The Future of the Environmental Movement in Indonesia: Case Study of Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia/WALHI (1980-2020)

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ABSTRACT: This research examines how environmental movement in Indonesia was formed using the experience of the Indonesian Forum for Environment (WALHI) in facing challenges such as the situation of ecological crisis and increasing environmental damage, the political situation and the situation of civil society and certainly affects the future strategy of the environmental movement. The research uses an organizational phase approach to see the environment movement dynamic from pioneering into associative phase for 40 years of the environmental movement presented by WALHI. Data collection was carried out through interviews, activists' reflections, informal conversations and by being present at various occasions. This research is a reflective process for the environmental movement, in determining strategic choices to support advocacy work and saving the environment, as well as expanding the environmental movement in Indonesia. As the largest environmental organization in Indonesia, WALHI has provided a role and influence in building and strengthening the environmental movement as well as setting an environmental reform agenda and framing environmental issues as a collective responsibility.

KEYWORDS: environmental organization, organizational phase, environmental movement, environmental advocacy, Indonesia Forum for Environment.

A. INTRODUCTION

Environmental damage occurs because of the clash between economic interests and ecological interests. Jared Diamond (2005) in his famous book *Collapse: How Societies to Fail or Succeed* mentions that the planetary bricks consisting of climate change, chemical pollution, ozone destruction, water availability, biodiversity loss, land use change, ocean acidity - some of them are exceeding the so-called safe space for humans. Indonesia lost 8.1 million ha of primary forest cover from 2000-2015 based on data from Global Forest Watch issued by the World Resources Institute which has analyzed tree cover loss within primary forests and legal boundaries of land-based concessions (4.5 million ha) and outside concessions (3.6 million ha). Complemented by data from Indonesia Corruption Watch in 2017 calculating indications of state losses due to forest deforestation from 2006-2015 amounted to Rp. 499.507 trillion. The tragedy of the extractive industry in East Java in May 2006 resulted in an irreversible leak that caused a mudflow that submerged settlements, agriculture and industry in 3 sub-districts covering an area of 400 ha, more than 45 thousand people were displaced and total losses reached 3.8 trillion. This ecological disaster has paralyzed economic activity in the region.

Along with the exploitation of natural resources that causes ecological and social impacts, including deforestation, loss of living space as examples above, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Indonesia began to grow to respond to various issues related to development policies that are carried out, especially the negative impact of policies on society and the environment. George Aditjondro (GAJ)[1] divides into several trends. The first trend is that NGOs are professionalizing grassroots programs and enjoying increasing assistance from donor agencies such as church agencies in Western Europe, government aid such as USAID, and even the World Bank. The second trend is the emergence of Indonesia's first Minister of Population and Environment, Dr. Emil Salim, who is considered to be one of the proponents of NGOs, especially environmental NGOs in Indonesia. Dr. Emil Salim's view of NGOs is simple, as long as the goal of NGOs is to improve the environment and improve people's welfare,

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[1] George Junius Aditjondro. 2003. Patterns of the Environmental Movement, Reflections on Saving the Environment from Capital Expansion. Student Library

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they are development partners and the government should support them[2] . The third trend is the strengthening of the elitist character with more and more environmental issues in Indonesia becoming international issues, such as deforestation, transmigration, pollution, etc. Some NGO leaders are becoming involved in international issues, spending more time at provincial, national and international conferences.

This paper aims to explain the extent to which the transformation of the environmental movement in Indonesia presented by the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) has an important role in mobilizing the environmental movement in Indonesia based on the organization's experience from 1980-2020. WALHI was formed in 1980 with the support of Dr. Emil Salim as Minister of Population and Environment at the time who gathered environmental organizations/institutions through the Group of Ten to conduct a meeting of non-governmental organizations in the field of environment and community empowerment. The Group of Ten is a group of activists who have the awareness that environmental issues must be responded to from various perspectives and environmental problems seen holistically. This meeting established WALHI[3] which was attended by 79 organizations with diverse backgrounds including village empowerment, supporting appropriate technology for the poor, population issues, women's empowerment, although it was still dominated by student nature lover groups. The momentum of the birth of WALHI is considered to have strengthened and expanded the environmental movement in Indonesia.

B. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a case study, in this case the environmental organization WALHI by examining the existence of the organization for 40 years to explore the future strategy of the environmental movement in facing challenges such as the situation of the ecological crisis and environmental damage that continues to increase, the political situation and the situation of civil society and certainly affects the future strategy of the environmental movement.

To obtain information, the researcher collected information through: 1) participating in relevant activities at the national and regional levels so that the researcher can get an overview and understanding of the context of the organization's current development; 2) conducting in-depth interviews to obtain information related to current organizational existence and the informants selected were key informants who could explain the organization's transformation over 40 years, and represented at least in every leadership of the organization; and 3) conducting library studies to obtain secondary data from various sources. Researchers conducted data and information searches in the Kompas and Tempo libraries to trace coverage of activities carried out by WALHI.

The researcher surveyed 100 respondents who had been in contact with WALHI and asked them questions that helped in developing the environmental movement future strategy. The survey questions related to respondents' imaginations that they expected to strengthen the environmental movement in Indonesia and explained their reasons, namely 1) as a militant organization and opposition to the government, 2) as a government partner, 3) as a political party and 4) Other options if any.

C. ANALYSIS PERSPECTIVE

Democracy in the early 1980s had an impact on environmental organizations and the environmental movement in Indonesia (Ko Nomura, 2007). The environmental movement is interpreted as a loose and non-institutionalized network of informal interactions that can include, individuals and groups with no organizational affiliation, organizations with varying degrees of formality, who engage in collective action motivated by a shared identity or concern about environmental issues (Giugini, Marco & Grascco, Maria, 2915). Given the complexity of explaining WALHI's organization over 40 years, it is important to find a lens through which to view it more simply. This paper compiles and studies the chronological events within the WALHI organization internally and externally including its influence in expanding the environmental movement. The researcher uses the organizational phase approach for non-profit organizations developed by Bernal Lievegoed and Fritz Glasl (2005), namely the pioneering phase, rational phase, integration phase and associative phase. Although this approach basically looks like a linear process, the analysis is not mutually exclusive because the characteristics of each phase will usually appear in the dynamics of the other phases.

According to Lievegoed and Glasl (2005), the pioneering phase is influenced by the personalities of the founders in leading the organization and the functions of the organization are adapted to the knowledge and skills of the existing resources without compromising the quality of the work done. In the rational phase, the organization leads to clear and planned goals and there is a need to develop more formal policies and decision-making mechanisms and usually the organization tends to be bureaucratic. When an organization enters the rational phase, it is seen through efficient structures, systems and procedures and policies. In

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[2] Dr. Salim, Emil. November 2, 2019. Personal interview
[3] The meeting was held at the YTKI Building in Jakarta on October 13-15, 1980.

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the integration phase, the organization is united by a common vision, goals and values and the organization feels more humanistic and efficient. The organizational machine in this phase begins to flexibly accept the presence and contribution of many parties with various backgrounds and creates spaces including taking part in the civil society movement. The associative phase is where the organization finds the best qualities of the pioneering and rational phases, including building a fluid and interdependent network. In this phase, interdependent relationships with other organizations go beyond competitive boundaries and tend to work together.

D. DYNAMICS AND STRUGGLES OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The Growth of the Environmental Movement in Indonesia

Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI) was born when the New Order was in power (1967-1998) and most of the national and local governments were led by the military, including ministers, governors and regents/cities. At that time, the space for civil society organizations was very limited and often at odds with the government. The term non-governmental organization was considered sensitive and was later changed to Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) through environmental legislation. There is an assumption that WALHI was formed deliberately by the Soeharto regime, as a way to suppress the actions of students or groups criticizing the development model of the New Order regime. In its early years, the organization focused more on strengthening the capacity of members' understanding of environmental issues in general in the hope that more civil society organizations would work on environmental issues. This capacity building was carried out by organizing a number of trainings, known as Nature Conservation Training (PKA) and Barefoot EIA Training, especially since the issuance of regulations requiring companies to conduct environmental impact assessments (AMDAL). In this pioneering phase, WALHI carried out a lot of organizational capacity building in terms of financial and institutional management including the establishment and strengthening of Regional Institutions/Forums in various regions in Indonesia.

Rationalizing the Environmental Movement

Building integrity is one of the keys to organizational survival. Since its establishment on October 15, 1980, WALHI has had a process of selecting organizational leaders from time to time, including testing models for developing and strengthening the environmental movement in the regions. As a forum, at the national level, there is a National Environmental Meeting (PNLH) every 4 years and a National Environmental Consultation (KNLH). Similar forums are also organized in 28 provinces. This forum is designed not merely as an internal forum for WALHI but as a consolidation forum for the environmental movement involving civil society groups, fishermen's groups, farmers' groups, indigenous communities, women's groups, youth groups and including victimized/affected communities.

As a movement, one important aspect that needs to be done by the organization's machinery is raising funding sources. WALHI has experienced ups and downs in organizational financing and financing to advocate for environmental cases that occur in many places, although it has begun to receive financial support from donors and non-binding philanthropy. The question that often arises in the public is to what extent the environmental funding received is clean from the global agenda. It is therefore not surprising that WALHI is often reported in the mass media[4] as an organization that receives foreign funds and as a foreign agent or stooge especially when challenging government development policies or dealing with companies that are considered to be polluting the environment. One interesting situation was when WALHI canceled and refused aid funds from the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom considering the invasion of Iraq by these countries in the name of terrorism which was considered to violate humanitarian values. Although the organization's network extends across 28 provinces, until now it has not been successful in mobilizing public resources.

Expansion of the Environmental Movement

When the New Order regime fell, WALHI took part in the reform movement by facilitating student meetings in many regions and changing its environmental advocacy strategy. WALHI became a hub and accommodated the discussions of pro-democracy activists such as the people's struggle union, the people's democracy party, various student groups, labor groups and so on by preparing a forum called AKUR - Alliance of Justice for Reform. In the midst of national political and economic changes, WALHI failed to mainstream environmental issues amid the competition for power. WALHI then issued the Environment Movement Manifesto document[5] as an important and urgent renewal of the environmental movement format - in building a strong, large and broad social movement force. The environmental movement must be triggered by reviving the tradition of the movement, developing class consciousness, opening access to information, building a balance of political power, and strengthening people's

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[4] https://nasional.sindonews.com/berita/761005/12/walhi-pemerintah-masih-pro-kepada-asing
[5] WALHI Manifesto, 2003. Renewing the Indonesian Environmental Movement. WALHI

organizations to be independent and able to determine their own destiny. This Manifesto document states that environmental issues are not peripheral issues, but core issues for the sustainability of the nation's life and the position on capitalism is the direction of the environmental movement because environmental damage arises from the global capitalist system.

The expansion of the environmental movement was influenced by the political changes of reform. The handling of environmental issues that emerged in the new order regime was different from the reform regime. The reform regime began to open space for active participation of civil society to contribute to providing a new direction for future change. In this situation, environmental organizations are required to play a more active role in not only voicing environmental problems that occur, but also providing solutions. Therefore, the capacity of environmental organizations and activists in conducting advocacy is important to be improved and adjusted to the needs of the new regime in dealing with environmental issues. The process of capacity building and expansion of collaboration with credible institutions is important. Research and investigative skills are essential competencies as environmental cases become increasingly complex with impacts on affected communities and the environment.

Influential Environmental Movements

This research sees that the associative phase is related to the realm of political power through strategic alliances and responding to external opportunities in supporting a widespread and deep-rooted environmental movement. With organizational maturity, where systems and institutional working mechanisms are well established, have a long-term vision and accept broader responsibilities, WALHI should not be easy to intervene. At the beginning of the reformation when power was still controlled by status quo groups, the environmental movement saw the need for a political bloc force as an alternative political force with a strong ideological line and based on massive, organized, guided critical mass power to break the political deadlock that occurred and did not side with the interests of the people and the environment through the Green Political Bloc.

The idea of the Green Political Bloc[6] received a response from environmental activists and organizations, including the indigenous peoples' movement. The green political bloc provides socio-political pressure for a change in the political configuration that makes the environment the main agenda of political transformation. The green political bloc strengthens the solidarity and unity of all elements of the socio-political movement and encourages the building of an economic wing for the independence of the environmental movement, as well as promoting the green lifestyle movement.[7] In 2007, WALHI organized the Indonesian People's Congress and gave birth to a mass organization, Sarekat Hijau Indonesia (SHI) as a vehicle for the environmental movement at the grassroots level. SHI was the result of a long study, reflection and experience in the organization of the environmental movement in Indonesia - where an organization was needed to consolidate the civil society movement into a mass-based alternative political movement.[8] SHI prepares the formation of the Green Political Party (PHI) as an alternative politics to advance to electoral politics. Indeed, there is still a long way to go to establish PHI into the current constellation of political parties.

D. THE FUTURE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

Indonesia's Political Situation

Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's Nawacita document states that the country is at a critical point of humanitarian danger caused by environmental damage. This statement gives optimism to the environmental movement that has an impact on humanity, so that structural corrective measures can be taken to overcome it. However, entering the second period of government, at the end of 2019, the Joko Widodo (Jokowi) administration favored business interests and (foreign) investment. The poor trade balance and low investment in Jokowi's first term triggered the issuance of 16 economic packages containing deregulation and de-bureaucracy for investment. Entering the two-year period, Jokowi has built many light-house infrastructure projects that are far from the basic needs of the people. The peak was in 2020 where 3 laws were passed that drew protests from many circles, but were ignored by the government and the DPR - namely the Mining Law No.3/2020, the Job Creation Law No.11/2020, and the Law on the Constitutional Court. Likewise, the plan to relocate the capital is estimated to cost 466 trillion rupiah, which will have a tremendous environmental impact. Tempo Magazine's investigation found that 262 members of the House of Representatives from the 2019 simultaneous elections (45.5% of members) are business people with links to 1,016 companies. This shows that the political-

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[6] Muhammad, Chalid. Director of WALHI 2005-2008 Period (November 8, 2019). Personal interview. There is a debate on the discussion of Political Wings and Political Blocs. Political wing is interpreted as WALHI's strategy to enter into existing politics, while Political Bloc is WALHI building its own politics, mobilizing power and becoming an influential and allied block

[7] Resolution of the Green Political Bloc as a National Democratic Liberation Movement presented at the Indonesian People's Congress, July 2007

[8] History of SHI. https://shi.or.id

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economic oligarchy is feared to produce policy products that benefit the business interests of board members and their political parties.[9]

Related to the legal process, for example, environmental cases are difficult to win in court even though evidence of environmental damage can be scientifically proven, including the community as victims. The case of lawsuit over the mudflow caused by PT Lapindo's well drilling, for example, the biggest ecological disaster in Indonesia's history, was defeated by the court. Likewise, from 26 cases of lawsuit in court, the court generally declared defeat. This situation is certainly a big homework for environmental advocacy, especially the judicial system, procedural law and the capacity of law enforcement have not been able to respond to environmental damage and impacts on human health that will arise in the future. Although the global discourse on environmental issues is getting the world's attention, it is not accompanied by law enforcement and judicial processes that are still conventional, including corporate interests and political parties that influence the judicial process including the decisions of judges, prosecutors and police in handling environmental cases.

The sensitivity of political parties to environmental issues is not much different even though environmental issues have increasingly become an important topic in Indonesia, especially since the 2015-2016 forest fires. Even through an international negotiation forum, the Climate Change Conference, Indonesia is committed to reducing greenhouse gases by 29-41% by 2030. From a survey conducted by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in 34 provinces[14] , almost all parties participating in the 2019 contestation focus their vision and mission on the economy, political stability, democracy, health education and welfare. Generally, the word environment is only attached or becomes part of economic issues or natural resource management. Environmental issues are considered by political parties to be unattractive and uninteresting by voters. In general, the survey results state that environmental issues are not considered important, meaning that there is a gap in the discourse of environmental issues at the technocratic level and at the community level.

The State of Indonesian Civil Society

Kompas daily issued the results of a poll related to the civil society movement in guarding the course of government (March 2, 2020)[10]. However, the course of politics is closely related to the relationship between the power that manages the government and the people who oversee the course of that power. The poll states that a strong civil society is needed to oversee the government through discussions and recommendations, petitions when policies are deemed harmful and demonstrations. The most effective civil society movements are students, youth organizations, traditional organizations and NGOs. However, this poll assessed that the current civil society movement is no better than at the beginning of the reform period and the causes are varied, including riots and movements that did not get a response from the intended parties. The stagnation of civil society movements also continues to decline based on the Indonesian Democracy Index released by the Central Bureau of Statistics (2018).

Another survey conducted by Yayasan Cerah to mention that young people from generation Z (17-26 years old) and millennials (27-35 years old) are increasingly aware of environmental issues and their impact in their daily lives. environmental issues that are considered the most important are the problem of waste, air pollution and climate change caused by human activities[11] .

Strengthening the Future Strategy of the Environmental Movement

Researchers processed the survey results from 100 respondents to formulate the future strategy of the environmental movement as follows:

1. Militant Environmental Movement and Government Opposition

From a survey of 100 respondents, there were 35 respondents who thought that militant organizations and government opposition are important with recommendation strategies as follows:

- Strengthening the Environmental Movement Hub

The environment movement must realize that there is room for a diverse spectrum and in the perspectives of environmental activists who are already working in different and even opposing institutions, however, it is important to imagine that the environmental movement must be expanded. The environmental movement needs to have a communication space where ideas

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[9] Chairilsyah, WALHI National Council 1996-2002, active in the development of WALHI's political wing and Founder of Sarekat Hijau Indonesia. (September 20, 2019). Personal interview.
[10] The Kompas Poll was conducted on February 26-27, 2020 to 504 respondents by Litbang Kompas.

[11] Report on the National Survey of Young People's Voices on the Nation's Socio-Political Issues conducted to 206,983 respondents conducted March 4-10, 2021 by Indikator and Yayasan Cerah.

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about the environmental movement are debated as a forum for cadre of values in favor of community welfare and environmental sustainability. As the hub, the environmental movement needs to build intensive communication and be managed long-term. Rituals of the environmental movement must be established and managed at the national and regional levels as it will help build continuity from each generation.

- Organizational Funding Independence

One of the issues experienced by non-governmental organizations is related to limited funding. An *Endowment Fund* (EF) that will support the long-term work of the environmental movement is an important agenda. With the relationships and collaborative work that WALHI has with supporting institutions, the idea of establishing an EF is certainly important to explore. The environmental movement must have a strategy for the amount of endowment funds that need to be collected and invested, so that the operational constraints of environmental advocacy are resolved and the problem of the financial crisis that finances the engine of the environmental movement can be overcome for the long term.

- Raising Leaders of the Environmental Movement

To maintain the militancy of the organization, the cadre system must be adapted to the context of the struggle from time to time by developing a more systematic educational platform, which can be called a Leadership School. An educational model that will produce militant leaders, critical researchers, or facilitators who are able to reach the pockets of the environmental movement. This leadership school is a learning terminal for environmental activists to understand the importance of organizing skills at the base level to policy advocacy at the national and global levels.

- Advocacy that Impacts Change

With 40 years of experience, it can be said that the environmental movement is mature in advocating environmental cases at the regional, national and global levels. The environmental movement has strengthened the dominant public readings and conversations and *amplified them* with supporting discourses. With the strength of complete infrastructure from the site to the international arena, the advocacy carried out should produce extraordinary influence. The challenge is to build collective awareness within the regional and national environmental movements in order to consolidate the movement at large. The environmental movement needs to optimize current technology to build creative communication on environmental issues.

2. Environmental Movement and Partnership with Government

Governments generally recognize the advocacy role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in development on the basis of their independent role to advocate for the perspectives and interests of social groups. Advocacy is an activity undertaken to influence policy decisions at various levels (Morariu and Brennan, 2009)[12] . The government basically appreciates the role of civil society in realizing the development agenda and close collaboration can also occur. From WALHI's experience, for example, a close relationship with the government is often problematic because the imbalance of power in the relationship between NGOs and the government tends to inhibit mutualism. It is important that strategic partnerships with the government are based on mutual trust and respect for each other's independent roles and responsibilities, although this is difficult to implement in Indonesia's current political situation. However, close cooperation with the government tends to be perceived or often legitimized and weakens involvement as a representative of the community or public.

From a survey of 100 respondents, there were at least 15 respondents who said it was important for the environmental movement to partner with the government, with the following strategies:

- Building Partnerships and Collaborations

WALHI sued the government for the first time on behalf of the environment and this lawsuit became a legal precedent that was later adopted by the state in the revision of the Environmental Management Law. In this case, the environmental movement and the government have found common interests and views to raise environmental issues or problems faced. At that time, the agenda of the environmental movement was not merely to win cases of environmental damage that were being assisted, but the agenda of recognizing environmental organizations, in this case WALHI, had legal standing on behalf of the environment.

In collaborating with the government, the environmental movement gains access to important actors and arenas that connect with other policy actors or bring community messages to policy negotiation arenas at the provincial, national and even international levels. The government has the power to bring together actors who are unlikely to dialogue directly. Within this

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[12] Morariu, J., & Brennan, K. (2009). *Effective Advocacy Evaluation: The Role of Funders*. The Foundation Review

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framework of partnership and collaboration, as part of the environmental movement has the role of providing technical assistance and promoting development alternatives/solutions that protect environmental conservation and justice for the community.

- Independent and Autonomous

When an environmental organization is a government partner, it is important to always maintain a space for dissent. There is a risk that when funded by the government, it will be perceived as less legitimate and independent. Therefore, it is important to be prepared for disagreements on environmental issues involving environmentally destructive companies, which can lead to tensions and political pressure. However, this does not mean that there is a partnership with the government, then collective responsibility in responding to these problems. It is therefore necessary to set up a realistic dialog model to serve as a space for communicating priorities and seeking possible solutions, while accepting boundaries and maintaining each other's autonomy.

The environmental movement should navigate the political risks of relations with the government to maintain credibility and independence, especially when there are differences in viewpoints or approaches or selection of sensitive issues. As a government partner, it is necessary to build a constructive relationship pattern and encourage multi-stakeholder processes so that the tension of disagreement with the government can be bridged, and it is important to maintain accountability, because openness from non-governmental organizations is often misinterpreted and becomes the legitimacy of decision making.

3. The Environmental Movement and Alternative Political Parties

Only three respondents from the survey gave their views on the importance of the environmental movement as a political party. From the experience of building Sarekat Hijau Indonesia and Indonesia Green Party, the strategy of the environmental movement in this perspective is as follows:

- Consolidation of activists, people's organizations, volunteers into political cadres

In the 2019 elections, out of 16 political parties, there were only 5 political parties that included environmental issues in the party's legal documents. At the same time, WALHI encouraged activists/cadres to run for office through political parties participating in the 2019 elections. Despite the commitment of political cadres to remain loyal to fighting for environmental justice, there is still an impression that political intervention is considered just an opportunistic political maneuver. There are at least 135 environmental activist as political cadres who entered the election contestation.

- Green Political Support

It is important for the environmental movement to accommodate the interests of a broad alliance of various groups with diverse backgrounds such as farmers, fishermen, indigenous peoples, laborers, urban/poor urban groups, including youth groups, ecologists, feminists, and even democratic and minority groups. The environmental movement should use the momentum that has been built at this time, as a tool for consolidating people's organizations at the site level. The momentum that has been built since the 1990s such as the Environmental Day was carried out simultaneously at national and regional levels by mobilizing masses and environmental activists. Even after the reformation, the momentum of people's consolidation was carried out more openly through the Indonesian People's Congress of the Environmental Movement. These spaces for people's dialog are the basis for building solidarity and consolidating the militant masses of supporters of the environmental movement.

- Raising community/grassroots-based issues

The issues raised are related to the concerns faced by the community regarding environmental problems and (radical) actions to build a new identity. The environmental movement should package local issues to garner support from the grassroots and mobilize new voters by providing a social and ecological context, open and democratic to provide a way out of the current environmental problems. The environmental movement should raise more environmental issues or cases from the local level to the national and international levels and make it a duty to the government in power to solve these problems.

4. CRITICAL AND INDEPENDENT

From a survey of 100 respondents, 34 respondents expressed a variety of future strategies for the environmental movement. However, the researchers found key words and categorized them into critical and independent environmental movements. This strategy expects to be a critical group that opposes the government, but can also partner and synergize with multiple parties, including the government, media and other civil society groups while still organizing grassroots and community victims of development - to jointly offer critical ideas to the government. The environmental movement must be at the site level, at the regional level, at the national to global level and echo the environmental problems that occur to get a response from all parties at all levels.

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E. Closing

Referencing Greta Thumber's environmental struggles and actions that provoked teenagers around the world. Even world leaders[13]. The world was astonished because within 1 year she managed to invite teenagers and activists around the world to demand change and save planet earth from destruction. Greta succeeded in transmitting the spirit that should be owned by every individual that the earth is the only home for humans and its future is increasingly threatened. For the last 3 years, Greta has stood in front of the Swedish parliament building with a sign that reads *'skolstrejk for klimate'* or school strike for climate. She has become an icon of the climate change movement around the world. As respondents quote and learn from Greta Thumber, it is important for the environmental movement to re-create and develop pockets of movements. The question is how WALHI's 40 years of experience becomes a force for expansion of the environmental movement to invite the younger generation through Friends of Environment or the more militant Green Student Movement, build political wings and green political blocs, give birth to alternative politics through *Sarekat Hijau Indonesia* and the Indonesian Green Party.

WALHI has created environmental thematic work organizations or networks for all issues ranging from forestry, oil palm plantations, mining, clean air, coastal, clean energy, including forming various coalitions in the regions and nationally that encourage various changes in environmental management that provide protection and justice for the community. WALHI builds strategic alliances to respond to environmental issues globally through Friends of the Earth. The environmental movement must rediscover its relevance in a different context. Who is the audience now, who is currently reaching out to whom? What is expected from the public or so-called pockets of this movement to do? Therefore, it is important for the environmental movement to build *common goals* that are always conveyed continuously to the wider public.

The environmental movement must find ways to reach out, maintain communication and *engagement of the* pockets of movement that have been built and spread. From the practical side, translating its vision and mission in the environmental movement in Indonesia simply and very practically as a common goal, as a shared target where everyone can contribute Individually, each environmental activist can clearly measure his contribution and role towards the *common goal of the* environmental movement. This *common goal* will be a pillar that can direct everyone to share their interests with the vision and mission of the environmental movement but there are guidelines that can help, as a practical vision - a struggle that can be done by many people.

The environmental movement presented by WALHI based on the organization's 40 years of experience from 1980 to 2020 is expected to provide an explanation of how the existence of the environmental movement is maintained. Exploration with this approach then serves as a basis for providing a future strategy for the environmental movement based on the context that is currently being faced.

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