

## Rivalry of Issues in the Public Sphere: How are Ecological Issues Positioned in the 2019 Political Party campaigns?

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### ABSTRACT

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The aim of this research is to trace environmental issues in the arena of electoral political battles, namely political parties in 2019. The concern so far in electoral political practice, environmental issues in the series of election activities are rarely discussed. As a result, environmental issues are so close to society, as if they have become elite issues as a result of the failure of political parties to bring this issue into the public sphere. The research method in this research is descriptive qualitative with a library research approach. Validation of this research data uses the triangulation method. Researchers collect data through various documents, media or other sources such as books, journals, news, or aggregate data originating from formal institutions such as election bureaucracy institutions and political parties. The research results show that the production of environmental issues presented by political parties in Indonesia is very weak. Environmental issues that should be public issues seem to be private issues. This can be seen in a series of good campaign processes carried out by political parties. Political party campaigns are still minimal and do not even mention environmental issues in their campaigns. Environmental issues, which should be equal to issues of health, education, employment, transportation, politics and security, are being sharply dichotomized in the public sphere. Therefore, the positioning of environmental issues is important for political parties to be involved in public issues that should be so.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The practice of electoral politics, which has become known as general elections, has created various spaces for political rivalry. This is proven by the emergence of various methods and strategies used by political candidates and political parties to win the people's vote. These methods and strategies are carried out by candidates and political parties solely to boost their popularity, level of electability, even branding their image and political identity in the eyes of the wider community as owners of electoral political votes (Hayat & Hasrullah, 2016: 193). Therefore, by looking at the public's political vote as a determinant of political electability, it is only natural that each candidate continues to try to attract, influence, and even promise various programs and policies that make the public ultimately determine their political vote. Everyone has the right to seek, obtain, own, collect, process, analyze and even interpret the political information they obtain (Suharyanto, 2016: 126). This gap is then used by political parties and their candidates to develop a concept of political thinking which is then transformed into changes in voting behavior.

One aspect that is considered to have quite potential influence and is usually played by every political party and the political candidates they support is playing issues in the political arena. Moreover, Indonesian society in determining

their political choices is still largely influenced by aspects of political figure and image. Such conditions certainly show how the influence and strength of the political issues at play will greatly determine victory if this issue game is controlled by every political actor. So it is not surprising that the birth of media conglomerates that try to link political power with the media is a new form of awareness of how important issues are in politics (Khamim & Sabri, 2019: 113). Without the slightest issue play, electoral political victory will only be empty talk and will never be oriented towards political victory. For this reason, the issue becomes the "center" for every political party that will compete to enliven the proper realization of democracy.

The link between issues and political parties can be understood as a meeting point where each political party more or less always brings up current issues. These issues are raised by political parties through their candidates as a form of political communication as well as symbolic interaction between the party and its voters. The existence of political parties must be recognized and must be present in building a consolidated substantive democracy. Parties, which initially had a role limited to articulation that bridged power and those controlled, have now shifted to become fairly representative media in determining every public policy (Andrias, 2013: 352).

This shift in the duties and roles of political parties indirectly emphasizes that public issues must be present in every public policy that will be taken. In fact, many public issues which are then mandated in public policy have not been fully accommodated properly. One issue that is rarely brought up by political parties is environmental issues. This issue should be able to make every political party aware of environmental politics. This departs from a concept of thought where development will not be separated from its involvement with environmental politics, for example investment policy (Supratiwi, 2013: 3).

There are several reasons why environmental politics must be part of the substance of every campaign for both candidates and political parties. First, environmental political issues in various political party campaign activities are never raised in a vulgar manner. This is because environmental issues have indirectly been excluded from their proper space, namely public issues. As a result of the exclusion of environmental issues by political parties, the correlation between society and the environmental sector has become distant, even foreign to the public. The political party that was predicted to be able to change and build the pattern of the environmental movement and make it its political agenda after political victory actually did not materialize at all (Ahmady et al., 2022). Therefore, returning environmental issues as public issues at a level equivalent to issues usually raised by political parties in their campaigns, such as health, education and social affairs, is a necessity that should be done.

The second reason is that environmental issues have become an issue that is global in scope. All countries have placed environmental issues as global issues with a calculation that environmental issues have entered a period of crisis. Therefore, this global environmental crisis must be a concern for every country by placing various agendas with a sustainable development character (Mondry, 2023). This includes the political system where the state must prioritize environmental sustainability for the future of future children and grandchildren.

Third, political parties play a central role in promoting and discussing green political development. This is based on the fact that the party will produce regional head candidates who will carry out government as well as development and will even create regulations and strategic policies. If these prospective regional leaders fail to understand environmentally sound development and regulations, this will give rise to various difficulties for the public. For example, how to manage industry in urban areas, manage waste, and government management which has an impact on environmental issues both in the short and long term. This is a fact that parties should have been narrating environmental issues since the campaign, so that air pollution, the water crisis and sanitation problems have been understood since the start of the campaign, both by political parties to candidates and by political parties to the public (Wahyudin et al., 2020).

It should be noted that one of the political parties participating in the 2019 election, which was attended by 18 political parties, namely 14 national parties and 4 local Acehese parties, was seen to be promoting environmental issues, namely the PSI (Indonesian Solidarity Party). This means that the other 17 political parties or parties that qualify for the top 5 will be dangerous if they make any political decisions, especially those related to environmental issues. It is certainly natural that they might care when at the beginning

the narrative, discourse, thoughts and ideas about the living environment were rarely explored. Therefore, the neglect of political parties coupled with society's indifference will further exacerbate the environmental crisis which contributes globally.

Based on a survey report conducted by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in March 2019 involving 1960 respondents spread across 14 provinces in Indonesia, it shows that there is a lack of political parties in promoting, discussing and thinking about environmental issues. The majority of respondents in the 2019 CSIS survey said that the public had never heard of environmental issues being raised and discussed in the campaign at any stage of the election. Even if there is talk and discussion of environmental issues in political party campaigns, there is very little calculation (Octaviyani, 2019). However, on the other hand, environmental issues, including the issue of climate change, are issues that are of concern and the focus of attention for millennials and generation Z.

Political parties must try to open their eyes to voters if they want to gain their trust. This departs from a reality that is not dichotomized by young people or non-young people, where society in general has a very weak level of trust in political parties. If society's level of political trust is weak, then what about young people as part of society at large? Table 1 below is the result of a survey conducted by the Indonesian Political Indicators survey institute on public trust in political/state institutions or institutions.

## TABLES AND FIGURES

**Table 1. Level of Public Trust in State/Political Institutions**

State/Political Institutions	Respondent Details		Level of confidence
	<b>Strongly believes</b>	<b>Just Believe</b>	
<b>TNI</b>	21,2%	73,5%	94,6%
<b>President</b>	19,4%	73,4%	92,8%
<b>Kejaksanaan Agung</b>	7,9%	72,7%	80,6%
<b>Court</b>	8,4%	69,4%	77,8%
<b>National Police</b>	9,3%	63,9%	73,2%
<b>KPK</b>	7,1%	65,3%	72,4%
<b>DPD</b>	5,2%	66,3%	71,5%
<b>MPR</b>	5,1%	66,2%	71,3%
<b>DPR</b>	4,7%	58,7%	63,4%
<b>Political parties</b>	2,8%	59%	61,8%

*Sumber:* (Fajarlie, 2023)

Based on survey data conducted by the Political Indicator Survey agency on April 11-17 2023, it shows that the level of public trust in political parties is very low. In fact, the percentage level of public trust in political parties only touched 61.8%. This percentage is not far from the DPR institution where this institution ranks second in terms of low public trust. Meanwhile, on the other hand, various survey institutions consistently state that the level of public trust in political parties is at an alarming point. For example, based

on a survey conducted by the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) from March 31 to April 4 2023 involving 1,229 respondents with an age limit of over 17 years and above, it shows that the level of public trust in political parties is at the bottom. In this survey, public trust in political parties was 50%, followed by the DPR at 52% (Hutajulu, 2023: 1). This means that based on the two surveys above carried out by two different survey institutions, one thing is in common, namely that political parties and the DPR are the lowest ranked state/political institutions. This situation basically confirms that if a political party loses public trust, it can be interpreted as a failure to control and counter issues that are developing in society.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Referring to research conducted by Bolqiah and Raffiudin regarding the dominance of oligarchs and the absence of green political parties in Indonesia, it shows the urgency of balancing power and representing the green politics narrative in the form of political party platforms to limit and inhibit oligarchic domination. Apart from that, the failure of public participation is also caused by the lack of representation of the green political narrative which has until now been distributed in the political promises of candidates approaching the election. The transformation of the green political narrative does not receive enough support from the public so that its presence has not been fully realized as in developed countries as pioneers (Bolqiah & Raffiudin, 2020: 163). This condition must be realized that since its inception and even now, the political issues that political parties have always expressed have been public issues with the character of exclusivity regarding environmental issues. However, in this research there is only a significant connection between oligarchic dominance and green political parties. This research does not necessarily analyze how environmental issues are positioned in the institutionalization of political parties themselves.

On the other hand, research conducted by Ahmady et al is related to environmental movements and political parties: a study of Walhi's struggle in establishing a green party in Indonesia shows that Walhi has not been able to support the establishment of the Indonesian Green Political Party (PHI). This is because there is no internal solidity from Walhi itself. Apart from that, there is an inability to resolve internal ideological contestations which include political strategy (Ahmady et al., 2022: 48). Nevertheless, Walhi's efforts in forming PHI should be appreciated. This is because it is an initial form of awareness that has been maintained by Walhi where these non-governmental organization groups have become pioneers in seeing environmental damage as a dominant implication of political products. Therefore, the world of self-reliance like Walhi has become the beginning and forerunner of the struggle for environmental issues in the realm of state politics (Setiawan et al., 2022: 641-642).

Both literatures have something in common, namely that they raise environmental issues in the political space of power, whether faced with political parties or state power. However, these two studies did not analyze the positioning of environmental issues by political parties in the public sphere. Therefore, the main problem formulation that will be answered in this research is how is the positioning of environmental issues by political parties in the public sphere? The theoretical approach that will be used in this research is political positioning (Ries & Trout, 1981: 77). Positioning is

a marketing term which is interpreted as all activities to create an impression in the minds of consumers so that consumers can differentiate the products or services produced. Therefore, in the context of political positioning, the products and services in question are in the form of political messages carried by candidates in political campaigns, namely political promises, the vision of the mass being promoted, party ideology, and also the figure and image of the candidate in the campaign. This positioning will make it easier for the public to distinguish one candidate from another so that it will have an impact on the actualization of voting behavior in determining their political decisions.

## 2. METHODS

This research uses a library research approach with descriptive qualitative methods. Use of descriptive qualitative research design with literature study. This literature study allows researchers to be able to collect quite a lot of data from various sources. For this reason, one of the advantages of this literature study is that researchers have a lot and rich research data which is then selected and reduced according to needs (Hidayati & Setiawan, 2023: 16). The data in this literature study research was obtained through various sources, starting from official election organizer authorities, the government, as well as sources such as media, books, journals, newspapers, radio, newspapers, as well as various other relevant literature. The various data entered by the researcher will later be compatible with the research problem formulation that has been determined. After the data is collected, selection is carried out according to needs and validated using data triangulation techniques. The aim is to analyze and answer the problem formulation so that the answer to the problem can be presented in as much detail as possible in this research.

This research was conducted from July 15 2023 to August 27 2023. The limitation or locus of this research is the positioning of environmental issues played by political parties in the public sphere in 2019. The locus of environmental issues (positioning) is the limitation or scope of this research so that the objectives are clear and do not create ambiguity in the scope of the research discussion. The reason this locus and scope was raised is because this locus is very minimally researched and studied by political scientists, so that with the limited literature it becomes a challenge in itself to answer the problem formulation that was previously promised. The novelty value in this research is the integration of research issues that are rarely researched, namely environmental issues, positioning and political parties. Therefore, when combined, these three phrases have a novelty value that has not been widely researched but is very compatible with policies and analyzes that occur in society. Meanwhile, researchers in qualitative data analysis techniques use the Creswell qualitative approach. According to him, in descriptive qualitative research, researchers must start analyzing data by identifying the problem, searching for relevant literature, basic aims and objectives of research, data collection, data analysis and interpretation, and research reporting (Raco, 2018).

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION Environmental Issues in Public Spaces

Public space has played an important role in the process of fighting over issues played by political parties. Without public space, the process of political communication in the form of exchanging messages as well as interacting with political information will experience a point of stagnation. If this stagnation point occurs, the communication process cannot run. For every political party, public space is an arena whose existence is very much needed, especially in playing out battles over political issues in order to win the hearts and political votes of the public. The battle over this issue then continues to rage in the public space, ultimately leading to the birth of public opinion as a result of the political messages it receives (Buluamang, 2021: 110). Therefore, this public space is very central in determining and directing voting behavior. It is this "central" consideration that the public space will be sought after by each political party to play and control the issues developing within it through various methods and strategies of their own.

Reflecting on the political process that has occurred so far, the issue of pragmatism adopted by the majority of existing political parties is a big problem. Every existing political party tends to base its existence on the dominance of social clusters and political currents compared to ideological clusters. This is supported by the many political parties in Indonesia that continue to emerge so that this reality blurs the ideological boundaries between parties (Bariroh, 2015: 134-135). This blurring of party ideological boundaries then gives rise to a phenomenon in the public sphere, where the issues raised tend to make the public increasingly distant from issues that are actually very close to society itself. If this happens, the question that arises is whether the character of the public sphere tends to be exclusive towards issues raised by political parties? This question is important because the public sphere is basically an exchange of political issues, including how political parties bring environmental issues into the arena (Komariah & Kartini, 2019: 232).

It must be acknowledged that the presence of political parties in the public space, both conventional and digital, is still minimal or does not even raise environmental issues (Walhi, 2023: 1-3). There is a tendency to marginalize environmental issues, especially in the institutionalization of political parties themselves (ugm.ac.id, 2023). Many political parties currently only have party institutions in their vision and mission which clearly and concretely state their support for environmental issues and are almost non-existent. If we look closely based on the data released by the KPU in the 2024 election, at least 24 political parties will participate, divided into 17 national political parties and 7 local political parties. The question is, of the 24 parties participating in the election, does anyone in their vision and mission mention environmental issues as a commitment to sustainable development? This question is certainly an important basis to see how commitment to environmental issues is actually born from the start, especially in the institutionalization of political parties. Without institutionalization, environmental issues will certainly not be campaigned on, so the mistake that occurs is that environmental issues become private issues in the public sphere. As a result, the public feels unfamiliar with environmental issues, even when several parties raise these issues, there will be stigmatization and discrediting of environmental issues themselves. Table 2 below is the result of an analysis of whether or not environmental issues are included in the vision and mission of the parties participating

in the 2019 election, both national parties and local political parties in Aceh.

Table 2. Environmental issues in the Vision and Mission of Political Parties Contesting the 2024 Election

No	Name of political party	Analysis presence/absence environmental institutionalization
		Vision
1	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	No
2	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra)	No
3	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P)	Tidak
4	Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar)	Yes
5	Partai Nasdem	No
6	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	No
7	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Hanura)	No
8	Partai Garda Perubahan Indonesia (Garuda)	No
9	Partai beringin Karya (Berkarya)	No
10	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	No
11	Partai Demokrat	No
12	Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI)	No
13	Partai Persatuan Indonesia (Perindo)	No
14	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	No
15	Partai Nanggroe Aceh	No
16	Partai Daerah Aceh	No
17	Partai Aceh	No
18	Partai Soliditas Independen Rakyat Indonesia	No

**Note: National and local political parties**

*Source: processed and analyzed by the author, 2023*

Based on the analysis of table 3 above, information can be obtained that of the 18 political parties participating in the 2019 election, environmental issues are still given minimal space, especially in the institutionalization of political parties. Meanwhile there are 4 parties where environmental phrases are not contained in their vision, but appear in their mission statement. The majority of the party's vision and mission is development of prosperity and justice. The

question is whether it is possible for prosperity and justice to be upheld without serious attention to environmental issues? Doesn't every aspect always intersect with environmental issues? Therefore, it can be understood that environmental issues are still weakly given space in party institutionalization. As a result, political parties that contest in the public sphere do not consider environmental issues as interesting issues because the orientation of political parties is electoral votes, not reactions to public problems that occur.

### Rivalry of Political Issues: Where Are the Ecological Issues?

Society as a determinant of political election to this day is still fixated on the image and figure of political candidates. Of course, in each of these moments, political parties will continue to struggle and try to convince the public of the figures they promote. This convincing process is actually a space for fighting over issues that political parties always bring up in the public space. In the political vote decision model, each individual is based on three main things, namely partisanship, opinion on issues, and candidate image (Febriani, 2018: 2). This belief is closest to the actualization of voting behavior because it is the impact of political decisions (Haryanto, 2016: 294). In relation to opinions on issues brought up by each political party in all its electoral activities, at the level of implementation it sometimes raises questions that continue to arise. This question relates to how and where will this environmental issue be addressed in every campaign activity? This question is worth raising because the campaign is a mandatory ritual that cannot be separated from the individual and institutionalization of the party itself (Amrurrobbi, 2021: 66). It must be acknowledged that political parties will always and tend to avoid issues that do not have political selling power to the public. One issue that political parties tend to rarely bring up and is even given the impression of as an issue that is not very important is environmental issues. They are more at the forefront of issues that are better known to the public, namely issues of health, education, employment, poverty, unemployment, the economy, and even other issues.

When compared to economic and educational issues, environmental issues tend to be peripheral issues in political campaigns. Even in the health context, the meaning of this issue is still narrowed to only cover the surface (unair.ac.id, 2018: 1-3). However, this situation has changed in the context of targeting political vote holders. The latest survey data conducted by Indonesian Political Indicators in collaboration with the Bright Indonesia Foundation, which was conducted 9-16 September 2021, involving 4,020 respondents spread across Indonesia with an age range of 17-35 years, stated that 52% were worried about environmental damage. The figure obtained is a significant figure. For young people, awareness and concern about environmental issues is a very big step forward, as they begin to have a sense of ownership and concern for the political system and electoral system that is being run. This right is because environmental issues will always be related to state power politics. For this reason, a political observer from Gadjah Mada University, Mada Sukmajati, said that electoral narratives to date are still trapped in the figures of political figures, not noble programs and ideas (Gloriobarus, 2023: 1-3). Therefore, the discourse should begin to shift from being based on the figure of figures to being based on programs and ideas that are more concrete and answer public problems.

Figure 1 below shows the level of concern of political parties for the environment based on the results of a survey conducted by Indonesian Political Indicators with the Cerah Indonesia Foundation.

Figure 1. Political Parties' Attention to Environmental Issues (Climate Change)



Source: Indonesian Political Indicators and the Bright Indonesia Foundation, 2021

Based on the survey data on political parties' concern for environmental issues above, it can be seen that the PDI-P party is a party that has quite high attention to environmental issues when compared to other parties. This is in line with the Indonesian Media report, which has noted that at least two political parties have paid attention to environmental issues. The two parties are PDI-P and PKB. The PDI-P party leadership called on all its cadres to cultivate concern for the environment. In fact, the event also inaugurated a greening movement and a river cleaning movement centered on the Ciliwung River with the theme Love Clean Ciliwung (CCB). Previously there was the PKB party led by Muhaimin Iskandar which also raised environmental issues in its campaign and even called itself a green party. However, as time went by, the movement, which was once busy, began to fade again (mediaindonesia, 202: 1-2).

Looking at the direction and symptoms of ongoing public issues, environmental issues will become very potential issues and will no longer be considered as peripheral issues as before. Environmental issues have entered public spaces and have even been able to interact with young voters so that young voters' serious attention to environmental issues has become a new awareness in organizing patterns for determining public voting behavior. Even though environmental issues are not as massive as economic issues and employment issues, environmental issues have been able to position themselves in the public space filled with young voters as a determinant of public electability. Such conditions make it a central reason for every political party to stir and strive to make this environmental issue a priority campaign issue.

### Environmental Issues and New Awareness of Political Parties

If the 2019 electoral political contest is identified in terms of ideology, environmental issues are still very weak as the basis for the movement. Therefore, looking at the political configuration and map of society which has seriously paid attention to environmental issues, this condition forces every political party to accommodate the issues that are being paid

attention to by voters. Every political party must remember that almost 60% of political votes are determined by groups that have accommodate environmental issues, namely the combination of generation Z and the millennial generation. If this community group already has serious attention to environmental issues, then is it possible that environmental issues are not accommodated in every political campaign? Of course, this question has a young answer for the party. This is because basically parties will play up actual and developing issues solely to gain political support in electoral politics.

The seriousness of political parties in looking at the political landscape in 2024 which is connected to environmental issues seems to have been responded quickly by several political parties. The agility of political parties like this in quickly capturing actual public issues is the party's advantage in gaining voters' votes. For example, there is the Indonesian Solidarity Party which has recently mobilized its cadres and even the party's structural leadership is directly involved in environmental issues, namely cleaning up rubbish. Figure 2 below is an action as well as a solidarity movement from the Indonesian Solidarity Party which tries to capture the current issue of young people in the environmental sector as an issue that is being taken seriously by young people, namely related to the issue of waste.

Figure 2. PSI Militancy Cadres and Politicians Help DLH Clean Up Trash in South Tangerang



Sumber: (Supriyanto, 2023)

Based on the visual documentation data above, it can be seen how the PSI party is starting to reach out to environmental issues. The involvement of the PSI party, even though institutionally the party, for example in its vision and mission, does not include the phrase environment, if it follows the issues that are currently circulating then this is a form of agility in capturing issues. This is based on the fact that a political party that does not have the skills to capture developing issues means the party concerned will be far from the spectrum of electoral victory. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the party's orientation always tries in every way to approach the spectrum of political victory, one of which is using issues to build public opinion both on the basis of stature and the institutional image of the party concerned.

The General Election Supervisory Body has consciously acknowledged that in the electoral system in this country, there is still very little in the way of realizing environmentally friendly elections. both from the lack of recycling of election logistics waste, to the waste resulting from campaigns carried out by political party sympathizers (Pradana, 2023: 1-3). Not to mention air pollutant waste because sympathizers usually

use motorized vehicles and parade on the streets. Referring to the electoral system which is not yet environmentally friendly, the presence of political parties which always bring up environmental issues in their campaigns also seems very difficult. Therefore, if the electoral system regulations have been regulated and directed at how to create environmentally friendly elections, starting from each stage, then bringing up environmental issues will certainly not be something difficult for political parties participating in the election to offer in the electoral battle space.

Therefore, from this description, it is related to attracting environmental issues which are considered peripheral issues in similar issues such as education, employment, economics, poverty and welfare issues, so there must be two comprehensive approaches both from the side of political parties as electoral actors and election organizers as facilitator. In the context of facilitators, such as the KPU and the government, they must ensure relevant regulations on how to create an environmentally friendly election system before, immediately and after the electoral political phasing process. On the other hand, political parties must improve their party institutionalization and establish themselves to pay serious attention to environmental issues. Without these two approaches, environmental issues will not be compatible in carrying out rivalry in the public sphere compared to issues that are commonly used as electoral political weapons for political parties. Therefore, the big challenge in 2024 is how the political parties participating in the election, through their prospective candidates, are able to make environmental protection a main agenda and priority (Maydita, 2023: 1-3).

Positioning Environmental issues in the 2019 political party election campaign must be a critical reflection, especially for political parties participating in the 2024 election. This is because the map of issues that are being loved by the community has undergone significant changes. If in 2019 every political party fails to narrate and discourse on the environment, then in 2024 environmental issues must be accommodated in every political party campaign. Environmental issues have become part of global attention, so Indonesia, which is always referred to as a country that contributes to the environmental crisis, must play a central system. This will be measurable and tested when every legal product and policy taken must minimize the impact of environmental damage. Moreover, the challenge is to create an environmentally friendly electoral system from political campaigns to political campaigns.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The positioning of environmental issues in the 2019 political party election campaign must be a critical reflection, especially for political parties participating in the 2024 election. This is because the map of issues that are currently popular with the public has undergone quite significant changes. If in 2019 every political party failed to narrate and discourse on environmental issues, then in 2024 environmental issues must be accommodated in every political party's campaign. Environmental issues have become part of global attention, so that Indonesia, which is always referred to as a country that contributes to the environmental crisis, must play a central role. This will be measurable and tested if every legal product and policy taken must minimize the impact of environmental damage. Moreover, the challenge is to create an electoral system that

aligns environmental issues in public spaces in terms of the institutionalization of political parties which is still very weak. This is because environmental issues are not placed in the same position as issues of education, health, poverty, unemployment and employment. Therefore, it is difficult to find environmental issues being discussed and brought into the public sphere as material for political campaigns. There is a tendency for environmental issues to be placed in the peripheral issue cluster compared to other issues. This can be seen from the perspective of the electoral system that we are currently developing, which still does not have an environmentally friendly electoral system, both in terms of regulations and in terms of electoral practices. As a result, in the institutionalization of political parties, environmental issues do not become an electoral attraction. However, looking at the configuration of the electorate in 2024, which is 60% young voters, and these voters have a great interest in environmental issues, then political parties have started to consider these issues. There is a tendency for environmental issues to gain space among young voters so that political parties are starting to aggressively explore environmental issues with the orientation of attracting the electoral votes of this group of voters. This condition illustrates that environmental issues are starting to be positioned on the party's agenda for future political interests, including the environment and political campaigns.

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