**ENVIRONMENTAL AND MIDDLE WAY EDUCATION NATURAL RESOURCES SECTOR POLICY IN INDONESIA**

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**aBSTRACT**

Since Indonesia entered the global capitalist system, Indonesia's interest in enhancing economic stability and growth has become a top priority. However, the policies created are in a dilemma because they have sacrificed environmental problems. The exploitation of natural resources in Indonesia has been carried out massively, structurally and systematically, which has implications for environmental damage. Even though until now there has been a middle way effort such as the concept of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the economic orientation remains dominant, especially in terms of facilitating natural resource investment permits in the regions. Environmental diplomacy as outlined in environmental education is indispensable in an effort to lay down new values ​​in natural resource management. This paper will describe the problems of natural resource management and actor analysis, the impact on the environment, to the idea of ​​implementing integrated environmental education on three subjects, namely Encouraging Pro-Environmental Community Activism, Development of Environmental Education Curriculum in political party schools, and pro-environmental political approaches in the policy process.

**KEY WORDS:** political economy, natural resource sector policy, Environmental Education

1. **INTRODUCTION**

Natural Resources (SDA) are basically a source of earth's wealth that provides mankind's needs to support a living system, both to meet basic needs and human welfare. However, not all natural resources can be exploited continuously because of their unsustainable species. renewed, to function as a counterweight to the environment. The large benefits of these natural resources make natural resources a strategic resource that must be maintained and preserved. Humans as management subjects need to be wise and aware of the management of natural resources so that the balance of the ecosystem is maintained.

However, in practice, the natural resources that are presented as "free" are in fact converted on a large scale into new commodity objects that are developed economically. This can be seen at least from the strengthening of global capitalism which has prompted many countries to compete to explore natural resources with an orientation full of economic ambition. Even the advances in science and technology offered in the capitalist system have opened a "red carpet" for the interests of investors / capital owners to control and exploit all economic potential in natural resources down to the smallest level (in regions). at least this prevalence can be seen from the lack of serious, sharp and critical, thorough and thorough political debate in the process of natural resource management policy. If there is any, it is only political rhetoric where everything is dominated by lobbying and compromise. (Saeng, 2012: 281).

Since Indonesia entered the global capitalist system, Indonesia's interest in enhancing economic stability and growth has become a top priority. Especially during the New Order era, exploitation of natural resources was carried out massively, structurally and systematically. Unfortunately, however, the New Order's power had created a political predator in Suharto's circle of power by competing for influence to gain benefits in state institutions and national development. These Oligarks monopolized the system, and tried to exploit whatever was owned by the state for the private gain of the elite.(Hadiz, 2004)

Even though the fall of the Soeharto regime during the 1998 transition period, it was predicted to be the first milestone in improving democracy and changing patterns of natural resource management. However, in general the strong actors who were in the Suharto circles began to build new powers.With decentralization and regional autonomy, these elites moved the locus of predatory downward behavior by competing to control regional institutions and natural resources for their interests.(Hadiz 2010, Robinson dan Hadiz 2004).

In fact, there has been an effort to encourage alternative actors to take a direct role in the stakes for political office with the hope of being able to improve the work of popular representation, but in fact the consolidation of the elite is getting "rampant". Even though the institution's performance is running well, it is not matched by the increasing rights of the people which continue to decline(Torquist,2009) This elite domination uses clientelistic politics as a bridge to mediate class inequality between the elite and the poor by occasionally providing assistance in the form of money and goods, especially taking their attention in the minutes leading up to the election. Meanwhile, political parties do not have a tendency to control the roles of the elected executive and legislature, instead auctioning the position of the power slot to a higher bidder on the eve of the general election with the lure of controlling the resources of the regional economy.(Hadiz 2004)

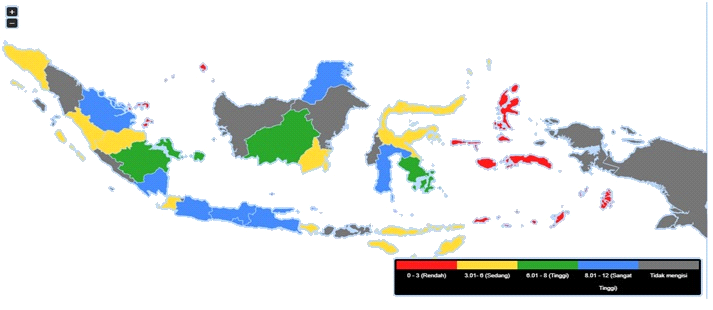
However, the practice of clintelism and corruption in formal politics that occurs in Indonesia is not only seen as a sign of pathology, this is because not only clientelistic politics can dominate election results and are the key to political success but also determine how state institutions and institutions work. government character (Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. 2019). At least the practice of partisanship and hospitality to Indonesian political investors can be seen from the many government policies that benefit the economic elite, this can be seen from the findings of Natural Resource management that do not reflect a sense of justice and inequality.

Data from the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) in a synthesis note evaluating the 2018 national movement to save natural resources shows that from the four types of natural resources (forests, oil palm plantations, mining and fisheries), in the implementation of coordination and supervision, the KPK states that for forestry businesses, control of large businesses an area of ​​40,463,103 hectares but the community only manages an area of ​​1,748,931 hectares or the equivalent of a ratio of about 96: 4. For oil palm plantation businesses, 2,535,495 hectares are controlled by 10 large companies, while 2.1 million smallholders only control an area of ​​4,756. 272 Ha. A similar phenomenon also occurs in the control of mineral and coal mines. 171 Community Mining Permits were issued with an average area of ​​3.2 Ha / permits and IUPs were issued as many as 5,589 businesses with an average area of ​​3,245 Ha / IUP. However, there were 32 Business Contracts issued with an average area of ​​40,753 Ha / KK and 26 PKP2Bs with an average area of ​​28,575 Ha / business. Large-scale business continues to cause pressure to convert production lands for rural communities, it is recorded that at least 353 hectares / day of agricultural land is lost. It is not surprising that in many areas there are forest / land conflicts that continue to increase, especially the criminalization of farmers in Indonesia.

The potential for natural resource control by political and economic elites is getting stronger in almost all strategic areas in Indonesia which is also supported by the failure of the government to determine the basics for successful development in the regions, data released by the Ministry of Research and Technology / National Research and Innovation Agency of the Republic of Indonesia for the period 2019 shows from the map. The regional competitiveness index of almost all provinces in Java Island such as East Java Province, Central Java Province, DI Yogyakarta Province, West Java Province, and Jakarta DKI Province as provinces with very high investment ease, only Banten Province is medium in regional competitiveness. Meanwhile, on the island of Sumatra, out of ten provinces, Lampung and Riau provinces dominate compared to other provinces in terms of ease of investment, as well as in other provinces such as East Kalimantan and South Sulawesi.

Figure 1.

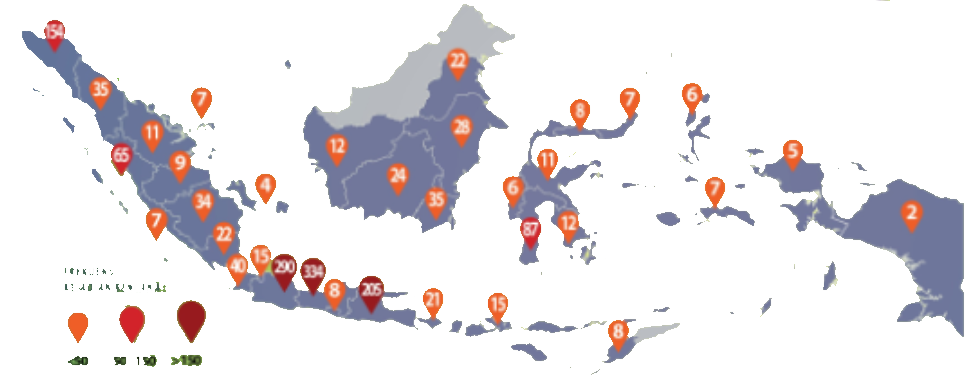
Provincial Regional Competitiveness Index Data for the Period of 2019

Data source: data processed from the Ministry of Research and Technology / National Research and Innovation Agency

The implications of the above cases have in fact had a definite impact on environmental damage in Indonesia, in almost all provinces with high ease of investment, there have been many ecological disasters. The results of the release of data from the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) recorded a total of 1,724 disasters that have hit Indonesia throughout 2020. The disaster that occurred has resulted in 257 people died and more than 3.7 million people affected and displaced. most of the disasters are dominated by floods, tornadoes and landslides. BNPB also noted that there were 163 forest and land fires (Karhutla), and 10 drought occurrences in 2020 (BNPB 2020). Most of the disasters are concentrated in areas with a very high investment climate and acceleration of development, such as the provinces on the islands of Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi.

Figure 1.

National Disaster Map 2020



Data source: data processed from the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) 2020

So far, the KPK realizes that the practice of corruption in natural resources is part of the strong clientelistic politics and informal political networks that are maintained by the power. The persistence of corruption is not the result of the malfunctioning of state institutions that carry out regulations as legal institutions. Corruption occurs as a result of the existence of alternative institutions, which focus on certain personal / group interests, which compete with legal institutions for legitimacy and trust from various actors within state institutions and the wider community. a handful of groups of actors (individuals or organizations) through alternative institutions have a strong control system and power structure (social, economic and political) octopus, capable of reaping multiple benefits (economic - political) in systemic ways. This power is able to force the state to serve private interests, groups and certain groups while ignoring the interests of the public and the people who are more entitled constitutionally.(KPK,2018).

1. **METHODS**

The approach method used in this study uses a descriptive qualitative approach by tracing data from various cases that have been released by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) related to natural resource (SDA) policies and capitalist dominance in access to natural resources (SDA). . Data collection methods used are secondary collection methods by reviewing documents and literature review, book reviews, law, journals, and internet articles.

The analysis carried out in this study is to analyze the problems of natural resource management and actor analysis, the impact on the environment, to the idea of implementing integrated environmental education in three three channels, namely Encouraging Pro-Environmental Community Activism, Development of Environmental Education Curriculum in political party schools, and a pro-environmental political approach in the policy process.

1. **DISCUSSION**

The findings of the KPK show that licensing is one of the areas prone to corruption in the management of natural resources (SDA) in Indonesia that needs restructuring, but Indonesian intellectuals such as Dewi Tresya, et al (2020) see that the licensing structuring process has not targeted environmental permits, even though licensing environment is a central control tool in the context of saving natural resources. In addition, social permits have not been seen as an important element in licensing arrangement even though social licenses are legitimacy issued from community assessments. The social license is fulfilled when the wider community has accepted the business activity(Cullen-Knox C.et al.,2017),

Other things, such as licensing control has not been implemented consistently down to the site level, so that there has been no systematic and comprehensive effort to strengthen the licensing system as a control system for natural resource management (Tresya, D., Mayasari, I., & Suhendra, A. A. 2020).

However, considering the political approach in the arena of action, from the election of candidates for leadership / regional head to the decision process and the establishment of public policies, it has been recognized as a way out to curb corruption in natural resources.(Kartodihardjo, H., Ariati, N., & Abdullah, M.(2020).This is important because these spaces are the domination area of ​​the oligarchs playing so far. But on the one hand, it is not easy to change the clientelistic culture in the life of society and politicians, this is because the business interests of the oligarchs have combined with political power at the government level.

Actually, political elites who are given power, prestige and wealth from the results of the election victory are actually worried about the democratic pattern that is running in Indonesia. On the one hand they understand the rules and professionalism as representatives of the people, where they become a bridge of interests between the community and the state, meet the needs of society and accelerate the flow of development, but on the other hand they must also be tolerant of breaking the rules in order to get "black funds". This is due to the strong pressure of their constituents' demand for cash, and they are afraid that if they are not accommodated, they will have a chance to lose to their competitors. This context is why elected politicians rely heavily on oligarchic funding and fight for their interests in the all-out policy process.

The smooth buying and selling of politicians and policies in Indonesia is also supported by the weak form of community resistance itself. The low level of trust, reputation and accountability from the public to state institutions is suspected as the main reason for several other reasons why clientelistic political practices are deeply rooted in society. Based on the results of the Indo Barometer survey in 2020, it shows that state institutions such as the MPR, DPR, DPD and Polri are at the lowest level in terms of public trust, even intermediary institutions such as political parties have almost no established grassroots power. Extra-parliamentary groups such as NU, Muhammadiyah, etc. which are predicted to be an alternative channel for the struggle for the interests of the community, in fact cannot do much because they participate in the distribution of power cakes.

If we refer to the ideals of substantial democracy, of course political battles that lead to material benefits of oligarchs must be stopped, this is so that the potential for environmental damage, social and economic inequality, weak development planning and corruption do not continue to be challenges faced by the Indonesian nation. Environmental diplomacy as outlined in environmental education is indispensable at this time in an effort to put new values ​​in natural resource management by paying attention to increased social sensitivity, empathy, support, concern and defense of the main actors / politicians who are directly involved in the power struggle process. and policy making, as well as other actors outside of State institutions and political parties.

The idea in this study actually seeks to encourage the value of integrated environmental education infusions in three main aspects, namely; First, Encouraging Pro-Environmental Community Activism, Second, the development of environmental education curricula in political party schools, and Third, a pro-environmental political approach in the resource sector (SDA) policy process.

Diagram 1

Integrated environmental education

**Integrated Environmental Education**

Since the Soeharto era collapsed in 1998 and moved into the transitional era of reform, democratization has been running "at a standstill" (Mietzner 2012), most of the studies of scientists have seen that the root of the problem stems from the behavior of elites who are hungry for profit and power. Instead, in this case understanding the character of citizens' rights and political participation are two key studies to determine the extent of the relationship between the two, especially in seeing the environment. The struggle for rights in Indonesia actually gets stronger when various laws and regulations are passed by the government, with the existence of these rules it makes it easier for the people to access their personal rights. However, during the current period, there was an effort to "shackle" the rights of citizens by the State with a new concept and cover. We can see many examples of the failure of residents to access their rights, such as the difficulty of villagers in protecting their land from expanding oil palm and mining concessions(Cramb dan Mc Carthy 2016)

seeing the number of cases mentioned above actually allows the need for resistance from the community itself. This resistance is actually part of an effort to awaken society as a whole so that the government tends to ignore the constitutional rights of its citizens. However, these resistance efforts do not take a frontal line of resistance through demonstrations with radical demands, but manage public spaces that have been hijacked by dominant actors with discourse, discourse and cultural movements.(scott, 2009).

The issue of natural resource discrimination is encouraged in every debate in public space. Civil society organizations (CSOs) can be the main driving force in encouraging community activism by carrying out joint (collaborative) movements. Collaboration forms include discussions, joint press statements, hearings with the government and representative institutions. This collaboration between stakeholders can be carried out in the public room along with certain moments related to the environment. This civic movement is expected to work massively in shaping public opinion up to the stage of policy advocacy. however, the resistance of pro-environmental community activists is often faced by groups of people who have an intimate relationship with the government and oligarchs. Therefore, in order for this resistance movement to be guarded up to the policy process, alternative actors who are pro-environment are needed to play in the realm of formal power both in the legislative and executive branches.

To be able to produce alternative actors who are pro-environmental, political parties are required to conduct an open candidacy process and conduct environmental training / education to all participants / cadres who will register as candidates for legislative members and regional heads. The open candidacy selection process allows the entry of various new actors, especially civil actors such as environmental activists, farmer groups, etc. who will be prepared to influence local natural resources policies. The openness of political parties in the candidate selection process will also promote the essence of democracy. To strengthen the actors elected in the candidacy process, political parties are required to develop an environmental education curriculum for all actor candidates before the general election contest begins. It is hoped that the training and education carried out can produce alternative actors who are mentally strong and knowledgeable, especially new values ​​about environment and equality.

the construction of discourse on the issue of equality and partisanship in natural resource sector (SDA) policies as a public issue is an important starting point in the constellation of reading the SDA issue in the realm of policy making. This is possible because there are actors who support the way of thinking that supports the discourse and actors who do not support that way of thinking. Actors who do not support the above discourse are usually contaminated with the habit of accepting gratuities from businessmen or "retribution" politics. the strength of groups adhering to different narratives will encourage counter discourse in various ways while still controlling other members to drive the narrative they embrace. This narrative contestation will ultimately lead to the realization of the wishes / interests of these entrepreneurs. in this case the three aspects above are very important to see and improve. First, the narrative that is built must be pro-environment and the interests of the peasants, therefore academics and (alternative) movement actors are also involved in discouraging the narrative in the public sphere. The two alternative actors selected from the results of the selection of candidates for environmental education and the strengthening of environmental education must move collectively to fight back by convincing other actors to move together to reduce the space for oligarchic contestation to play and the three factors of political interest / interest in natural resources products as much as possible to benefit collective interests and voice " truth".

1. **CONCLUSION**

Integrated environmental education is one way to reduce oligarchic action in dominating ownership and management of natural resources in Indonesia. Encouraging pro-environmental community activism is indirectly part of the effort to accommodate civil movements spearheaded by alternative actors in carrying out resistance movements by managing public spaces that have been hijacked by dominant actors with discourse, discourse and cultural movements. In addition, encouraging the open candidacy selection process by political parties is another effort to sort new alternative actors to be prepared mentally and knowledgeably through the implementation of environmental education curricula in political party schools. With strong selection and education, these actors will actually be prepared to speak out the truth, build and guard every pro-environmental policy narrative and fight against oligarchic domination.

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