

# **Greenpeace Indonesia Analysis as Pressure Group In Controlling Environmental Policy In Anies Baswedan Government**

## **(Study On The Role Of Greenpeace Indonesia On Policy Emphasis For Efforts To Improve Clean Air Quality DKI Jakarta)**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*This research aims to find out the role of Greenpeace Indonesia as a pressure group on air pollution and related to the Jakarta government policy. In addition, this study also describes the State ignoring environmental damage that triggers the birth of NGO intermediary actors who care about environmental sustainability. Through his campaign action efforts to suppress and demand policies issued. This research uses civil society theory, intermediary actors, and the definition of the pressure group itself. The method used is a qualitative method with descriptive-analytical in controlling environmental policy by using a case study approach to reduce the clean air quality DKI Jakarta. Data collection techniques are obtained through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation that further use data analysis techniques to be analyzed from the data that has been obtained. Then the validity of the data used by researchers is the triangulation of sources to double-check the data so that the data obtained is reliable.*

**Keywords:** *Greenpeace Indonesia, Intermediary Actors, Pressure Group.*

### **Background**

As the country's capital, Jakarta is the most attractive place for newcomers to make much money. Moreover, Jakarta is declared a city with a very significant level of air pollution. The issue of air pollution is a significant topic of discussion by many parties, especially air quality conditions in the capital. This is a hot issue because, according to air quality results shown by AirVisual data in online media, Jakarta has poor air quality compared to cities worldwide.

Moreover, urban mobility is gaining an increasingly important role in everyday life. Cities greatly influence sustainability and are considered key to implementing sustainable

policies and climate change strategies. Much of his consensus is relevant to its ambitious targets for sustainable development. Transportation activities are the leading cause of uncertainty, especially in urban areas, because of their environmental impact. The development of transportation and industrial activities in urban areas causes air pollution due to gas-shaped substances and small particles in specific quantities, impacting human, animal, and plant life.

In this case, air pollution is measured based on Particulate Matter (PM 2.5) and can not be separated from several factors contributing to pollution, including motor vehicle emissions and industrial activities. As a center of government, the center of trade and industry and the concentration of all community activities with a population of more than ten million with an area of only 699.5 square kilometers impact the decline of the capital's air quality.

The impact of waste by industry type on air pollution is industrial waste in gases. The presence of the industrial revolution was carried out due to the exploitation of natural resources that could not be renewed. As with coal, which is still widely used in Indonesia as a source of power generation, coal fuel is never consumed literally but is used and then thrown back into nature in other forms that are primarily in pollution.

Problems like this are still considered not a dangerous thing, the government in Indonesia continues to rely on these resources, as evidenced by the construction of Steam Power Plants (PLTU) in Indramayu, in Bali, and others. It cannot be denied that in developing countries, the environment issue has not been a significant topic as in European countries that are currently aggressively trying to develop environmentally friendly renewable resources.

Since the Stockholm Conference, the polarization between developmentalism and environmentalists has sharpened. This again encourages the UNITED NATIONS (PBB) to take steps to compromise development and environmental interests by organizing Konferensi Tingkat Tinggi (KTT) Bumi or Earth Summit in De Rio Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992. At the Earth Summit, the motto introduced was "Berpikir Global dan Bertindak Lokal" or "Think Globally, Act Locally" as a form of socialization about the importance of maintaining synergy between development efforts maintaining environmental sustainability on Earth from pollution and damage. Results from the Earth Summit in De Rio Janeiro resulted in "Deklarasi Rio" and "Agenda 21" which contain environmental management and development principles.

As per the results of the 1972 Stockholm Conference and the 1992 Earth Summit organized by the United Nations, Indonesia is among the countries committed to implementing the concept of sustainable development with environmental aspects, beginning with the birth of Law No. 4 of 1982 on The Basic Provisions of Environmental Management in Indonesia, which was updated to Law No. 23 of 1997. Then, after the fourth amendment of the 1945 Constitution in 2002, it strengthened Indonesia's law on the environment. Furthermore, the provisions in the fourth amendment of the 1945 Constitution are spelled out in Law No. 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management (Perlindungan dan Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup) (UUPPLH). The law defines how the development of the community's

welfare with natural resources must be aligned, compatible, and balanced with the function of the environment. As a result, development policies must be imbued by the obligation to preserve the environment.

The increasingly massive and complex problem of environmental damage is recognized to affect the socio-political and socio-economic dynamics of the community both at the community, regional, and national levels. The effectiveness of a political system can, in fact, be measured by the extent to which it can respond to the demands and support it receives and formulate it in the form of appropriate policies or outputs.

This situation causes people to focus more on conveying aspirations through elements of interest groups. In Indonesia itself, the development of Non-Government Organization (NGO), especially in the field of the environment, has been considered the core of civil society that is active in encouraging conservation movements. However, more than that, it oversees and criticizes various policies of natural resource management that are not fair.

Greenpeace is an international environmental non-government organization (NGO) engaged in the environment. Greenpeace is a global environmental organization founded in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, in 1971. In Indonesia, Greenpeace has become one of the actors who care about the environment and conducts many peaceful actions about environmental damage. It focuses on several issues, namely forestry, energy, water, and marine issues. One of them is the air quality in the Capital Area of Jakarta. No major city in the world can avoid the problem of air pollution and Jakarta. This city is one of the largest cities whose air pollution levels are alarming and potentially endanger public health.

In 2018 Greenpeace campaigned about Jakarta's poor air quality by installing billboards on Jalan Jenderal Gatot Subroto. Greenpeace continues to campaign for poor air quality in Jakarta that has not improved. This organization also provides education to the community through social media platforms.

Based on Greenpeace's description, Greenpeace can be categorized as a pressure group. A pressure group is an organization that seeks to influence government policy without obtaining public office. The pressure group itself is not seen as a government-controlled organization, so it is interesting to study how environmental NGOs like Greenpeace play their role and function on clean air quality in Jakarta.

Pressure groups put pressure and demands on the ruler or government and control all its policies. In this case, Greenpeace Indonesia has a role in suppressing and controlling all government policies related to the environment, including the decline of pristine air quality in the DKI Jakarta version of IQ AirVisual in 2019. Greenpeace Indonesia's role as a pressure group puts pressure on the government, especially when there are no fundamental countermeasures related to the environment and nature. However, sometimes, the pressure conveyed is not responded to and denied by the relevant government.

Therefore, the government must make changes to the problems that occur in the environment. A policy is not something that the government simply decides. The

determination of a policy requires a long process involving many actors, the discourse in it, and most importantly, a specific goal. This is a concern when various non-governmental organizations have concerns about the environment because there are no fundamental countermeasures related to the environment and nature, including creating clean air in Indonesia.

The presence of NGOs in society is something that cannot be denied. This is due to the limitations of the State that cannot meet the needs of its people as a whole and or the limitations of society in meeting its demands to the State. So that in the end, NGO actors took over the role in bridging between society and the State.

Given air pollution itself as a growing and growing issue of environmental pollution, it is increasingly challenging to be aware of the severe impact on health if this continues to be allowed. Poor air quality can harm people's health and increase the risk of premature death. In this case, the right to the environment, pure and healthy air, including environmental management, is regulated quality standards, water quality standards, air quality standards, and many more. Air is a fundamental right whose quality must be measured about quality standards set scientifically and following international standards.

In its regulations contained in Government Regulation No. 41 of 1999 on Air Pollution Control stated in article 1, air pollution control includes the quality of emissions that can be issued ambient air, the source of emissions from any business that moves or does not move. Other regulations related to the Decree of the Minister of Environment No. 45 of 1997 on the Air Pollution Standard Index that pollution can disrupt human health. Decree of the Minister of State for environment number 13 of 1995 on Quality Standards of Immobile source emissions, then updated to Regulation of the Minister of Environment No. 7 of 2007 and Regulation of the Minister of Environment No. 21 of 2008. Furthermore, the latest regulation on pollution control is with Governor Regulation (Pergub) Number 66 of 2020 on Exhaust Emissions Test of Motor Vehicles.

The birth of the Environmental Law and Control Regulations in Indonesia is not enough to force policymakers to submit and comply with policies in the environment (Qodriatun, in Herdianto, 2017: 21). This causes increasing days of environmental damage problems in Indonesia, such as pollution of rivers, seas, land, and air or reduced forest cover, which causes disasters such as landslides, flash floods, droughts, and climate change. More complex than that, environmental damage in Indonesia is rooted in political-economic problems and power relations. Environmental change is not a neutral process but a political process involving many actors related to resource interests (Bryant, 2001).

The above statement also reminds us of the importance of air pollution control in order for air quality to improve, the government must create justice for the people in the right to breathe clean air and avoid dirty air causing disease, as stated in Article 28 H paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution is that "everyone has the right to live a prosperous life born and inward, living, and getting a good and healthy living environment and entitled to health

services." In addition to the government, actors outside the government are also needed who are fighting to meet the needs of the community for good and balanced environmental conditions.

Therefore, Greenpeace Indonesia's continuous efforts to campaign for environmental issues and act as an environmental campaign organization plays a crucial and demanding role in environmental issues and embodiments to improve clean air quality for all Indonesian people. This is the concern of researchers to research and analyzes Greenpeace Indonesia's role as a pressure group, especially in controlling environmental policies carried out by the government, in this case, the Jakarta Provincial Government whether Greenpeace Indonesia's role as a Pressure Group has been effectively related to improving clean air quality in DKI Jakarta.

Through descriptive analytical techniques to describe existing phenomena, which are current or currently going on, will be built and correlated with the theory of the Political System put forward by David Easton. In addition to understanding the system, pressure groups and interest groups will be seen through the data presented in this study. In addition, case studies that describe phenomena in a real-life context will also be seen how a phenomenon of environmental damage that in this case exposes a source of environmental damage that occurs, used to describe an NGO actor in carrying out his role in his concern for the environment. This research seeks to fill the void of previous research and help readers understand how NGOs play in other viewpoints. Because this paper will explain what role is done that suppresses and connects the community with the government and controls the presence of a policy.

This article will look different from the role of other NGOs in general. In addition to the usual, the role of NGOs is in the study of social movements. This research is in the realm of political science related to NGO actors in running a democratic system through campaign action to demand that the government immediately take concrete action to form a policy. This paper becomes interesting because it examines NGO actors whose role of pressure groups is to apply pressure and demands on the ruler or government and control all policies. In this case, Greenpeace Indonesia has a role in suppressing and controlling all government policies related to the environment, including efforts to improve air quality in the DKI Jakarta version of IQ AirVisual in 2019.

We are departing from the above exposure if the existing exposure focuses on the tools used in performing its role as an NGO. This paper focuses on how to play Greenpeace Indonesia as a pressure group on environmental policies on clean air quality in Jakarta. So the fundamental question that this paper will target is "What are the political demands emphasized by Greenpeace Indonesia against the government of Anies Baswedan regarding efforts to improve air quality in Jakarta?"

This article has limitations: what demands are emphasized to improve Jakarta's air quality condition. Moreover, why the pressure group becomes something related to the presence of policies issued.

This paper also aims to see, know and analyze how the campaign action carried out by Greenpeace Indonesia in providing an understanding of what kind of emphasis is done in controlling an environmental policy.

The benefits expected of course in this paper, provide benefits in the process of running political science in Indonesia and provide a new view in the demands and democratic process that has a relationship with the supervision of an environmental policy, especially in the context of the emphasis of environmental NGOs generated by an analysis related to it.

## **Literature Review**

### **Intermediary Actor**

Intermediary actors are generally defined as liaisons and translators of state policies to society. The power possessed by intermediary actors influences others, so their behavior becomes following the wishes of the person who has that power. This means that intermediary actors accommodated from civil society influence to change existing policies or control the presence of a policy.

According to Noeleen Heyzer in Affan Gaffar, there are several types of roles played by various intermediary actors, including: supporting and empowering people at the level of community movements in creating sustainable development, increasing political influence widely, conducting cooperation both within the State and with other non-state institutions, and also connecting the State with the community and conducting social control over the implementation of sustainable institutions. It is in the government. (Gaffar, 2006)

In the non-electoral realm, usually, the container formed comes from a community association that cares about the State of the country, especially on environmental issues that are currently rife. So intermediary actors will often be seen because of the limitations of the State in meeting the needs of its people as a whole and or the limitations of society in meeting its demands to the State. So that intermediary actors take over the role as liaisons and policy translators to the community.

### **Pressure Group**

Referring to the Political Dictionary, Pressure Group means pressure group. A group formed in a community association influences the decision-making or political policies of the government. Pressure groups are part of the political infrastructure. These groups stand for individuals and groups that join for common interests and purposes. This group comes from individuals who join because they share common interests and goals. Then these goals are agreed into a demand by providing pressure activities so that what is expected for government policies can be realized, the biggest hope is to change the policies made by the

government. "a group representing an interest or cause which seeks to achieve its aims by putting pressure on the government"

According to J. Denis Debyshire, it defines a pressure group is a group that can represent a particular interest or issue to achieve its goals by putting pressure on the government (Ranjabar, 2016).

Pressure groups can also influence or even shape government policies through persuasion and propaganda. Pressure groups can be gathered in several associations, they are:

1. Non-Governmental Organizations (LSM),
2. Religious, social organizations,
3. Youth Organization,
4. Environmental Organization,
5. Law and Human Rights Defenders Organization, also
6. Foundations or other Legal Entities.

From this, it is clear that the pressure group was formed based on making criticisms for the perpetrators of the ruler to be aware of the severe consequences that occur in a policy that has not been effective against the phenomenon that is happening.

The role of pressure groups is considered an advantage for the ongoing democratic political system. This is because there are several roles of pressure groups, including:

1. They are involved in policymaking. Pressure groups need to ensure the policymaking process so that politicians and exercise control monopolize nothing to compensate for the pressure group's operations.
2. Provide political education. Pressure groups need to educate the public on political affairs in every issue reported
3. Promote or encourage reform. Pressure groups can raise several issues where when political parties ignore them because they do not consider it essential to be the main issue internally, then the pressure group takes over the vacant roles and functions that exist within the government.
4. Put the welfare of the community as a priority.
5. Pressure groups can bridge the demands of society to the State by paying attention to the things that need to be studied and seeking solutions together.

### **Interest Group**

Interest groups are often defined as "a group of persons who share a common cause, which puts them into political competition with other groups of interests" (Benditt 1975:34). Based on this definition, the function of interest groups is limited to aggregation and articulation of interests only. They are a commonly organized group that actively seeks to influence the government (Janda, Berry, & Goldman 1997). In other words, their goal is to seek to "influence" the government's policymaking process.

In essence, interest groups are divided into two groups, namely: private interest groups and public interest groups. Private interest groups are groups that attach importance to the interests of their members or specific groups such as in general lawyers, doctors, lecturers, and others. At the same time, interest groups are public groups oriented to influence the government to take actions in the interests. Public interest groups are more social movements that advocate for environmental issues, education, mining, women, corruption, violence, etc.

In politics in Indonesia, there are at least some goals of interest groups. First, interest groups represent their constituents in influencing political agendas. Where lobbying is done is expected to impact the goals they want to achieve. Second, interest groups provide opportunities for their members to participate in the political process. As for at least one particular issue, its members may influence government officials. Third, it helps educate individuals or communities that are members to be aware of specific issues to have the same attitude as other members. Fourth, help individuals to take action on specific issues so that they can be of general concern. Fifth, interest groups become evaluators or supervisors of government programs. They can assess the shortcomings of government programs and provide input.

In conveying its aspirations to the government, interest groups took two steps, including (Djuyandi, 2018):

- a. Political parties can articulate the presentation of issues that are carried out. This means that the existing political system runs democratically and openly, where political parties compete healthily, and the level of public trust in political parties is higher than that of interest groups. Furthermore, the check and balance mechanism between political institutions is going well. In an atmosphere like this, interest groups will be easier to bargain to fight for their interests.
- b. The delivery of aspirations of this step is usually through a process of broad debate or polemic from the community, primarily through mass media. When several members of interest groups raised the issue to the mass media became a public concern, so the government also took notice. This method is taken because the political system cannot carry out its functions to the maximum.

From the steps that have been described above, the interest group also has a strategy in carrying out its role and function as a group to attach importance to the welfare of the community. The strategies used to influence the government are as follows:

- a. Lobbying establishes direct communication with authorized government officials.
- b. Through mass media as a means of attracting sentiment and public attention.

Grass-roots pressure, where interest groups gather the support of the lower layers of society to convey the issues being fought for. For example, through grand meetings, demonstrations, theatrical actions in public places or government.



## **Method**

In this study, researchers used qualitative descriptive case study approaches in describing research problems that refer to the collection of facts related to the focus of the study. As for the technique of data collection researchers, researchers conduct in-depth interviews and documentation studies where data is collected from various research sources such as books, journals, official documents from Greenpeace Indonesia, articles, newspapers, or internet sites that correlate with research. So that the data that has been obtained will be analyzed to be re-processed in data collection, reducing data, presentation of data, conclusions, and verification.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Greenpeace Indonesia as an Environmental NGO**

Greenpeace was formed around 1969, initiated by a group of environmentalists from Vancouver-Canada. The environmentalists are primarily members of the Sierra Club-British Columbia Chapter. They gathered and formed a committee called the "Do not Make a Wave Committee," with the intention and purpose of forming this committee as a form of dissatisfaction with the members of the Sierra Club because their organization refused to protest against nuclear weapons testing (Lee, 1995).

However, as environmental NGOs in various countries, Greenpeace was present in Indonesia on January 1, 2005. Based on applicable law in Indonesia, Greenpeace Indonesia has been officially registered with the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights as a society to stop environmental destruction in Indonesia. The work aims to stop the rapid rate of forest destruction in Indonesia. In addition to focusing on deforestation, Greenpeace also focuses on environmental issues such as air, water, and other environmental pollution. As in the capital, Greenpeace focuses on the issue of air pollution. In doing so, Greenpeace performs several roles to overcome the problem of air pollution in Jakarta.

Greenpeace's journey to finally be present in Indonesia is also reasonably long independently identifying a problem to facilitate the growth of activist actors who care about the environment. In addition, the threat of the climate crisis has a significant impact and many disasters that affect various fields such as health, agriculture, economy, etc. So if the economy ignores the value of the environment, the economy will not advance. The development of Green Business under the UN Sustainable Development Goals can open up new opportunities. Seeing the importance of sustainable development potential and the threat of environmental damage in Asia, especially in Indonesia, Greenpeace Indonesia is increasing the consolidation and development of campaigns in Indonesia and especially the city of Jakarta, the capital region.

### **Dimensions of Air Quality Condition of DKI Jakarta**

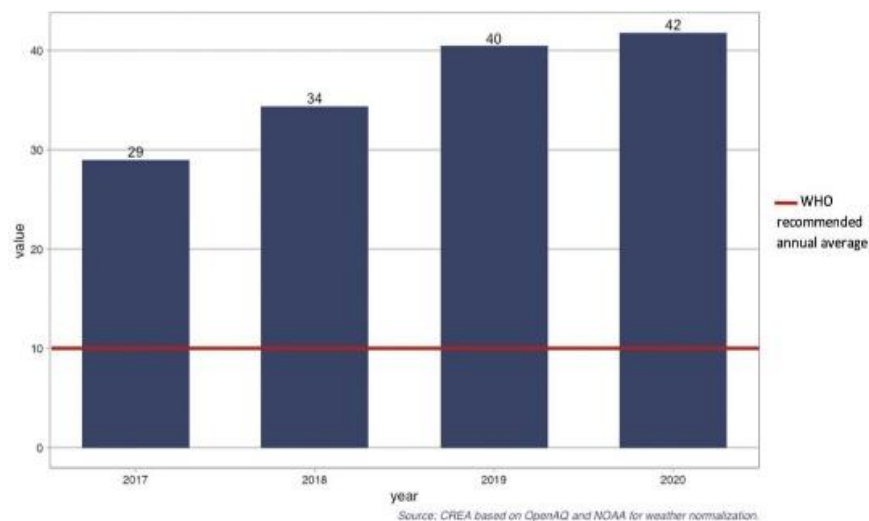
Air pollution is a severe problem in Jakarta. Industrialization and urbanization are increasing rapidly, increasing sustainable air pollution. It has reached a point of pollution that

has reached three times worse than the World Health Organization's (WHO) recommended concentration, resulting in worsening health impacts for society. As noted in a study conducted by the University of Indonesia in 2010 found that almost 60 percent of Jakarta's population suffers from respiratory diseases related to poor air quality (Haryanto 2017). Meanwhile, the number of known emitters such as coal-fired steam power plants, modes of transportation, and manufacturing facilities also increased. The production and consumption of coal, oil, and gas from these sources produces large amounts of pollutants into the atmosphere, impacting the pristine air quality of the surrounding area hundreds of kilometers in the wind direction.

**Figure 1**

**Average PM 2.5 level in Jakarta**

Unit:  $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ , after adjusting the weather



*Source: CREA according to OpenQA and NOAA for normalization of the we*

The cause of air pollution is not only in the source of transportation modes, but other sources affect Jakarta's air quality level is decreasing. Currently, Indonesia has the largest coal-fired steam power plant (PLTU coal fuel) in Southeast Asia, as many as 74 plants. Since 2010, electricity generated from the plant has more than doubled (Greenstone et al. 2019). Indonesia also has plans to add 31,200 MW of coal-fired power generation capacity, 20% of which will be located within a 100 km radius of Jakarta, and the impact on air quality is equivalent to adding 10 million cars to Jakarta (Lowy Institute 2019). Air quality can be much worse if there are no adequate safeguards. A study by Harvard University found that plans for a coal-fired power plant would cause an additional 2,600 people to die prematurely each year (Kopplitz et al., 2017).

Regulations on emissions remain unclear, with enforcement of the industry limited. In addition, Indonesia's loose ambient (outdoor) air quality standards do not adequately control

the accumulation of pollution from all polluting sources. While who states that exposure to pm<sub>2.5</sub> fine particulates more than 25 µgm<sup>3</sup> for 24 hours is already harmful to human health, the National Ambient Air Quality Standard (BMUAN) has a limit of 65µgm<sup>3</sup>.

### **Main Air Polluter**

Major Air Polluters Fossil fuel power plants and industrial plants produce emissions while operating, and these emissions contain toxic air pollutants. Pollution, including but not limited to NO<sub>x</sub>, SO<sub>2</sub>, particulates (PM), and mercury (Hg), spreads in the atmosphere and endangers human health, including causing stroke, heart disease, asthma, respiratory infections, and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (WHO 2016). Poor health conditions lead to increased hospital visits and premature death. Pollutants are generated directly from their source and interact in the atmosphere and produce new pollutants. NO<sub>x</sub> gas is released every time fossil fuels are burned due to their high combustion temperature (SEPA). Similarly, SO<sub>2</sub> is formed during fuel combustion in power plants and industrial facilities (U.S. EPA 2019). PM<sub>2.5</sub> is generated directly from polluting sources (primary) such as vehicles, heavy equipment, forest fires, and other combustion activities, or formed in the atmosphere (secondary) can remain airborne for long periods and travel hundreds of miles.

Secondary formation of PM<sub>2.5</sub> and ozone occurs when NO<sub>x</sub> reacts with other compounds in the atmosphere, generally in the place to which the wind blows and at a certain distance from its original emission source (U.S. EPA 2016). Exposure to particles in the short or long term can cause adverse cardiovascular impacts. Because PM<sub>2.5</sub> can enter deep into the lungs, these pollutants have also been linked to respiratory impacts, including asthmatic hunting and impaired lung development. Mercury, a neurotoxic heavy metal, is another pollutant produced from coal-fired power plants and quickly moves in the atmosphere. It can even move worldwide, settling in very remote areas (UN Environment 2019). Mercury emissions from power plants that do not have adequate air pollution control devices, such as those around Jakarta, can be immediately deposited in the area around the power plant, creating a concentration point of mercury deposits (see, e.g., Sullivan et al. 2006)

### **Forms of The Role of Greenpeace Indonesia**

Based on the Political Dictionary, Pressure Group means pressure group. A group formed in a community association influences the decision-making or political policies of the government. Pressure groups are part of the political infrastructure. These groups stand for individuals and groups that join for common interests and purposes. According to J. Denis Debyshire, it defines a pressure group is a group that can represent a particular interest or issue to achieve its goals by putting pressure on the government.

Greenpeace Indonesia is categorized in linking and monitoring social control to the implementation of institutions within the government as a form of controlling the presence of a policy with campaigns carried out. As a pressure group and environmental campaign organization, Greenpeace Indonesia is one of the crucial elements often associated with civil society's existence is NGOs. This non-profit institution is a group that has a mission to strengthen and empower communities outside the State or private sector. Greenpeace Indonesia considers people and governments that lack awareness of environmental damage, injustices in getting clean and healthy living rights, economic inequality, and all other

multidimensional problems stemming from environmental problems. Moreover, during a climate of democratization, their presence is undoubtedly an essential factor because their capacity to encourage increased awareness of public political participation is more inclusive than during the development of semi-governmental democratic institutions such as the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM), political parties, and other interest groups.

Greenpeace Indonesia generalizes civil society theory into intermediary theory as a pressure group and environmental campaign organization. One of the crucial elements that are often associated with the existence of civil society is NGO. This non-profit institution is a group that has a mission to strengthen and empower communities outside the State or private sector. Greenpeace Indonesia considers people and governments that lack awareness of environmental damage, as well as injustices in getting the right to clean and healthy living, economic inequality, and all other multidimensional problems stemming from environmental problems.

### **Campaigning and Organizing Public Protests**

#### **1. Installing Greenpeace Indonesia Billboards as a Form of Action of Air Pollution Campaign in Jakarta 2018**

As already explained above, cases regarding Jakarta's air quality conditions are getting worse. Environmental NGOs will not hesitate to conduct campaign actions and embrace people who feel to have the same mission vision as the NGO. Greenpeace in action to deal with the problem of air pollution in Jakarta. Greenpeace conducted several campaign actions as one of the strategies to blow up an issue being fought. Greenpeace had carried out the campaign strategy since its establishment in 1971 when the campaign was carried out in industrialized countries and was able to resuscitate and capture local citizens whose awareness has been open.

In the case of air pollution, Greenpeace Indonesia took concrete action as it did in 2018 by putting up a message through a large giant poster (billboard). Billboards are installed right on General Gatot Subroto Street. The billboard is hashtagged #WeBreatheTheSameAir. The billboard was installed directly by Greenpeace activists. A campaign is a form of response from the results of a previous study conducted by Greenpeace on the condition of Jakarta's air quality taken from an average of 5 monitoring air quality equipment belonging to several different institutions such as BMKG in Kemayoran, the United States Embassy in Central and South Jakarta, in addition to 3 Greenpeace-owned tools located in Rawamangun, West Pejaten, and Mangga Dua Selatan.

The purpose of the Greenpeace campaign was conveyed by Greenpeace campaigners in an interview with researchers "We installed this large billboard to inform the public about the air quality index in Jakarta. The source is from visual water that can be downloaded. So this is very important, I think, so that the public knows the air quality of Jakarta, which is mostly unhealthy." Greenpeace Indonesia, through the campaign, has high hopes that air quality

issues are a serious concern. This is because air quality problems are very closely related to residents' health problems who inhabit Jakarta. So that through the campaign action, the hope will grow awareness from all levels of society about air quality.

2. Greenpeace Indonesia held a theatrical action at the Office of the Ministry of Forestry and Environment.

In 2019, Greenpeace activists took action in front of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK). At the rally, activists wore black costumes and black masks with pm 2.5 writing all over the costumes and masks. In addition, they carried a sign that was written "Jakarta Butuh Udara Bersih," "Jakarta Under Pollution," and also hashtag #WeBreatheTheSameAir. The campaign is a response from Greenpeace to research conducted by IQ AirVisual with Greenpeace Southeast Asia. The study results reveal the air quality in major cities around the world. The report revealed that Jakarta was ranked first with the worst PM 2.5 in Southeast Asia during 2018. Furthermore, in addition to exceeding who is limits, PM 2.5 in Jakarta even exceeds the Indonesian government's quality standards, which are actually below WHO's quality standards.

The campaign sends a message to the government to take concrete steps immediately related to air pollution and must be a top priority. The problem of air pollution causes many losses for the community. This has to do with people having the right to breathe clean air. The government has a responsibility to overcome the problems that occur, especially concerning the community's interests.

3. Action Lawsuit filed by the Clean Air Initiative Movement of the Universe Coalition (Capital City)

Greenpeace Indonesia monitors Jakarta's worsening air quality during dangerous eid holidays. Reduced vehicle activity that passes due to homecoming and office holidays for one week does not significantly impact Jakarta's air quality, so it still threatens the health of citizens. On June 4, 2019, the level of very dangerous pm 2.5 daily pollution particles reached 70.8 ug / m<sup>3</sup>, above the national air quality standard of 65 ug/m<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, when Greenpeace Indonesia monitored and published the results of its data and saw this condition, Greenpeace Indonesia and the Clean Air Initiative Movement of the Universe Coalition (Capital) created a petition to get the support of citizens. The spread of the petition began through social media platforms Instagram and Twitter under the name Aku and Polusi but is currently changing its name to Aku and Kotaku.

The claims filed by the plaintiffs to sue the stakeholders have the hope that public health should take precedence and the public has the right to clean air as stated in Article 28 H paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution is that "setiap orang berhak hidup sejahtera lahir dan batin, bertempat tinggal, dan mendapatkan lingkungan hidup yang baik dan sehat serta berhak memperoleh pelayanan kesehatan."

### **Implications of Government Response to Air Pollution Control**

As an environmental NGO, Greenpeace Indonesia is demanding policy changes that occur. Still, with low awareness of the importance of environmental issues in the electoral community and the community, Greenpeace Indonesia is moving into an environmental campaign organization, conducting a politically non-electoral struggle to raise awareness and bring environmental issues to the public. To bring environmental issues to the community, Greenpeace Indonesia conducts campaigns, education to citizens experiencing environmental conflicts or not, socialization, and public consultation to measure the extent of the public response or response to Greenpeace Indonesia.

The escort in the lawsuit decision made by the clean-up of the city initiative movement with Greenpeace Indonesia was triggered because the government did not perform its obligations as it should. There needs to be further analysis related to the causes of air pollution, considering the mobility of the population, including the current emergency PPKM, is decreasing. However, in 2018 Greenpeace Indonesia campaigned about Jakarta's deteriorating air quality conditions to the public and informed them about its impact on health. The government finally responded by making monitoring station tools scattered in several points of the DKI Jakarta area. Not only that, but the DKI Government's claim also has a policy that focuses on air pollution control with the issuance of Governor Regulation (Pergub) Number 66 of 2020 on the Motor Vehicle Exhaust Emissions Test.

Therefore, the desired expectations of various NGOs to take concrete steps for Jakarta's clean air condition ultimately bear fruit. Greenpeace Indonesia's trip suppresses and demands that stakeholders make history again for Greenpeace in winning court rulings related to citizen lawsuits driven by the Initiative of Bersihkan Udara Koalisi Semesta (Ibu Kota) on behalf of all citizens of DKI Jakarta.

The struggle for the right to healthy living for the people demanded by Greenpeace Indonesia is how efforts to improve air quality and countermeasure and control the source of air pollution as a whole in contaminated environments can be made immediately so that the impact is not widespread and in order to accelerate sustainable recovery efforts in the affected areas. Because air pollution management is not done immediately will cause a broader impact on health because of the speed of distribution from wind gusts that fly.

### **Post-Citizen Law Suit (CLS)**

This study has explained air pollution, which has a very significant impact on health. Therefore, Greenpeace Indonesia as a pressure group and intermediary actor who connect the community with the government to meet its demands by filing a citizen's lawsuit in 2018 ago that the regulations run by the government are contrary to what is happening today in the environment.

Until the lawsuit was finally won, the judge granted the citizen's lawsuit and stated that the defendants committed unlawful acts because they should be responsible for controlling Jakarta's air pollution.

The form of responsibility that must be carried out by both the central and regional areas of Jakarta itself is to tighten the National Ambient Air Quality Standard (BMUA) to protect human health, including the health of sensitive populations and the environment, and ecosystems. However, in this case, as previously explained that researchers discuss air pollution in the DKI Jakarta area and who is more responsible for the problems that occur in the DKI Jakarta area is the DKI Government following the decision of PTUN and the Governor of DKI Jakarta also admitted that the problem of air pollution in Jakarta needs to be addressed together and stated that it does not appeal to the court's decision of the citizen's lawsuit and is ready to carry it out for the sake of Improve Jakarta's air quality. At the same time, the central government of both the head of State and other ministers appealed the lawsuit of the country's citizens. Therefore, as a pressure group, Greenpeace Indonesia continues to conduct escorts on Jakarta's air pollution and has carried out propaganda and escort issues related to air pollution until the lawsuit is granted. However, there is no other verdict on what steps are carried out by the Jakarta Provincial Government to control air pollution in Jakarta.

### **Research Results Analysis**

Based on the discussion and research results obtained by the researchers above, Greenpeace Indonesia, as an NGO and an interest group, suppresses and sues the government to improve air quality in DKI Jakarta. Greenpeace Indonesia's campaign strategy seeks community advocacy to the government due to the lack of government capability in meeting the community's needs as a whole. Therefore, the role of the government is taken over by NGOs, especially in the environmental field.

We can call that interest group a democratization movement to criticize the government. However, the move of the Greenpeace Indonesia movement in the non-electoral politics attracted many negative perceptions of Greenpeace's independent status as a non-governmental organization. Nevertheless, suppressive groups have an essential role in controlling the political system in one country.

Public perception of a political NGO is still misguided because of concerns that the idealism of NGOs will be thwarted when entering the political realm. However, Greenpeace Indonesia dares to take a different step with other non-governmental organizations. Greenpeace Indonesia takes political actions as a bodyguard and supervisor of the State and its political system. The impacts of air pollution and unsustainable development result from government policies full of oligarchic interests. Greenpeace Indonesia considers collaboration between state interests and influential businesses to establish the MINERBA Law. The latest is the OMNIBUSLAW Law, which contrasts the regulation in favor of oligarchs and damages the environment. Moreover, the power plant in Indonesia has 74 plants and plans to add 31,200 MW of coal-fired power plant capacity, 20% of which will be located within a radius of 100 km from Jakarta.

Collaboration of the interests of the State and business people, making one of the analyses of the system according to Easton said the interaction is abstract from all social behavior so



that these values are enshrined in authority to the community. It can be interpreted that intermediary actors as a liaison between the community and the State through the role of NGOs to convey advocacy and or community demands against the State immediately take concrete action to improve air quality in DKI Jakarta. The demands submitted are to revise existing regulations because they are outdated and make inventory, identify polluting sources and sources of disruption, and ambient air quality as a form of input to the government in ensuring clean and healthy living rights for the community. So from the efforts that Greenpeace Indonesia has made through campaign action to improve air quality in DKI Jakarta, Jakarta provides output for all communities and feedback to the government to better carry out its duties and functions as a stakeholder.

The ideology of pressure groups that want the establishment of participatory democracy moves Greenpeace Indonesia to then try to build democracy in Indonesia, below are some steps and roles of Greenpeace Indonesia in building democracy:

#### 1. Greenpeace Indonesia campaign action

The campaign is one of the active ways carried out by Greenpeace Indonesia to support pressure groups in controlling environmental issues, in addition to supporting pressure groups through campaigns is also the delivery of information to the public as well as propaganda to increase public concern and also the government as a target of the Greenpeace Indonesia resistance movement. There are some of the following Greenpeace Indonesia campaigns:

- a. They are putting up billboards in 2018 right on Gatot Subroto Street.
- b. Theatrical action is under the vision and mission of Greenpeace Indonesia, a creative organization of peaceful confrontation without violence.
- c. Dare to sue the government to take immediate action.
- d. Monitor the presence of an environmental policy.

#### 2. Bringing Environmental Issues To The Public

Still, with low awareness of the importance of environmental issues in the electoral community and the community, Greenpeace Indonesia is moving into an organization that focuses on environmental advocacy through social media and petitions created. Greenpeace Indonesia is waging a politically non-electoral struggle to raise awareness and bring environmental issues to the public. To bring environmental issues to the community Greenpeace Indonesia conducts campaigns, education, and training to citizens experiencing environmental conflicts or not, socialization, and public consultation to measure the extent of the public response or response to Greenpeace Indonesia

### Conclusion

Based on what has been narrated in this article, Greenpeace Indonesia has made maximum efforts by using a series of campaign action tools, direct action, and online media. The action that is done can also be unique and creative. The campaign in 2018 by installing a giant billboard coincided with the day that the ASEAN Games, which Indonesia hosted and revealed the poor condition of Jakarta's air quality. Then the theatrical campaign uses anatomical costumes of human body shapes with black lungs.

Not only that, the emphasis carried out by Greenpeace Indonesia to conduct direct campaign action continuously, lobbying to establish direct communication with relevant government officials, propaganda through social media, and gather support to the community by advocacy and also make petitions then spread as the basis of citizen lawsuits filed and supported by communities who are restless about the State of the polluted environment. Launching a petition supported by more than 25 thousand people also hopes Greenpeace Indonesia becomes an alternative to connecting people with the country. Because the petition that has been made then spread until finally filed, a citizen's lawsuit is considered to represent the value of interests for the people. As in Easton's writings, the system for running the wheels of government with an input in the form of communication links from the bottom up is a public member who submits demands to the political authorities.

So that there can be a flow of information communication that flows from the community to the political authorities. Similarly, the ruler can establish good communication by conveying the messages received from the community in the form of rules or policies that are decided. Thus, the interaction between the organization and its environment can provide influence, making it a community organization into a framer and implementer of efforts to achieve common goals.

People also now have no hope for political actors who are in it to leave the people's agenda and interests. So from the results of the lawsuit filed by the plaintiffs that the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government has been against the laws and regulations run by the government contrary to what is happening today in the environment.

Therefore, this can be interpreted that Greenpeace Indonesia, as a pressure group, is following the fundamental values of interest groups that emphasize the government on regulations that are carried out not under current environmental conditions and the need for public participation to control environmental damage.

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