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Indonesia National Election 2024:
Understanding the Presidential
Candidates' **Environmental Policies** and
Potential Stances for the **Carbon Market**



Executive Summary:

Key Takeaways

Given the critical importance and complexity of the upcoming election for Indonesia's environmental policies and governance, including climate change, this policy paper provides data and analysis for voters and other stakeholders to make informed decisions about future candidates.

Ganjar, Anies, and Prabowo, with their extensive government experience, have to be scrutinized by the public. Therefore, the authors emphasize several key points that should be carefully considered before casting votes on February 14, 2024. As responsible voters and rational partners, we must understand these criteria so that Indonesia can continue establishing a sustainable environment for future generations.

1. The candidate's track record in governing environmental issues in Indonesia

One vital criterion for evaluating political parties and presidential candidates is their past performance in addressing environmental issues in Indonesia. This includes their ability to balance the interests of businesses, political parties, and the community. While it is true that business interests and political affiliations may sometimes overlap, what matters most is the candidate's dedication to public interest/society's needs. Examining their track record in navigating bureaucratic politics and delivering on environmental promises is essential. For example, each candidate has faced problems with different complexity within ecological cases, such as the tenure conflicts between local communities and the private sector, flooding in coastal areas, fires, and forest shrinkage in Central Java. Meanwhile, the case in DKI Jakarta is rampant pollution, flooding, land subsidence, water and environmental pollution. The central government is encountering difficulties in tackling food security concerns amidst deforestation and land clearance problems for the new capital city. Candidate capacity to deliver the promises should be carefully evaluated through achievement, trajectory, and criticism from the public found in news articles, government reports, and past legislative actions. This report will further analyze that in the following section.

2. Evaluation of candidate's vision, mission, and strategy for environmental sustainability

The vision, mission, and policy strategies outlined by candidates are crucial benchmarks for making an informed choice. When casting your vote, consider whose vision and strategies are not only realistic but also prioritize sustainable growth and environmental well-being. A candidate's ability to articulate and implement ideas at both macro and micro levels is a crucial indicator of their competence in addressing environmental concerns. Moreover, voters have to evaluate whether or not environmental issues are included on the top priority list of the vision and mission of each candidate. While all three presidential candidates seem equally committed to addressing climate issues in their vision and mission, voters'

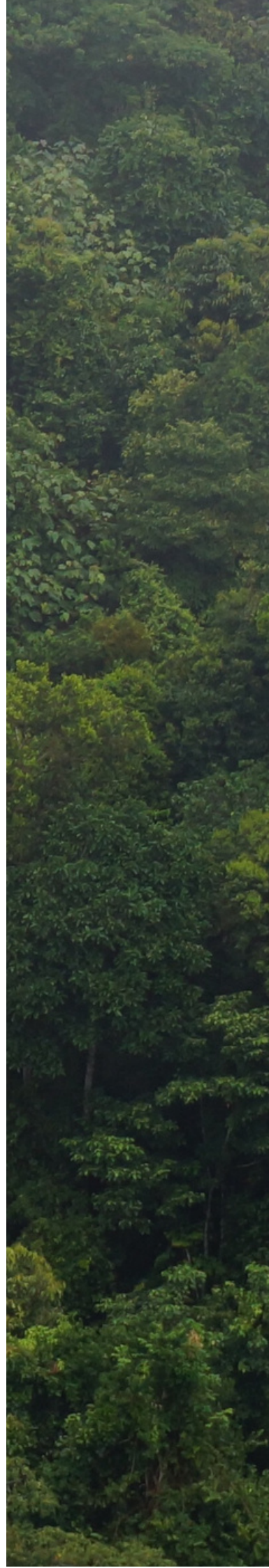
Perspectives on the appropriate approach may vary. Ganjar emphasizes market mechanisms for climate management, Anies strives to balance government-society collaboration, and Prabowo concentrates on mitigating and preventing environmental harm through a nationalistic approach. Priority setting can inform the public of the interest and policy expectations for future government conditions that often be gleaned from their campaign materials, public speeches, and policy proposals.

3. Political party alliances and campaign teams understanding-agenda for the environment

Implicit interests tied to political party alliances and campaign teams can significantly impact a candidate's approach to environmental issues. To assess this, examine the historical performance of the political party and the influential figures supporting a candidate. It's crucial to determine whether the political party holds a dominant position, which might allow them to dictate the agenda of the elected leader, or if power dynamics are more balanced. Additionally, analyze whether the campaign team comprises a diverse range of interest groups, as this can influence a candidate's stance on issues like climate change. In the context of decarbonization, the party's commitment to renewable energy, reducing dependence on fossil fuels, and climate justice need to be evaluated firmly from its position on existing policies. Information about political alliances and campaign teams can often be found in party manifestos, endorsements, and media coverage.

4. Candidate transparency and accountability for the whole election process

The environmental issues have been gaining public scrutiny in recent years as public awareness from Indonesian people, especially among the youth, is increasing. Voters have to consider this whole agenda by checking the transparency and accountability of each candidate in listening to critical inputs during the election. Criticism concerning environmental protection is not limited to urban pollution but also customary forest conflict, climate change protests/rallies, and other human rights-related ecological justice issues should be heard and incorporated into decision-making. Silencing criticism will be a red flag for the voters to choose a candidate that could not be accountable and transparent for their actions and future agenda.



1

What to expect from the presidential candidate's environmental policies and governance, especially related to the carbon market

Each candidate has a unique socio-economic and political background that will shape and direct their environmental policies and governance. In this section, authors analyze publicly available data, such as statements, experiences, trajectories, and endorsed policies put forth by each of the presidential candidates. This analytical approach is particularly pertinent due to the shared background of the three Indonesian presidential candidates who have held positions within the executive domain of government, such as governor and minister. While differences may exist in dimensions like their respective levels of authority and the scope of regional autonomy, they have overseen. All three candidates converge on a critical intersection: their roles in shaping public policies related to environmental concerns.

Indonesia is committed to the Paris Agreement to limit global warming to under 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. The country has pledged to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 31.89% by 2030 (unconditionally), possibly increasing it to 43.2% with international support (conditionally). Therefore, this shared commitment to addressing environmental issues is necessary to navigate the future of Indonesian environmental policies and governance. The significance of examining their stances and actions in this realm is to educate the voters, especially the younger generation, to evaluate each candidate during the campaign period and polling date. This article has been crafted with factual information to provide an objective perspective for Indonesian voters as they approach the national election.

In particular, this section focuses on the acceptance of each candidate toward the carbon market mechanism that the Paris Agreement endorsed through mandatory and voluntary markets. Indonesia has developed a fundamental framework for carbon pricing, including carbon emission trading, offset emissions, result-based payments, and taxes, which are critical to accelerating decarbonization within five major sectors: energy, forest and land use (FOLU), agriculture, industrial processes and production use (IPPU), and waste. Matching and mapping this framework based on each presidential candidate's campaign plan, personal traits/characteristics, and policy direction are crucial to anticipate the leadership shift related to the environment, climate change, and the carbon market in Indonesia over the next five years.

This paper summarizes the information in the following table, highlighting the critical information on understanding the potential environmental policies and governance made by the presidential candidate in solving the pressing issue, such as Climate Change through the carbon market mechanism. It provides insights from personal traits/characteristics, financial and other materials resources, and other influences - political strategy to win the next election.



Photo: kpu.go.id

Table 01. Presidential Candidate Overview

		
ANIES BASWEDAN	GANJAR PRANOWO	PRABOWO SUBIANTO
Background		
Ideology: Social-liberal, progressive yet strong connection to muslim conservative groups.	Ideology: Soekarno-Nationalist (Marhaenism), Democratic, Liberal.	Ideology: Nationalist, populist-conservative, supporting the nation's openness in international forums.
Education: Economics, Universitas Gadjah Mada; Master Public Administration from University of Maryland; Political Science (Ph.D)Northern Illinois University	Education: Law from the University of Gadjah Mada; Political Science (Master) from Universitas Indonesia	Education: Indonesian Military Academy
Vice President Candidate: <i>Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar</i> , Politician, Ulama/religious leader. Former minister	Vice President Candidate: <i>Mohammad Mahfud Mahmodin</i> , Academician Minister, law background.	Vice President Candidate: <i>Gibran Rakabuming Raka</i> , The mayor of Solo, business background, and the current president's son.
Campaign focus related to Environment		
Carrying the narration "Change for Unity" that are the main focus, namely: 1. Energy Security and Water Sovereignty; 2. Sustainable Ecological Justice for Future Generations; 3. Increasing the welfare of local communities with Sustainable Natural Resources; 4. Agrarian Reform; 5. Development of Coastal, Island, and Inland Areas	Focusing on: 1. Climate Crisis Adaptation and Mitigation; 2. Green Economy and Blue Economy; 3. Integrated residences, workplaces, sidewalks, and public transportation; 4. Sustainable Food Industry; 5. Acceleration of Completion of the New National Capital	Focusing on: 1. Self-sufficiency in food, energy, water, green and blue economy; 2. Harmonious alignment of life with the environment, nature, and culture; 3. Firm action against perpetrators of environmental pollution and destruction; 4. Reducing dependence on fossil energy; and 5. Accelerating decarbonization through carbon sinks and carbon offsets
POV on environment and climate change		
• Advocate the adverse impact of Climate Change and other environmental degradation, declaring a "global climate crisis" instead of just "climate change" or "global warming." • Alignment of economic development with environmental sustainability and protection. • Recognizing the bottom-up approach, the right to a good and healthy living environment is a fundamental human right.	• Market mechanisms, including the carbon market, can work to solve environmental problems. • Incentivize energy transition such as solar energy, swamp gas, geothermal power, wind power, and hydro to reduce emissions. • Business facilitation to enhance the circular economy is a common trend for attracting businesses.	• Advocate the "Free-Active" political approach, ensuring that the nation's interests are not susceptible to being influenced by global interests and remain grounded in national independence. • Command control is necessary for companies that have committed major violations of environmental protection, such as pollution.
POV on the carbon market		
Moderating market mechanism and government control, emitter responsibility to pay the negative externalities - focus on the carbon tax to aided inclusive carbon trading - careful anticipation on the free market mechanism.	The pro-market mechanism ensures business community advantages on the carbon market and trading to tap broader global opportunity and promotes private investment to advance the carbon pricing mechanism.	Prabowo has not explicitly stated his focus on carbon trading. However, his goal is to promote a vision of achieving national energy independence that is more related to a command-control approach - and tends to avoid a free market.
Wealth report by LHKPN 2023		
IDR 18 BILLION TOTAL WEALTH including land and buildings in Purbalingga and Sleman worth IDR 2.74 billion.	IDR 13.45 BILLION TOTAL WEALTH including land and properties in Jakarta and Bogor worth of IDR 158 billion	IDR 2 TRILLION TOTAL WEALTH including 5 plots of land and buildings spread across the South Jakarta and Ponorogo area worth IDR 14.67 billion.

Source: Ramadhan (2021); Dwi, (2023b); Kompas TV (2023); Nasrul (2023); Putra (2023a); Patnistik (2021); Fitriana (2022); Taufan, (2023)



ANIES BASWEDAN

State-Society Enhancement to Market Mechanism in Environmental Issues

As a social liberal and Muslim activist, Anies Baswedan's path to politics differs significantly from another candidate. Before entering politics, he was deeply involved in research within various institutions, served as the Chancellor of Paramadina University, and chaired the Indonesia Mengajar. His political journey began with his active participation in the Democratic Party's presidential candidate selection and the establishment of the Turun Tangan volunteer movement. His political journey significantly turned in 2014 when Anies was appointed Minister of Education and Culture. However, his tenure faced a reorganization, setting the stage for the next phase of his career. Anies reached the pinnacle of his political career when he assumed the position of Governor of DKI Jakarta, serving from 2017 to 2022. The support of Gerindra and PKS facilitated his rise to the governor's role. During his time as Jakarta's Governor, Anies Baswedan implemented a strategy based on collaboration, promoted a participatory approach to development, and upheld the values of justice (Voice of Indonesia, 2021).

The most highlighted environmental policies during his administration were integrating public transportation, 0 percent down payment for houses, cancellation of reclamation projects, flood management through revitalization, and construction of parks and low-emission buildings. Some of these policies experience challenges. The first problem concerns air quality control in Jakarta, which seems neglected even though the DKI Jakarta Government has received a guilty verdict from a lawsuit over air pollution in 2021. Second, flood management still needs to be addressed and adapted according to the type of flood. Third, the village planning process still needs to be fully inclusive, as happened in the case of the Aquarium Village, where the right to housing has yet to be guaranteed. Fourth, the draft Regional Regulation on the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands (RZWP3K) for DKI Jakarta, which has been prepared, contains provisions that have the potential to accelerate ecosystem damage and usurpation of people's living space and livelihoods (Megantara, 2021).

When the frontier islands are prone to sinking, coastal areas are threatened with erosion, the policies taken must also be consistent, how do we save them.

*But if what emerges is that we allow the export of sea sand, then the question is: **How we create policy consistency to respond to the crisis this climate?***



Anies Baswedan's statement during Net Zero Summit 2023 in Jakarta, Monday, 26/6/2023.

However, environmental development that emerged during Anies' administration can also be used as evaluation material for other regional governments or the national government. In response to the pollution issue, Anies issued Governor's Regulation 66/2020 concerning Vehicle Emission Testing, Governor's Decree 71/2019 concerning Action Plans for the Acceleration of Regional Strategic Activities, and Governor's Instruction 66/2019 concerning Air Quality Control. This responsive attitude is proof of paying attention to environmental issues (Kompas, 2022). Collaboration in the climate sector was also encouraged through meetings with the British minister for international trade and the C40 agenda, which involved more than 40 countries to complete climate action plans (Patnistik, 2021).

Anies Baswedan acknowledged climate issues related to decarbonization on two occasions, first on the *Indonesia Energy Transition Dialogue 2023*, and second on the *Mata Najwa: 3 Bacapres Bicara Gagasan* (Shihab, 2023; ICEF & IESR, 2023). One of the main points of discussion revealed by Anies was Indonesia's ownership of national and international commitments from COP 29, COP 20, and other UNFCCC meetings. In his vision, economic growth and environmental preservation are not contradictory things (Wardah, 2023). However, economic growth must be seen not only as numbers but also as the quality produced. This means that the expected economic growth is an economy whose impact is felt by all groups and all sectors, including the environment. To fulfill this, he proposed five pillars that can be used as an approach. He stated this idea as "Towards humanizing energy." The five pillars include 1) Holistic and sustainable governance, 2) Collaboration between stakeholders, 3) Funding innovation, 4) Just energy transition, and 5) Intervention on the demand and supply side.

In the fifth pillar, attention to upstream and downstream is said by Anies to be equally important. From the upstream side, the proportion of renewable energy is still far from the target it should be. Meanwhile, on the downstream side, there must be policy enforcement by strengthening technical decarbonization policies according to science-based standards. Apart from that, the policies formulated should foster behavioral changes towards a circular economy.

Anies, for the next election, will be accompanied by **Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar, known as Cak Imin**, Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives for welfare affairs, as his vice president candidate that also general chairman of the PKB. He also has published the campaign materials titled "Justice and Prosperous Indonesia for All." This document presents eight missions for the presidential election campaign that include environmental and climate issues. The environment has become the top three mission, while law-security is listed on numbers 7 and 8: detailed information can be reviewed in Table 02.



Table 02: Vision and Mission of Anies Baswedan and Cak Imin

Vision:

**Justice and Prosperous
Indonesia for all**



Mission:

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

ENVIRONMENT

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

LAW AND SECURITY

LAW AND SECURITY

1. Ensuring the availability of **basic needs and low costs of living** through food independence, energy security and water sovereignty
2. **Alleviating poverty** by expanding business opportunities and creating jobs, realizing fair wages, guaranteeing economic progress based on independence and equity, and supporting Indonesian corporations to succeed in their own country and grow on the global stage
3. Realizing the **sustainable ecological justice** for the future generation
4. Building **humane, just and mutually developing area-based cities and villages**
5. Developing **healthy, intelligent, productive, moral, and cultured individuals** in Indonesia
6. Creating a **Prosperous and Happy Indonesian Family** as the Root of the Nation's Strength
7. Strengthening the **State Defense and Security System**, and Increasing Indonesia's Role and Leadership in the **Global Political Arena** to Realize National Interests and World Peace
8. Restoring **the quality of democracy**, upholding law and human rights, eradicating corruption without favoritism, and implementing a government that supports the people

Source: campaign document 2023



GANJAR PRANOWO

Market Mechanism in Solving Environmental Issues including Carbon Trading

Ganjar Pranowo is an accomplished politician from Central Java and has gained a reputation since serving as a member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR) from 2004–2009 and 2010–2013. Several impressive notes from Ganjar during this period were his expertise in overseeing and ratifying the Political Party Law, Village Law, Law on the Position of the DPR, DPD, DPRD, and MPR. Through the Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle/Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (PDI-P), Ganjar occupied the position of Governor of Central Java for the 2014–2019 and 2019–2023 periods. During this period, Ganjar mainstreamed policies closely related to economic development and investment through bureaucratic efficiency, equal distribution of education, trade facilitation, ease of doing business, and poverty.

Regarding environmental protection, Ganjar grappled with some disputes, notably in the Kendeng Mountains involving the Semen Gresik factory construction. Despite protests, legal battles, and the Supreme Court's permit revocation, Ganjar issued a new decree allowing the factory to continue, sparking ongoing opposition. Agrarian conflicts also erupted in Wadas Village due to andesite mining for the Bener Dam project, leading to clashes with authorities. As of November 2021, about 57.17% of Wadas land was acquired, with IDR 698 billion paid in compensation, while administrative obstacles left 1,167 plots uncompensated, and 21% of affected residents refused land acquisition (BBC News Indonesia, 2023; VICE Indonesia, 2022). Additionally, Ganjar's tenure witnessed environmental conflicts related to coal power plant (PLTU) construction in Batang and Cilacap (Saturi, 2014; Sucahyo, 2022).



This carbon trading can be used (Solution), so, the Western (Developed Countries/Global North) can respect us. And do not point out us as always wrong, No.

Ganjar Pranowo's statement during the National Meeting of the Association of Indonesian City Governments (APEKSI) in Makassar, Tuesday, 13/7/2023

Aside from the controversies surrounding agrarian and environmental issues, Ganjar has a record of promoting circular economic principles in Central Java, transitioning from a linear to a circular economic model. This shift extends the life cycle of products and resources, focusing on sustainability. Central Java has implemented circular practices in various areas, including Banjarnegara and Magelang. For instance, Bantar Village in Banjarnegara received aid for a Biogenic Shallow Gas (BSG) swamp gas installation, benefiting residents. Tambak Village in Magelang also received underground digesters to produce biogas from tofu waste. These initiatives are part of the Independent Energy Villages (DME) program in Central Java, totaling 2,353 DMEs promoting energy transition. Additionally, Ganjar emphasized a circular economy approach to waste management through partnerships, such as the one between Coca-Cola Europacific Partners and Randugunting Village in Semarang (Fitriana, 2023). Another notable policy under Ganjar's leadership involved planting critical land areas, covering 251,037 ha or 39.5% over eight years (Sucahyo, 2022). Furthermore, Ganjar explored cooperation with the Swiss Government in carbon trading by harnessing the potential of mangroves in Central Java (Fitriana, 2022).

Since declaring himself as a Presidential Candidate, Ganjar has been presented at several public discussion forums such as "*Kuliah Kebangsaan FISIP UI: Hendak Ke Mana Indonesia Kita?*" and "*3 Bacapres Bicara Gagasan*" by Mata Najwa (Shihab, 2023; FISIP UI, 2023). Throughout this process, Ganjar focuses on economic development, offering an economic growth transformation. In terms of environment and climate, Ganjar acknowledged that global climate change is currently worsening. However, at the same time, countries have made commitments through the Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Agreement, and COP. Therefore, reducing gas emissions, a green economy, and a blue economy are potential and must be implemented. He often promoted energy transition policy in Central Java, targeting upgrade technology with international partners such as Norway.

According to him, digital infrastructure development and ease of business (EoB) are critical to promoting environmental sustainability. He is keen to persuade market mechanisms in managing environmental issues in Indonesia, including the carbon market. Ganjar emphasized the importance of the country being present in the investment climate. For him, investment must be one of the primary sources of economic growth because it impacts employment.

Ganjar, for the next election, will be accompanied by **Mohammad Mahfud Mahmodor, well known as Mahfud MD**, currently serves as coordinating minister for political, legal and security affairs (non-party), as his vice president candidate. Mahfud, with extensive law background, could boost his candidacy for the next election, sending a message for greater law enforcement and a balance of economic, environmental, and good governance for the whole nation. He also has published the campaign materials titled "Ganjar Pranowo & Mahfud MD 2024-2029 towards an excellent Indonesia, rapid changes to create a just and sustainable maritime country". This document provides eight missions for the presidential election campaign, including environmental and climate issues that are strongly mentioned in mission 6. In contrast, missions 1-5 focus on economics, and 7-8 on law-security. Detailed information can be reviewed in Table 03.



Table 03: Vision and Mission of Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD

Vision:

**Toward Competitive Indonesia:
Accerlations for just and
sustainable maritime country**



Mission:

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

ENVIRONMENT

LAW AND SECURITY

LAW AND SECURITY

1. Expediting the progress of **highly skilled and productive individuals** in indonesia with strong character.
2. Accelerating **mastery of science and technology** through accelerating independent research and innovation (R&I).
3. Accelerating **independent economic development** based on knowledge and added value
4. Accelerating **equal economic development**
5. Accelerating the development of **a national digital system**
6. Acceleration of sustainable environmental realization through **green and blue economy development**.
7. Accelerating the implementation of **substantive democracy**, respect for human rights, just rule of law, and professional security
8. Accelerate the augmentation of Indonesia's role in achieving **a new, fairer world order** through a free and active foreign policy, while strengthening national defense

Source: campaign document 2023



PRABOWO SUBIANTO

Resource Nationalism and Command Control in Environmental Governance

Before running for the 2024 election, Prabowo had contested the election three times. He started his political career at the Golkar party presidential candidate convention 2004. Four years later, Prabowo founded the Gerindra Party with his younger brother. However, he only officially obtained a position in the government in 2019 as defense minister after failing to compete to become the opposition in the election contestation. These appointments were made so the government could gain control over the opposition in parliament. However, Prabowo is now running as the candidate with the greatest desire to continue Jokowi's work program. At first glance, the ideas expressed by Prabowo from the 2014 Election to the 2024 Election are similar; all three bring an ultra-nationalist point of view that aims to protect national resources from potential external exploitation that does not align with the national interest. However, Prabowo recently differentiated his new vision, coated with a Jokowi-style development mandate.

The great thing about being self-sufficient in fuel from renewable energy, where does it come from? We are now the largest palm oil producer in the world. Our production is probably 25 million tons. Our needs are six to seven million for cooking oil, the rest we can use for diesel [...] It turns out we can make Pertamina gasoline and so on from ethanol, and

where can we get ethanol from? From sugar cane, bioethanol from sugar cane, and our plan is to plant sugar cane on a large scale



Prabowo Subianto's statement during Deklarasi Matahari 08 in South Jakarta, Monday, 15/10/2023.

Prabowo's performance as Minister of Defense is in the spotlight because since he took office, Indonesia has increased its capacity to export domestic military products, as marked by an active defense cooperation agreement (DCA) (Ramalan, 2022). He also raised the defense budget by 13,28%, amounting to IDR 134 trillion in 2022, which was used to update defense equipment (Shafira, 2022). However, several programs led by Prabowo also found a series of cases. As happened with the Food Estate project worth Rp. 1.5 trillion, where the rumored program failed in several areas because it was oriented towards uniformity of food for the community (CNN Indonesia, 2023). Problems in food estate projects also involve environmental damage because land conversion is not carried out optimally. Moreover, during "3 Bacapres Bicara Gagasan" by Mata Najwa (Shihab, 2023). In this case, he targets Indonesia to reach the top 5 in world GDP with GDP growth of \$7.5 trillion. Therefore, Prabowo set 17 priority programs that must be implemented to achieve this vision. Out of the 17 programs, the most related to environmental change issues are the food self-sufficiency program, water self-sufficiency, energy self-sufficiency, downstreaming, and industrialization, developing IKN for equality, strengthening science and technology, environmental security, and sustainability.

Prabowo emphasized that the food, water, and energy self-sufficiency program is a form of national independence that is important to realize because it affects Indonesia's position internationally. He conveyed this as a desire to become the world's food granary, as well as expanding water accessibility to unreached areas. However, programs regarding energy self-sufficiency and environmental preservation were kept a secret during the ideas competition. He only mentioned that it is rich in vegetable energy, but it has yet to be utilized optimally. Even diesel fuel can be produced from plants such as oil palm, cassava, and sago. Meanwhile, he described downstream and industrialization with the example of a case in Japan, how an oil refinery could carry out smelterization, industrial processing, and distribution to more than 40,000 companies. In this way, Prabowo believes that if Indonesia drastically stops exports of raw goods and starts massive domestic downstream, it can increase the added value significantly.

Based on the opportunities he has had, Prabowo has not touched on discussions about decarbonization, including carbon trading. Prabowo's discussion of environmental issues is more focused on corruption problems that occur in the company's environmental licensing system. At the same time, he wants more accessible investment in the country to open up more excellent employment opportunities. If drawn in one line, it can be said that Prabowo will consider carbon trading as long as this instrument can be seen as a profitable investment of national interest.

Prabowo, for the next election, will be accompanied by **Gibran Rakabuming, well known as Gibran**, a PDI-P politician who won the Solo mayoral election 2020 following his father's trajectory (Joko Widodo) as top executive government leader in Indonesia, as his vice president candidate. He also has published the campaign materials titled "Together with Indonesia Advancing." This document presents eight missions for the presidential election campaign that include environmental and climate issues. The campaign document listed three tasks from law-security, four economic development, and one environment in the last, detailed in Table 04.



Table 04: Vision and Mission of Prabowo Subianto and Gibran

Vision:

Together Towards Prosperous Indonesia Heading for Golden Indonesia 2045



Mission:

LAW AND SECURITY

LAW AND SECURITY

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

LAW AND SECURITY

ENVIRONMENT

- 1.** Strengthening the ideology of **Pancasila, democracy and human rights (HAM)**
- 2.** Strengthening the country's **defense and security system and encouraging national independence** through self-sufficiency in food, energy, water, creative economy, green economy and blue economy
- 3.** Increase quality **employment** opportunities, encourage **entrepreneurship**, develop **creative industries**, and continue **infrastructure** development
- 4.** Strengthening **human resources, science, technology, education, health, sports achievements, gender equality**, as well as strengthening the role of **women, youth and people with disabilities**
- 5.** Continuing **downstream and industrialization** to increase added value in the country
- 6.** **Building from the village** and from the grassroots for economic equality and poverty eradication
- 7.** **Strengthen political, legal and bureaucratic reforms**, as well as strengthen the prevention and eradication of corruption and drugs
- 8.** **Strengthening harmonious alignment of life with the environment, nature and culture**, as well as increasing tolerance between **religious communities** to achieve a just and prosperous society

Source: campaign document 2023

2

Underlying Network Structure and Political Parties Supporting Each of Presidential Candidates

In Indonesia, each presidential candidate should receive endorsement from the political party or coalition eligible to meet the presidential threshold. Therefore, it is impossible to separate the presidential candidate from political party support and network to succeed in the election process and maximize power in controlling the parliament legislation roles. William Riker (1984) through his work, explains political coalitions through the theory of Minimal Winning Coalitions (MWC). According to Riker, the government should be formed with a team that guarantees a minimum victory.

In this case, criteria such as shared vision, ideology, and policy ideas are not the primary consideration. As a result, the formed coalitions tend to be office-seeking oriented. This tendency puts strategic positions in the cabinet, institutions, or government agencies in a dilemma because they have to provide seats for the elite of their coalition political parties. On the other hand, this scheme also has implications for the formation of policies that benefit elites because bargaining over interests is not based on objective assessments but rather on profit gain.

This paper will analyze initiatives involved in establishing partnerships with political parties that align with individual presidential candidates. Through this structural network, we strive to clarify how political parties direct their interests toward the ideologies and platforms of presidential candidates. Furthermore, this section analyzes information on the interests of political party coalitions and the winning presidential team in the context of their shared goal of advancing environmental sustainability in Indonesia. Before a deep dive into each candidate coalition party, this report provides a brief understanding of seated political parties in the House of Representatives (DPR) regarding some necessary environmental regulations in Indonesia.

Figure 01: Party Coalition Among Candidates



Table 05: Political Parties Stance on Some Regulation Related Environmental Issues

RUU IKN

Agree:

Democrats supported the RUU IKN; however, they believe that the government should not rush and carefully consider the timing, as the planning for the IKN transfer must not be overlooked to avoid wasting resources. PAN agreed to the RUU IKN however, the meaning of authority needs to be explained more deeply and comprehensively in the explanatory section of this bill.

Disagree:

The PKS faction stated that they disagreed with the RUU IKN because the scheme was not yet ready. They believed the bill would impede the country's economic recovery.

RUU EB-ET

Agree:

Major political parties in parliament agreed to support the energy transition and conversion bill. However, it has yet to be formally signed and contested as the legislature has not issued the bill. Indonesians expect to see a tangible outcome soon.

Perppu No.2/2022 Job Creation in Environment Aspect

Agree:

The parties agree to support Job Creation Act to accelerate investment across sector in Indonesia by improving easy of business condition.

Disagree:

PKS does not approve Perppu 02/2022 as it violates compliance with the statutory hierarchy. While Democrats disapprove of Perppu 02/2022 and view it as furtherance of a non-aspirational and non-participatory legislative process.

Abstain:

PAN has not made an official decision on Perppu 02/2023 as it is believed that comprehensive academic research and a review of the proposed legal mechanism are required. Gerindra has not taken a position on the environment section of Perppu 02/2022 because it is still studying the issue.

Decreasing Fuel Subsidies

Agree:

Major political parties agrees to reduce national subsidies for fosil fuels. It is non popular stance to be taken by the parties in general.

Disagree:

PKS rejected the proposed hike in fuel prices as the demand for subsidized fuel and gas remained within the safe limits of the available quota. Democrats urged the cancellation of the fuel price hike due to its potential heavy impact on residents of small and medium-sized economies. Gerindra rejects the policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices and encourages the government to look for other options.

RUU Masyarakat Adat

Agree:

Majority political parties agree to support the regulations as it strengthen the protection of customary community in Indonesia including for the land/tenurials right.

Disagree:

Golkar observes that the legal framework pertaining to indigenous communities is already codified in other legislations.

PDI-P, PPP, Perindo and Hanura to support Ganjar-Mahfud

The initial coalition comprised two parliamentary parties and two extraparliamentary supporting parties. This coalition, under the leadership of PDI-P, which held the most seats in the DPR RI, strategically aimed to continue the critical programs of the previous Joko Widodo government. With a catch-all party strategy implemented in the preceding election period, the PDI-P, as the predominant party in parliament, successfully allocated strategic ministerial positions to six of its members. In the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet, the composition of ministers included 16 political party members and 18 non-political party members. This is an illustrative example of how the PDI-P era accommodated numerous positions for political parties seeking to join its coalition.

If we look at the composition of the existing coalition, the existence of PPP, Perindo, and Hanura has contributed little to the total proportion of votes available. PDI-P holds 22.26% of parliament, PPP contributes 3.3%, while Perindo and Hanura are parties that still need to meet the parliamentary threshold. Even though the percentage reaching the presidential point has been compared with a total of 25.56%, this composition still needs to be dominant enough to pass easily in the first round of elections.

Despite its business interests, the coalition's partial assessment of climate change and environmental issues was checked with official public statements in parliament. PDI-P in the 2019–2024 AD/ART paragraph 4 of article 19 paragraph (2) letter c states that the Industry, Labor, and Social Security Sector is tasked with encouraging investment policies to accelerate economic growth that is just and environmentally friendly (Gitawan and Xaviera, 2023). Meanwhile, PPP does not include a vision and mission or public statements regarding concern for the environment or climate change. Hanura itself consists of an image and mission to build a national economic system that is environmentally friendly and oriented towards a people's economy. Perindo did not mention monitoring environmental issues in the AD/ART or the party's vision and mission.

Figure 02: Politician-Business Mapping in Ganjar's Coalition

Winning Team	PPP		Perindo	Hanura
<i>Arsjad Rasjid</i>	<i>Mardiono</i>	<i>Sandiaga Uno</i>	<i>Hary Tanoe</i>	<i>Oesman Sapta Odang</i>
PT Indika Energy Trade construction, mining, transportation, and services	PT Albanttani Cipta Niaga Steel and Industrial Machinery	PT Adaro Energy Coal mining	PT MNC Kapital Indonesia Financial	PT Citra Putra Realty Property
PT Kideco* Coal mining	PT Bahari Cakara International Expedition	PT Medco Power Indonesia Independent Power Plant	PT MNC Energy Investments Coal Mining	PT Enggang Angkasa Sarana Aviation support
PT Grab Indonesia* Online Transportation	Buana Centra Swakarsa Group Logistic, Hotel, and Public fuel station	PT Saratoga Investama Sedaya Energy, Tech, infrastructure, digital service	PT MNC Digital Entertainment Media	PT Karimun Granite Granite mining
PT Tripatra Engineers & Constraction* Construction and Project Management	PT Jackron Cipta Sakina Aircraft Maintenance	PT Tower Bersama Infrastructure Tower Space Rental	PT MNC Vision Networks Media	PT Industri Perikanan Sukadana Fishery
	PT Amanah Perkasa Nusantara Military supports product	PT Provident Agro Palm Oil Plantation	PT Bank MNC International Financial	PT Aria Hijau Alam Lestari Palm Oil Plantation
	BCS Industry Pipe, fabrication, and galvanizing	PT Mitra Pinasthika Mustika Otomotive	PT MNC Land Property	PT Energy Persada Nusantara Coal mining
			PT Global Mediacom Media	PT OSO Sekuritas Indonesia Security

*Strategic position (commissioner/director/chairman)

Source: Febriyan (2022); Lestari (2023); Dwi (2023a); CNN Indonesia (2023b); Setiawati (2023)

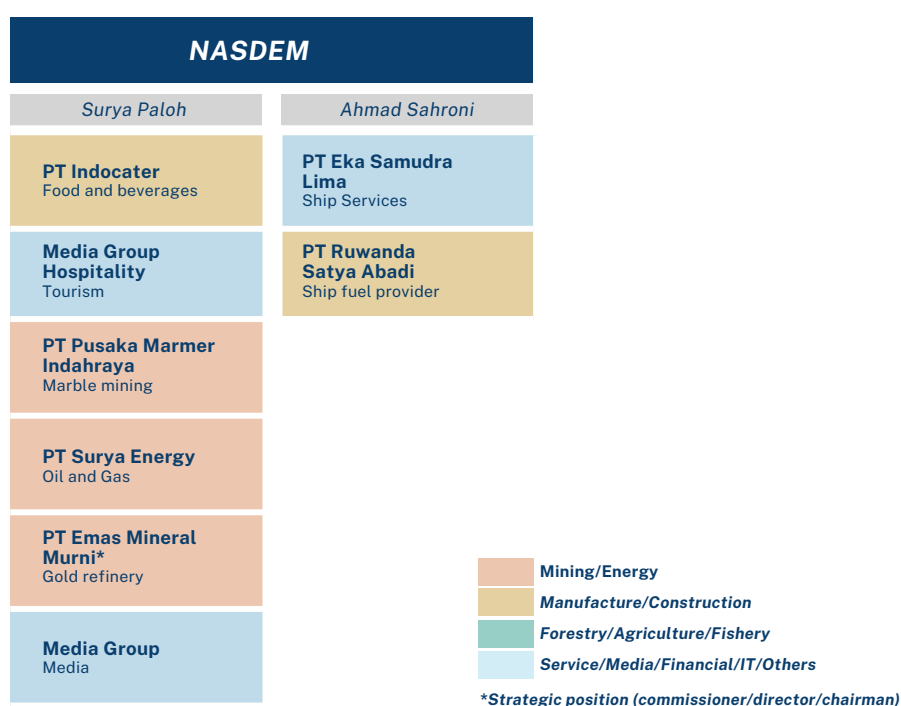
Perubahan Untuk Persatuan (Nasdem, PKB, PKS and Ummat) to support Anies-Cak Imin

The Coalition for Change for Unity was initially initiated by the opposition (Nasdem, PKS, and Demokrat). However, this coalition has experienced a transition since the departure of the Democratic Party and the joining of the PKB into the group. Even though this coalition offers the idea of change, the existence of two parties that have positions in the cabinet, namely Nasdem and PKB, makes the coalition's stance on this narrative rhetorical or questionable. The main anchor of this coalition is Anies Baswedan, driven by Nasdem through the appointment of Surya Paloh (Fajarta, 2022). Moreover, since the entry of the PKB, this coalition was stated by Muhaimin Iskandar to continue the development program during the Jokowi administration (Putra, 2023b). The narrative that emerges increasingly diminishes the purity of the change agenda being brought.

In this coalition, the three main parties have a proportion of seats in parliament that is similar. Nasdem, the alliance's leader, has 10.26% of the vote, followed by PKB with 10.09% and PKS with 8.7%. So, the total vote held by the Coalition for Change for Unity is 28.96%. Meanwhile, the Ummat Party is a new party based on conservative Islam and has just entered the contest as an election participant for the first time. This proportion of votes that are almost equal to each other opens up more significant opportunities for political parties to share interests more fairly. However, PKS has made more compromises regarding the political maneuvers of Nasdem and PKB in the presidential election.

Meanwhile, from the PKB side, there are no names of conglomerate entrepreneurs who have been highlighted and involved in prestigious campaign funding. The mass base of PKB support is more towards the Islamic community of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the grassroots in suburban and rural areas. Likewise with PKS, the majority of actors who helped in winning this election were MSME entrepreneurs with Islamic principles (PKS, 2023).

Figure 03: Politician-Business Mapping in Anies' Coalition



Source: Dwi (2023); Aprilia (2023b)

Then, the manifestation of concern for climate issues from the coalition for change is also recognized through public information tools based on statements, visions, or internal regulations of political parties. The Nasdem Party supports the use of fossil energy for national interests and the development of nuclear power and renewable energy according to the AD/ART in the "Economic and Development Directions" section (Gitawan and Xaviera, 2023). For PKS itself, although it is not explicitly stated in its AD/ART, this party promotes the vision of Rahmatan Lil Alamin, which means goodness for the environment and the universe (Gitawan and Xaviera, 2023). Apart from that, PKS has a unique platform on environmental issues, namely Indonesia Hijau and Indonesia Madani. On the other hand, PKB does not include anything related to environmental concerns or climate change, but PKB has declared itself a "green party" since 2007. Until now, PKB has also been one of the proposers of the Climate Justice Bill to be included in the DPR RI's National Legislation Program (Gitawan and Xaviera, 2023). However, recently, PKB, through Muhaimin, made a populist promise in the form of free fuel for motorbike and public transport drivers. This also contradicts the image of PKB in the media as an environmentally friendly party. The Ummat Party's information regarding environmental issues is also not found in its vision, mission, or party declaration. However, the Ummat Party is one of the parties that has voiced its opposition to sand exports (Media Indonesia, 2023).

Indonesia Maju (Gerindra, Demokrat, PAN, Golkar, Gelora, PSI, Garuda and PBB) to support Prabowo-Gibran

Compared to the two previous coalitions, the Advanced Indonesia Coalition is the coalition axis with the most political party members in parliament, especially after the entry of the Demokrat Party into this camp. Apart from that, there are five parties, namely PSI, Garuda Party, Gelora Party, and PBB, that are outside the parliament. This coalition is led by Gerindra, which nominates its own General Chair. This coalition is based on national development, which continues to fertilize the foundations formed by Jokowi's leadership (Raharjo, 2023b). Not much different from the coalition spearheaded by PDI-P, this axis is filled by incumbents, including Golkar, Gerindra, and PAN. A significant difference is how this coalition received full support from Projo volunteers who were previously formed as Jokowi's support team in the 2019 elections (BBC News Indonesia, 2023b). This gives a sign that the Advanced Indonesia Coalition has a similar style as the brand of this coalition was also taken from Jokowi's government cabinet (Advanced Indonesia Cabinet) (Raharjo, 2023a).

Quantitatively, the proportion of seats won in the DPR in this coalition is the largest. It is starting from Gerindra, which has 13.57%, Golkar with 14.7%, Demokrat with 9.39%, and PAN with 7.65%. **The total accumulated votes even reached 45.39%, or almost half of all political parties that make up the DPR-RI faction.** In terms of proportions in this coalition, members have positions that tend to be balanced with each other. Gerindra even has fewer seats than Golkar, but support for this coalition remains solid even though it is not clear whether Golkar's elite will occupy strategic positions in the future cabinet. If we evaluate PAN and Demokrat, both have a track record supporting Gerindra in the 2019 elections. However, if we consider the timeline for establishing the coalition, PAN has an advantage over Demokrat because it can be considered a loyal alliance member.

What is the position of the Advanced Indonesia Coalition on the issue of climate change and the environment? Gerindra noted that good environmental resource management must include local government and indigenous communities in its party manifesto (Gitawan and Xaviera, 2023). The second mission of the Gerindra Party also emphasizes sustainable economic growth. In this case, the Gerindra Party also monitors many issues related to renewable energy, especially in

Figure 04: Politician-Business Mapping in Prabowo's Coalition

GERINDRA		GOLKAR			WINNING TEAM	
<i>Prabowo Subianto</i>		<i>Airlangga Hartarto</i>	<i>Aburizal Bakrie</i>		<i>Roesan Roeslani</i>	<i>Bahlil Lahadalia</i>
PT Nusantara Energi Coal mining, Palm oil plantation, Agribusiness, Construction, Transportation	Nusantara Kaltim Coal Mining coal	PT Ciptadana Capital Financial security	PT Bumi Resources Minerals Mineral Processing	PT Bakrie & Brothers Infrastructure, Telecommunication	PT Recapital Sekuritas Security	PT Rifa Capital Mining Coal
PT Jaladri Swadesi Nusantara Plantation, Fishery	PT Kertas Nusantara Pulp and paper processing	PT Sorini Corporindo* Sorbitol	PT Eneregi Mega Persada Oil and gas	PT Intermedia Capital Media	Global Sarana Lintas Artha Broker	PT Bersama Papua Unggul Construction
PT Tanjung Redeb Hutani Forestry and plantation	PT Tusam Hutani Lestari Agribusiness	PT Bisma Narendra* Metal coating	PT Darma Henwa General mining Contractor	PT Visa Media Asia Media	PT Asuransi Juwa Starinvestama Insurance	PT Dwijati Sukses Construction, Property
PT Belantara Pusaka Plantation	Tidar Kerinci Agung* Palm oil plantation	PT Fajar Surya Wisesa* Packaging paper	PT Bumi Resources Coal and oil mining	PT Bakrie Sumatera Plantations Agribusiness	Recapital Asset Management Financial	
		Smart Property Holding Ltd Property				

	Mining/Energy
	Manufacture/Construction
	Forestry/Agriculture/Fishery
	Service/Media/Financial/IT/Others

*Strategic position (commissioner/director/chairman)

Source: Sulthoni and Putsanra (2023); Voice Of Indonesia (2022); Idris, (2021); Aprilia (2023a); Ramadhan (2021); Anggraeni (2023)

the context of moving IKN and electric vehicles. On the other hand, Golkar only states its vision to create an Indonesian society that is legally and environmentally conscious. One of the solutions pushed to overcome climate change by the Golkar party is supporting the blue economy, implementing a carbon tax for PLTUs, and transitioning to renewable energy (Gitawan and Xaviera, 2023). Meanwhile, although PAN does not express ideas about the environment in its party's vision and mission, they have a platform in the form of the Birukan Langit Indonesia movement. This platform encourages young people to participate in environmental issues. PAN is also the proponent of the Climate Change Management Bill (PPI) and supports the green economy program as an ecological development solution (Gitawan and Xaviera, 2023). Then, the Democratic Party stated that it would uphold environmental sustainability in its party's vision. However, this party needs to be more vocal in voicing ecological problems, especially solutions to overcome climate change.

To comprehend the influence of coalition composition on agenda setting, it's essential first to understand the dynamics of business and political interactions in Indonesia. Yuki Fukuoka's 2012 article sheds light on the intricate relationship between business, politics, and the state in the post-New Order era, describing it as an oligarchic patrimonial governance. This system stems from suboptimal implementation of institutional reforms, allowing business elites to exploit opportunities. In essence, they leverage access to the state through acquiring positions or concessions to amass wealth, often playing a pivotal role in shaping the political party coalitions that drive entrepreneurial interests.

However, such activities to advance personal interests through government channels, often at the state's expense, fall under the umbrella of corruption. Notably, in the environmental sector, the most significant crime category involves policy manipulation, where officials are roped in to favor specific groups (Dermawan et al., 2011). Various factors enable such corruption, including the concentration of decision-makers, opaque decision-making processes, substantial public capital, and pervasive conflicts of interest.

This article will illustrate the risks inherent in mapping support for presidential candidates within decarbonization efforts, focusing on two primary sectors: energy, particularly coal, and forestry. In the coal sector, a decade of prevailing energy policies has entrenched coal as the dominant energy source (Ordonez et al., 2022), primarily due to populist policies ensuring affordable energy for the populace. As a result, domestic demand for coal has grown. At the same time, the transition to renewable energy has faltered due to the absence of a competitive market for alternative energy sources, further exacerbated by coal mining entrepreneurs who now hold significant sway in policy-making. Despite ambitious decarbonization goals, conflicts of interest among policy-makers still need to be solved.

Meanwhile, corruption risks within decarbonization efforts in the forestry sector are evident in implementing REDD+. Although reforestation-oriented climate mitigation seems like a win-win solution for a green economy, discrepancies arising from conflicting actor interests pose a significant challenge (Elliott and Setyowati, 2020). Furthermore, issuing a moratorium on forest conversion restrictions prompted swift reactions from palm oil and mining entrepreneurs. Studies have also revealed that REDD+ fails to ensure equitable benefit distribution, often marginalizing indigenous communities and sparking tenure disputes.

These examples indicate the importance of considering the cabinet's composition, formed by a coalition of political parties supporting the presidential candidate. It's crucial to acknowledge that if the candidate's agenda aligns differently with the coalition's priorities, the likelihood of successful implementation increases. Moreover, in a political landscape characterized by patronage and oligarchy, the dynamics among coalition members can substantially impact governance. Much of the presidential election discourse revolves around how the losing candidate and parties can influence the parliament. The absence of formal opposition, as per the Indonesian constitution, often drives short-sighted political negotiations.



3

Conclusion

With the registration period now concluded, the Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU) has officially announced three pairs of vice-presidential and presidential candidates: Ganjar Pranowo - Mahfud MD, Anies Baswedan - Cak Imin, and Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming. Each has extensive governmental background and diverse understanding, aspirations, and strategies for Indonesian environmental policies and governance. Each candidate possesses extensive experience in government and offers various perspectives, aspirations, and strategies for shaping Indonesian ecological policies and management.

Anies and his campaign team are focusing on mitigating the impacts of climate change through a combination of stringent government regulations and market mechanisms. Ganjar, on the other hand, advocates a more business and investment-centric approach to foster market mechanisms in addressing environmental challenges. Meanwhile, Prabowo's process involves a command and control strategy strongly emphasizing natural resource nationalism. Each system has pros and cons for ecological protection and acceptance within diverse communities, especially businesses, and youth who become significant voters (52%) in the election.

Political parties also play essential roles in upcoming elections as the coalition is established to meet the interests of diverse groups. Prabowo's coalition support by eight political parties, including Gerindra, Golkar, Demokrat, and PAN, has a strong basis across Indonesia with strong connections with diverse business communities from energy, forestry, and industry. A similar case for Ganjar represented coalition support from PDIP, PPP, Hanura, and Perindo, which can compete for the specific business communities eager to transform the practices through carbon market trading. Anies, with a smaller coalition comprising Nasdem, PKS, PKB, and Ummat, focuses on building a compelling narrative about the environment, mainly targeting Muslims in Indonesia through various social platforms.

The vision and mission document has been analyzed in section one to understand each candidate's priority and stance for environmental protection, including market mechanisms in solving climate change through carbon trading. Political coalitions and networks concerning candidate supporters and donors should also be analyzed, as Indonesian politics still needed to allow independent presidential candidates due to the threshold from the eligible parties. Lastly, every stakeholder must recognize the transparency and accountability for the whole process of the next election.

Please cast your vote for the country, and choose wisely the country leader that can deliver their promises in restoring environmental conditions to the limited planetary boundaries. Critics and question your candidate to solidify your decision in choosing the right leader with solid environmental leadership and justice for all. Lastly, regardless of your preference, we have to respect each candidate and their support in democratic ways. Voicing your voice should not inflict open-violent conflict for all, as environmental sustainability underline the interconnection of societal justice, environmental stake, and economic stability for now and future generation.



4

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About CarbonEthics

CarbonEthics is an organization that aims to restore the climate balance through natural climate solutions with pioneers in blue carbon conservation.

When you conserve with **CarbonEthics**, you are creating positive environmental change and advancing social impact by directly enhancing the livelihoods of our local community partners.

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