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NASIONALISME DAN DEMOKRASI

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Penerbit



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Indonesian Nationalism Facing the Third Wave of Political Ecology

Eko Priyo Purnomo¹

Abstrak, krisis lingkungan merupakan persoalan penting dan besar saat ini. Masalah lingkungan tidak hanya dialami oleh Negara-negara berkembang saja tetapi juga di Negara-negara yang sedang berkembang seperti Indonesia. Banyak ilmuwan yang mencoba untuk memecahkan masalah ini. Istilah ekologi politik bisa dihubungkan dengan masalah lingkungan. Akan tetapi, perspektif ekologi politik muncul dalam konteks barat dan tidak sesuai dengan Negara-negara berkembang seperti Indonesia. Sehubungan dengan semangat nasionalisme, tulisan ini menggambarkan apa yang Indonesia harus lakukan untuk melaksanakan dan menciptakan perspektif ekologi politik. Indonesia bisa menggunakan istilah ekologi politik tapi harus bersandarkan pada konteks keindonesiaan. Gelombang ketiga dari ekologi politik telah tiba dan Indonesia harus mengantisipasinya dengan benar.

Keywords: ekologi politik, konteks keindonesiaan, semangat nasionalisme.

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INTRODUCTION

This essay wants to criticise how the term of political ecology arise in the first world, what the meaning of Political ecology is and how these term can be useful to analyse environmental problem in the third world particularly in Indonesia. The last part I will try to emphasise that the next political ecology trend will be a comparative and collaborative political ecology and what Indonesian nationalism can adapt it. First of all, it is the fact that extreme poverty has occurred in the last decade which happened in majority of people in the developing and under developing countries which are called the third world. Even though, poverty in developed countries is not denied. It is just because of poverty in the third world enormous. For instance, chronic poverty which is Poverty experienced by individuals and households for extended periods of time or throughout their entire lives is a varied and complex phenomenon (Alston 2009). It is also called persistent poverty. These are happened because of lack of distribution of resources. In addition, its root is powerlessness. For instance, the managing of forest resources in Indonesian cases, as the result of the government uses a traditional way of forest exploitation. It tends to force out surrounding communities and rises to some polemics. For example, people who live in near the forest state areas are very poor with an income of less than \$ 1 a day (Awang 2004). As a result, the forest operations in Indonesia marginalise the local community and eliminate local initiative to utilise the forest resources

(Nevins and Peluso 2008; Suwarno et al. 2009). These circumstances need an urgent response how to save the forest and the other side how to re-allocate and re-distribute the forest resources. On the other hand, at the same times, many scientists have been studying about how to use and exploit resources sustain. As a result, the term political ecology or environmentalism has revealed to answer the environmental crisis in the world. And then, this term is very popular and remarkable as a science in both theoretical and practical in the world. It looks like a bridge of prosperity in the 21 century. However, the centre of this idea has emerged in developed countries and most of them are part of solutions and discourses in their country. Unger and Godfrey suggest that the idea of nation state is shifting from dependent of western countries to challenging the supra-national polity (Unger and Godfrey 2004). The idea of political ecology is an example of the idea of supra-national polity. Therefore, it is clear that we should conduct a research of political ecology which is focused on the third world and predicate what the next political ecology in Indonesia is. Indonesian society has to re-think that political ecology can be solved the problem of resources management but it can be dangerous if they do not pay attention its national needs. If Indonesian society fails, Indonesia can be trapped by neo-colonialism. Even though, the historical and political ecology approaches in the first worlds which use to tend and support this view. Nevertheless, we might try to isolate it because some of these views are western

bias. It could be useful if we can elaborate that theory and then local knowledge. Moreover, the goals of this paper are to explore, understand the existing theoretical review and then to seek the political ecology's contribution regarding the environmental change in the third world. This paper, which focuses on the critical review of political ecology, will be divided into four parts; firstly, it is the historical of political ecology. Secondly, it is the meaning of political ecology, thirdly, it is the contribution of political ecology in the third world and the last part is the conclusion and recommendation what should political ecology do in Indonesia and what the next political ecology in the world will be rose.

POLITICAL ECOLOGY IN THE WEST

I would like to describe how the term political ecology has emerged in both political context and environment context in the world either in the first world or the third world. Hay (2002) divided the political ecology into two parts, the old environment movement and the modern environment movement and as his comment that all of this theoretical approach's are bias western culture and are infected by western contexts. He said that he did not enough wish in the ethnocentric knowledge so he just conducted researches in the first world as well (Hay 2002). Obviously, that most of perspectives and researches focus on western countries or the first countries and only a few of them focus on eastern countries of the third world such as,

cultural ecology/ecology anthropology, environmental history, human ecology. It seems that term ecology is so widely and broadly to explain. Otherwise it looks like discourses analysis that has been revealed for long time.

In addition, there are several factors that carry out the term political ecology. First of all, it is because of dependency theory and neo-Marxism thought. Aletta Biersack claims that combination between dependency theory by Andre Gunder Frank and world system theory by Immanuel Wallerstein have emerged the term politic ecology (Biersack and Greenberg 2006). And also, these terms is published by the anthropologists Eric R. Wolf which signify the study of how power relation mediates human-environment relations (Wolf and Hansen 1972). Secondly, Robbins (2004) suggests that political ecology emerged because of discourses between land degradation and social construction or between exploitation of resource and improvement of society as a result, he divided it into two things; Firstly is *political ecology* which is a normative approach, broader system and power-laden, Secondly is *apolitical ecology* which is objectivity of disinterest, proximate and local focus and also politically inert (Robbins 2004). Robin also argues those collaborates and criticize that idea and suggest that political ecology looks like a Jekyll and Hide apparent which reveals to do two functions at the same time; critically explanation of what is wrong with environment changing at the same time exploring alternatives, adaptations, and creative human action in the face of mismanagement and exploitation of

resources (Robbins 2004).

The other factors that lead to the political ecology were the environmental coalition and movement in the early 1970s. Environmentalists mobilized public both opinion and movement to aware and respond environmental issues. For instance, the Sierra club had been transformed itself from a hikers club to a lobbying power house group (Nordhaus and Shellenberger 2007). And then Audubon society had doubled their membership in the late 1960s which is focuses on environmental issues at the time. Thus, in the mid 1970s, opinion polls revealed that ecological issues had been replaced in public consent rather than unemployed worker issues (Rosenbaum 1977). Moreover, Rosenbaum also suggests that the political ecology is the crucial component to solve the nation's environmental dilemma (Rosenbaum 1977).

Besides, the description above is called as the modern environment movement or perspective that emerged at the late 1960s. There are also two classical reviews which were published and effected the modern environment movement, the historical roots of our ecology crisis (Lynn White 1967) that describes the principal of Christian religion as a solving of the environment crises. In addition, the tragedy of the commons was written by Garrett Hardin in 1968. Hardin argues that property in common and democratic liberation lead to the environmental crisis. On this situation, a lot of people just exploit

and use the resources but they are not aware on sustainability of resources (Hardin 1968). And the other writer who influences the modern environment movement is Arne Dekke Eide Naess that explains about the environmental thought as know as deep ecology². The title of his blueprint is the swallow and the deep long range ecology movement: the summary, published in 1973 (Naess and Rothenberg 1989).

In conclusion, the term political ecology is affected by several factors. Firstly is dependency theory and Marxist paradigm which relate to economic approach. So they argue that political ecology is a solution to minimise the unbalancing world system economic. A few countries are centre and highest position to exploit both the world's resources and other countries. The counties who are exploited are called periphery countries. In these contexts, resources should use and exploit as part of economic production and then will be degradation of the resources utilities. Secondly, it was emerged by philosopher thought either anthropologists or social scientists such as, Garrett Hardin, and White Jr,. They have taken part to build the political ecology perspective in the modern society and they are as the founding father of the modern environment movement. Hardin's opinion was about how to manage common property in liberal contexts, White Jr described that seminal indictment of Christian is solution for environment problems. Thirdly, Social

2. The term deep ecology entered in the discourse which is as a descriptive of the method of inquiry. This idea leads to the environmental activisms and movement. According to Hay (2002), this sense of deep ecology has had comparatively little influence on either the popular ecological imagination or philosophical mind. However, Fox (1990) and Andrew Brennan against these idea. They said that deep ecology is fault and logically unsatisfactory especially in terms of methodology.

movement and green liberation that emerged as environmentalist's initiative at the late 1970s.

THE DEFINITION OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY

Ecology which is a concept was first published by Ernest Haeckel in 1868; it is method that deals with the way living organisms interrelates with other species and their environment (Carter 1999). As a concept, it has several principles. Firstly, everything is connected to everything else. Secondly, everything must go to somewhere, it shows that something is an output from one part and then it becomes an input to the other part. Thirdly, Nature knows the best for themselves. Fourthly, there is no such as a free lunch. Therefore, everything that has gain we should spend some cost (Carter 1999). Base on this term and also base on the contexts that encourages ecologists to explain what exactly the term political ecology is. Some of the terms that reveals bias economical view, some of them are bias political view and the other are bias environmental view. It seems that the term of political ecology and the field is so wide and broad spectrum. Peet and Watts say that political ecology is inherent in the system both rooted ecological perspectives and rooted political perspectives (Peet and Watts 1996). According to Bryant and Sinead Bailey, they state that environmental and ecological changing are effected by political process (Bryant and Bailey 1997). Therefore, they argue that political ecology is a way to understand ecological

and environmental changing use a political approach. Also Robin argues that political ecology is another approach that substitutes "apolitical" ecology to examine and explain environmental change (Robbins 2004). Also, Stott and Sullivan argue that the term of political ecology is a conceptual and commitment to solve the contradiction inherent accepting that patterns in biological, ecological, social and economic issues (Stott and Sullivan 2000).

It looks like that the term of political ecology is so broad and complicated. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that political ecology is a way to analyse and examine both ecological and social changing which are used a political and ecological perspective itself. Therefore, it is a combination and collaboration analysis with using many political variables and indicators that can be revealed in the environmental changing.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY FROM THE WEST TO THE EAST

The next discussions that I want to emphasize are what the contributions of political ecology are which relate to a resources management in the world, especially, this term in the third world. Moreover, Paulson and Gezon (2005) state that the early political ecology developed some knowledge. Firstly, resource use is organized and transmitted social relation that effected of the environment capability and sustainability. Secondly, it is the idea that we should recognise of a plurality of position, perception and interest and rationality

in environment. Thirdly, it is the idea of global connectedness through that extra-local political economic processes shape are affected by local spaces. *Fourth* or the last one is a redefine concept of marginality, in political, economic and ecological aspects could be mutuality reinforcing "land degradation is both a result and a cause of social degradation" (Paulson and Gezon 2005).

In addition, any scientists said that the term of political ecology also has been adopted by some overlay political movement for their promotion of alternatives to what they regard as an inherently environmentally destructive capitalism system based on constantly expanding production (Martínez Alier et al. 1995). For instance, green party phenomena in Europe, the green parties which have been clearly reflected in the political ecology especially the deep ecology approach (Burchell 2002; Rootes 1999). On the other words, the green parties which have emerged in Europe countries in the late 1980s have been identified as an emerging vehicle to bring the environmental idea in the practical life³. However, there are some criticisms that against this idea. The green parties are just a way to find the power and are incompatible to bring the idea about environmental sustainability. Besides, it just accommodates the middle class interest (Markovits and Gorski 1993).

The above arguments reflect only to western cultures and contexts. And then, most of them are less to explain the political ecology's contribution for the third world. Moreover, Miller claims

that both the dependency and world system approaches lead to the third world marginalized because of their nature of their economies and their lack of power (Miller 1995). These situations happen due to the structural problem in the global level. On the other hand, environment, political, economic and culture in Eastern are different with Western. As a question that rises is what political ecology in this area and this situation can do?

To answer political ecology's contribution in developing countries particularly in Indonesia, I will quote some researchers. For instance, Peluso who researched in the Dayak community, Kalimantan, Indonesia, states that broader global trends and market or government incentives for privatisation and individualization of resource access have not unilaterally transformed the common aspects of community and descent-groups claim of property rights (Nevins and Peluso 2008). Although the privatisation and penetration are strong, the community resistance are stronger to keep and use their resources (Zerner 2003). Also, Rappaport's critique of modernity and industrial society was thus based on a comparative analysis of environmental relationships between primitive and modern society. So, his work focuses on the third world, specifically Tembaga in Papua New Guinea, and he dedicated to study the relation between ritual and ecology (Rappaport 1967). Another researcher is Dove who researched in Kantu, West Kalimantan Indonesia. He criticizes the

3. There are some criticisms that against this idea. The green parties are just to find the power and are incompatible to bring the idea about environmental sustainability. Besides, it just accommodates the middle class interest Andrei S. Markovits and Philip S. Gorski, *The German Left : Red, Green and Beyond* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993) xiii,393p..

single vision of western ecologists who use a monistic and deterministic approach. However, he found that Kantu's society is a pluralistic and nondeterministic to managing tropical forest resources (Dove 1988). And also other researchers like Agrawal who examines how the Kumon's government policy and society can adapt the new technology and can be aware of sustainability (Agrawal 2005).

I want to emphasise, even so the first political ecology emerged the first countries and is affected by their contexts and then the term spreads widely around the world. The second and third countries have been affected and also adopted this term because at the same time environmental crises occur in this area. Therefore, the next generation of this term could be to look for in the third world. We call it as ecology justice, the new ecology and beyond modernist ecology. In other words, the linkages of environmental issues to social and political contexts are the base value of environmental justice (McBeath and Rosenberg 2006). So, It clear that the new ecology as Rappaport's, Peluso's and Dove's reports are as a trigger of the new trends of political ecology research and it contribute to understand the environmental crisis and effect that appear in eastern countries or third world.

THE EFFECT OF THE THIRD WAVE OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY IN INDONESIAN CONTEXT

I want to quote both Huntington's and McBeath's and Rosenberg's phrase. "The third wave", I assume that the

third wave of political ecology is a burning issue recently and it could be in the future. The next environmental issue on Political ecology that will be a trend in the future is called cooperative environmental politic. There are a lot of environmental crises in the world such as, desertification, sea-level rise, illegal logging, depletion of resources and climate change. Most of environmental disasters that happened not only effected to local community but also effected to global environment. Therefore, it should be answered by global community.

In Indonesian contexts, according to article 33 of the 1945 Constitution State,

"Land and water and the natural riches contained therein shall be controlled by the State and shall be made use of for the people".

The Forestry Law (UU 41/1999)

also extended the state's sovereignty over forest (Anonim 1999). These rules make the state has right to control Indonesian resources. On the other hand, communities' activities have used the land. For example, a conflict on the forest resources, the communities claim that the forest next to their village belongs to them. They have a customary right (*Adat* or *Hak ulayat*). Consequently, the local communities have assessed a claim over the resources vis-à-vis State. The possibility of conflicting and overlapping claims over the same areas is quite common in Indonesia. In this case, understanding the property rights could be useful to understand the changing structure of property right operating in

the forest management.

In terms of allocation of resources in Indonesia, if the government holds all rights over most natural resources, including forests and natural resources, the local communities might have difficulties to access resources and participate in the policy decision making processes. On the other hand, the centre government has fewer resources and failed in their attempt to manage the resources. The best solution is how to re-allocate the resources and the same time gives a chance to the community or society for participating (Agrawal 2001; Sekher 2001; Suwarno et al. 2009).

There several issues that I want to clarify why the third wave will be happened. Most of environmental issues are regional base but the effects are broad. Secondly, we live in the small world that each other should be responsive to each other. Thirdly, we can conduct many researches which are base on our society and our region but we have to consider the global phenomena. The last one, in term of local and national capacity, no one country and community can solve environmental issues by themselves. The last one is the complexity of environmental problem that happen could not be solved alone both country and society selves

Therefore, cooperative and collaborative studies can solve the current and future environmental issue. Also, the efforts that are developed the new political ecology approach become main agenda for many ecologists. There several issues that can be analysed by this approach such as, the limitation of state, the

territorial scope of environmental issues, global environmental policy, the role of states and international organisations, international social movement and organisation.

CONCLUSION

I want to highlight that the main idea of political ecology is the recognition that we cannot to avoid political and economic contexts to analyze and understand the environmental problem. Therefore, there are some criticisms of political ecology. First, some political ecologist do not even deal with literally the influence of politics in effecting environmental chance but rather deal only with politics, even if politics somehow relates to environment. It may be to say as overreaction to the ecology without politics of three decades ago is resulting now in a politic without ecology. Second, some political ecologists have put their practice into the service of populist agenda and green movement that devolving control of resources to local communities. Third, neo and post-Marxist political ecology argue that the term political ecology is forged by hegemonic Euro-America power. Fourth, the term political ecology has been built in the western culture and contexts and most of them unaware and in relevance with developing countries. Moreover, the first generation of political ecology has rejected the localism and tended to be capital centric. The second political ecology is developed to be aware local people and local wisdom. In addition, the second one tends to be localized and sometimes forgettable to build

international networking.

As a result, the third wave of political ecology will be a solution that can explain the current environmental issues especially in Indonesia. According to Robbins that argues by explicating networks, we come to a better understanding re-curent of socio-cultural situation especially undesirable one, rather than manipulating and waiting for changes in global political economy to trickle down a chain, the network allows us a range of place for progressive action and normative change (2004). On the other words, Biersack suggest that environmental crisis multiply and the ecological cost of capitalism compete with its social and human cost for practical and theoretical attention (2006). Obviously, it means that as a researcher, I want to persuade that I can use the term political ecology not only quote the term of western perspective but also aware the term in local perspective. However, we can understand the rooted philosophy of this term for developing the new approach of political ecology that is aware on Indonesian nationalism. Also, the most important things are how we implement and relate to environmental issues in both the local and global contexts. Because of the environmental issues that exist are more complicated and broad, we should join and stand together to save our future. However, we have to think with our country needs and sovereignty as well.

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