



Greenpeace Indonesia's Efforts to Encourage Jakarta Government to Address Air Pollution (2021-2023)

Shafiyah Kirana Putri¹, Muharjono²

^{1,2} Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik/Hubungan Internasional, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Yogyakarta

Email: shafiyahkptr2210@gmail.com

muharjono.msi@gmail.com

ABSTRAK

Polusi udara di Jakarta pada periode 2021–2023 menjadi permasalahan lingkungan yang mendesak karena berdampak langsung terhadap kesehatan masyarakat. Dalam konteks ini, Greenpeace Indonesia mengambil peran aktif mendorong Pemerintah Provinsi (Pemprov) DKI Jakarta agar lebih responsif terhadap isu tersebut, meskipun tidak terikat dalam kerja sama formal. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis strategi advokasi dan kampanye yang digunakan Greenpeace Indonesia dalam mempengaruhi kebijakan publik terkait pengendalian polusi udara. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dan teori Organisasi Internasional dari Clive Archer, penelitian ini mengeksplorasi bentuk interaksi antara Greenpeace Indonesia dan Pemprov DKI Jakarta sebagai aktor non-negara dan negara dalam sistem internasional. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa melalui strategi kampanye digital, pelibatan komunitas, serta kolaborasi dengan akademisi dan media, Greenpeace Indonesia berhasil meningkatkan kesadaran publik dan memberi tekanan moral-politik yang signifikan terhadap Pemprov DKI Jakarta. Temuan ini menegaskan bahwa organisasi masyarakat sipil dapat memainkan peran penting dalam mendorong respons kebijakan lingkungan, terutama ketika mekanisme formal tidak tersedia.

Kata kunci: Greenpeace Indonesia, polusi udara, advokasi, Pemprov DKI Jakarta.

ABSTRACT

Air pollution in Jakarta during the 2021–2023 period became an urgent environmental issue due to its direct impact on public health. In this context, Greenpeace Indonesia actively pushed the Provincial Government of DKI Jakarta to become more responsive, despite the absence of any formal cooperation agreement. This study aims to analyze the advocacy and campaign strategies used by Greenpeace Indonesia to influence public policy on air pollution control. Using a qualitative descriptive approach and Clive Archer's theory of International Organizations, this research explores the interaction between Greenpeace Indonesia and the DKI Jakarta





Government as non-state and state actors in the international system. The findings show that through digital campaigns, community engagement, and collaboration with academics and media, Greenpeace Indonesia effectively raised public awareness and exerted moral-political pressure on the DKI Jakarta Government. These findings affirm the vital role of civil society organizations in shaping environmental policy responses, particularly when formal mechanisms are absent.

Keyword: *Greenpeace Indonesia, air pollution, advocacy, DKI Government*

Introduction

Air pollution has become an increasingly urgent environmental issue in urban centers worldwide, particularly in megacities with high mobility and dense industrial activity. In DKI Jakarta, air pollution has triggered growing public concern, especially during the period from 2021 to 2023. The city's air quality showed irregular patterns—sometimes improving, but frequently reaching hazardous levels that disrupted daily life and posed serious health risks. Far from being a mere environmental nuisance, air pollution constitutes a major public health challenge, strongly linked to respiratory and cardiovascular diseases (Iblam, 2023).

Rapid urbanization, population growth, and fossil fuel dependence have compounded the city's struggle to manage its air quality. Major contributors to pollution include motor vehicle emissions, industrial activity, open burning, and coal-fired power plants. One of the largest sources is the Suralaya coal-fired power plant in Banten, which supplies electricity to the Greater Jakarta area. While essential for energy production, it emits fine particulate matter (PM_{2.5}), sulfur dioxide, and nitrogen oxides—pollutants that can deteriorate Jakarta's air quality, particularly under certain wind and weather conditions (Anandari et al., 2024).

This study uses PM_{2.5} as a key indicator of air pollution in Jakarta. PM_{2.5} refers to fine particles smaller than 2.5 micrometers that can penetrate deep into the lungs and bloodstream. These particles originate from various sources, including vehicle exhaust, industrial emissions, and combustion processes. Due to their small size, they pose a severe threat to human health, and their concentration levels are considered a primary benchmark in evaluating air pollution trends (Maulana, 2022).

Short and long-term exposure to air pollution can cause a range of health effects—from mild respiratory irritation to chronic conditions such as COPD and increased mortality risks (Gunawan,





2023). In response, the Jakarta Provincial Government has introduced a number of policies, including the Net Zero Public School program to promote renewable energy and mandatory emission testing for older vehicles (Jakarta Rendah Emisi, 2022). The government has also expanded air quality monitoring infrastructure (SPKU) to provide real-time data on pollutant levels (Hutagalung, 2024).

Nevertheless, the scale and complexity of Jakarta's air pollution crisis demand broader, more coordinated interventions. Here, the role of civil society organizations like Greenpeace Indonesia becomes critical. Greenpeace Indonesia not only monitors environmental conditions but also acts as an advocate, urging stronger, evidence-based policy responses. As an NGO focused on environmental justice, it serves as both expert advisor and voice for affected communities (Winanda, 2021).

Since 2021, Greenpeace Indonesia has launched multiple initiatives to highlight the urgency of Jakarta's air pollution crisis. Its Jakarta Butuh Kita report offered detailed analysis of urban mobility and environmental risks (Fakhrian et al., 2024). Through its campaigns, Greenpeace Indonesia has consistently called for sustainable transport systems, better infrastructure for cyclists and pedestrians, and increased investment in public transit. The 2023 Clean Air Now campaign brought these messages directly to the public through citywide mobile actions, engaging communities and generating media attention (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023).

These advocacy efforts reflect Greenpeace Indonesia's strategic attempt to foster civic engagement, raise environmental literacy, and press the government to implement more robust policies. The organization frequently collaborates with local communities, scientists, and fellow activists to amplify environmental concerns. This collaborative dynamic illustrates a relationship of interdependence: while the government requires public legitimacy and technical input, Greenpeace Indonesia seeks tangible policy outcomes from its advocacy. As a non-state actor with both domestic and transnational networks, Greenpeace Indonesia exemplifies how international organizations can influence local policy through strategic advocacy, public mobilization, and expert engagement.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This study draws upon several key references relevant to the theme of Greenpeace Indonesia's efforts in encouraging the Jakarta Provincial Government (Pemprov DKI) to address urban air





pollution. Previous research has explored various aspects of Greenpeace's role in environmental advocacy, public mobilization, and policy influence.

Wiwik Winanda (2021), in "Peran Greenpeace dalam Memengaruhi Kebijakan Pengendalian Polusi Udara di Jakarta (2018–2021)", analyzes Greenpeace's influence on local government regulations using the NGO role framework developed by Gemmill-Herren and Bemidele-Izu. She highlights Greenpeace's roles in advocacy, campaigning, research, and stakeholder collaboration, concluding that the organization contributed to policy improvements and stricter air quality regulations in Jakarta (Winanda, 2021).

Fakhrian, Abrar, and Santosa (2024), in their study "Greenpeace: Sebuah Gerakan Sosial dan Politik Hijau di Indonesia (Kampanye Greenpeace di Jakarta 2006–2021)", take a historical approach to examine Greenpeace as a green political and social movement. They emphasize the long-term impact of Greenpeace's campaigns and acknowledge internal and external challenges in maintaining activism and pressure on the Jakarta government (Fakhrian et al., 2024).

Muhammad Arthur Gunawan (2023), in "Peran Greenpeace dalam Menangani Pencemaran Udara di Jakarta Tahun 2017–2021", focuses on Greenpeace as an international non-governmental organization (INGO), underlining its financial independence through public donations and its campaign-based strategies such as environmental research, public engagement, and government lobbying (Gunawan, 2023).

Meanwhile, Maasyithah Hutagalung (2024), in "Upaya Pemerintah Provinsi DKI Jakarta untuk Mengatasi Polusi Udara dalam Bingkai tvOne", examines the government's response to worsening air quality in 2023. Despite efforts such as weather modification and emissions regulations, she finds that air pollution levels remain high, indicating the need for more effective and community-driven policies (Hutagalung, 2024).

While these studies share a common focus on Jakarta's air pollution crisis, this research differs by specifically emphasizing Greenpeace Indonesia's efforts during 2021–2023. It investigates how Greenpeace Indonesia, as a branch of an international organization, mobilizes advocacy strategies to push for more responsive environmental policies. The study is grounded in Clive Archer's theory of international organizations, which conceptualizes NGOs as actors that can function as instruments,





arenas, and autonomous players. It also applies Keohane and Nye's theory of interdependence to explore the dynamic interactions between non-state and state actors in environmental governance.

Importantly, this study presents new empirical findings by identifying specific strategies employed by Greenpeace Indonesia that have not been substantially highlighted in previous research. These include the use of online advocacy campaigns, the development of mobile application, collaboration with local communities and academic experts, and engagement with international media outlets. These findings demonstrate how Greenpeace Indonesia, as a branch of an international organization, operates within an interdependent relationship with the local government to influence environmental policymaking in the absence of formal cooperation mechanisms.

While previous studies have examined Greenpeace's advocacy roles and its influence on environmental governance, few have explored its position as a transnational organization engaged in interdependent relations with state actors. To address this gap, the present study adopts a combined theoretical approach that draws on Clive Archer's (2001) theory of International Organizations and the Interdependence theory developed by Keohane and Nye (2001). This analytical framework allows for a deeper understanding of how Greenpeace Indonesia operates both as a local branch of an international NGO and as a non-state actor influencing state policies within an interconnected policy environment.

This research employs the theory of International Organizations by Clive Archer (2001) and the theory of Interdependence by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye (2001) as the analytical framework to explain the role of Greenpeace Indonesia in encouraging the Jakarta Provincial Government to address air pollution from 2021 to 2023.

Clive Archer (2001) defines International Organizations as formal entities established through agreements between international actors to achieve specific purposes, classifying them into Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs). Greenpeace Indonesia, as part of the global Greenpeace network, falls under the INGO category. According to Archer, INGOs can function in three main roles: (1) as instruments used by other actors to reach goals, (2) as arenas for dialogue and cooperation, and (3) as independent actors capable of initiating change. Greenpeace Indonesia, while operating nationally, fulfills those roles





through environmental advocacy, campaigning, and collaboration with civil society and policy stakeholders. It also performs normative and operational functions, such as spreading environmental norms, aggregating public concerns, and conducting scientific research.

Complementing this, the theory of Interdependence by Keohane and Nye (2001) explains how non-state actors and governments are mutually dependent in achieving public goals. Greenpeace Indonesia, though independent from the state, maintains a strategic relationship with the Jakarta government. Through advocacy and public campaigns, Greenpeace exerts influence that affects policy decisions, while also relying on political response to realize environmental goals. This illustrates domestic interdependence, where both actors—state and non-state—interact in ways that create mutual influence and policy responsiveness.

Through this combined theoretical lens, the study analyzes Greenpeace Indonesia not only as an international organization fulfilling transnational functions, but also as a domestic actor involved in interdependent relations with the government, particularly in driving air pollution policy in Jakarta.

Methods

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method which aims to provide a clear and detailed explanation of a particular phenomenon based on data presented in narrative form. The descriptive qualitative approach allows the researcher to explore social realities and events more deeply and comprehensively. This method is suitable for analyzing the dynamic relationship between non-governmental organizations and local governments in addressing environmental issues, particularly air pollution in Jakarta. As stated by Moleong (2005), qualitative research is designed to describe phenomena in depth and detail, focusing on meanings, values, and processes behind observable data.

The data in this research are obtained through two techniques: interview and literature study. The primary data were collected through an unstructured interview with Bondan Andriyanu, Air Pollution Campaigner of Greenpeace Indonesia, conducted via Zoom on February 10, 2025, from 20:10 to 20:47. The interview aimed to gain insights into Greenpeace Indonesia's strategies, campaigns, and advocacy efforts related to air pollution issues in Jakarta.





In addition to the interview, the researcher also conducted a literature study by collecting secondary data from various credible sources such as books, peer-reviewed journals, articles, official reports, and online platforms that are relevant to the research topic. These sources help to contextualize the data and support the analysis regarding the interaction between Greenpeace Indonesia and the Jakarta Provincial Government.

The collected data were then analyzed using descriptive analysis techniques. This approach enables the researcher to systematically present, summarize, and interpret the data in a way that highlights patterns, relationships, and meanings. Through this method, the research seeks to explain how Greenpeace Indonesia plays a role in influencing public awareness and policy-making related to air pollution management in Jakarta during the period of 2021 to 2023.

Result and Discussion

Online Approach

According to Bondan Andriyanu, Air Pollution Campaigner at Greenpeace Indonesia (2025), “Greenpeace Indonesia uses several advocacy and campaign strategies to respond to Jakarta’s air pollution crisis.” One of the main strategies is using online platforms. These include social media, websites, and digital campaigns to increase public awareness and put pressure on the government to take action.

Greenpeace Indonesia actively uses platforms like Instagram, X (formerly Twitter), Facebook, and its official website to share information about the dangers of air pollution in Jakarta. In 2019, they launched a petition website called akudanpolusi.org to gather public support. The goal was to push the government to improve air quality regulations. The petition quickly gained thousands of signatures, showing strong public concern and adding pressure on the Jakarta Provincial Government (Times Indonesia, 2019). This shows how digital tools can help people take part in solving environmental problems.

Figure 1. Screenshot of the “Our Earth” Perfume Launch Posted on Instagram by @greenpeace.id





Source: Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023.

One creative example is the launch of a special perfume campaign called “Our Earth”, introduced on August 25, 2023, via Instagram. The campaign used scents to raise awareness about pollution. The three perfume variants were:

- The Smokey Air – inspired by smoke, dust, and vehicle fumes in Jakarta.
- The Smelly River – representing the bad smell of polluted rivers filled with waste.
- The Peril Soil – symbolizing soil damage caused by pollution.

These perfumes were made with natural materials by chemist Dedi Mahpud (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023) and were not sold commercially. Instead, they were made in limited quantities as a way to educate the public and make people think more deeply about environmental damage (Narasi News, 2023).

In addition to Instagram campaigns, Greenpeace Indonesia also used X (formerly Twitter) to spotlight specific local issues. One post highlighted the severe air pollution in Marunda, North Jakarta, caused by coal dust from nearby industrial facilities. The post described the serious health risks faced by residents, especially children and the elderly, due to prolonged exposure to poor air quality (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023).

Meanwhile, on Facebook, Greenpeace Indonesia shared a report in May 2021 highlighting that Jakarta was ranked as the most environmentally at-risk city in Asia. The post attributed this ranking to dangerously high levels of air pollution caused by emissions from vehicles, industry, and





coal-fired power plants, with PM2.5 concentrations far exceeding the limits recommended by the World Health Organization (WHO) (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2021).

Figure 2. Facebook Screenshot Advocating for Clean Air Rights in Jakarta via Hashtags



Source: Greenpeace Indonesia, 2021.

In another Facebook post, Greenpeace expressed its support for the Citizen Lawsuit (CLS) against the government by using hashtags such as #UdaraBersihHakWarga (“Clean Air is a Citizen’s Right”) and #DukungHakimMenangkanGugatan (“Support the Judge to Win the Lawsuit”). These messages encouraged public engagement, not only in adopting environmentally conscious behavior, but also in advocating for stronger regulations and government accountability in addressing air pollution (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2021).

Through these digital actions, Greenpeace Indonesia embodies the role of an independent actor in the international system, as described by Clive Archer (2001). The organization serves several functions of international organizations (IOs), including disseminating environmental norms, informing the public, and articulating civil society demands. By actively using digital platforms like X and Facebook, Greenpeace facilitates public dialogue and contributes to shaping more participatory and transparent environmental governance.

App Development

Greenpeace Indonesia developed the *UdaraKita* mobile application to raise public awareness about air quality in Jakarta and to encourage the government to take stronger action on air pollution.





According to Bondan Andriyanu, Air Pollution Campaigner at Greenpeace Indonesia (2025), this app served as a strategic tool to inform citizens while simultaneously pressuring authorities to respond more seriously to the city's worsening air conditions. It provided users with real-time data on pollution levels across different areas, allowing them to monitor air quality in their environment in an accessible and reliable way (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2017).

Figure 3. Screenshot of *UdaraKita* App Developed by Greenpeace Indonesia



Source: Atmago, 2017.

The image above shows a screenshot of the *UdaraKita* app, which was previously available on the Play Store and App Store. Designed as a tool to apply pressure on the Jakarta Provincial Government, the app aimed to prompt more proactive environmental action. Although it has since been discontinued, the app successfully fulfilled its core purpose of raising public awareness and triggering government responsiveness. As emphasized by Bondan Andriyanu, by providing transparent and accurate air quality data, *UdaraKita* empowered citizens to take a more active role in protecting their health and advocating for stronger environmental regulations.

Following the launch of *UdaraKita*, the Jakarta government later developed public tools such as the JAKI app (Tempo, 2020) and the Rendah Emisi Jakarta website (Liputan6.com, 2021), both of which provide similar real-time air quality information. These platforms aim to fulfill the public's right to environmental information. In addition, various air quality monitoring stations established by private collaborators and government agencies have made their data accessible through respective platforms.





In line with Clive Archer's (2001) theory of international organizations (IOs), Greenpeace Indonesia functioned as an independent actor capable of influencing public policy despite lacking formal political authority. Through the UdaraKita app, Greenpeace performed key IO roles such as information-sharing and socialization, helping to shape public understanding and push for change.

From the perspective of interdependence theory by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye (2001), the relationship between Greenpeace Indonesia and the Jakarta government illustrates mutual dependence: Greenpeace Indonesia needs governmental response to amplify its advocacy impact, while the government responds to public pressure and data provided by Greenpeace Indonesia. The development of similar apps like JAKI demonstrates how non-state actors and state institutions can influence one another in a globally interconnected system.

Public Discussions and Community Collaborations

Greenpeace Indonesia engaged in various public discussions and community collaborations, including one with the Indonesian Breastfeeding Mothers Association (AIMI) in 2022. AIMI is known for promoting the health benefits of breastfeeding for both mother and child (Sehat Negeriku, 2012). According to Bondan Andriyanu (2025), in this forum, Greenpeace Indonesia raised concerns about the impact of air pollution on children's health—an issue particularly relevant to mothers. The discussion helped raise awareness and encouraged mothers to become active in air quality advocacy, fostering a strong support network within their communities.

Greenpeace Indonesia also worked with cycling communities and other NGOs to hold public discussions aimed at building collective awareness and encouraging joint action. These inclusive forums allowed various groups to share perspectives and develop cross-sector solutions to tackle air pollution more effectively.

As stated by Andriyanu (2025), these discussions became platforms for generating concrete proposals that could guide both public and governmental actions. Greenpeace aimed to mobilize community engagement to push Jakarta's provincial government toward stronger environmental responses.





These initiatives illustrate Greenpeace Indonesia's role as an international organization—as described by Clive Archer (2001)—functioning as a forum, instrument, and independent actor. Through dialogue with groups like AIMI, Greenpeace performed key functions such as public education, interest articulation, and norm building around the right to clean air. This activity reflects how international organizations can strategically mediate between civic interests and state policy, applying moral and political pressure to drive environmental reform.

International Media Coverage

According to Bondan Andriyanu (2025), Greenpeace Indonesia strategically used international media to amplify its campaign on Jakarta's air pollution. One notable example was the global coverage by Al Jazeera during the Citizen Lawsuit (CLS) filed by Jakarta residents including Greenpeace Indonesia against the government. The case received major international attention, particularly after the court ruled that the government was responsible for protecting citizens from the harmful effects of air pollution (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2021).

This type of international media coverage not only increased the visibility of Greenpeace's campaign but also created external pressure on the Indonesian government. By reaching global audiences, Greenpeace Indonesia positioned Jakarta's air pollution crisis as a human rights issue, thereby strengthening its advocacy from both local and international fronts.

Figure 4. Al Jazeera Report on the Air Pollution Citizen Lawsuit in Jakarta





Source: Al-Jazeera, 2021.

Figure 3.6 shows a screenshot of Al Jazeera's article titled "Indonesians Hail 'Unexpected Win' in Landmark Pollution Case", published in September 2021. The article described the court decision as a rare but significant victory for environmental advocates and local communities. It also emphasized the health impacts of Jakarta's poor air quality and the need for stronger government action (Llewellyn, 2021).

Based on Clive Archer's (2001) theory of international organizations, Greenpeace Indonesia acts as an independent actor that uses global media to raise environmental concerns. The Al Jazeera report shows how international platforms can support civil society and press governments toward greater accountability.

Expert and Academic Involvement

According to Bondan Andriyanu (2025), involving health professionals and academic institutions is a key part of Greenpeace Indonesia's strategy to strengthen its air pollution campaign. During the launch of the UdaraKita app, Greenpeace Indonesia collaborated with cardiologists and members of the Indonesian Pulmonologist Association, which added scientific credibility to the initiative. These experts supported Greenpeace Indonesia's message on the urgent need for action against air pollution through open public discussions held at the launch.





Greenpeace Indonesia has also actively participated in events held by various universities as part of their engagement with students and academic communities to raise awareness and stimulate discussion on air pollution issues (Andriyanu, 2025). In addition, the creation of the Our Earth perfume—used as part of a creative campaign to highlight the everyday presence of pollution—was carried out in collaboration with Dedi Mahpud, a chemist from Bogor. His involvement ensured that the product was made using natural materials and environmentally safe methods, reinforcing Greenpeace’s commitment to scientific accuracy and ecological responsibility (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023).

In another initiative, Greenpeace Indonesia held a free lung health screening program in Marunda, North Jakarta, for residents exposed to high levels of air pollution. The program involved Indonesian pulmonologists who not only conducted examinations but also educated residents about the health risks of polluted air and prevention strategies (Palguna, 2023). By facilitating direct interaction between experts and local communities, the program helped increase public awareness and encouraged advocacy for stronger health and environmental policies.

These initiatives reflect Greenpeace Indonesia’s role as both an educator and advocate, aligning with Clive Archer’s (2001) theory of international organizations. By involving experts and academics, Greenpeace provides scientifically grounded information, builds public trust, and strengthens its influence on policy. From the perspective of interdependence theory (Keohane & Nye, 2001), Greenpeace supports the government with data and public pressure, while the government benefits from expert-backed legitimacy, demonstrating a reciprocal relationship between state and non-state actors.

Community Mobilization

Greenpeace Indonesia places strong emphasis on community mobilization as a core strategy in its efforts to combat air pollution. As explained by Bondan Andriyanu (2025), the organization engages the public through protests, awareness campaigns, and training sessions that empower individuals to act as agents of change. Campaigns like “Clean Air Now” (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023) and the “Citizen Lawsuit filed by Koalisi IBUKOTA (2021–2023)” illustrate how Greenpeace





Indonesia brought people together to demand concrete actions from the government. These activities not only raised awareness but also strengthened the public's sense of ownership over the issue.

To address worsening air pollution, in 2023 the Jakarta Provincial Government formed an Air Pollution Control Task Force under Governor's Decree No. 593 of 2023. This task force is tasked with drafting operational procedures, enforcing industrial emission controls, and conducting regular air quality monitoring (Biro Umum, 2023). Efforts also include expanding green public spaces and implementing emission tests for vehicles, alongside public initiatives promoting public transport, cycling, and urban tree planting (Pemprov DKI Jakarta, 2023). The Acting Head of Jakarta's Health Department noted that these efforts involve collaboration across multiple government agencies and stakeholders, including environmental law enforcement and greening programs for high-rise buildings using water mist systems (Biro Umum, 2023).

The mobilization of citizens through actions such as Clean Air Now and the Citizen Lawsuit illustrates how Greenpeace Indonesia operates as a non-state international organization that pushes for public policy change through grassroots pressure (Archer, 2001). These campaigns foster active civic participation and amplify public demands for cleaner air. This situation reflects the interdependent relationship between state and non-state actors (Keohane & Nye, 2001), where the government relies on social legitimacy and technical input from organizations like Greenpeace Indonesia, while Greenpeace Indonesia depends on state authority to implement effective regulations.

Greenpeace Indonesia's Advocacy Through Litigation: The Citizen Lawsuit Against Air Pollution (2021–2023)

1. Greenpeace Indonesia as an Instrument and Forum in the Jakarta Air Pollution Lawsuit

In 2021, Greenpeace Indonesia strategically filed a citizen lawsuit (CLS) against seven government officials—including the President of Indonesia and the Governor of Jakarta—accusing them of negligence in fulfilling the right to clean air for Jakarta residents (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2021). According to Clive Archer's theory of international organizations, this legal move reflects Greenpeace's role as an instrument of civil society, articulating and aggregating public interests while also shaping legal norms to hold the state accountable. Bondan Andriyanu, Greenpeace Indonesia's





air pollution campaigner, stated that the lawsuit was a form of advocacy designed to pressure the state to act more seriously on air pollution issues (Andriyanu, 2025).

In addition to pursuing legal action, Greenpeace also served as a forum for public discourse, enabling citizens to express their environmental concerns. One example is the 2023 theatrical protest in front of Jakarta City Hall, where mannequins with the message “Our Air is Shared” were displayed to raise awareness and inform the public (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023). Through these symbolic actions, Greenpeace fostered collective awareness about the right to clean air and encouraged public participation in environmental governance. This campaign not only communicated information but also helped build new norms focused on environmental justice.

Figure 5. Theatrical Protest by Greenpeace Indonesia and the IBUKOTA Coalition in front of Jakarta City Hall



Source: Greenpeace Indonesia, 2022.

2. Greenpeace Indonesia as an Independent Actor and Its Interdependence with the State

The Citizen Lawsuit (CLS) led to a court decision that found all defendants—including the President of Indonesia and the Governor of Jakarta—guilty of failing to protect citizens’ right to clean air. Although the central government tried to overturn the ruling by filing appeals up to the Supreme Court, the court rejected those appeals and upheld the original decision, strengthening the legal position of Greenpeace and the citizens involved (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023). Based on Archer’s (2001) theory, Greenpeace Indonesia’s persistence in this legal process shows its role as an independent actor that helps enforce rules and hold the state accountable through legal means.





The different responses from government actors also reflect mutual dependence. While the central government rejected the verdict, the Jakarta Provincial Government under Anies Baswedan accepted the ruling and agreed to carry out the court's instructions (Andriyanu, 2025). This situation shows how the government needs legitimacy and input from civil society groups, while Greenpeace relies on state institutions to turn advocacy into real policy change. By continuing to monitor the government's actions, Greenpeace plays an active role in pushing for long-term improvements in Jakarta's environmental policies.

The citizen lawsuit on air pollution in Jakarta shows how Greenpeace Indonesia played important roles—as a tool for public demands, a space for discussion, and an independent voice. Interestingly, only the Jakarta Provincial Government responded positively to the court decision, which shows that collaboration between the government and civil society can work well. This case proves that pushing for environmental change needs not just public pressure, but also a government that is willing to listen and take action.

CONCLUSION

Greenpeace Indonesia has demonstrated how a non-state actor can influence public policy on environmental issues, particularly in the complex case of Jakarta's air pollution crisis between 2021 and 2023. Through a combination of legal advocacy, public mobilization, digital innovation, expert engagement, and symbolic campaigns, Greenpeace played a central role in both shaping public discourse and pressuring the government to respond. Their involvement in the citizen lawsuit, alongside civil society coalitions, marked a turning point that led to a court ruling holding the government accountable for failing to protect citizen's right to clean air.

The Jakarta provincial government accepted the court's decision, while the central government continued to challenge it through appeals. This contrast highlights the varying levels of responsiveness among state actors. Greenpeace Indonesia, although not formally collaborating with the government, influenced policy directions by raising public awareness, mobilizing civic actions, and offering credible data. These efforts reflect the organization's broader role as described by Clive Archer, and illustrate how environmental governance often involves interdependence—where





governments respond to societal pressure, and non-state actors rely on state mechanisms to achieve reform, as suggested by Keohane and Nye.

The Jakarta case shows that real environmental change is not only driven by government decisions from the top, but also by consistent public pressure from below. When civil society groups like Greenpeace Indonesia combine reliable data, expert support, and strong community involvement, they can push for important policy changes even without formal power. The push for clean air is a shared effort that relies on the actions of governments, citizens, and global organizations working together to create a healthier and more sustainable city.

REFERENCES

Book

- Archer, Clive. (2001). *International Organizations*. Edisi 3. London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Keohane, J. N. R. (2001). *Power and Interdependence* (Edisi ke-3). New York: Longman Publishing.
- Moleong, L. J. (2018). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Edisi revisi, Cetakan ke-38). Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Muhammad, A. (2006). *Jakarta Kota Polusi: Menggugat Hak atas Udara Bersih* (Edisi 1, Cetakan 1). Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES.
- Suryani R., Chandra, & Endrawati, Budiani Fitria. (2021). *Buku Ajar Pengendalian Pencemaran Udara* (Cetakan pertama). Sleman: Deepublish.
- Wang, L. K., Pereira, N. C., & Hung, Y. T. (2016). *Air Pollution Control: A Design Approach* (Edisi ke-3, Cetakan pertama). Boca Raton.

Journal

- Amalia, Z. (2023). "Interdependensi Finansial Amerika Serikat dan Tiongkok: Pendekatan Strategis dalam Persaingan". Sentris: *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 4(1), 105–120.
- Astriyani, M., Laela, I. N., Lestari, D. P., Anggraeni, L., & Astuti, T. (2023). "Analisis Klasifikasi Data Kualitas Udara DKI Jakarta Menggunakan Algoritma C.45". *Jurnal Sistem & Teknologi Informasi Komunikasi*, 6(1), 36-40.
- Fakhrian, L. R., Abrar, & Santosa, F. H. (2024). "Greenpeace: Sebuah Gerakan Sosial dan Politik Hijau di Indonesia (Kampanye Greenpeace di Jakarta 2006-2021)". *Journal on Education*, 6(4), 1-10.
- Gunawan, M. A. (2023). "Peran Greenpeace dalam Menangani Pencemaran Udara di Jakarta Tahun 2017-2021". Skripsi (S1), Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta.





- Hutagalung, M. (2024). “Upaya Pemerintah Provinsi DKI Jakarta Untuk Mengatasi Polusi Udara Dalam Bingkai TvOne Pada Program 'Apa Kabar Indonesia Pagi'”. *Daruna: Journal of Communication*, 3(1), 45.
- Tambun, A. P., Darmawan, I., & Saefulrahman, I. (2024). “Analisis Penggunaan Kekuasaan dan Sumber Daya Publik oleh Pemerintah Provinsi DKI Jakarta Dalam Pengendalian Pencemaran Udara di DKI Jakarta Tahun 2023”. *Gorontalo Law Review*, 7(2), 385–400.
- Wibisono, A. N. (2012). “Critical Review: Power and Interdependence”. *International Relations Journal*, 12, 79–104.
- Winanda, W. (2021). “Peran Greenpeace Dalam Memengaruhi Kebijakan Pengendalian Polusi Udara di Jakarta (2018–2021)”. *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa*, 11(1), 1–15.

Website

- Al Jazeera. (2021). “*Indonesians hail unexpected win in Jakarta pollution case*”. 25 January 2025, retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/17/indonesians-hail-unexpected-win-in-jakarta-pollution-case>.
- AtmaGo. (2023). “Greenpeace Indonesia Luncurkan Aplikasi Pemantau Kualitas Udara”. 25 January 2025, retrieved from https://www.atmago.com/berita-warga/greenpeace-indonesia-luncurkan-aplikasi-pemantau-kualitas-udara_3d4e1320.
- Betahita. (2023). “Kualitas Udara Jakarta 2023 yang Terburuk Sejak 2019”. 27 January 2025, retrieved from <https://betahita.id/news/detail/10105/kualitas-udara-jakarta-2023-yang-terburuk-sejak-2019-.html?v=1712516825>.
- Biroumum Jakarta. (2023). “Percepatan Penanganan Polusi: Pemprov DKI Bentuk Satgas Pengendalian Pencemaran Udara”. 26 January 2025, retrieved from https://biroumum.jakarta.go.id/news_web/detailnews/percepatan-penanganan-polusi-pemprov-dki-bentuk-satgas-pengendalian-pencemaran-udara.
- Dinas Lingkungan Hidup. (2021). “Laporan Akhir Pemantauan Kualitas Udara 2021”. 13 June 2024, retrieved from https://lingkunganhidup.jakarta.go.id/files/laporan2021/Laporan_Akhir_Pemantauan_KualitasUdara_2021_final.pdf.
- Dinas Lingkungan Hidup. (2022). “Laporan Akhir Udara 2022”. 13 June 2024, retrieved from https://lingkunganhidup.jakarta.go.id/files/laporan/LAPORAN_AKHIR_UDARA_2022FINAL.pdf.
- Dinas Lingkungan Hidup. (2022). “Laporan Kualitas Udara Jakarta 2022”. 13 June 2024, retrieved from https://lingkunganhidup.jakarta.go.id/files/laporan2021/FEB_2022_KUALITAS_UDARA_JAKARTA-02032022.pdf.
- Greenpeace. (2022). “Jakarta Butuh Kita: Manifesto”. 29 January 2025, retrieved from <https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-indonesia-stateless/2022/08/5b1ff109-jakarta-butuh-kita-manifesto.pdf>.
- Greenpeace. (2023). “Transformasi Transportasi Jakarta: Mengkaji Ulang Target Emisi Nol Sektor Transportasi Tahun 2050”. 13 June 2024, retrieved from





https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-indonesia-stateless/2023/03/f5769664-transformasi-transportasi-jakarta_policy-brief.pdf.

GreenpeaceID. (2023). Tweet. 12 August 2023, retrieved from <https://x.com/greenpeaceid/status/1690311692671221760?s=46>.

Greenpeace Indonesia. (2021). "Warga Kembali Memenangkan Banding Atas Gugatan Polusi Udara". 1 February 2025, retrieved from <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers-2/55628/warga-kembali-menangkan-banding-atas-gugatan-polusi-udara/>.

Greenpeace Indonesia. (2022). "Kampanye Polusi Udara". 27 January 2025, retrieved from <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/kampanye/perkotaan/polusi-udara>.

Greenpeace Indonesia. (2023). "Atasi Polusi dari Sumbernya: Clean Air Now". 28 January 2025, retrieved from <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers-2/57168/atasi-polusi-dari-sumbernya-clean-air-now/>.

Greenpeace Indonesia. (2023). "Kasasi Ditolak Mahkamah Agung, Koalisi IBUKOTA Desak Pemerintah Segera Laksanakan Putusan Pengadilan". 3 February 2025, retrieved from <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/cerita/57527/kasasi-ditolak-mahkamah-agung-koalisi-ibukota-desak-pemerintah-segera-laksanakan-putusan-pengadilan/>.

Greenpeace Indonesia. (2023). "Koalisi IBUKOTA Tuntut Pengendalian Polusi Udara Jakarta". 3 February 2025, retrieved from <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers-2/56931/koalisi-ibukota-tuntut-pengendalian-polusi-udara-jakarta/>.

Greenpeace Indonesia. (2023). "Mimpi Warga Marunda Akan Kehidupan yang Bersih dan Sehat". 4 February 2025, retrieved from <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers-2/57363/mimpi-warga-marunda-akan-kehidupan-yang-bersih-dan-sehat/>.

Greenpeace Indonesia. (2023). "Parfum Inovatif Untuk Kelestarian Lingkungan". 1 February 2025, retrieved from <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers-2/56960/parfum-inovatif-untuk-kelestarian-lingkungan/>.

Hermina Hospitals. (2023). "Waspada Bahaya Polusi Udara di Jakarta Saat Ini Meningkat". 2 February 2025, retrieved from <https://herminahospitals.com/id/articles/waspada-bahaya-polusi-udara-di-jakarta-saat-ini-meningkat.html>.

Hukumonline. (2021). "Dihukum Atasi Polusi Udara: Pemprov DKI Jakarta Belum Putuskan Upaya Hukum". 3 February 2025, retrieved from <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/dihukum-atasi-polusi-udara--pemprov-dki-jakarta-belum-putuskan-upaya-hukum-lt6144776848d4f/>.

IBLAM. (2023). "Polusi Udara Jakarta, Penyebabnya dan Bahaya Kesehatan". 10 June 2024, retrieved from <https://iblam.ac.id/2023/11/13/polusi-udara-jakarta-penyebabnya-dan-bahaya-kesehatan/>.

Jakarta Rendah Emisi. (2022). "Kendalikan Polusi Dengan Sekolah Negeri Nol Emisi". 12 June 2024, retrieved from <https://rendahemisi.jakarta.go.id/article/182/kendalikan-polusi-dengan-sekolah-negeri-nol-emisi>.





- Jakarta Rendah Emisi. (2022). “Satu Tahun Putusan Gugatan Warga Tentang Polusi Udara”. 12 June 2024, retrieved from <https://rendahemisi.jakarta.go.id/article/187/satu-tahun-putusan-gugatan-warga-tentang-polusi-udara-apa-yang-sudah-dilakukan-di-jakarta>.
- Jakarta Rendah Emisi. (2023). “Dampak Polusi Udara Bagi Kesehatan Warga Jakarta”. 24 January 2025, retrieved from <https://rendahemisi.jakarta.go.id/article/174/dampak-polusi-udara-bagi-kesehatan-warga-jakarta>.
- Jakarta Rendah Emisi. (2024). “Uji Emisi Kendaraan Solusi Tekan Pencemaran Udara”. 12 June 2024, retrieved from <https://rendahemisi.jakarta.go.id/article/199/uji-emisi-kendaraan-solusi-tekan-pencemaran-udara>.
- Liputan6.com. (2021). “Pemprov DKI Jakarta Luncurkan Website Rendah Emisi, Apa Itu?”. 22 June 2025, retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/4715312/pemprov-dki-jakarta-luncurkan-website-rendah-emisi-apa-itu?page=2>.
- Maulana, R. (2022). “Faktor Meteorologi Pencemaran Udara Jakarta”. 12 June 2024, retrieved from <https://www.forestdigest.com/detail/1831/penyebab-pencemaran-udara-jakarta>.
- Narasi TV. (2023). “Kampanye Darurat Polusi: Greenpeace Indonesia Rilis Parfum Berbau Tak Sedap” 1 February 2025, retrieved from <https://narasi.tv/read/narasi-daily/kampanye-darurat-polusi-greenpeace-indonesia-rilis-parfum-berbau-tak-sedap>.
- Pemerintah Provinsi DKI Jakarta. (2023). “Kebijakan Komprehensif Atasi Polusi Udara Jakarta”. 4 February 2025, retrieved from <https://www.jakarta.go.id/page/kebijakan-komprehensif-atasi-polusi-udara-jakarta>.
- Tempo. (2021). “Anies Baswedan Bakal Luncurkan Aplikasi JAKI, Ini Fungsinya”. 22 June 2025, retrieved from <https://www.tempo.co/arsip/anies-baswedan-bakal-luncurkan-aplikasi-jaki-ini-fungsinya-663746>.
- Tempo. (2021). “Warga Rusun Marunda Jalani Pemeriksaan Kesehatan Paru-Paru Gratis”. 2 February 2025, retrieved from <https://www.tempo.co/foto/arsip/warga-rusun-marunda-jalani-pemeriksaan-kesehatan-paru-paru-gratis-250832>.

