

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Environmental issues have been one of the most substantial issues that are trying to be solved by many non-government organizations (NGO). Many non-government organizations concerning about the environmental issues make various kinds of efforts in order to solve the problem. Furthermore, given the fact that non-government organizations (NGO) from time to time show their significant development and role within the society, thus it cannot be denied that these entities should be reconsidered to be dealt with and should not be underestimated, even by the government itself. Many NGOs showed their good capacity on tackling issues as they have managed to change certain policy regarding the issue related (Putra, 2016).

The presence of NGO within the society is inevitable. This is as the result whereby the capacity of the government itself, as an entity in fulfilling the needs of the society is not sufficient. Therefore, it is not something odd that eventually NGO become *The Best Provider* or the best supervisor. A form of service will likely be more efficient and effective when it is conducted by the NGO rather than the government itself. Moreover, it is not a rare occasion if the NGO become the competitor or the opponent of the government for some issues, especially those public agendas considered as very important but being neglected by the government (Gaffar, Politik Indonesia: Transisi Menuju Demokrasi , 2006).

Giving further detail, Young (2000) tries to conceptualize state-NGO relationships more comprehensively by defining them as either supplementary, complementary, or adversarial with comparative studies of different countries. He argues that in supplementary relations, NGOs can function independently as a complement to governments. In this case, NGOs are not influenced by governments. Rather, NGOs complement the governments' activities in a certain area. The view of adversarial relations maintains that NGOs can observe governments and sometimes criticize their accountability to the public. Even in this adversarial relationship, NGOs can influence governments by criticizing their performance concerning certain issues (Kim, 2001).

In this study, the researcher intended to focus on one of environmentalist non-government organizations (NGO) namely Greenpeace and its efforts towards the issue of deforestation for the palm oil plantation in Indonesia. Greenpeace is a non-government organization concerning about environmental issues. Greenpeace itself was established in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada on 1971. This organization was started when a group of fishermen who was sailing in Vancouver whereas they had the urge to make a change and take action as the destruction of the little island in the Alaskan offshore caused by nuclear test done by the US. To date, this organization has become more developed and has many members who are really concern and focus on the environmental issues caused by the human activities and also on the issues of global warming (Greenpeace, 2008).

To begin with, concerning about the deforestation, the industry of palm oil is one of the drivers of the country's

economy. From the economy side, the palm oil industry boosts the country's economy, as Indonesia is the world's leading producer of palm oil, approximately supplying half of the commodity worldwide (FAOSTAT, 2015). As a matter of fact, in 2014 Indonesia produced 32.5 million tons of palm oil and exported 80% of it, which earned USD\$18.6 billion, and palm oil is also the largest agricultural industry in Indonesia (Indonesia Investments , 2016). The production of palm oil itself is projected to continue to expand at 10% per year (Gunarso, 2013). The skyrocketing demand for the palm oil brings huge benefits for companies and the government from the healthy tax revenues from the industry (Straits Times, 2018).

However, the cost of the palm oil industry towards the environment is very devastating. As the demand for the palm oil keep increasing every year, the destruction or the action of deforestation on the tropical forests that are home to many endangered species are occurring frequently, especially in the Sumatra Island, Papua and Borneo (Straits Times, 2018). As reported in 2015, a devastating fire from slash and burn practices in Borneo used to clear forests for palm oil planting. The fires and resulting haze in the region caused school closings, cancelled or diverted flights, and many people got sick and suffered difficulty in breathing because of the haze (Kennedy, 2018).

Palm oil plantations give serious consequences for biodiversity, climate change and natural resources since forests as the home for many animals are burned down and the crop plantations for other commodities are replaced with palm trees. The majorities of indigenous Indonesians are suffering from the palm oil industry instead of benefiting from it (Chelsea Petrenko, 2016).

As the facts given in the previous paragraphs, the effects of deforestation done for the palm oil plantation can be felt both by the human themselves and the environment. Moreover, it is becoming much of an impediment for the issue to be solved as the industry is actually becoming the boost of the economy of the country and the demand for the palm oil has sky-rocketed. So, it is almost impossible for the industry to be stopped completely. The deforestation keeps being done in order for the industry to keep running smoothly.

Likewise, in 2017 in Papua, the deforestation was very devastating. namely Posco Daewoo, a Korean multinational was accused on the deforestation up to 7.500 hectares of the virgin rainforest during a 15-months period ending in December. In fact, the company planned to clear another 4.000 hectares in 2018 (Kaye, 2017). Given this fact, it is becoming the urgent issue for the environmentalist NGO such as Greenpeace to take further action in order to help stop this problem.

The forest clearance as a tool to make the industry develop immensely has made the environment suffered. Initially, in order to have a more sustainable palm oil plantation, stricter law enforcement is required. The establishment and enforcement of environmental standards is crucial to the success of managing the sustainable development of the palm oil industry (Chelsea Petrenko, 2016).

In addition to this, organizations such as the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) are struggling the good fight for the environment, along with other environmentalist NGOs like Rainforest Action Network (RAN) and World Wildlife Fund (WWF).

Regardless these entities are non-government organizations and seen as the least resource, they remarkably succeeded in convincing big and small companies alike to source more responsibly- and sustainably-grown palm oil (Kaye, 2017).

However, a lot of companies persist the same to the impact palm oil has towards human rights and the environment, in fact, the companies keep on backing away from pledges to amend their business practices. As a case in point, KORINDO, a Korean-owned palm oil and paper supplier company who possessed landholdings on the remote island of Papua. One of environmentalist NGOs, Mighty Earth called KORINDO in 2016 for one of the organization's researchers found that the company destructed the virgin rainforests within the company's land concession. Apparently, KORINDO was violating its self-imposed moratorium as the company said it would halt the development of virgin rainforests into palm oil plantations and adhere to the High Carbon Stock Approach (HCS). Mighty Earth, as a non-government organization tried their best effort to tackle this problem by meeting the executives of KORINDO in order to make the company stop their horrid action toward the environment. Mighty Earth also pushed the company by providing satellite photos of the environment post the destruction done by KORINDO as the evidence (Kaye, 2017).

Evidently, palm oil companies who have more resources can do anything to conduct their businesses. From buying land and run the deforestation for the palm oil plantation. Therefore, it is needed to be addressed how the government solve the problem of the deforestation for the palm oil plantation since so many lives have been affected from it.

Indeed, the industry of palm oil is really important in boosting the economy of the country. However, the bad consequences that are going to be faced by Indonesia can be very annihilating. Greenpeace as the actor is seen as an organization that is also making efforts on addressing the issue. This is actually becoming important to search further as the good movements have been made by other entities such as Mighty Earth, RSPO, RAN, WWF, and others. This implied that this issue is very urgent to be addressed by many.

This study intends to examine the perspective of political ecology and non-government organizations, and also the implications towards the policy change and environmental governance in Indonesia. This will be done through the pressure of non-government organization namely Greenpeace in the Ecopolitics arena, with the study case of deforestation for the palm oil plantation.

B. Research Question

In view of the background of the problem given in the preceding section, this study sets sight on Greenpeace as a non-government organization (NGO) in addressing the issue of deforestation for the palm oil plantation through the Ecopolitics arena. By and large, this study aims to find out how Greenpeace as an environmentalist NGO in giving pressure to the government to address the deforestation issue.

C. Theoretical Frameworks

1. Perspective of Transnational Social Movement

In this research, the first theoretical framework that the researcher used is the concept of transnational social movement. Transnational social movement is a

collectivity of groups with members in more than one country that is devoted to maintain contentious action for a general cause or a general collection of causes, often against governments, international institutions, or private firms (Balsiger, 2014).

Transnational movements are constructed progressively of networks of national and local activists and groups. Some analysts and activists use the term “translocal” to refer to contemporary global activism, showing the variety of ties and the diverse scales and arenas in which locally rooted activists and organizations operate. People are increasingly consolidating throughout national boundaries to advance diverse social change goals (Smith, 2018).

Furthermore, similar with conventional social movements, transnational social movements are characterized by mobilization of people in a sustained manner in regards of social and political change objectives. However, transnational social movements are distinctive in that either or both their activities and their purposes cross national boundaries. the scope of objectives promoted by transnational social movements is diverse, including democracy, environmentalism, feminism, human rights, labor standards, peace and religious goals, among others (Davies, 2019).

According to Kriesberg (1997), there are five ways in which transnational social movements are capable of changing the current political landscape. The first is mobilizing support for particular policies. The second is increasing participation in the decision-making process, the third is maintaining the public’s awareness towards critical issues. The fourth is

representing or frame the issues in a specific way, and the last is enacting certain policies, or make policies come about (Rock, n.d.).

According to Waterman (2005), like all movements, transnational social movements try to increase their political influence by cultivating alliances with other groups. Activists in transnational environmental groups, as a case in point, are driven out of a concern for a certain policy, and they will work with any groups they believe can help secure their objectives (Smith, *Transnational Social Movements*, 2013). Furtherly speaking, from this concept, Greenpeace tries to give pressure to the government to take actions and changes towards the deforestation for the palm oil plantation through its movement.

2. Perspective of Movement NGO

The second theoretical framework that the researcher used is the concept of movement NGO. Initially, there are many things that influence the typology of NGOs. NGOs can be categorized into many typologies, it can be from their activities, their relationship with the government, their goals, and other traits that best characterized them. In detail, one NGO can even be categorized into two or more typologies, depends on how they should best be characterized.

Speaking about Greenpeace as the focus of this research, Greenpeace based on its activities can be characterized as a movement NGO. Practically, according to Phillip Eldridge in Mansour Fakhri, NGO can be categorized into two; development NGO and mobilization NGO. Development NGOs are related to

the organizations that focus on the conventional community development programs, such as irrigation, health centers, agricultures, crafts and other forms of economic development. On the other hand, mobilization NGOs are related to the organizations that set their focus on the education and the mobilization of poor people surrounded with the issues such as ecology, human rights, women's status, rights law on land ownership, the rights of small traders, homeless people and marginalized people (Praja, 2009).

Moreover, Philip Eldridge in Afan Gaffar also divided NGOs based on their relationship with the government into three types. The first one is *High Level Partnership: Grassroots Development*, *High Level Politics: Grassroot Mobilization, Empowerment at the Grassroot* (Gaffar, Politik Indonesia: Transisi Menuju Demokrasi, 2006). Greenpeace based on its relationship can be categorized into the type of *High Level Partnership: Grassroots Development*, it can be said as this type of NGO does not have much of an intention to be highly political in nature and in its activities. However, they do have the aim to influence the government policy (Gaffar, Politik Indonesia: Transisi Menuju Demokrasi, 2006).

To be the consequence, NGOs may face some problems because of their limited resources, limited political space, dilemmas in management, pressures from the political environment, and so on (Hadiwinata, 2003). Many NGOs will not perceive themselves as directly engaging in public policy. However, their activities are always a social expression of values. Therefore, NGOs are very possible to be political in

the far-reaching sense of influencing social discourse and can frequently have an indirect effect on politics in the narrow sense of shaping public policy (Rai Technology University).

On other typologies of NGOs, David Corten differentiate NGOs into two types: community development NGO and advocacy NGO. The community development NGOs uses the micro approach in trying to solve social issues, while advocacy NGOs emphasizes on the policy change in order to make the society more prosper. Lastly, David Corten also added one more type of NGOs which is the *NGO People Movement*. This type of NGOs tries to make social structure transformation within the society and each development sectors that affect life. Their primary vision is to achieve a new better world. Therefore, it needs involvement of all citizens in the world (Praja, 2009).

On the whole, related to Greenpeace with its nature as a movement NGO, some other characteristics of NGOs are environmental monitoring and reporting, protecting the environment, awareness-raising, campaigning and advocacy. In creating the awareness among the public on current environmental issues, NGOs are able to do it by transferring information through newsletters, brochures, articles, audio visuals, etc. , organizing seminars, lecturers and group discussion for promotion of environmental awareness (Badruddin, 2015).

3. Concept of Ecopolitics

Furthermore, the third theoretical framework that the researcher used is the Ecopolitics approach.

Ecopolitics is political policy that is driven by concerns for the environment. Initially, Ecopolitics or more commonly known as “environmental” or “green politics,” is, together with feminism, the newest political ideology and associated social and political movements of the postwar era. One finds in green politics an extremely wide-ranging understanding of the scope of “politics” and the “political” that comprises almost everything one does, including one's choices about consumption, transport, waste, fertility, food, job, and so on (Barry, 2011).

Ecopolitics, in the stance between political science and ecology is, a new interdisciplinary study of human activities and their relationship with nature's cycle. The goal of Ecopolitics is to call for an “essential partnership” between man and nature (Guimares, 1993). The ecopolitics, however, allows a jump across the need of scientific understanding and complex theory on decision making under uncertainty. The integrative approach of Ecopolitics in light of humanities, social science analysis and international relation provides a set of realistic tools for environmental policy making process. The environmental medicament derived from ecological, moral, legal or economic premises can be tested for their outcome in the applied political arena. There are two models within the Ecopolitics, such as rational and realistic which underlines much of environmental policy of different countries, rational integrate scientific approaches blended with social, cultural and geographical context (Dular, 2014).

Evidently, the environment in the Ecopolitics arena has the capability to influence and play a role in

the political process, such as the process of making and implementing decisions, and the process of supervisions of policies that have been made. In Indonesia itself, Ecopolitics or green politics can be assessed from the policies made by the Indonesian government (Bahalwan, 2018). In this case, through the Ecopolitics approach, the government is being pressured by many, especially non-government organizations such as Greenpeace to take firm actions regarding the deforestation that caused devastating forest fire and haze.

On the whole, pressures given by NGOs concerning the environment issues towards the government are expected to further solve the deforestation issue that caused forest fire and haze which impacted not only Indonesia, but also its neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. As such, the government is pushed to implement the Ecopolitics and be more pro-active in the Ecopolitics arena.

D. Research Arguments

In this research, using the perspective of transnational social movements, this research argues that Greenpeace as a non-government organization sees the opportunity to pressure the government to solve the deforestation as Greenpeace does various actions across state borders.

Furthermore, from the perspective of movement NGO and the concept of ecopolitics, this research argues that Greenpeace as a movement NGO can only give pressure to the government by continuously bringing out the issue of deforestation and to make the government to be more pro-active in the Ecopolitics or the so-called green politics.

E. Scope of the Research

This research specifically focused on President Jokowi's governance on his first presidential term from year 2014-2019.

F. Methodology

In doing this research, the researcher used the method of literature study which is by looking at the previous studies and researches regarding the similar topic concerning about Greenpeace as a non-government organization on addressing environmental issues. In addition, the researcher retrieved the data for the research from the secondary data by looking from reading sources, both printed and non-printed such as files from the internet.

G. Structure

In this research, the researcher will provide 4 chapters. In the first chapter, it will explain about the background of the study, research questions, theoretical framework, research arguments, scope of the research, methodology and the structure of the study.

The second chapter explains about palm oil industry in Indonesia and governments policies about it. The third chapter explains about the how Greenpeace as a movement NGO pressure the government to help stop the deforestation and explains about the political prospect of ecopolitics movement in Indonesia.

Lastly, the fourth chapter will explain about the conclusion of the research regarding the pressure of Greenpeace towards the government.