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The Role of Indonesian Environment Movement to Respond the Government Policy Regarding Climate Change Issues

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Abstrak

Berdasarkan laporan dari Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) pada tahun 2013, dalam abad terakhir, telah terjadi percepatan pemanasan global akibat peningkatan emisi gas rumah kaca (GRK) di atmosfer. Kondisi ini diperburuk oleh eksploitasi sumber daya alam. Ekspansi kekuatan kapital secara masif mengeksploitasi lingkungan untuk keuntungan sambil mengabaikan aspek sosial. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi bagaimana gerakan lingkungan merespons kebijakan pemerintah terkait isu pemanasan global. Dengan menggunakan metodologi kualitatif deskriptif, penelitian ini mengeksplorasi peran Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI) sebagai gerakan lingkungan dalam merespons kebijakan pemerintah melalui advokasi, kampanye, riset, dan edukasi. Penelitian ini mengidentifikasi bahwa WALHI melakukan advokasi di wilayah pesisir dan pulau-pulau kecil terkait dampak perubahan iklim dan kebijakan RZWP3K, yang mengancam keberlanjutan lingkungan di wilayah pesisir.

Kata kunci: Gerakan Lingkungan, Perubahan Iklim, Politik Lingkungan.

Abstract

Based on the report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 2013, over the last century, there has been an acceleration of global warming due to the increase in greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in the atmosphere. This condition is exacerbated by the exploitation of natural resources. The expansion of capital power massively exploits the environment for profit while ignoring social aspects. This paper aims to identify how environmental movements respond to government policies related to global warming issues. Employing a descriptive qualitative methodology, the research explored the role of Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI) as an environmental movement in responding to government policies through advocacy, campaigns, research, and

education. The study identified that WALHI conducts advocacy in coastal areas and small islands concerning the impacts of climate change and the RZWP3K policy, which threatens environmental sustainability in coastal areas.

Keywords: Climate Change, Environment Movement, Political Environment.

Introduction

Natural resources are essential for human survival as they are required for nearly every human activity. The environment must be properly organized and managed to sustain both present and future life. It is everyone's responsibility to preserve the environment's ability to support and protect the needs of humans and other living organisms. The advancement of science and ecology has met both the needs and desires of humans. As a result, humans began to control and exploit nature. While this led to progress, it also caused social and economic inequalities, along with the depletion of natural resources and environmental degradation. Ultimately, this has led to issues surrounding justice, prosperity, and sustainability for humanity's future (Rusdiyanto, 2015).

Expansion of capital power massively exploit the environment to profit and ignore social aspects. Gaps social and environmental damage with threats Natural disasters will be a bleak portrait of the future public. The initial conditions of the industrialization process are changes in environmental conditions after construction industrial projects. Morphological development causes material changes in natural conditions will have implications for the social life of society. Agricultural lands replaced by construction of factories (Ma'arif, 2014).

The root cause of all environmental problems is development that disregards environmental balance. This leads to environmental damage and pollution. The construction of residential, industrial, or plantation areas often overlooks environmental sustainability, focusing solely on economic gains. Additionally, many environmental management failures are caused by various factors such as education levels, economic issues, lifestyle choices, and weaknesses in the legal and regulatory systems, which result in pollution and environmental degradation (Azami & Kustanto, 2023).

The various crises that occurred are closely linked to the large number of concession permits granted to extractive industries and related infrastructure. These issues were not limited to land; they also affected coastal areas and small islands, damaging two vital ecosystems in Indonesia: forests and marine environments. Palm oil plantations, timber plantations, mining, and oil and gas operations have led to ecological disasters such as floods, landslides, forest fires, and land degradation. These activities exceed the environment's carrying capacity and ability to sustain them, resulting in significant ecosystem damage. The destruction of nature leads to a rise in disaster occurrences, resulting in substantial economic losses. Additionally, the social effects of these disasters create long-term challenges that are difficult to address (Ghofar et al., 2023).

Environmental issues have become a global agenda entering the 21st century, both among political leaders, government officials, scientists, industrialists, NGOs and citizens. Environmental issues which were initially in the area of low politics then shifted to become central issues of world politics. Environmental issues are a classic agenda in international politics, namely security and economic issues. The emergence of environmental issues in world politics is driven by several factors. First, the end of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union in the cold war provided space for the emergence of other political issues. Second, there is public and media awareness of global environmental degradation. Third, scientific communities provide information about the hole in the ozone layer in Antarctica in the mid-1980s, this shows environmental damage (Winarno, 2014).

In Indonesia, the environmental movement emerged in the 1980s, initially driven by economic growth followed by a global environmental crisis. This period saw two key developments: the introduction of Environmental Law No. 4 of 1982, which led to the establishment of the Indonesian Ministry of the Environment, and the creation of the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) on October 15, 1980, as an NGO platform focused on environmental policy advocacy (Ahmady, Herdiansah, & Al-Banjari, 2022).

Since beginning its advocacy efforts, WALHI has encountered both structural and political challenges. Environmental issues in Indonesia are inherently political, as environmental damage often stems from policies driven by various political interests and agendas. As a result, WALHI has consistently remained critical of political matters throughout its work. In the opening of its 1996 Articles of Association, WALHI mandated that achieving the goal of balancing economic growth with environmental protection must be part of the democratization movement (WALHI, n.d.)

WALHI's campaign against the impact of mining at PT. Freeport Indonesia marked the beginning of its strong advocacy efforts, where a firm and unwavering stance on environmental destruction became a defining trait of the organization. In 1988, the WALHI Executive Board launched a campaign for Environmental Reform, focusing on broader issues such as environmental policies and institutions. This policy was grounded in the belief that environmental policies should promote justice, protect the environment, and benefit the community. Additionally, in terms of institutions, the focus was on building and developing institutions capable of effectively implementing these policies (WALHI, n.d.)

Previous research related to WALHI was written by Wahyudi et al. (2021), focusing on WALHI Riau's transnational advocacy strategy, which includes: (1) information politics, the ability to generate information and direct the potential impact of the information obtained; (2) symbolic politics, the ability to invoke symbols or actions that can create public opinion, framing, and issue construction; (3) leverage politics, the ability to influence a particular situation when one party is unable to exert influence; and (4) accountability politics, the effort to ensure that those in power maintain the policies that have been established (Wahyudi, Anugerah, & Arif, 2021).

The second study, written by Yani et al. (2019), discusses WALHI's investigation into illegal gold mining in the city of Padang. WALHI, as an indirect actor in politics, plays two roles: *Countervailing Power*, by using lobbying, position statements, and mass actions, and *Empowerment*, by organizing communities, engaging in dialogues with local figures,

and conducting public campaigns. Another role played by WALHI of West Sumatra is building cooperation with local community organization forums in the process of framing the issue of illegal gold mining (Yani, Asrinaldi, & Rahmadi, 2019).

This article aims to analyze the role of WALHI as the oldest environmental movement in Indonesia in responding to government policies, especially related to the issue of climate change, because climate change affects ecosystems, human health, and the global economy, leading to uncertainty and instability.

Theoretical Framework

Environmental Politics

According to Law Number 23 of 1997 concerning Environmental Management, the definition of the environment is the unity of space with all objects, forces, conditions and living creatures, including humans and their behavior, which influence the survival and welfare of humans and other living creatures. Environmental issues are on the political agenda driven by several things. First, some environmental problems are inherently global. CFCs (*chlorofluorocarbons*) released into the atmosphere have an impact on depleting the stratospheric ozone layer, as does carbon dioxide which causes climate change. Second, there is exploitation of the global common, namely resources that belong to the international community, such as the ocean, atmosphere, seabed and outer space. Third, many environmental problems transcend national borders. Fourth, there are many processes of environmental exploitation and degradation that occur on a large scale both at local and national levels, such as problems with deforestation, waste, and exploitation of non-renewable natural resources (Winarno, 2014).

Environmental politics is a study that discusses the interactions between various system elements (variables) in the process of formulating and making public decisions that lead to the formation of public policy on environmental problems. Comprehensively discussing various environmental crisis issues, environmental political ideologies, environmental movements, political systems, political parties and the environment, and

political and environmental processes. In short, environmental politics in simple terms, to borrow the term from Bryant and Bailey, is interpreted as a field of study in political science regarding environmental problems. Environmental politics is based on an applied method by environmental experts who analyze policies regarding relevant environmental problems, this is what is known as progressive contextualization. This approach starts with the actors, in this case the direct users of natural resources, and considers the context in which they act or do not act in a specific way towards natural resources. This approach also aims to explain why people use the environment in specific ways, sometimes causing resources to be reduced or damaged so that it can endanger the community and the surrounding environment (Arifin, 2012).

There are three views on environmental issues in politics, namely realism, rationalism and revolutionaryism. In the realism view, environmental issues are included in the low politics category. Meanwhile, issues included in high politics include war and peace. Hans Morgenthau (1948) explained that the main focus of the State is to achieve its interests. For this reason, environmental issues are considered important by realists within the framework of protecting territorial integrity, achieving economic security, and other main goals of the State, for example related to competition for natural resources between States. The rationalism group sees environmental issues as related to common interests so that to overcome environmental problems multilateral cooperation is needed. In this agreement, the ratifying country must commit to all the contents of the agreement. Domestically, each country must adjust environmental regulations in accordance with the points in the agreement. Meanwhile, revolutionary groups see the issue of environmental damage as a consequence of capitalism. Economic activity is fundamentally responsible for the overexploitation of natural resources, loss of habitat, high levels of pollution, climate change, and widespread ecological destruction. Revolutionaries do not approve of solving environmental problems as a collective effort by the State, but rather direct intensive provision from capitalist countries to other countries affected by ecological damage due to capitalist activities. For example, the

problem of climate change cannot be resolved only through UN negotiations, but there needs to be fundamental changes to the capitalist economic system, such as intensive provision for de-carbonization of the global economy (Harris, 2021).

Environmental Movements

Environmental movement activists have relatively similar value systems, moral principles and idols of heroism. However, they often also have differences, especially regarding more detailed issues such as the priorities and emphasis of their movements, methods of carrying out actions, and the specific goals they want to achieve. The environmental movement, in its pure form, tends to represent broad public interests regarding clean air, clean water, healthy food, animals, natural beauty, open space, and so on. Apart from that, the environmental movement is also very concerned with protecting animals, including wild animals, from hunting, both for hobby and consumption (Rochwulaningsih, 2007).

The movement construction carried out by the environmental movement is by communicating about knowledge regarding matters impacts and threats to environmental problems that will arise later from industrialization agendas. The construction of this knowledge, too carried out with transformative models using local cultural strengths as well as popular images and photos and easy to understand to provide a perspective on degradation the environment itself (Hidayat, 2017).

The social movement to preserve the environment is a response to the increasing environmental changes occurring in the world. Concern towards preserving and sustaining nature is an important basis for the formation of a social movement to preserve the environment. According to perspective functional structural, environmental conservation social movements have a role which is very important for the balance of social functions in society. The functional structural perspective views society as a system consists of several parts that interact with each other in an effort to maintain social stability. The social movement for environmental conservation is seen as

subsystem that plays a role in maintaining balance between nature and humans (Hayati Harahap & Meysari BR Tarigan, 2024).

The environmental movement has three components important in carrying out its role. First component is the organized environmental movement or voluntary environmental movements (the organized or voluntary environmental movement), for example Sierra Club, Green Peace and WALHI in Indonesia. Second component, the public environmental movement (the public environmental movement) which is a form community-based or public movements whose attitudes, their daily actions and words express an aversion or liking towards ecosystem, lifestyle and certain flora and fauna. The final component is the environmental movement government-based or other institutions formed by the government regarding food processing efforts environmental problems such as in America, agency environmental protection and environmental ministry live in Indonesia. This component is called institutional environmental movement (Aditjondro, 2003).

The environmental movement is part of an interest group. According to Gaffar, interest groups have 4 roles in state life, namely: 1) as catalysts for system change carried out by means of advocacy and efforts to form collective awareness of society on important issues in life so that political will and community initiative grow to jointly influence policy; 2) as a supervisor or monitor of government administration and submit criticism or protests if indications of abuse of power or violations of the law are found by State officials; 3) as a facilitator of reconciliation between the community and judicial institutions when the community becomes victims of violence or legal injustice by the government; 4) realizing a number of programs in the context of community empowerment (Sagita, 2016).

Research Methods

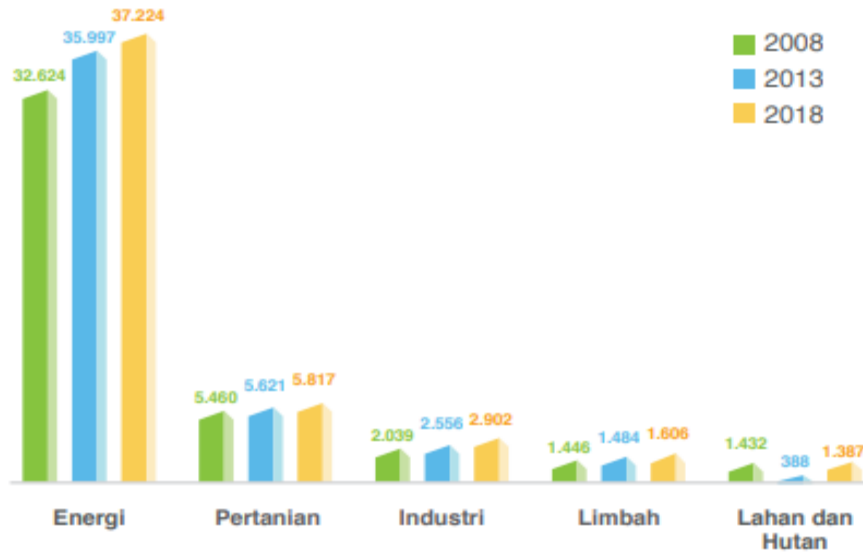
This paper is based on a study that used a descriptive methodology, as outlined by Creswell (2016), to explore the role of environmental movement to criticize government

policy related to climate change. The primary data collection method involved comprehensive library research, which included gathering information from various sources. These sources encompassed academic literature by experts in environmental politics, environmental movement, and climate change. Along with secondary data from reputable journals, books, online platforms, and other relevant written materials. This approach ensured a broad and well-rounded understanding of the topic. Data analysis was systematic and multi-phased, beginning with the careful selection of relevant data that aligned with the study's objectives. This was followed by an in-depth review of the data, focusing on the most significant aspects of environmental politics and political movements. The final phase involved drawing conclusions that addressed the research goals, integrating the data insights with theoretical frameworks of environmental politics and political movements. This structured approach was intended to provide a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the contributions and roles of environmental movements in environmental politics related to climate change (Creswell, 2016).

Result and Discussion

The UNFCCC defines global warming as the gradual increase in the Earth's temperature caused by the greenhouse effect. Global warming alters global climate patterns, as seen from the increase in greenhouse gas events, due to the rising concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. Global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions are contributed by various sectors, such as energy, land and forests, agriculture, industry, and waste. The energy sector accounts for nearly three-quarters of global emissions. The largest emissions in the energy sector come from electricity and heat generation, transportation, and manufacturing (Dewi & Rosalina, 2022).

Graphic 1.
 Contributing Sectors to Global GHG (dalam juta ton CO₂e)
 (Dewi & Rosalina, 2022)



Sumber: Climate Watch, Data Sejarah Emisi GRK Global (2016-2018)¹⁷

Based on the report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 2013, over the last century, there has been an acceleration of global warming due to the increase in greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in the atmosphere, which stem from the use of fossil fuels and other human activities such as land use changes and conversion. The IPCC Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5°C in 2017 stated that the Earth's temperature has increased by approximately 1°C compared to pre-industrial times (Ainnurrohmah & Sudarti, 2022).

According to Bappenas, climate change in Indonesia is marked by a rapid increase in temperature after 1960, a sea level rise trend of 0.8 mm per year from 1960 to 2008, a significant decrease in rainfall across nearly all regions of Indonesia in June, July, and August, and an increase in the likelihood of extreme daily rainfall in some parts of Indonesia between 1998 and 2008. These phenomena increase the potential for erosion, reduce wetlands along the coast, accelerate the rate of seawater intrusion, and decrease food production. Indonesia is ranked ninth among the 10 countries most vulnerable to

food security due to the impacts of climate change, particularly in the fisheries sector (Rochmayanto, Sakuntaladewi, & Wibowo, 2014).

Climate change affects not only the natural environment but also poses significant risks to human rights. Human rights encompass essential rights that should be upheld and protected in all circumstances, such as the right to life, health, food, water, and shelter. Climate change endangers these fundamental rights in a significant and often disproportionate manner, climate change can affect the most vulnerable groups in society. Indonesia faces numerous challenges that threaten its citizens' rights. The impacts of climate change in Indonesia include increased frequency and intensity of natural disasters, shifting weather patterns, and rising sea levels, all of which can jeopardize fundamental rights. People have various rights they are entitled to, including the right to life and health, and climate change can elevate the risk of natural disasters such as floods, landslides, and heatwaves in Indonesia (Faturrohman Faturrohman, Lucki Hidayanto, & Muhamad Fahrurroji, 2024).

Climate change also affects the ability to fulfill people's needs. The 2020 Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) project that climate change in Indonesia could negatively affect the ability to meet the basic needs of its citizens, with an average impact of 0.66% to 3.45% of the national GDP. This impact is expected to reach 2.87% of the national GDP by 2030. When accounting for damage to ecosystem services and disaster events, the potential loss could amount to IDR 4,328.38 trillion (Boer, n.d.).

WALHI plays a role as an environmental movement focused on the protection and preservation of the environment in Indonesia. As a non-governmental organization, WALHI functions to advocate for pro-environmental policies, provide education to the public, and fight for environmental rights for future generations. WALHI is also involved in various campaigns to reduce the negative impacts of climate change, deforestation, and pollution, as well as to raise public awareness about the importance of preserving ecosystems and environmental sustainability. With a community-based approach, WALHI strives to ensure that environmental issues are an integral part of national development.

In the aspect of policy, WALHI's environmental policy advocacy focuses on promoting sustainable practices and ensuring that environmental issues are prioritized in government policies. The organization works to influence legislation and regulations that protect natural resources, mitigate climate change, and reduce pollution. WALHI advocates for policies that

support the protection of ecosystems, such as forests, water sources, and biodiversity, and pushes for the enforcement of environmental laws. Additionally, WALHI is committed to addressing the needs of marginalized communities that are often the most affected by environmental degradation, advocating for their rights to a healthy environment. Through campaigns, legal actions, and partnerships, WALHI strives to create systemic change for a more sustainable and equitable future.

One of the government policies that is a concern for WALHI is the policy on the Coastal and Small Islands Zoning Plan, which is abbreviated as RZWP3K. The goal of RZWP3K is to regulate the sustainable utilization of coastal areas and small islands, including the management of natural resources and environmental protection in these regions. This policy is important to ensure that coastal ecosystems are preserved while supporting economic development that does not harm the environment. Climate change has a significant impact on coastal areas and small islands, which are vulnerable to its effects.

The impacts of climate change on coastal areas and small islands include: 1) Sea level rise, which can submerge coastal areas and small islands; 2) Natural disasters, as climate change can increase the frequency and intensity of natural disasters such as storms, floods, and coastal erosion, which risk damaging infrastructure and coastal ecosystems; 3) Damage to marine ecosystems, including changes in sea temperature and the decline in water quality due to pollution and sedimentation, which can threaten marine ecosystems such as coral reefs, mangroves, and seagrass beds; and 4) Threats to the sustainability of natural resources, as many people depend on coastal resources such as fisheries for their livelihood, and climate change could affect fish catch yields, potentially disrupting the livelihoods of local communities.

However, WALHI analyze that the RZWP3K regulation that has been drafted and enacted in 28 provinces reflects the direction and orientation of the development of the maritime and fisheries sector, which prioritizes extractive industry projects, especially reclamation and offshore sand mining. However, at the same time, a fair allocation of space has not been provided to coastal communities, particularly traditional fishermen and/or small-scale fishermen. This highlights the loss of the state's recognition of the living space of fishermen. RZWP3K also allocates offshore sand mining projects. Offshore sand mining is allocated to support reclamation projects. In practice, reclamation heavily relies on offshore sand material to create new land (Ridwanuddin & Saragih, 2023).

The presence of offshore sand mining on small islands has caused a socio-ecological crisis and has resulted in the pollution, destruction, and loss of marine production spaces and food sources, as well as triggering social conflicts within communities, leading to human rights violations accompanied by the criminalization of those who oppose the activities. Reclamation projects and offshore sand mining have had detrimental impacts, particularly the destruction of the social-economic lives of coastal communities, especially traditional and/or small-scale fishermen, as well as the damage to marine ecosystems (Ridwanuddin & Saragih, 2023).

Advocacy for the RZWP3K policy by WALHI (The Indonesian Forum for the Environment) focuses on ensuring that coastal and small island areas are managed sustainably, balancing environmental protection with the needs of local communities. WALHI emphasizes the importance of involving the public, particularly traditional fishermen and small-scale communities, in the planning and decision-making processes related to the zoning plan. They advocate for policies that prioritize the preservation of coastal ecosystems and equitable distribution of resources, rather than prioritizing large-scale extractive industries such as reclamation and offshore sand mining.

WALHI's advocacy efforts are seek to highlight the social and environmental impacts of projects that harm the ecosystem and threaten the livelihoods of coastal communities. They argue for the recognition of the rights of local communities, including the protection of their living spaces and access to marine resources, while holding the government and industries accountable for any violations of human rights or environmental damage linked to such projects.

Conclusion

WALHI's movement is centered on the belief that environmental protection is inseparable from social justice. The organization works to address the harmful effects of industrial activities, deforestation, pollution, and climate change, while emphasizing the importance of preserving natural resources for future generations. It also focuses on the rights of marginalized communities, such as indigenous peoples, farmers, and coastal populations, who depend on natural resources for their livelihoods.

Through advocacy, legal action, campaigns, and community organizing, WALHI aims to create a more equitable and environmentally sustainable Indonesia. It has been involved in numerous legal battles to protect natural resources, such as challenging

policies that prioritize extractive industries over community welfare or ecological balance. WALHI also actively participates in international environmental forums to push for stronger global action on climate change and environmental protection.

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