

Walhi's Strategy to Fight for Justice in Environmental Permit Cancellation: Case Study of Construction of PLTU Tanjung Jati A Cirebon

Princess Fasmalia¹, Deni Angela¹

¹Political Science Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas
Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta

*Corresponding Author: Princess Fasmalia

E-mail: putrif@upnvj.ac.id



Article Info

Article history:

Received 8 April 2024

Received in revised form 5

May 2024

Accepted 17 May 2024

Keywords:

PLTU Tanjung Jati A

Transnational Advocacy

Network

Walhi

Strategy

Environmental Permit

Abstract

The issue of environmental permits for PLTU Tanjung Jati A is a serious problem because the publication does not include an analysis of the release of CO₂ emissions which have an impact on environmental damage and climate change. This research aims to describe Walhi West Java's strategy in its efforts to cancel the environmental permit for PLTU Tanjung Jati A through its international and national networks. In line with this aim, this research uses a case study approach with data collection carried out through in-depth interviews and analysis of related documents. The theory used by the Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) theory as an analytical tool was put forward by Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. The results of this research, Walhi West Java has implemented four TAN strategies, namely Information Politics by disseminating information and findings, Symbolic Politics by carrying out campaign actions with symbols, Leverage Politics by collaborating with stronger actors, and Accountability Politics by supervising actors who advocated to walk with the commitments that have been set. Based on these four strategies, Walhi West Java is very optimal in carrying out Information Politics and Leverage Politics strategies. The weakness is that the Political Accountability strategy has not been fully successful because the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project is still in the policy documents and RUPTL. Walhi West Java's TAN implementation strategy succeeded in bringing victory over the Head of DPMTSP regarding the cancellation of environmental permits.

Introduction

Based on research by the Centre for Research on Energy and Clean Air (CREA) and the Institute for Essential Services Reform (IESR), it is estimated that around 10,500 people will die in 2022 as a result of the construction of coal-fired power plants (PLTU) in Indonesia. The existence of coal-fired power plants can cause climate change conditions, death and environmental degradation. The change was even more pronounced in 2019 and 2022 where the temperature on the earth's surface increased by 0.98 which caused the temperature to warm as levels of CO₂ and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere rose (Bailey & Bryant, 2005).

Seeing climate change that is increasingly worrying, it does not make the government stop its actions, but re-build a new PLTU on the island of Java, namely the Tanjung Jati A PLTU located in Cirebon which still uses coal as the main fuel. In Cirebon, it already has two existing power plants, namely PLTU Cirebon and PLTU Cirebon Unit 2, while the location of the construction of PLTU Tanjung Jati A is not far from PLTU Cirebon and PLTU Cirebon Unit 2, even only limited by one sub-district (Taylor, 2000).

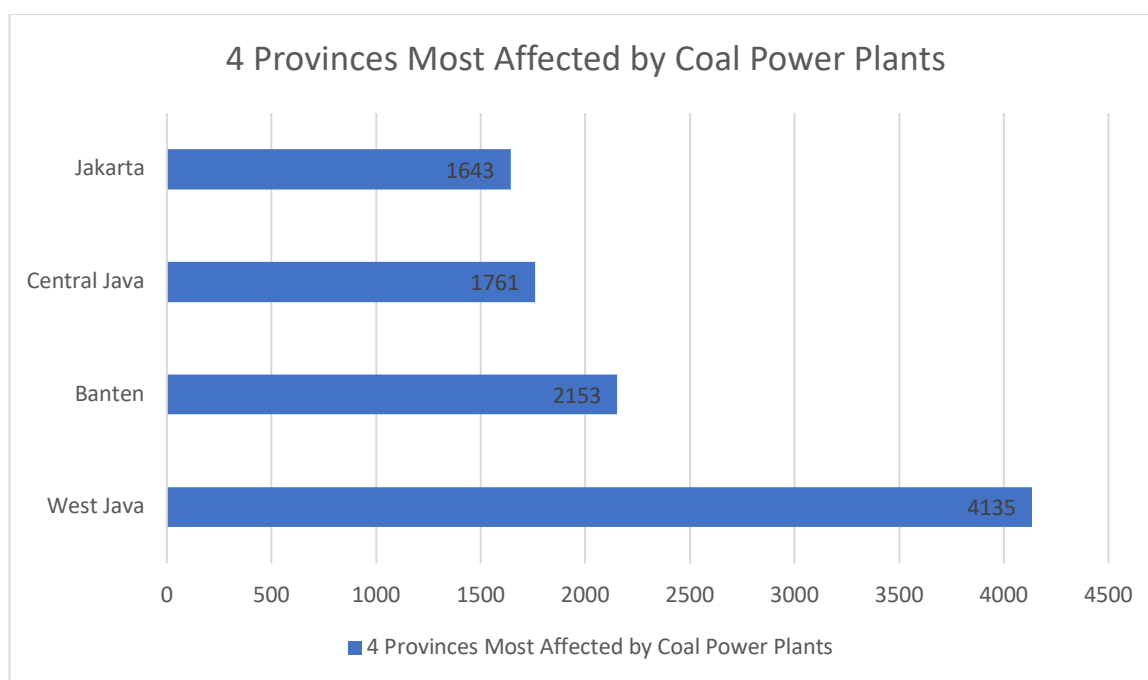


Figure 2. Datar Provinces most affected by coal-fired power plants

Based on the picture above, the distribution of coal-fired power plants in West Java is already operating and two are still in the planning stage, one of which is the Tanjung Jati A Cirebon PLTU, therefore it is natural that the province of West Java occupies the top position with an estimated number of deaths of 4,135 people per year due to coal power plant emissions. Broadly speaking, the case of the construction of the Tanjung Jati A Cirebon PLTU is only a government strategy to invest in infrastructure to benefit investors and oligarchs, where this project will only cause social, economic, political, and environmental problems. PLTU Tanjung Jati A or Java 3 is located in Pengarengan Village, Cirebon Regency with a planned capacity of 2 x 660 MW. This power plant will displace 230 hectares of salt pond land. The initiator of this plant is YTL Power from Malaysia which shares with Bakrie Power. Meanwhile, the environmental permit for the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project was issued in 2016. But until now the project has not been built.

On June 30, 2022, a group of communities and Walhi West Java filed a lawsuit at the Bandung State Administrative Court over the issuance of Decree (SK) Number 660/32/19.1.02.0/BPMPT/2016 regarding environmental permits issued by the Head of the West Java One-Stop Integrated Services Investment Agency (DPMPTSP) for the Tanjung Jati A Cirebon Steam Power Plant (PLTU) with a capacity of 2 X 660 MW. Walhi West Java observes that the environmental permits granted violate the State Responsibility Principles and the General Principles of Good Governance (AUPB). This fact indicates that the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project is not feasible to be built due to legal defects with the preparation of Amdal environmental permits without paying attention to the potential greenhouse gases and the resulting climate change impacts. The issuance of the decree triggered concerns of Walhi West Java as an environmental organization to immediately cancel environmental permits and fight for community justice for good environmental quality (Oktaviani et al., 2016).

In responding to this problem, Walhi West Java built a network with other organizations such as the Bandung Legal Aid Institute (LBH), the Cirebon Clean Coalition (KARBON), Clean Indonesia, and Friends of Earth (FOE). This network was formed to advocate for the Head of DPMPTSP West Java to cancel the construction of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU (Walhi West Java, 2024). Walhi West Java identified a problem in the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project, namely in

the process of issuing environmental permits, the government "deliberately" did not include and estimate CO2 releases and their effects on global warming in the Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL) document. In the absence of CO2 release analysis, the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project is considered unfeasible because it threatens life and the environment. Chronologically, the permit document of PLTU Tanjung Jati A has also expired because the permit document was issued in 2009 and until now there are no construction activities. In its policy, the *expiration period* of the permit document is three years, if there is no physical activity for three years, it is considered expired and invalid, so the initiator (business owner) is obliged to update the permit document again in accordance with the latest spatial conditions. The condition of electricity in West Java which has experienced a surplus is also a supporting data from the analysis of Walhi West Java which questions the *urgency* of the government to build the Tanjung Jati A PLTU (Prasetio et al., 2018).

One of the efforts made by Walhi West Java to cancel the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU is to conduct a campaign with other members and advocate related to problems in the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A Cirebon PLTU. In advocating litigation, Walhi West Java collaborates with LBH Bandung as a legal representative who accompanies the entire process of the series of lawsuits from beginning to end. Non-litigation advocacy is also carried out by Walhi West Java through community organizing, providing education to the surrounding community and consolidating. Walhi West Java's contribution in voicing the agenda to cancel environmental permits is carried out as much as possible starting from collecting and disseminating information about threats, impacts, potential environmental damage and potential job losses due to the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project. Walhi West Java's success in conducting non-litigation advocacy created a KARBON community coalition formed by Wahyudin as Executive Director of Walhi West Java in 2020 (Harta & Sugianto, 2018).

Based on Mr. Wahyudin's statement when met at the Walhi West Java office on January 11, 2024, in his effort to cancel the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A coal-fired power plant, it became the first case in Indonesia that made Walhi West Java win a case against government policy with the judge's accuracy when deciding the Tanjung Jati A PLTU environmental permit case which must consider climate change. In Indonesia, it is quite common for environmental cases to go to court, but the resolution is mostly unsatisfactory due to the lack of strong evidence so that it is resolved through non-litigation advocacy channels.

The initial research that became a reference for the author of Olya work (2020), entitled "Efforts of the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) West Sumatra in Increasing Community Participation in Saving the Environment Mining and Energy Advocacy Study at the Ombilin PLTU Sawahlunto City". This study illustrates the ecological damage caused by the Ombilin coal-fired power plant that has been operating in Sawahlunto for 23 years, such as air quality pollution that exceeds the threshold and ecosystem sustainability is hampered. For the impact of ecological damage, Walhi West Sumatra made a rescue by increasing community participation through non-litigation advocacy. The excellence of this research is the use of *deep ecology* theory which is able to provide a deep theoretical foundation on the importance of developing an empathetic attitude towards nature so as to create Walhi's actions as an environmental organization to make efforts to save the Ombilin PLTU which damages ecology. The drawback lies in the lack of detailed explanation of the advocacy process carried out to the government which is considered necessary to know the intended government actors and their involvement in the advocacy process.

The difference to be emphasized in this study is the need for a holistic and comprehensive approach in handling the construction of coal-fired power plants that damage the environment.

Policies related to the 35,000 MW PLTU construction program in PLN's RUPTL to meet electricity needs to be reviewed further, because basically the program is only for political business interests so that the community feels environmental injustice because it ignores the rights and obligations of the community to a decent environment. The excellence of the author's research lies in the recognition of the judge's decision to cancel the environmental permit for the construction of the Tanjung Jati A coal-fired power plant by looking at the climate change emergency in Indonesia so that in planning the construction of the coal-fired power plant, an analysis related to CO₂ release and climate change is needed. This is a turning point *in environmental justice* in Indonesia about the principle of justice which states nature as an important resource, therefore its use must be carried out and consider its impact thoroughly. It should be the attention and obligation of the government as a state actor to utilize natural resources fairly so that the balance of the ecosystem is maintained and how people's rights to the environment are recognized.

This study aims to analyze the application of *transnational advocacy network* theory which is used as an analytical knife in Walhi West Java strategy with a focus on political, social and environmental aspects. It also aims to see the success achieved by Walhi West Java in canceling environmental permits that are of interest to the author. This success proves that Walhi's position as a non-state actor can slowly make changes in environmental governance policies while threatening the government to immediately early launch the Coal Power Plant, especially in Cirebon, which already has two existing power plants, Cirebon Power Plant, Cirebon Unit 2 Power Plant and the addition of Tanjung Jati A Power Plant of 2x600 MW which is included in the PSN and Regional Energy General Plan (RUED) documents that must immediately excluded from the policy in order to create a healthy environment and people's right to the environment is recognized (Quina, 2017).

With the Tanjung Jati A PLTU development project, the community has the potential to lose jobs and land function experts because the land used for planting will be used as a PLTU building, changes in sea water that turns black so that no fishermen dare to go to sea far, and damage to environmental quality. Therefore, Walhi West Java strives to immediately cancel problematic environmental permits and the government should use natural resources and consider their overall impacts, so as to create justice between the balance of ecosystems and community rights to the environment are recognized.

On the basis of this description, to analyze the problem more deeply and comprehensively, this study focused on the question: What is the advocacy strategy carried out by Walhi West Java in canceling the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A Cirebon PLTU?

Methods

The research was located in Pengarengan Village, Pangenan District, Cirebon Regency, West Java. Pengarengan Village is one of the largest salt producing villages in Cirebon and also produces fishery products, especially rebon, fish and shrimp. This is what makes most people work as fishermen and salt pond farmers. Pengarengan Village is strategically located because it is passed by the Pantura route and close to the Palikanci toll road, and is one of the industrial area schemes. Currently, Pengarengan Village will be built by the Tanjung Jati A PLTU government project which turns out that in the area already stands PLTU 1 and 2 with one stretch that is only limited by the sub-district.

The research method used in this study is qualitative. According to Creswell (2013), qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand an individual or group in which there is a social problem, so that the problem can be used to interpret or gain a deeper understanding of an attitude and action. Based on this, the type of research used is explanatory research with a

case study approach. According to, the case study research method is used in deepening the problem by using the subject matter in the form of (Sugiyono, 2018), Yin (2009) *how* or *why*. Explanatory research is intended to provide an explanation for why something happens or answer the question "why". A phenomenon can be identified because it explains the things behind a problem that occurs so as to know the reason why the problem occurs. In this study, the applied case study will show the background of the problem, identify state and non-state actors to the strategies used in explaining success through social and political factors.

Data collection techniques in this study have two data sources, namely primary data and secondary data. Primary data is obtained through in-depth interviews with informants who understand and are in good locations at the beginning of the problem to the end of the decision of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU problem. The informant selection technique is carried out using *purposive sampling* techniques to deepen cases by involving the main informant who knows technically and in detail related to the root of the problem in the community and how the issue is raised, as well as additional informants as a complement to knowing from different perspectives so that it can be an addition to analysis. Secondary data refers to information obtained by researchers from pre-existing sources. In this context, secondary data sources can be obtained from various sources such as journals, research reports, mass media, theses, books, and documents related to this research.

Results and Discussion

The main problem of this project was when the Decree (SK) of the Head of the Integrated Investment and Licensing Agency of West Java Province Number 660/32/19.1.02.0/BPMPT/2016 was issued concerning the Granting of Environmental Permits for the Construction of Tanjung Jati A PLTU with a capacity of 2 X 660 MW and its Supporting Facilities in Pengarengan Village, Pangenan District, Cirebon Regency by PT. Tanjung Jati Power Company on October 28, 2016. On the basis of the issuance of the decree, Walhi West Java conducted a search for Environmental Permits from the Tanjung Jati A PLTU. The findings from Walhi West Java showed that there were three problems that strengthened that the decree had violated the rule of law (Wahyudi et al., 2021). First, the Amdal permit document for the Tanjung Jati A PLTU that has expired. The permit document in the Amdal permit has a validity period as long as the business or activity is still running, but the main physical activity in the Amdal document is not carried out within three years from the issuance of the environmental feasibility decision, it is considered to have expired (Minister of Environment Regulation Number 5 of 2012).

The Tanjung Jati A Amdal PLTU case was published in 2009 based on Walhi West Java searches when checking in 2019-2020. Referring to the policy, it is clear that the Amdal document of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU has expired because it was issued in 2009 and for the next three years there will be no physical activity. The expiration of the permit document requires business actors to update again, Walhi has asked about the expired permit and asked to re-evaluate it with the government but the government still continues the Tanjung Jati A PLTU process without evaluating or updating the permit documents. The Amdal document in 2009 is also no longer related to this year's spatial conditions, because what was used at that time was still a 2009 document in the Pengarengan area of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU location, while per year the environmental hue will change and there will be changes in spatial planning. (Wahyudi et al., 2021; Novaradila & Utomo, 2022).

Second, the document in the Amdal of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU does not include an analysis related to the estimated release of CO₂ emissions and their effects on global warming, so that the process of issuing environmental permits in the Tanjung Jati A PLTU has violated the State

Responsibility Principle and the General Principle of Good Governance (AUPB). Amdal is very necessary to contain an assessment of the potential significant impact on climate change of a project, so that if the Amdal does not have a study then the resulting environmental permit can be canceled.

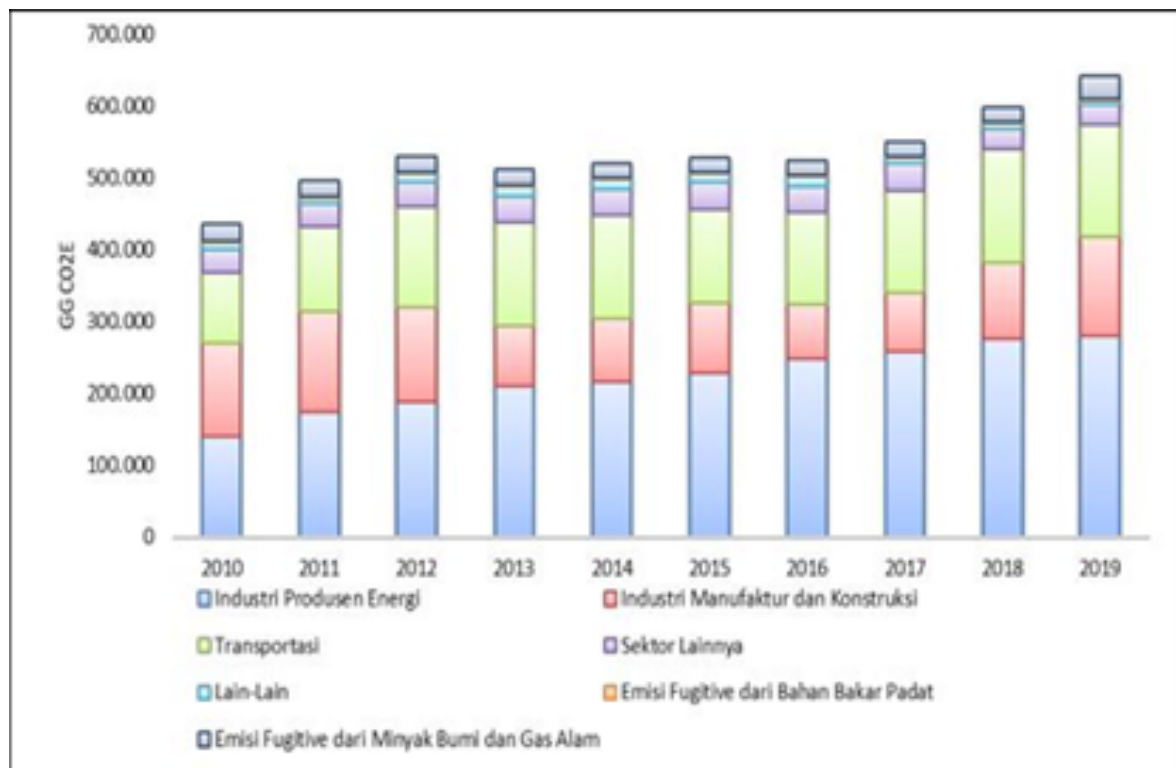


Figure 3. Contributors to CO2 emissions

Based on the graph, the energy producer industry sector is the main sector contributing the largest CO2 emissions from 2010 – 2019. With the following details: (1) Energy producing industry as much as 279,863 Gigagrams (Gg) CO2e; (2) Manufacturing and construction industry as much as 137,040 Gigagrams (Gg) CO2e; (3) Transportation emits 157,326 Gigagrams (Gg) of CO2e emissions; (4) Other sectors consisting of commercial and office sub-categories and housing contributed 26,382 Gigagrams (Gg) of CO2e emissions; (5) For other categories, namely fuel combustion as much as 4,420 Gigagrams (Gg) CO2e; (6) Fugitive emissions from solid fuels as much as 2,688 Gigagrams (Gg) CO2e; (7) Fugitive emissions from petroleum and natural gas amounted to 30,733 Gigagrams (Gg) of CO2e.

The facts found at the Tanjung Jati A 2 x 660 MW PLTU have the potential to emit carbon dioxide emissions of 513 million metric tons of CO2 for an operating life of 30 years. Thus in Figure 2. It is proven that indeed the coal energy producer industry contributes as a contributor to GHG emissions in Indonesia. The potential impacts of climate change are not studied and contained in the Amdal document, so it will cause significant negative impacts on the environment in the form of decreased air quality, public health, decreased sea water quality, and increasingly severe climate change. The absence of carbon release data on the Amdal of the Tanjung Jati PLTU will make the government fail to monitor carbon emissions from the Tanjung Jati A 2 x 660 MW PLTU.

Third, the condition of electricity in West Java which is already *over supply*. The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources stated that until now the oversupply condition in Java-Bali is still ongoing at 4 gigawatts (GW). *Oversupply* that occurred in Java-Bali occurred due to additional plans and estimates of growth in electricity demand that did not match reality. The

condition of electricity oversupply due to the plan to add PLN plants in the 2021-2030 RUPTL, the PLTU sector as much as 34%, where the Tanjung Jati A 2 x 660 MW PLTU project is one of the contributors to the total planned additional capacity of 13,819 MW, besides that it also occurs because the estimated growth in electricity demand is not in accordance with reality. On the basis of these three problems, Walhi urged the Tanjung Jati A PLTU construction plan to be canceled (Ahmad & Hafri, 2023).

Implementation of Walhi West Java Strategy

Walhi West Java uses strategies as explained by Keck & Sikkink (1999), namely information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics in canceling environmental permits until they get victory. Based on this strategy, researchers will describe the strategy used by Walhi West Java in canceling the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A Cirebon coal-fired power plant.

Information Politics

Information politics referred to by Keck & Sikkink (1999) is the application of strategies in collecting, using information, data, research and analysis to get support in advocacy and campaigns carried out. The information collected must have credible credibility. The implementation of the strategy carried out by Walhi West Java by publishing reports, articles and press releases that can be accessed and downloaded by the public or its advocacy network on the official website of Walhi West Java or Walhi. In the TAN strategy conceptualized by Keck & Sikkink (1999), this activity is included in *information politics* which aims to build public discourse on the urgency of the issue being advocated. The report published in collaboration with advocacy networks is the result of research on the negative impacts and potential losses caused by coal-fired power plants with the aim of increasing public awareness of the dangers of using coal in the operation of coal-fired power plants. In general, this strategy forms a *community framing* of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU environmental permit granted by the government (Lumbanraja et al., 2019).

One of the reports released by Walhi West Java on the website entitled "Dark Portrait of Dirty Energy Investment: The Impact of Coal Power Plants and Citizen Resistance" published in 2020. This report is the result of Walhi's research on the grim impacts associated by the government's dirty energy practices through the construction of coal-fired power plants in the West Java region and describes the efforts of communities in Indramayu and Cirebon affected by coal-fired power plants to fight for the right to a healthy and good environment. The report was released as a form of *watchdog activity* from Walhi so that in the future the construction of coal-fired power plants will be retired early and the plan for coal-fired power plants to be built will be replaced with renewable energy.

In the case of PLTU Tanjung Jati A, Walhi West Java uses the internet as a means to conduct *information politics* regarding the cancellation of the environmental permit of PLTU Tanjung Jati A. With social media as a means for information and communication to the public through content actions, education, rejection and various ways, it will make it easier for people to understand the advocacy that is being carried out. The use of social media has also facilitated NGOs to build their network base, so that they gain power from the commitment and energy of activists who have the same focus on issues. Therefore, Walhi West Java can more easily network with several NGOs that have the same focus such as Bersih Indonesia, Bersih Cirebon, Greenpeace, Walhi, 350.org, LBH Bandung, and Tren Asia (Mustofa et al., 2022).

Walhi West Java held a press conference with Bersih Indonesia and LBH Bandung with the title "Why Tanjung Jati A PLTU Should Be Canceled?" The press conference was held to inform problems related to environmental permits which became a strong reason to cancel the

Tanjung Jati A. Walhi West Java PLTU using narratives or stories of the impacts generated by the Tanjung Jati PLTU carried out by the government, using narratives due to the existence of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU air quality getting worse due to coal burning will expose people to respiratory diseases and environmental quality such as water will Blackened. Walhi West Java also uses the narrative of the impact of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU will make salt pond farmers experience crop failure, fishermen will also experience crop failure because salt pond fish seeds die due to noisy PLTU activities and large vehicle traffic so that fishermen have to go further to sea to find catches. Not only that, the location where fishermen catch fish is exposed to hot water from boilers, PLTU activities and loading and unloading activities that cause damage to fishermen's nets when the anchors are released. This narrative is used because if there are no examples of impacts that can be felt, it is difficult for activists to motivate the community to support efforts to cancel the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A coal-fired power plant. With this narrative, both activists and individuals who were previously unaware of (Virgy et al., 2020) the Tanjung Jati A PLTU problem can become more aware of the importance of the issue.

Walhi West Java frames the problem simply and the information is packaged briefly but informatively even some posts are formed in *dagelan*. In figure 6. Walhi's post displays the results of Walhi West Java's research with its advocacy network related to the Tanjung Jati A PLTU problem. Through this post, the community will understand why the construction of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU must be canceled, one of which is because the Tanjung Jati A PLTU Amdal document is legally flawed. In the next post, Walhi West Java packs the problem of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU in the form of a caricature so that people will not feel bored and dizzy when reading it because in the caricature it is explicitly written that the Tanjung Jati A PLTU only benefits investors and oligarchs with electricity conditions that are *already over supply*, by building the Tanjung Jati A PLTU, it is tantamount to lying to the community with an energy procurement scheme that only makes the state lose (Saleh & Gadsia Spaltani, 2022).

The use of Instagram social media for Walhi West Java plays an important role as a means to provide information, studies, and even be able to conduct campaigns and take a critical stance on policies issued by the government. Therefore, Walhi West Java more often uses Instagram media in advocating problems because it can educate and get attention from local, national and even international communities (Ahmad & Hafri, 2023).

In information politics, Walhi West Java uses the internet as a means to disseminate information from their findings and publish reports through social media and Walhi's official website with the aim of reaching a wider audience. Information plays a major role in forming networks, contact with like-minded individuals or groups both at home and abroad will help in accessing information, strengthening legitimacy, and supporting the mobilization process regarding specific policy targets (Spaltani, 2018).

Symbolic Politics

Symbolic interpretation is part of the process of persuasion creating which networks of consciousness and expanding constituents expand. *Symbolic Politics* used by Walhi West Java to attract public attention so that it can lead public opinion by carrying out creative action methods. *This symbolic politics* is a continuation of strengthening previously published reports with the aim of changing people's mindset towards a problem. Walhi West Java took action to cancel the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU, to attract attention from the community Walhi West Java uses the principle of *non-violent direct action* with the aim that the action taken is easy to interpret and identify as an effort to cancel the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU carried out by the government and the oligarchs involved. This

step is important given the view of Keck & Sikkink (1999), that campaigns carried out by NGOs need to include symbolic areas or use items that are easy for the public to remember and identify with the issue being campaigned (Lativolia, 2018).

Campaigns carried out by Walhi West Java in symbolic areas or using items that are easily remembered by the community. In the case of PLTU Tanjung Jati A, Walhi West Java took creative actions by installing banners, posters, and using airborne hazard properties. Walhi West Java conducted a campaign in several ministries to inform the problems that occurred at the Tanjung Jati A PLTU by conducting hearings. Walhi West Java together with the community collected several facts related to violations of laws and regulations as supporting reports to the government. The results of the analysis found that Walhi West Java carried out this model advocacy strategy by raising the symbol of justice for the community.

Through this symbol, Walhi illustrates the consequences of coal burning smoke endangering people in Cirebon. The strategy of gaining public support is also carried out by Walhi West Java by doing a *podcast* which is currently very popular because of its easy and not boring access, in collaboration with Bandung Bergerak. Then, it published a position paper entitled "West Java under the Threat of False Solutions to New Renewable Energy" in 2023. The Position Paper published by Walhi can be accessed by all elements of society on the official *website* of Walhi West Java. The results of the position paper are in the form of a report on findings from previously regarding the construction of coal-fired power plants in Indonesia threatening the environment and society as well as new findings examined by Walhi West Java together with the West Java Coalition for Clean Energy (POLAR) to question the government's commitment to retire coal-fired power plants and energy transition which is still only a discourse. KUTUB itself is a combination of independent civil society organizations, carrying out advocacy work to save environmental and earth protection and the fulfillment of human rights. KUTUB West Java consists of, Walhi West Java, LBH Bandung, Perkumpulan Initiative, LION, ALBIN, FK31 West Java, AP2S1 West Java, Trend Asia and XR Indonesia (Alamsyah & Samadhi, 2023).

Leverage Politics

The strategy of leveraging politics advocacy is how to strengthen and expand its network by working together on stronger actors. In this strategy so that an issue can be negotiated, the important thing to do before is how Walhi West Java makes an issue of Tanjung Jati A PLTU important for the community by implementing information strategies and symbolic politics. Walhi West Java has previously carried out both strategies so that it has an advocacy network that is in the focus of the same issue, namely the cancellation of the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU. Not only pressuring the Head of DPMPTSP as the main target actor, but also pressuring other actors related to the process of issuing environmental permits or the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project, such as the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, West Java Provincial Government. By leveraging the support of actors with greater power, these networks manage to gain wider influence even beyond their capacity to influence the practices of the target actors (Novaradila & Utomo, 2022)(Nugroho & Syahrudin, 2021).

Walhi West Java strengthens and expands its network by cooperating with organizations that have greater power, one example Walhi has an international network called Friends of Earth (FOE), in carrying out its efforts to cancel environmental permits Walhi West Java does not get financial support from the government both APBN and APBD because it refers to the rules of principle of the Walhi volunteer organization, however, Walhi West Java receives financial support from outside the government, namely its international network FOE. FOE is the world's largest environmental organization with 71 grassroots organizations in 70 countries, 15

affiliated organizations, and more than 2 million individual members and supporters across the board. Walhi West Java in collaboration with FOE functions an advocacy network to get support in canceling the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A coal-fired power plant, through an international campaign conducted by Walhi to inform that development projects have problems related to regulations or human rights. Walhi West Java communicated virtually with FOE to get direction and strategies in overcoming the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project, so that FOE already knew that the Tanjung Jati A PLTU had problems (*Friends of the Earth International*).

In the national network, Walhi West Java also does it with LBH Bandung related to litigation advocacy and conducting critical legal education for the community. This education aims to make the community more critical of development projects carried out by the government because the government often deprives the community of their rights to justice so that the community itself must understand where their rights and obligations are. This education is provided in the form of discussion, exposure and training on the rights and obligations of the community towards the environment in accordance with UUPPLH (Wardana, 2023).

Not only providing support and communication with international and national networks, Walhi West Java also builds support to affected communities, Walhi West Java consolidates young people, the statement was explained directly by Wahyudin as president director of Walhi West Java when met at the Walhi West Java office on January 10, 2024. According to him, the consolidation of young people has an important role to call for justice action on environmental rights that are damaged and even deprived due to government development projects, their existence to carry out campaigns both online and offline. The form of the campaign can be in the form of actions, doing podcasts, making short videos, and press conferences (Wahyudi, 2021). Through the consolidation of young people, Wahyudin succeeded in forming KARBON in 2020 in collaboration with universities in Cirebon, including Gunung Jati University (UGJ), Muhammadiyah University Cirebon, Cirebon State Islamic Institute (IAIN), Cirebon Marine Sanctuary Maritime Academy (AKMI) (Oktaviani et al., 2016).

Accountability Politics

The next strategy is accountability politics, Keck & Sikkink (1999) explain that this strategy is to bind or obtain commitments from targeted actors to carry out policy or behavior changes. The commitment takes the form of a written legal document to ensure the target actor actually implements the policy or behavior change desired by the relevant NGO, because verbal or other commitments cannot ensure the full implementation of the policy or behavior change.

In the case of the Tanjung Jati coal-fired power plant, Walhi West Java *accountability politics* by exposing the fact that the government has not kept its commitments on the issue of climate change. Indonesia has ratified various international legal instruments related to climate change, so that Indonesia has the rights and obligations as a member state of the 1992 UNFCCC and the 2015 Paris Agreement, namely the obligation to "take preventive measures to anticipate, prevent or minimize the causes of climate change and mitigate the adverse impacts generated". On this basis, Walhi West Java reported the results of its findings related to the Tanjung Jati A PLTU environmental permit issued by the Head of DPMPSTP West Java did not contain complete Amdal information because it did not assess the potential impact of climate change which has the potential for very high CO₂ emissions from the PLTU (Mustofa et al., 2022).

The lawyer from the Climate Justice Advocacy team who assisted Walhi West Java during the lawsuit process said that the President of Indonesia had committed to the international public to reduce carbon emissions by 2030 and zero carbon emissions by 2060, but it turned out that the Tanjung Jati A PLTU construction plan was a policy that was contrary to it all (LBH

Bandung, 2022). This is reinforced by a publication from Walhi West Java in the form of a *briefing paper* entitled "Why Tanjung Jati A PLTU Should Be Canceled?". In the briefing paper, Walhi West Java reported its findings that Indonesia is a member of the Glasgow Climate Pact (COP 26) which is committed to stop building coal-fired power plants and in 2022 yesterday Indonesia hosted the G20 with the theme "Recover Together, Recover Stronger" where one of the priority issues discussed at the Summit (Summit) was energy transition. Turning around with its global commitment, Walhi West Java received the PLN RUPTL 2021 – 2030 document which was claimed to be 'greenest' by the government, which turned out that after analysis the government still included a coal power plant construction plan of 13.8 GW (70% of the total 40.5 GW of fossil energy power plants). These power plants include PLTU Mulut Tambang Jambi I & II, PLTU Jawa 9 – 10 Suralaya, PLTU Jepara 5 & 6, and PLTU Tanjung Jati A (*West Java Under Threat of False Energy Solutions*, 2023).

The last information obtained was indeed the victory was in Walhi West Java because the judge approved all the lawsuits filed, even so Walhi West Java was not quickly satisfied with the victory obtained, they still continued to oversee the process of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU to ensure that it came out of the policy document by monitoring and urging the government through letters to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources.

First Victory and Turning Point for Environmental Justice in Indonesia

The process of Walhi West Java filing a lawsuit against the Head of DPMPTSP West Java to the Bandung State Administrative Court over the issuance of environmental permits to the Bandung State Administrative Court has come a long way, more or less a summary of the trial journey carried out can be seen at

Table 1. Conference timeline

Date	Event Description
30 June 2022	The representative of West Java filed an environmental lawsuit against the head of DPMPTSP West Java at the Bandung State Administrative Court regarding the Tanjung Jati A power plant.
18 August 2022	The case proceeded to the witness testimony stage. The representative of West Java presented two expert witnesses: Professor Andi Gunawan Wibisiana (environmental law expert from the University of Indonesia) and Faisal Basri (senior economist).
1 September 2022	It was revealed during the trial that the West Java provincial government did not include the greenhouse gas effects and climate change impacts in the environmental permit issuance for the Tanjung Jati A power plant, despite obligations under the West Java Government Regulation No. 1 of 2012 on environmental management.
8 September 2022	Testimonies were heard from experts on behalf of the head of DPMPTSP, along with additional evidence submitted by both parties. The head of DPMPTSP West Java was unable to present an expert; meanwhile, the representative of West Java provided three additional pieces of evidence: online media reports from 2011-2016, West Java provincial regulations from 2012, and a greenhouse gas inventory by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources from 2013.

Source: LBH Bandung

In Table 1. briefly describes the litigation advocacy journey carried out by Walhi West Java and LBH Bandung as legal representatives in canceling the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU. Before filing a lawsuit at the Bandung State Administrative Court, Walhi West Java had made administrative efforts since early December 2021 in the form of correspondence with the Head of the West Java DPMPTSP. The administrative efforts that have been carried out by Walhi West Java have gone as well as possible, namely objections and appeals from both parties, but because the head of DPMPTSP rejected Walhi West Java's

demands and did not get a settlement, the next step for Walhi West Java to file a lawsuit with the Bandung State Administrative Court. The lawsuit filed by Walhi is included in the settlement of environmental disputes with register Number: 52/G/LH/2022/PTUN. BDG. via online on *the e-court* on June 30, 2022 against the Head of DPMPTSP West Java Province (Ahsinin et al., 2022).

After a long process, in October 2022, the reading of the final verdict hearing read was open to the public in *e-court*. In the verdict hearing, the Bandung PTUN panel of judges granted Walhi's lawsuit in its entirety. In its legal consideration, the panel of judges stated that although legal regulations related to the environment do not specifically stipulate the obligation to include climate change issues in the Amdal, to maintain a good and healthy quality environment, an analysis of climate change needs to be included in the preparation of the Amdal document. The judge placed emphasis on the potential impacts of climate change for present and future generations. Related to this, the judge in the Tanjung Jati A PLTU Environmental Permit (PTUN Bandung, 2022) views that climate change has the potential to produce serious and irreversible impacts, which are detrimental to current and future generations. With the judge's decision stating that the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A coal-fired power plant is contrary to the principles of AUPB in Indonesian environmental law, the environmental permit of the Tanjung Jati A coal-fired power plant is legally canceled. This decision is the first victory for Walhi West Java and the first ruling in Indonesia that places arguments and considerations related to climate change as a strong reason for deciding a case (Sihombing, 2020).

The victory of Walhi West Java in the Bandung PTUN lawsuit became history in Indonesia because for the first time the judge in this decision saw the importance of climate change positions in Amdal studies and paved the way for the inclusion of climate change studies in Amdal which became a turning point for *environmental justice*. The judge's decision is in line with the principle of environmental justice based on the perspective of Taylor (2000), namely the ecological principle and the principle of justice. The ecological principle sees how nature must get its right to remain sustainable and humans who live are required to be responsible for natural conditions, while the principle of justice emphasizes the importance of nature as a resource, so its use must be done with full consideration. If we trace the case of the Tanjung Jati A coal-fired power plant, it is clear that the protection of this natural function should be the goal and basis of the balancing act taken, because the survival of the ecosystem, of which humans are members, will depend on the integrity of essential environmental functions. The serious and irreversible threat of climate change is one of the disruption therefore government development projects should give more assessment to environmental protection, in this case climate change mitigation and adaptation (Oktaviani, 2017).

Conclusion

In this Tanjung Jati A PLTU case study research, we can see the interaction between Walhi West Java and international and national networks. Walhi West Java carries out its interaction using four strategies from Keck & Sikkink (1999) as a form of *political move*. From the four strategies of *Transnational Advocacy Network* theory, it can be concluded that Walhi West Java has optimally formed an advocacy network both internationally and nationally that has concerns about environmental issues such as Greenpeace, FOE, and 350.org through *Information Politics*, *Symbolic Politics*, *Leverage Politics*, and *Accountability Politics strategies*. In building an advocacy network to get support related to the cancellation of the Tanjung Jati PLTU environmental permit, the *Information Politics strategy* was successfully carried out by Walhi West Java such as Clean Indonesia, LBH Bandung, KARBON, RAPEL, and 350 Indonesia. *Information Politics* is the main key for Walhi West Java to successfully cancel environmental permits caused by the exclusivity of Walhi in every action and its large

network in the transnational sphere. Through *information politics*, Walhi West Java provides information that is packaged credibly and then disseminated by social media to attract the attention of the public, other organizations and get support for the advocacy that is being carried out. Walhi West Java is very active in providing information related to problematic environmental permits at the Tanjung Jati A PLTU to its network and the community, even Walhi West Java uses organizing and critical education methods to the community to inform why they want to cancel environmental permits.

Strategy implementation *Accountability Politics* in the case of the Tanjung Jati A PLTU, it can be said that it is not optimal because until now the Tanjung Jati A PLTU project is still in the RUPTL document and has not been excluded from government policy, although legally Walhi West Java won this case because the Tanjung Jati A PLTU environmental permit has been canceled by the judge which means this project cannot continue. Thus, supervision will continue to be carried out by Walhi West Java, the supervision process will be carried out through sending letters to the government and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources to immediately follow up and remove the Tanjung Jati A PLTU from policy documents, and can lead to peaceful demonstrations. On strategy *Symbolic politics*, Walhi West Java is considered insufficient to provide symbols such as banners or posters about the dangers of coal at PLTU, if viewed on its Instagram account only two or five symbols emphasize the termination of coal-fired power plants, because Walhi West Java is more active by conducting public discussions, press conferences, and press releases.

Finally, the implementation of the strategy *Leverage Politics* Walhi West Java in advocating the case of PLTU Tanjung Jati A went well. Walhi West Java also received support from FOE both in the form of funding and actions taken to cancel the environmental permit of PLTU Tanjung Jati A. Where Walhi West Java and its international network FOE, then supported by LBH Bandung, 350 Indonesia, Clean Indonesia both concluded that PLTU Tanjung Jati A is a project that damages the environment and is proven not to include studies on the release of CO₂ emissions in the Amdal that can threaten climate change.

It can be concluded that the victory of Walhi West Java over the Head of DPMPTSP West Java is the result of the implementation of the strategy *Information Politics* and *Leverage Politics* the maximum. In addition, the role of judges who dare to decide cases by considering climate change studies is still considered a must-have part of the Amdal for all important environmental impacts that can arise from an activity plan. This court ruling is the first ruling in Indonesia that shows the legal fact that climate change has occurred and important steps must be taken to prevent it, so the West Java Provincial Government should carry out the Energy Transition to clean renewable energy.

References

- Ahmad Al H, M. M., & Hafri. (2023). Pemanfaatan Media Sosial Instagram Walhi Bengkulu Sarana Kampanye Lingkungan. *J-SIKOM*, 4(2), 29–45. <https://doi.org/10.36085/JSIKOM.V4I2.5832>
- Ahsinin, A., Afrilia, D., Triyana, H. J., & Buana, M. S. (2022). *Kebijakan Nasional sebagai Prasyarat Efikasi dan Efektivitas Hak Asasi Manusia Pada Ranah Nasional: Kompilasi Ekspresi Akademia Menyigi dan Meneroka RANHAM*. Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi Masyarakat (ELSAM).
- Al Idrus, N. F. (2022). Dampak Politik Hukum dan Respon Masyarakat atas Pembaharuan Undang-Undang Minerba. *Jurnal Penegakan Hukum Dan Keadilan*, 3(2), 114–127. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jphk.v3i2.14898>

- Alamsyah, S., & Samadhi, W. P. (2023). Gerakan Demokrasi Kelompok Marginal: Perlawanan Nelayan Perempuan Terhadap Reklamasi Teluk Jakarta. *Populis : Jurnal Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 8(2), 229–242. <https://doi.org/10.47313/pjsh.v8i2.2878>
- Bailey, S., & Bryant, R. (2005). *Third World Political Ecology: an Introduction*. Routledge.
- Harta, T. C., & Sugianto, M. A. (2018). Analysis of Planning Construction Main Road Development PLTU Tanjung Jati A. *Journal of Green Science and Technology*, 2(2), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.33603/jgst.v2i2.1287>
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1999). Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional politics. *International Social Science Journal*, 51(159), 89–101.
- Lativolita, Y. C. (2018). *Peran Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Walhi) Dalam Penegakan Hukum Lingkungan di Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah* [Undergraduate Thesis]. Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta.
- Lumbanraja, B. Y., Utama, Y. J., & Putrianti, A. (2019). Analisis Yuridis Putusan Mahkamah Agung Tentang Pelaksanaan Eksekusi Putusan Pengadilan Tinggi Tata Usaha Negara Dalam Sengketa Lingkungan Hidup (Studi Kasus Putusan Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara Semarang Nomor: 064/G/2014/PTUN SMG). *Diponegoro Law Journal*, 8(3), 1780–1791. <https://doi.org/10.14710/DLJ.2019.24561>
- Mustofa, M. U., Sulaeman, K., Nurdini, F. M., & Raudya, M. D. K. (2022). Radical Grassroots Movements Dalam Politik Ekologi di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi. *The Indonesian Journal of Politics and Policy*, 4(1), 83–100. <https://doi.org/10.35706/ijpp.v4i1.6623>
- Novaradila, G., & Utomo, A. B. (2022). Strategi Jaringan Advokasi Transnasional Greenpeace Dalam Menangani Isu Ekologi di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Riau Tahun 2011-2018. *NUSANTARA: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*, 9(5), 1677–1687.
- Nugroho, W., & Syahrudin, E. (2021). Politik Hukum Rancangan Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja Disektor Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan (Suatu Telaah Kritis). *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan*, 51(3), 637–658. <https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol51.no3.3127>
- Oktaviani, Z. (2017). Strategi Komunikasi Organisasi Masyarakat Walhi Jabar (Studi Deskriptif Gerakan Sosial Save Babakan Siliwangi). *Jurnal Ilmiah LISKI (Lingkaran Studi Komunikasi)*, 2(2), 210–222. <https://doi.org/10.25124/liski.v2i2.136>
- Oktaviani, Z., Mayangsari, I. D., Prasetyo, A., & Prasetyo, A. (2016). Strategi Komunikasi Organisasi Masyarakat Walhi Jabar (studi Deskriptif Gerakan Sosial Save Babakan Siliwangi). *EProceedings of Management*, 3(3). <https://openlibrarypublications.telkomuniversity.ac.id/index.php/management/article/view/3984>
- Olva, Y. (2020). *Upaya Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (Walhi) Sumatera Barat Dalam Meningkatkan Partisipasi Masyarakat Terhadap Penyelamatan Lingkungan Studi Advokasi Tambang dan Energi di PLTU Ombilin Kota Sawahlunto* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Andalas).
- Prasetyo, A., Oktaviana, Z., & Mayangsari, I. D. (2018). Komunikasi Organisasi Walhi Jabar Dalam Gerakan Sosial Save Babakan Siliwangi. *Linimasa : Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 1(1), 1–7. <https://journal.unpas.ac.id/index.php/linimasa/article/view/829>
- Quina, M. (2017). *Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara Bandung Mengenai Izin Lingkungan Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Uap Batubara (PLTU -B) 1 x 1.000 MW a/n PT Cirebon*

- Energi Persada. *Jurnal Hukum Lingkungan Indonesia*, 4(1), 153–161. <https://doi.org/10.38011/jhli.v4i1.54>
- Saleh, I. N. S., & Gadsia Spaltani, B. (2022). Reformulasi Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Pejuang Hak Atas Lingkungan Hidup Yang Baik Dan Sehat. *Jatiswara*, 37(2), 163–175. <https://doi.org/10.29303/jtsw.v37i2.402>
- Sihombing, A. K. (2020). Penegakan Hukum terhadap Pencemaran Lingkungan di Sungai Cikijing, Jawa Barat Akibat Aktivitas Industri Tekstil PT. Kahatex. *Jurnal Hukum Lingkungan Indonesia*, 7(1), 98–117. <https://doi.org/10.38011/jhli.v7i1.209>
- Spaltani, B. G. (2018). Penerapan Kebijakan Hakim Bersertifikat Lingkungan (Pemenuhan Hak Spiritual Hakim Dalam Mewujudkan Ekokrasi di Indonesia. *Jurnal Law & Justice*, 3(2), 98–112.
- Sugiyono. (2018). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Alfabeta.
- Taylor, D. E. (2000). The Rise of the Environmental Justice Paradigm. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 43(4), 508–580. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764200043004003>
- Virgy, M. A., Djuyandi, Y., & Darmawan, W. B. (2020). Strategi Jaringan Advokasi Transnasional Greenpeace Indonesia Terkait Isu Deforestasi Hutan Indonesia oleh Wilmar International. *Journal of Political Issues*, 1(2), 74–91. <https://doi.org/10.33019/jpi.v1i2.9>
- Wahyudi, H., Anugerah, M. F., & Arif, M. (2021). Keterlibatan WALHI dalam Politik Lingkungan Hidup terhadap Kasus Kabut Asap di Riau. *JDP (Jurnal Dinamika Pemerintahan)*, 4(2), 44–61.
- Wardana, A. (2023). Governing Through Courts? Law and the Political-Economy of Climate Change Litigation in Indonesia. *VRÜ Verfassung Und Recht in Übersee*, 56(2), 351–370.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Sage Inc.