kejahatan Luar Biasa Di Indonesia," *LITRA: Jurnal Hukum Lingkungan, Tata Ruang, dan Agraria* 2, no. 1 (31 Oktober 2022): 115–28, <https://doi.org/10.23920/LITRA.V2I1.1091>.

²¹ Febrian Chandra, "Peran Masyarakat Hukum Adat Dalam Mewujudkan Pelestarian Lingkungan Hidup," *Ekopendia*, 26 Oktober 2020, https://www.academia.edu/103095783/Peran_Masyarakat_Hukum_Adat_Dalam_Mewujudkan_Pelestarian_Lingkungan_Hidup.

²² Tiyas Vika Widyastuti, "The Model Of Environmental Regulation Based On An Ecological Justice," *Jurnal Pembaharuan Hukum* 10, no. 1 (22 April 2023): 180–88, <https://doi.org/10.26532/JPH.V10I1.30543>.

nature.²³ As a developing country, the development paradigm in Indonesia is said to desire freedom in utilizing the available natural resources, and under this assumption, Indonesia,²⁴ and other developing nations believe they can undertake any effort as long as it aligns with policies that are considered part of the right to development).²⁵ This study also initiates a strategy of change for more equitable environmental issues, because if you look at various environmental problems and environmental management that has not been effective, there is the potential for greater damage and exploitation of the environment and encourages injustice both for the environment as a place to protect all living entities and of course humans.²⁶

This is supported by data from the Environmental Risk Outlook 2021 which states that public awareness of environmental issues in Indonesia is still very low at only 33%. This then also results in elites and political parties tending not to make environmental issues a political agenda.²⁷ One of the factors influencing environmentally sustainable development in Indonesia is the lack of narrative and mission regarding green politics brought forth by each political party. This is in line with the main idea of green politics, which places ecocentrism over anthropocentrism.²⁸ As Joe Kovel explains, the concept of Green Politics is a fundamental development process that starts at the basic stage of transforming local political structures, which then leads to the

²³ Ilham Dwi Rafiqi, "Pembaruan Politik Hukum Pembentukan Perundang-Undangan Di Bidang Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam Perspektif Hukum Progresif," *Jurnal Bina Hukum Lingkungan* 5, Nomor. 2 (2021): 319–39, doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.24970/bhl.v5i2.page.163>.

²⁴ Moh Fadli dan Mustafa Lutfi, *Hukum dan Kebijakan lingkungan* (Malang: Universitas Brawijaya Press, 2016).

²⁵ (Juwana dalam Rajagukguk & Khairandy, 2000)

²⁶ Dyah Apriani Atika Sari et.al "Politik and International Environmental Law in Global Perspective" *Pandecta Research Law Journal* 19, No. 2 (2024): 649-685, <https://doi.org/10.15294/pandecta.vol19i2.3115>.

²⁷ Verisk Maplecroft, "Environmental Risk Outlook 2021," *Maplecroft.com*, 2020.

²⁸ Yusran Yusran dan Afri Asnelly, "Kajian Green Politics Theory Dalam Upaya Menangani Krisis Ekologi Laut Indonesia Terkait Aktifitas Illegal Fishing," *Indonesian Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 2 (2017): 35–53.

strengthening of social blocs and political parties affiliated with local movements.²⁹

So far, it is a fact in Indonesia that the resolution of environmental damage, agrarian conflicts, and evictions is generally done through compensation. However, this approach not only fails to address environmental damage and its impacts, but is also often not actually realised. According to data from Greenpeace Indonesia, during President Joko Widodo's administration, civil lawsuits were won against 11 companies that were required to pay compensation for environmental damage and fires totalling more than Rp18 trillion. Although President Jokowi stated that the process is still ongoing, Greenpeace said that these companies have not paid the stipulated compensation. This situation is also related to political economy dynamics or the existence of oligarchs, which ultimately hinders effective law enforcement efforts. Seeing the various problems of environmental damage and its impacts in Indonesia should provide a strong foundation for transforming the environmental movement into a platform for political parties. This is similar to how the issue of closing nuclear reactors and the Stuttgart 21 project was utilised by Die Grünen in Germany, or the issue of climate change by GPEW in the UK. However, the facts on the ground show otherwise that the environmental movement in Indonesia is still limited to community organisations and has not been able to develop into the identity or platform of political parties participating in the elections. In addition, environmental narratives or green politics in the form of political party platforms in Indonesia have so far received minimal attention.³⁰

As a country that adheres to the principles of representative democracy, the central role in effecting change lies in the hands of political

²⁹ Yusran Yusran dan Afri Asnelly, "Kajian Green Politics Theory Dalam Upaya Menangani Krisis Ekologi Laut Indonesia Terkait Aktifitas Illegal Fishing," *Indonesian Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 2 (2017): 35–53.

³⁰ Luthfi Hasanah Bolqiah dan Riaty Raffudin, "Dominasi Oligarki dan Ketidakhadiran Partai Politik Hijau di Indonesia," *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 19, no. 2 (2020): 151–67.

parties. Political parties serve as the primary instruments in formulating government policies. Moreover, they function as a means to carry out the functions of democracy and realize substantive democracy.³¹ Political parties are considered a necessity, playing a role in political participation and public political socialization.³² Therefore, it is crucial to incorporate the narrative of green politics as an ethical framework and set of rules in the direction and policies of political parties in Indonesia. This ensures that environmental issues are voiced by political parties.

The absence of green political narratives in the form of formal representation does not automatically mean that environmental considerations are ignored in decision-making. However, in a democratic system, representation such as in Indonesia still has a crucial role not only to fight for equal identity, but also to present alternative perspectives in the policy-making process. According to Hannah Pitkin as cited in Arnesen & Peters (2018), political representation is an attempt to represent those who are not directly present. Pitkin divides this concept into four models, namely formal, descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation. Among the four, one of the advantages of formal representation is its ability to act with authority.³³

Green politics is expected to be a monitoring tool for political officials to avoid abuse of their authority in every policy because green politics prohibits officials from investing in dirty industries as the principle of green politics in the Global Green Charter (2001).³⁴

³¹ Zhoirussalam Al Ma'aarij, "Kesempatan Politik (Political Opportunities) Gerakan Lingkungan Di Indonesia (Studi Kasus: Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI))" (Jakarta: Fisip UIN Jakarta, 2020).

³² (Hariyanti dkk, 2018)

³³ Sveinung Arnesen Dan Yvette Peters, "The Legitimacy Of Representation: How Descriptive, Formal, And Responsiveness Representation Affect The Acceptability Of Political Decisions," *Comparative Political Studies* 51, No. 7 (1 Juni 2018): 868–99, https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414017720702/Suppl_File/Documentation_Report_Online_Appendix.Pdf.

³⁴ Fikri Asyari, "Abainya Implementasi Adaptasi Iklim di Indonesia | ICW," 2024, <https://antikorupsi.org/id/abainya-implementasi-adaptasi-iklim-di-indonesia>.

As an example of empirical facts according to Grace Frestina's study related to the implementation of Green Politic in Government policies carried out in Sorong, West Papua Province, where the Regional Government revoked as many as 4 permits for Oil Palm Plantations because they were considered to have ignored nature conservation and exploitation that did not care about the sustainability of forest ecology.³⁵

This study is also based on several previous studies such as research by Nicholas Filiata Damay Setiawan et.al which highlights green parties and Green Politic in Australia where the Green Party has started various movements such as campaigns on climate awareness and encouraging the Government to take decisive action.³⁶ In line with the conclusions of research conducted by Esthy Reko Astuty et al that until now there has been no green political representation in the Indonesian legislature.³⁷ In fact, environmental issues are still an issue that has not been prioritised in Indonesia, for example, research by Ajeng Kartika Galuh et al where one of the conclusions is that there is a conflict of interest in environmental conservation due to economic growth, non-compliance with environmental regulations and massive corruption in Indonesia.³⁸ Nurmardiansyah's research also encourages the State to form a Green Constitution and implement it in the form of Green Legislation, Green Policy and Green Budgeting in an effort to protect the environment in

³⁵ Grace Frestisa Irena Hutabarat, "Kajian Green Politic They Dalam Upaya Menangani Deforestasi Papua Terkait Aktivitas Ekspansi," *Jurnal Polinter: Kajian Politik Dan Hubungan Internasional* 7, no. 2 (2022): 59–76.

³⁶ Untari Narulita, Setyasih Harini, dan Nicholas Filiata Damay Setiawan, "Propaganda Partai Hijau dalam Perspektif Green Politics Terhadap Dampak Perubahan Iklim di Australia," *Aktivisme: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan, Politik dan Sosial Indonesia* 1, no. 4 (19 Agustus 2024): 68–87, <https://doi.org/10.62383/AKTIVISME.V1I4.491>.

³⁷ Esthy Reko Astuty, Muhammad Aqshadigrama, dan Sisean Baga, "Mengurai Upaya Implementasi Green Politics: Tantangan Dan Tinjauan Pemimpin Mendatang," *IJEEM - Indonesian Journal of Environmental Education and Management* 8, no. 1 (27 Juli 2023): 14–31, <https://doi.org/10.21009/IJEEM.V8I1.36519>.

³⁸ Ajeng Kartika Galuh, Asfi Manzilati, dan Sri Muljaningsih, "Ekonomi Hijau Perspektif Ekonomi Politik: Relevansi Dan Implementasi Di Indonesia," *Governance: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Politik Lokal dan Pembangunan* 11, no. 1 (2 September 2024), <https://doi.org/10.56015/GJIKPLP.V11I1.251>.

Indonesia.³⁹ An example of this is the constitutional practice in Ecuador, which has been very explicit in regulating the protection and management of the environment in its constitution, which is referred to as the Green Constitution.⁴⁰ Pan Mohamad Faiz in his research also supports these environmental issues by stating the need for fundamental changes to the constitution by internalising the principle of environmental protection by requiring citizens to implement environmental protection.⁴¹ In addition, Luthfi Ridzki et al's research also emphasises the importance of green social and political movements such as campaigns carried out by NGOs such as Greenpeace in an effort to maintain environmental sustainability for humans and nature.⁴²

This study has an element of novelty with the previous studies that have been described, because this study puts forward 2 important ideas in the internalisation strategy of green politics in Indonesia. By looking at the various empirical facts related to environmental issues in Indonesia that have been described, a strong commitment to environmental movements such as Green Politics must be owned by political parties in Indonesia. In addition, the ideas put forward in this study have never been done before in other studies. Based on the delineation of environmental issues in Indonesia, efforts towards environmental change should also target political parties, aiming to internalisation green politics in the country.⁴³

This study uses Qualitative research. This method was chosen to analyse and deeply explore important issues related to Green Politic in

³⁹ Veritas Justitia, "Konsep Hijau: Penerapan Green Constitution Dan Green Legislation Dalam Rangka Eco-Democracy," *Veritas et Justitia* 1, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25123/vej.v1i1.1422>.

⁴⁰ Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Green Constitution, 'Nuansa Hijau Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945'* (Rajawali Press, 2009).

⁴¹ Pan Mohamad Faiz, "Perlindungan terhadap Lingkungan dalam Perspektif Konstitusi," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 13, no. 4 (20 Desember 2016): 766–87, <https://doi.org/10.31078/JK1344>.

⁴² Luthfi Ridzki Fakhrian, Abrar Abrar, dan Firdaus Hadi Santosa, "Greenpeace: Sebuah Gerakan Sosial Dan Politik Hijau Di Indonesia (Kampanye Greenpeace Di Jakarta 2006-2021)," *Journal on Education* 6, no. 4 (20 Mei 2024): 18632–56, <https://doi.org/10.31004/JOE.V6I4.5730>.

⁴³ Sudikno Mertokusumo, *Penemuan Hukum Sebuah Pengantar* (Yogyakarta: Liberty, 2006).

this study.⁴⁴ The qualitative method is also in line with the purpose of this research to see the practice of Green Politic in other countries by using text analysis from previous studies with secondary data as the main material. This study was conducted by collecting data through secondary data in the form of library materials or literature (Literature Research).⁴⁵ This research presents textual narratives as data with a descriptive nature of research, various quotations are also used as data sources, then this writing tries to formulate the idea of internalising green politics in Indonesia such as the success of green political campaigns in Australia and green party practices in Germany in the hope of getting conclusions in the form of new strategic ideas for green politics in Indonesia.⁴⁶

II. Green Politics Internalising In Indonesia

Green Politic can be defined as a political view of environmental justice, sustainability where the main principles are ecological sustainability, social responsibility, non-violence and direct participation mechanisms in the political process.⁴⁷ In his exposition, Paterson explains that since the mid-1960s, Green Politics has significantly influenced political strategies in many countries.⁴⁸ The modern Green Political movement originated in Canada and then developed in the 1960s during the anti-consumerism movement through the counterculture movement. It evolved to become a guiding principle for green parties, grounded in social justice, ecological

⁴⁴ Irwansyah, *Penelitian Hukum Pilihan dan Metode dan Praktik Penulisan Artikel* (Yogyakarta: Mirra Buana Media, 2022).

⁴⁵ Djoni Sumardi Gajali, *Ilmu Hukum dan Penelitian Ilmu Hukum* (Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2021).

⁴⁶ Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Penelitian Hukum*, Edisi Revi (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2019), 133.

⁴⁷ Narulita, Harini, dan Setiawan, "Propaganda Partai Hijau dalam Perspektif Green Politics Terhadap Dampak Perubahan Iklim di Australia."

⁴⁸ Matthew Paterson, *Understanding global environmental politics: domination, accumulation, resistance* (London: Springer, 2000).

awareness, and non-violence.⁴⁹ Schosberg also argues that Green Politics is an ideology aimed at building a sustainable society.⁵⁰

Furthermore, according to Hajer, the idea of sustainable development is seen through the struggle of political interests by actors, politicians, scientists, activists, and others, rather than focusing on products or even values related to Green Politics.⁵¹ Green Politics is also considered a solution to addressing environmental issues, especially deforestation resulting from massive exploitation. In this context, Green Politics can be used as a tool for assessing environmental studies and programs to achieve environmental sustainability. The existence of sound political products based on green politics will undoubtedly give rise to regulations grounded in green politics that will impact efforts to rectify environmental damage caused by extensive deforestation.⁵² In this regard, green movement activists have also written numerous studies addressing global political issues, dynamic analyses, and normative visions aimed at restructuring world politic.

In Indonesia, the scarcity of Green Political narratives within political parties is attributed to several factors. Firstly, environmental issues are deemed less captivating compared to development and education issues and are considered incapable of enhancing electability in general elections. Secondly, environmental issues are deemed unattractive to investors in Indonesia, with private donors, who are often entrepreneurs involved in the exploitation of natural resources, showing little interest in environmental concerns. This is exacerbated by the fact that donor support

⁴⁹ Freedomnews Freedomnews, "Green Anarchism: Towards the Abolition of Hierarchy," <https://freedomnews.org.uk/>, 2014.

⁵⁰ David Schlosberg, "Climate justice and capabilities: A framework for adaptation policy," *Ethics & international affairs* 26, no. 4 (2012): page 445–61.

⁵¹ Maarten A Hajer, *The politics of environmental discourse: Ecological modernization and the policy process* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1995).

⁵² Grace Frestisa Irena Hutabarat, "Kajian Green Politic They Dalam Upaya Menangani Deforestasi Papua Terkait Aktivitas Ekspansi," *Jurnal Polinter: Kajian Politik Dan Hubungan Internasional* 7, No. 2 (2022): page. 59–76.

is frequently necessary in every election due to the high costs of politics in Indonesia.⁵³

Due to the lack of formal representation supporting environmental issues, Green Politics in Indonesia currently manifests as challenges to policies, the submission of various petitions, and even mere activist movements involving mass demonstrations. Such movements are predominantly championed by students and various Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI), World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), Friend of the Earth, Greenpeace and other organisations.⁵⁴ Greenpeace, for example, has been actively campaigning on the massive air pollution in Jakarta since 2016 with the campaign tagline ‘Clean Air Now.’⁵⁵

While small movements can sometimes exert pressure on government programs and policies, they often fail due to the authoritative and coercive nature of the government. It is also asserted that the absence of a green political narrative in formal representation does not automatically guarantee a lack of consideration for environmental issues in decision-making. However, considering the representative democracy system in Indonesia, it becomes crucial to align identities to enable diverse considerations in policy-making.⁵⁶ In this regard, there are several efforts that can be undertaken to Internalisation Green Politics in Indonesia, including:

a. Green Politics Internalising through Social Movements into Political Parties in Indonesia

⁵³ Samosir, “Pembangunan Berkelanjutan dan Minimnya Narasi Politik Hijau di Indonesia.”

⁵⁴ Astuty, Aqshadigrama, dan Baga, “Mengurai Upaya Implementasi Green Politics: Tantangan Dan Tinjauan Pemimpin Mendatang.”

⁵⁵ J Green, “Renewable Energy Policies and the Australian Greens: A Pathway to Sustainable Future,” *Journal of Environmental Policy* 22, no. 3 (2020): 145–163.

⁵⁶ Luthfi Hasanal Bolqiah dan Riaty Raffudin, “Dominasi Oligarki dan Ketidakhadiran Partai Politik Hijau di Indonesia,” *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 19, no. 2 (2020): page. 151–67.

According to Botetzagias and Van Schuur, the success of Green Politics is supported by three elements: effective perception-building, the value of trust, and ideology in identity formation, and fostering networks.⁵⁷ One of the success factors, as mentioned by Botetzagias and Van Schuur, is the establishment of public perception, building trust, values, and identity ideology, as well as fostering a strong network for the environment through various social movements in society. Social movements, according to Robert Miesel, are a system of beliefs about actions taken by a group of organized individuals with the goal of advancing or hindering change in a society. Collective behavior and mass societies are crucial aspects of these social movements. In every social movement, the most critical element is not the individual but rather organizations as the main actors or objects driving the movement as the most important force in a societal movement.⁵⁸

In his study, David F Aberle also delineates four types of social movements. Firstly, Alternative Social Movements aim to bring about specific behavioral changes in individuals, such as anti-drug and safe sex campaigns. Secondly, Redemptive Social Movements aim to generally change the entire behavior of individuals, sharing the same goals as alternative social movements but differing in scope. Thirdly, Redemptive Social Movements strive to transform old behaviors into new ones, as seen in fundamental religious movements. Finally, Transformative Social Movements aim to transform the social order in society, with their members working to create a new order considered better than the previous one.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Bolqiah dan Raffiudin.

⁵⁸ Robert Miesel, "Teori Pergerakan Sosial; Kilasan Sejarah dan Catatan Bibliografis" (Yogyakarta: Resist Book, 2004).

⁵⁹ Gili Argenti, "Transformasi Gerakan Sosial ke Partai Politik Kiprah Politik Partai Rakyat Demokratik di Masa Reformasi," *JWP (Jurnal Wacana Politik)* 1, No. 2 (2016).

o contribute to the environment, it is essential to strengthen the quality of environmental education movements. Examining the example in Pakistan, the misery afflicting the country is linked to the literacy rate, which is only around 58%, placing Pakistan at 113 out of 120 countries in the global literacy report.⁶⁰

The struggle against environmental issues is not as straightforward, especially considering that the political regime and parties in Indonesia are currently part of an oligarchy and an electoral system that still limits space for alternative political parties. One of the most effective ways to change the environmental approach within a country is through the ballot box in general elections, with the hope that an increasing number of voters will care about the environment. The expectation is that more voters will choose candidates from Green Parties, similar to the social movement undertaken by the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI). WALHI conducted a study in 2014 on the candidates for the People's Representative Council who support environmental issues. The results showed that out of around 6,000 legislative candidates in Indonesia, only 7% expressed support for environmental issues, and a mere 0.2% were ultimately elected as legislative members.⁶¹

This has implications for the emergence of various environmentally contradictory policies, such as the proposed Palm Oil Plantation Bill.⁶² Therefore, according to Khalisah Khalid, the Political Desk Coordinator of WALHI, there is a need for intervention in favor of environmental issues by encouraging grassroots and WALHI cadres to advocate for environmental political agendas. This is expected to drive reform and

⁶⁰ Rizwan Khawaja, "Literacy rate in Pakistan," <https://www.nation.com.pk/>, 2018.

⁶¹ Walhi Walhi, "Pemilu 2019 dan Agenda Mewujudkan Keadilan Ekologis," <https://www.walhi.or.id/>, 2019.

⁶² Noverius Laoli, "RUU Sawit menuai pro dan kontra," <https://industri.kontan.co.id/>, 2016.

transformation within the established political parties. Currently, according to WALHI, there are approximately 131 political cadres advocating for environmental issues in 26 provinces. Among them, 15 individuals participate in central legislative elections, while 107 individuals are involved in elections at the provincial and district/city legislative levels⁶³

This social movement is intended to ensure that WALHI's demands are heard in decision-making spaces. Consolidation efforts were initiated, with WALHI gathering coalition partners through Grand Meetings for Political Consolidation in 2017 and 2019. The aim was to secure victories for these green cadres in the electoral process. Despite the inherent risks in this strategy, such as the potential for these cadres to defect as "free riders," Zhohirussalam's research suggests that this strategy is considered effective in creating opportunities for intervention in the policy-making process. In reality, protests organized by WALHI are often dismissed as inconsequential. The movement also seeks to secure representation in legislative commissions so that demands and aspirations can be effectively addressed.⁶⁴

WALHI in this case bases its thoughts that there is a correlation and integration of economic, political social and cultural issues with environmental issues and also sees the fact that environmental damage is due to various political products. So that green politics efforts can intervene in the process of making sustainable environmental governance policies. As according to the conclusion of Sutan Sorik's research related to the Role of Non-Governmental Organisations in Environmental governance in Indonesia which states that the United Nations also suggests that

⁶³ Walhi, "Pemilu 2019 dan Agenda Mewujudkan Keadilan Ekologis."

⁶⁴ Al Ma'aarij, "Kesempatan Politik (Political Opportunities) Gerakan Lingkungan Di Indonesia (Studi Kasus: Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Walhi))."

its member countries can cooperate with various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) because NGOs also play an important role in the development of environmental governance.⁶⁵

Supratiwi, in her study on the concern and role regarding the environment in the work programs and platforms of major political parties in Semarang, Indonesia during the 2009 elections, focused on the Golkar Party, Democratic Party, Prosperous Justice Party, National Mandate Party, and National Awakening Party over a five-year working period. The results indicate that, although there were disaster relief programs, such as for floods and tidal surges in Semarang from 2004 to 2009, there were no environmentally sustainable programs evident in the work of these major political parties from 2009 to 2014. Furthermore, the research findings highlight that many political parties show a lack of concern for environmental issues.

Among these five political parties, it is noted that many do not incorporate environmental issues into their party's vision and mission. Only the Golkar Party includes environmental aspects in the vision of its party's struggle, while, in terms of political missions related to environmental issues, only the National Mandate Party (PAN) has a mission to advocate for environmental sustainability and natural resource conservation. Concerning the political platform, only the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) explicitly includes a platform for environmental preservation, such as the utilization of natural resources for the benefit of the general public, rights to land, water, and air that must be fulfilled justly and responsibly by the government, and the key to environmental

⁶⁵ Sutan Sorik et al., "The Role of NGOs in Environmental Governance in Indonesia: Peran Ornop dalam Tata Kelola Lingkungan Hidup di Indonesia," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 21, no. 3 (1 September 2024): 413–31, <https://doi.org/10.31078/JK2134>.

development lies in public awareness, environmental law enforcement, and coordination among components.⁶⁶

So far, the success of this social movement includes the agreement of one political party, namely the National Awakening Party (PKB) in Indonesia, with this environmental social movement. PKB declared itself a green party on February 26, 2007, in Bali, a declaration that was ratified in 2014 through the 4th PKB Congress in Surabaya, led by the party's chairman, Muhaimin Iskandar. From 2014 to 2019 in Surabaya, PKB has implemented several specific and environmentally friendly programs through collaboration with relevant environmental management agencies such as the Environmental Agency.

This research is supported by Safira Rafidah Rahmah's study on the commitment of the National Awakening Party as a Green Party in a different study location in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia. It is stated that the National Awakening Party plays a crucial role in formulating environmental policies at the legislative level and grassroots level. The party has mobilized its cadres to be environmentally conscious, for example, by using environmentally friendly bags during their campaigns and minimizing the use of plastic materials.⁶⁷ Another study by Muhammad Catur Utama in the city of Semarang also concludes that one party in Indonesia, the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), while not entirely, has started paying attention to environmental aspects and is committed to environmental conservation.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Supratiwi Supratiwi, "Partai Politik & Politik Hijau: Studi Tentang Kepedulian Parpol Terhadap Politik Yang ProLingkungan Di Kota Semarang," *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 2, no. 1 (2011): page. 109–17.

⁶⁷ Safira Rafidah Rahmah dan Ucu Martanto, "Komitmen Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Sebagai Partai Hijau: Studi Kasus Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Dewan Perwakilan Cabang Kota Surabaya," *Jurnal Politik Indonesia* 8, no. 1 (2019): 49–58, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpi.v8i1.33610>.

⁶⁸ Muhammad Catur Utama, "Peran Fungsi Partai Politik Terhadap Lingkungan Hidup," *Journal of Politic and Government Studies* 11, no. 3 (2022): page. 402–415.

Looking at good practice examples of green campaigns in Australia, for example, in an effort to raise awareness of climate change and support green policies, the Australian Green Party has collaborated with environmental organizations, activists and local communities. The mechanisms used are also quite innovative through social media, print media and television. This campaign is said to be effective in targeting young and digitally literate audiences. In addition, the form of the campaign in the form of simplified messages is also a way of promoting the green agenda in Australia, these simple messages are then repeated on various media platforms to strengthen the message and build awareness for the public.⁶⁹ Propaganda techniques in Green Politics conducted by green parties in Australia use various ways to promote the agenda such as, Message simplification, messages are often simplified to be easily understood by the public, this method is used to convey the urgency of climate change action in a concise manner by repetition, the same message is repeated across various media platforms to reinforce the message in the minds of the public, this repetition helps build awareness and motivate action.⁷⁰ The Australian practice is reflected in the policies that have emerged in response to the propaganda of the Australian Greens, who align with the Green Politics outlook and employ bandwagon propaganda techniques. The party utilises propaganda to build public awareness of the impacts of climate change and encourage governments to take more decisive action.⁷¹ Embracing the principles of Green Politics, the Australian Greens are committed to designing sustainable environmental policies. The party's focus is not only limited to

⁶⁹ Narulita, Harini, dan Setiawan, "Propaganda Partai Hijau dalam Perspektif Green Politics Terhadap Dampak Perubahan Iklim di Australia."

⁷⁰ J Smith, "Propaganda Partai Hijau Australia: Peran Media Sosial dalam Menyoroti Dampak Perubahan Iklim," *Jurnal Politik Lingkungan* 14, no. 3 (2020): 102–120.

⁷¹ L Brown, "Climate Change Mitigation Policies of the Australian Greens: Evaluating Effectiveness," *Journal of Climate Policy* 19, no. 2 (2019): 233–252.

climate change mitigation efforts, but also includes adaptation, social justice, and ecosystem preservation. Measures cover a wide range of sectors and take a holistic approach, ensuring that Australia responds fairly and effectively to the challenges of climate change.⁷²

In its campaign to transition to renewable energy, the Australian Greens have actively employed the bandwagon propaganda technique as one of its key strategies. They emphasise the urgency of accelerating the use of clean energy, while pointing out that many other countries have taken similar steps. Besides bandwagoning, the Greens also utilise various other propaganda techniques described by Harold Lasswell, such as name calling, glittering generalities, plain folks, card stacking, and testimonials. For example, they often refer to European countries such as Switzerland and the Netherlands that have achieved or are close to achieving 100% renewable energy use, to reinforce the narrative that this transition is not only possible, but has also been successfully implemented by developed countries.⁷³

This is also in line with the commitment of various countries in conferences such as the Stockholm Conference in Sweden, the Rio De Jaeniro Conference, Johannesburg in South Africa where sustainable development efforts in the context of long-term development are carried out and its implementation requires broad participation in formulating and making policies.⁷⁴

Observing the various realities of environmental issues, where there has been a decline in environmental quality referred to

⁷² Nicholas Filiata Damay Setiawan et al., "Propaganda Partai Hijau dalam Perspektif Green Politics Terhadap Dampak Perubahan Iklim di Australia," *Aktivisme: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan, Politik dan Sosial Indonesia* 1, no. 4 (19 Agustus 2024): 68–87, <https://doi.org/10.62383/AKTIVISME.V1I4.491>.

⁷³ Green, "Renewable Energy Policies and the Australian Greens: A Pathway to Sustainable Future."

⁷⁴ I Gede Yusa dan Bagus Hermanto, "Implementasi Green Constitution di Indonesia: Jaminan Hak Konstitusional Pembangunan Lingkungan Hidup Berkelanjutan," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 15, no. 2 (18 September 2018): 306–26, <https://doi.org/10.31078/JK1524>.

as structural repression symptoms, political parties in Indonesia should be more conscious of advocating for the importance of preserving and protecting the environment. They should internalize environmental issues into their party programs and platforms. In this regard, political parties play a significant role in prioritizing the environment and can open up and accommodate marginal voices in the political arena.⁷⁵

Mintu Modal in his research on Green politics for a better earth concluded that the importance of social movements such as Green Politics for future generations, because of the fact that there is still massive development that destroys the environment such as forests and the extinction of various species despite the sustainable development agenda.⁷⁶ It is also reasonable because according to studies that the public participation movement on environmental issues has not been very effective in influencing political policies due to the dominance of oligarchs in natural resources, thus increasing environmental damage in Indonesia.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the correlation of the various Movements is related to the principle of justice in an environmental perspective, where environmental justice encourages alternative economic systems that can contribute to environmentally-based development, promotes the principle of justice, without discrimination, encourages environmental restoration efforts, and is also closely related to the principle of sustainable development.⁷⁸

b. Internalitation Green Politic through the Formation of Green Parties in Indonesia

⁷⁵ Supratiwi, "Partai Politik & Politik Hijau: Studi Tentang Kepedulian Parpol Terhadap Politik Yang Pro lingkungan Di Kota Semarang."

⁷⁶ Mintu Mondal, "Green Politics for a Better Earth," *Politicon: Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 4, no. 2 (2022): 139–58.

⁷⁷ Bolqiah dan Raffiudin, "Dominasi Oligarki dan Ketidakhadiran Partai Politik Hijau di Indonesia."

⁷⁸ (Purwendah 2019)

From the outset, green politics has been a strong supporter of grassroots democracy. Advocates argue that communities should be involved in local or grassroots political activities to play a direct role in decision-making that will impact their lives and the environment. Moreover, Green ideology seeks to completely eliminate nuclear weapons from the world and supports a ‘World Federation’ where the possibility of any war would be minimized. Last but not least, social justice is an integral part of green politics; social justice encompasses economic justice, consumer justice; needs and responsibilities as members of society. Capitalism leads to competition, and competition leads to the waste of resources; hence, green ideology tends to lean towards socialism.⁷⁹

The green political movement (Green Politics) in several countries differs significantly from that in Indonesia, where the movement is not only championed by the public but also by political parties. For instance, The Greens (Die Grünen) party in Germany. In the late 1970s, this party even surpassed the 5% vote threshold and entered the German legislature.⁸⁰ The Values Party in New Zealand, founded in the 1970s, is said to be the world’s first National Green Party. According to Ferdinand Muller Rommel’s records, the presence of Green Parties is widespread in Western Europe. In 1978 and 1994, Green parties participated in 200 local elections and 81 national elections in 15 countries.⁸¹

Carlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra’s (1984), in their phenomenal book titled “Green Politics,” view green parties as a new aspect of life and criticize the practices of industrialization and the capitalist regime that increasingly harm ecosystems and the

⁷⁹ Altaf Majeed et al., “Space of Green Politics in South Asia: Myth or Reality?,” *Review of Economics and Development Studies* 5, no. 2 (2019): page. 253–60.

⁸⁰ Mintu Mondal, “Green Politics for a Better Earth,” *Politicon: Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 4, no. 2 (2022): page. 139–58.

⁸¹ Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, “Green parties under comparative perspective” (Barcelona: Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials (Barcelona, Catalunya), 1994).

environment. The book also depicts several successes of Green Parties in various European countries such as Germany and the United Kingdom. In 2001, they were present in 72 countries at the Global Greens Conference in Australia. According to Patrick Gourley and Melanie Khamis, the Green Party has been successful in Europe and most of the European Union (EU), securing seats in legislatures, even though the party was originally founded in Oceania.⁸² Derek Wall, a Green Party activist in the UK, opines that the Green Political Movement differs from conventional parties because most green party followers position themselves as part of the left-wing, both socially and economically, while also focusing on decentralization issues and local-level solutions.⁸³

Muller Rommel further notes that most green parties share a common background, starting with grassroots movement alliances that bring environmental concepts to the fore, typically neglected by larger parties in government. Muller Rommel also explains the differences between the Green Parties and the major parties. First, Green Parties largely share ideologies emphasizing equal rights and minority protection, ecological power thinking, control over transnational pollution, and effective environmental policies. In essence, green parties introduce thoughts and ideologies challenging conventional economic and security policies.⁸⁴ Second, all Green Parties strongly prefer participatory organization, and their organizational structure allows branches within the party to participate in decision-making, maximizing opportunities for grassroots involvement in policy formation. Third, and most importantly, Green Parties have a different voter base compared to

⁸² Patrick Gourley dan Melanie Khamis, "It is not easy being a Green party: Green politics as a normal good," *European Journal of Political Economy* 76 (2023): 102266.

⁸³ James McBride, "How Green-Party Success Is Reshaping Global Politics," <https://www.cfr.org/>, 2022.

⁸⁴ Kendall L Baker, Russell J Dalton, dan Kai Hildebrandt, *Germany transformed: Political culture and the new politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

established parties. Several studies indicate that green party voters are typically young, middle-class, highly educated individuals, often white-collar workers.⁸⁵

The following is a timeline of the history and development of green parties in the world, ordered based on the initial emergence of green parties:

Table 1. Timeline: The Development of Green Parties Around the World

Year	Development of Green Parties Worldwide
1968	It began with student protest movements across the world, leading to the emergence of radical political activities, including the founding of Green Political Parties in the future.
1970	The developments in 1968 brought about a change in central green issues and the nuclear weapons debate.
1972	The emergence of parties embracing ecological concepts such as the Values Party in New Zealand, the People's Party in the United Kingdom, and the United Tasmania Group in Australia.
1980	In Germany, the first Green Party in West Germany participated in national elections, although it failed to secure parliamentary seats.
1983	In the same year, the Green Party of West Germany successfully entered and secured 27 seats out of 520 in Parliament.
1987	The National Green Party in the United States held its first meeting in Massachusetts.

⁸⁵ Müller-Rommel, "Green parties under comparative perspective."

1990	The Green Party in Alaska became the first green party to gain access to the ballot.
1992	In 1992, the first Planetary of Greens meeting was held in Rio de Janeiro by the Green Party in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Hawaii. This meeting coincided with the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development)
1995	Pekka Haavisto, a member of the Green Party of Finland, successfully entered the Cabinet as the Minister of the Environment.
1996	Ralph Nader became the first Green Party presidential candidate, although he only received votes in 22 states.
1998	Joschka Fischer became the Vice Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs in Germany, serving in the Red-Green and Social Democrat Left-Center Coalition. Amid controversies over military involvement in Afghanistan and the Balkans, Joschka also played a role in the phase-out of nuclear energy.
2000	For the second time, Nader ran for President of the United States, receiving 2.7% of the popular vote in 44 states, marking the highest performance of the Green Party in the United States.
2004	Indulis Emsis, the first Green Party member to become the Prime Minister of Latvia.
2010	The Global Greens network was established, and the Global Greens Charter was signed by representatives from more than 70 countries.
2015	Raimonds Vejonis became the first head of state from a Green Party by successfully becoming the President of Latvia.

2016	Jill Stein, the Green Party's presidential candidate in the United States, managed to win more than 1% of the popular vote, achieving the party's best environmental performance since Nader.
2019	February 2019: The Democratic Party in the US Congress introduced a resolution calling for the Green New Deal, a long-fought comprehensive environmental plan. The Green Party in Finland won 20 seats in the Parliament and later joined the government as part of a coalition agreement with four other parties. In September 2019: In a snap election, the Green Party in Austria won nearly 14% of the votes and secured 26 seats in Parliament. The Green Party joined a conservative coalition with a strong climate policy offer, entering the parliament for the first time..
2020	The Green Party in Ireland achieved its best election results, winning 12 seats and positioning itself as a key player in coalition talks, securing four cabinet positions and negotiating climate change target.
2021	The Greens in Germany joined Chancellor Olaf Scholz's government with six cabinet positions, including vice-chancellor and foreign affairs ministry.

Sources: *Council Foreign Relations (CFR Research)*.⁸⁶

The above timeline serves as an important record that the green party movement in various countries did not begin easily. The movement, which emerged in 1968, started with student activist movements and eventually led to the formation of Green Parties in different nations. The success of these movements is worth emulating in Indonesia, especially considering that environmental

⁸⁶ McBride, "How Green-Party Success Is Reshaping Global Politics."

issues remain unresolved to this day. For instance, the birth of the Green Party of England and Wales (GPEW) in the UK, the Green Party in Taiwan, the Midori no Tō Party in Japan, and the Latvijas Zaļā Partija (LZP) in Latvia—all of which successfully transformed into green political parties. According to data from January 2015 until now, there are approximately 100 political parties associated with the Global Greens, representing about 90 countries worldwide. The basic principle of green parties is the interconnectedness of all aspects of life.⁸⁷ Green parties have evolved into significant political entities, capable of winning elections at the government level.⁸⁸

For example, the Green Party in Germany has become the third-largest party in the country, focusing primarily on the fundamental needs of every human on Earth. The Green Party of Germany was established in 1979 due to concerns about the environment, securing 28 seats in parliament and becoming the most influential green party in Europe.⁸⁹ The party has gained dominance, winning 20.5% of the votes in the 2019 European elections, making it the second-largest party.

The Green Party is principled in its opposition to development that uses fossil fuels, natural gas and coal mining, which can damage the environment.⁹⁰ If we examine the data on the increase in parliamentary seats from 1980 to 2017, we can observe a continuous growth in the number of seats for the German Green Party. The following table illustrates this:

Table 2:
Number of Seats for the German Green Party in Parliament

⁸⁷ Marc Lallanilla, “The History of the Green Movement,” <https://www.treehugger.com/>, 2020.

⁸⁸ McBride, “How Green-Party Success Is Reshaping Global Politics.”

⁸⁹ Geoffrey Jones dan Christina Lubinski, “Managing political risk in global business: Beiersdorf 1914–1990,” *Enterprise & Society* 13, no. 1 (2012): page. 85–119.

⁹⁰ Green, “Renewable Energy Policies and the Australian Greens: A Pathway to Sustainable Future.”

Year	Number of Seats in Parliament
1980	0
1983	28
1987	44
1990	0
1994	49
1998	47
2002	55
2005	51
2009	68
2013	63
2017	67

Data Source: Council Foreign Relations (CFR Research)⁹¹

Observing the data above, it is evident that the struggle of the Green Party in Germany faced various challenges and did not immediately succeed in becoming a strong party. Since its inception, the party did not secure parliamentary seats. However, with a strong commitment to social movements and over time, the role and presence of the Green Party improved. The success of the German Green Party is also supported by the established social structure and abundant resources in Germany. The party grew by placing its party members in ministerial positions, allowing active involvement in Germany's foreign policy, including global protection issues and consumer protection. This garnered significant support from the German public.⁹² The impact of this Green Party extends to Germany's share of global CO₂ emissions, which has consistently decreased over the past 40 years. This serves

⁹¹ Nitish Kaza dan Ashley Smith, "The Green Party and Germany's Environment: Integration, Influence, and Comparisons," *Journal of Student Research* 10, No. 4 (2021).

⁹² Adyawardman Adyawardman, "Fenomena Partai Hijau Dalam Konteks Politik di Jerman," *Jurnal Universitas Paramadina* 3, no. 1 (2003): page. 91–101.

as an example of Germany successfully implementing environmental solutions compared to other countries, including the United States, which also has a Green Party.⁹³ If the social movement for the environment within political parties in Indonesia takes strong root, and if the ideologies and perspectives of political parties are based on Green Politics and Ecocentrism, the next step, as indicated in the above efforts, would be to draw comparisons with countries that have successfully championed Green Politics.⁹⁴

Indonesia should consider revisiting the idea of forming a Green Party because on June 5, 2012, the Green Political Party of Indonesia (Partai Politik Hijau Indonesia or PHI) was established. This party was initiated by Chairul Syah, a former Advisory Board Member of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation and former Coordinator of the Indonesian Environmental Forum. The party was declared by workers, farmers, and environmental activists at the time. However, before the electoral contest, the party dissolved due to the challenging requirements imposed on political parties in Indonesia. This implies that the obstacles to forming a Green Party are not solely due to the desires and awareness of the people⁹⁵, but can also be caused by the system itself.⁹⁶

In Indonesia, the requirements for establishing a political party are outlined in Article 2 of Law Number 2 of 2008 regarding Political Parties. The conditions include being founded by a minimum of 50 Indonesian citizens aged 21 and above, with a notarized deed, and the inclusion of 30% female representation.

⁹³ Kaza dan Smith, "The Green Party and Germany's Environment: Integration, Influence, and Comparisons."

⁹⁴ Yusran Yusran dan Afri Asnelly, "Kajian Green Politics Theory Dalam Upaya Menangani Krisis Ekologi Laut Indonesia Terkait Aktifitas Illegal Fishing," *Indonesian Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 2 (2017): page. 35–53.

⁹⁵ John Muhamad dan Dian Abraham, "Lengan Politik Masyarakat Sipil: Pengalaman dan Ikhtiar Partai Hijau Indonesia," [tps://indoprogress.com](https://indoprogress.com), 2016.

⁹⁶ Maurice Duverger, *The Forms of Political Conflict, The Study of Politics* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1972).

The establishment, as mentioned in paragraph (1), must include clear Articles of Association and Bylaws. Additionally, Article 173 of Law Number 7 of 2017 outlines the administrative requirements for a political party to participate in elections, as shown in Table 3:

Table 3.

**Administrative Requirements for Political Party Participation
in General Elections**

Number	Requirements for Political Parties
1.	Official Legal Entity Status
2.	Have executives in at least 75% of districts/cities in the respective province
3.	Have executives in at least 50% of sub-districts in the respective districts/cities
4.	At least 30% female representation in the executives of the political party at the central level
5.	The number of members is at least 1,000 individuals or 1/1000 of the population in the executives of the political party, proven with Membership ID Cards.
6.	Have a permanent office at the central, provincial, and district/city levels until the final stage of the elections
7.	Propose the Party Name, Party Symbol, and Party Emblem to the General Election Commission
8.	Include the Campaign Fund Account Number for General Elections under the name of the Political Party

In addition to these requirements, there are several other conditions outlined in the regulations differentiating treatment by the General Election Commission regarding the documents of political parties aspiring to participate in the elections. Administrative requirements of such nature are undeniably burdensome for the public, especially in terms of costs, to establish

a political party. Therefore, it is crucial to advocate for changes in the electoral system, with improvements in the statutory conditions for the formation of political parties in Indonesia, in order to create space for alternative parties like the Green Party in Indonesia. Despite all the challenges and obstacles in establishing political parties, quoting the opinion of Dirga Ardiansyah, a researcher at Puskapol Universitas Indonesia (UI), alternative political parties must have a strong ability to endure and persevere for as long as possible, as their main goal is not victory but, more importantly, to ensure that their strength accumulates gradually.⁹⁷

With the ongoing environmental-based social movement initiated at present, and continually implemented to strengthen, as seen in the first effort in the aforementioned Green Politics transformation, it is necessary to encourage the emergence of new Green Parties in the Indonesian political arena. By looking at the success of Green Parties in other countries, the presence of Green Political Parties is expected to contribute strength to the formulation of legislative policies. For environmental activists like WALHI, direct involvement and influence in the decision-making processes are anticipated, thus becoming a significant factor in political policy formulation.

This is reasonable because the existence of political parties as a form of institutionalisation for democracy, and with the existence of political parties as a means of presenting the will of its citizens.⁹⁸ In Indonesia, it is also said that there is a weakness in the ideology of political parties because so far the party ideology is only a prerequisite for the formation of political parties and only

⁹⁷ Dirga Ardiansa, "Strategi Alternatif Politik Elektoral: Respon terhadap Wacana Politik Alternatif Gerakan Kiri," <https://www.puskapol.ui.ac.id/>, 2015.

⁹⁸ Khosnol Khotimah, Uin Sunan Ampel Surabaya, dan Kata Kunci Abstrak, "Keberadaan Partai Politik Sebagai Bentuk Pelembagaan Demokrasi," *Sosio Yustisia: Jurnal Hukum dan Perubahan Sosial* 2, no. 1 (23 Juni 2022): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.15642/SOSYUS.V2I1.170>.

prioritises individual interests.⁹⁹The onerous requirements for political party formation in Indonesia, such as the need for capital and a strong mass base, favour large parties, making it difficult for parties without strong financial backing to compete.¹⁰⁰

Green Parties are hoped to provide a platform for environmental activists (positioned outside the system) to further intervene in government political policies. Moreover, the possibility of forming a new coalition that benefits the environmental movement exists. Despite the negative aspect of potential exploitation by certain individuals seeking personal gain, the inclusion of Green Parties in parliament increases opportunities, thereby enhancing the chances of success in their demands. In line with Dobson's viewpoint that Green Parties are political parties advocating green paradigms, their direction and party development approach prioritize grassroots community interests, ecological safety, and Sustainable Development Goals. This influence becomes a fundamental consideration in the political processes within the parliament.¹⁰¹

III. Conclusion

This study concludes that the presence of Green Politics in Indonesia is an urgent matter by looking at the fact that Indonesia is a country that has abundant natural resources with various problems of environmental damage that are not directly proportional to the increasing welfare and justice for the community so that Indonesia should have a strong political

⁹⁹ Aprista Ristyawati, "Penguatan Partai Politik Sebagai Salah Satu Bentuk Pengadministrasian Dan Pelembagaan Demokrasi," *Administrative Law & Governance Journal* 2, no. 4 (2019): 713.

¹⁰⁰ Bolqiah Bachtiar, L H., dan S Andrian, "Menguatnya Partai Politik Kartel Pada Pemilu Serentak 2019," in *Jurnal Pengawasan Pemilu Provinsi DKI Jakarta*, 2020, 73–92.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Dobson, *Green political thought* (London: Psychology Press, 2000).

basis on environmental issues. Seeing also the fact of various environmental problems and the lack of pro-environmental policies in Indonesia, This study puts forward two ideas of strategies for internalising Green Politic in Indonesia, namely First, by initiating environment-based social movements into political parties in Indonesia such as the practice carried out by the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) by looking at the good practices of Green campaigns in Australia and the second idea of internalising Green Politic through the formation of Green Parties in Indonesia such as the practice of green parties in Germany in the hope that both efforts can make changes, especially in environmental justice efforts through the process of formulating policies that are in favour of environmental issues in Indonesia

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