

Indonesia Palm Oil as Issue Insight of Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations

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Abstract. This paper is one of response towards the growing of recognition influence of non-governmental organization in world politics, especially in environmental issue. European Union policy to ban Indonesia oil palm is one of example the advocacy power of environmental non-government organizations. This paper would examine the nature of environmental non-governmental organizations in Indonesia. Particularly, this paper focus on the issue of Indonesia palm oil. Most studies focus on environmental impacts or economic benefits derived from the growing of palm oil plantations. Some studies also show that the economic benefits generated are not comparable to environmental impacts. In addition, several studies found that the environmental damage that occurred not only harm the local community. To close the gaps, several studies on palm oil governance were carried out. However, several studies mention the role of non-governmental organizations on the Indonesian palm oil issue. Some studies only explain how the role of non-governmental organizations in certain political phenomena. Narratives of non-governmental organizations are only considered part of the tools for advocacy.

Keywords: Biodiversity, Climate Change, Deforestation, Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations, Oil Palm

1. Introduction

Environmental non-governmental organization has important role in international politics. The involvement of environmental non-governmental organizations had been recognized since 1972. The environmental non-governmental organizations became one of actor who contribute in making *The Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment*. *The Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment* is basic framework of international agreement in environment issue. In recent years, the number of participation environmental and other non-governmental organization rapidly increases. Nowadays, several environmental non-governmental organizations can actively joint international conference. Environmental non-governmental organizations are working closely together with other non-governmental organization that have similar interest. This action is needed in order to increase their influence on outcome of conference. Environmental non-governmental organizations are work effectively outside and inside the conference time[1]. Environmental non-governmental organizations are continuously discussing and lobbying between their group or other parties. Besides that, environmental non-governmental organizations has role as supervise implication

environment policies[2]. In Agenda 21 *United Nations Sustainable Development 1992*, Environmental non-governmental organization recognized as one of the supporting actor to achieve sustainable development. As advocacy agent, environmental non-governmental organizations gaining power by created or involve in network outside state border[3]. The existence of network helping environmental non-governmental organizations exchanging information and materials.

Environmental non-governmental organizations committing advocacy focuses on selected issues. The issues are selected based on interests of Environmental non-governmental organizations. One of the issue that selected by environmental non-governmental organizations is Indonesia palm oil. However, most of previous studies did not emphasized the existence on environmental non-governmental. Some research emphasized on economic impact of oil palm plantation expansion. For example, the development of palm oil increases the household income of farmers [4] and communities around the plantation [5]. On the other hand, the development of oil palm plantations has a negative impact on the environment. The negative environmental impact of the expansion of palm oil plantations is a decrease in the number of wildlife populations [6], increased carbon dioxide emissions [7], potential flooding [8] and water scarcity [9]. Previous studies have shown that negative environmental impacts are not only experienced by local people [10]. In addition, the study found that the growth of palm oil plantations changed social structures. This is marked by the emergence of new minorities [11]. To solve this problem, oil palm governance was established. Previous research has criticized the governance of palm oil siding with one party [12], [13].

A series of research on palm oil is growing. Some research focuses on developing narratives in studying the issue of palm oil. Several studies appear to emphasize the growth of the palm oil industry in the development narrative. The narrative explains how the ministry as a government agent regulates the growth of the palm oil industry through legislation [14]. Other research found that the narrative of palm oil development contradicts the reality faced by communities faced by local communities [15]. The research found that development narratives are used without reflecting on the complexities faced by local communities. In addition, previous research found that the narrative of palm oil issue between environmental non-governmental organizations and peasants had different interests [16]. Both of interest often intersect with each other. This article focuses on the development of narratives used by environmental non-governmental organizations, how the issue of palm oil is projected as a form of threat to the environment. This article uses the concept of strategic narrative. The narrative is considered as a form of strategy that projects the interests and identity of actors. By studying narratives, this research found a connection between palm oil issues and other environmental issues.

2. Narrative as Part of Strategy

In the development of international politics, the narrative has an important role in describing the socio-political phenomenon. The narrative is a reflection of the behavior of political actors. A developing narrative carries the values and interests of political actors [13], [17]. The narrative does not necessarily appear, it comes through the communication process[18], [19]. The communication process allows shared meaning between political actors. Political actors try to describe phenomenon according to the reality that experienced or believed. In other words, the narrative is not fiction. The narrative is a part of a reality that is owned by political actors.

Political actors constructed narrative based on the reality that happened in the past, present and possibly in the future[18], [20].

International politics is a battleground for narratives. The international political system is determined by the dominant of narrative of a political actors. To understand socio-political phenomena, the development of narratives needs to be understood. Narrative is not just a fairy tale from political actors. Narrative can be used as a weapon. Weapons of political actors to suppress targets to achieve goals[17], [21]–[23]. Over time, understanding of the narrative is necessary to understand the development of international politics. Disagreement in international politics is not only marked by coercive action. The international political system is also characterized by a battle of ideas between political actors[19]. Each political actor tries to develop the reality of an ideal system based on their own identities and interests[17], [18], [24]. The development of information technology supports the creation of new forms of ecology. The ecology is known as "new media ecology" where the internet has an important role in distributing narratives[18], [19].

The existence of narrative is interpreted as a part of non-material power or soft power. A new form of power that emphasizes the ability to influence targets without being coercive[17], [21], [23]. Political actors use representations of reality based on their views. Manifested representations not only explain how phenomena occur. Political actors represent phenomena as part of the reality of the target [21], [22]. This is done by emphasizing how big the threat might be faced by the target. In addition, political actors use collective value to attract the sympathy of the target[17]. The use of words in representing reality is very influential on the success of the narrative[21]. Therefore, emotional elements need to be added to increase persuasion. The depiction of the relationship between targets and political actors as a whole is a form of emotional element[23]. Based on this explanation, narrative can be assessed as a form of political actor strategy. Narrative can be perceived as a framework that symbolizes the ideal goals, obstacles and ideal reality of political actors[19]. In addition, studying narrative can explain the position and dynamics that experienced by political actors.

3. Methods

This article uses content analysis by focusing on articles and publications on Greenpeace Indonesia's and WWF Indonesia's official websites. The research is limited to articles and publications that discuss the issue of Indonesian palm oil, Greenpeace (2007-2018) and WWF (2003-2018).

4. Environmental Non-Governmental Organization Narration

4.1 Greenpeace Narration

Palm oil issue has been part of Greenpeace campaign since 2006. Greenpeace recognized the expansion of palm oil plantation is the main causes of increasing the amount of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. An increase in the amount of carbon dioxide is caused by deforestation and peatland fires[25]. If the problem is not taken seriously, it can have an impact on increasing the earth temperature. The increase of earth temperature is not only experienced

by local residents, but all the world's population will also feel the impact of the increase in earth temperature [26]. The increase of earth temperature will directly affect climate condition. Greenpeace emphasized that increasing the amount of oil palm plantation would certainly reduce the area of forest and peatlands [25]. Greenpeace refers to the Guinness book of world record 2008 that Indonesia as a one of country that has the world's fastest deforestation rate. The Guinness book of world record 2008 notes that every year the destruction of Indonesia's forests occurs every 1.8 million hectares in the period 2000 to 2005 [27]. The high rate of Indonesia's forests destruction makes Indonesia one of the contributors to greenhouse gas emissions up to 25 percent from the process of forest land clearing [27].

In 2007, Greenpeace began to place more serious attention on the development of oil palm plantations. In carrying out the action, Greenpeace Indonesia decided to conduct a Forest Defender Camp (FDC) activity. This activity was held to study the impact of the expansion of oil palm plantations on the environment. The activity was held in the middle of PT. Duta Palma Nusantara oil palm plantation, Riau[28]. Greenpeace found that PT. Duta Palma and its subsidiary corporation are responsible for peat forest fires[29]. Peat forest is one of the natural ecosystems that needs to be protected. Greenpeace emphasizes that peat forests have high carbon stocks. Greenpeace estimates that Riau's peatlands have 14.6 billion tons of carbon[30]. In its "cooking the climate" report, Greenpeace explained that international companies had an involvement in the agenda of destroying Indonesia's peat forests. International companies take advantage of nature by promoting biofuels. Biofuels are narrated as new fuels that are more environmentally friendly than diesel fuel[31]. In fact, the narrative is only used to increase economic profit only. Increasing the use of biofuels can lead to highest number of deforestation or peatland fires. Greenpeace assesses the way to minimize the effects of climate change is to restore forests and peatlands. Greenpeace emphasizes that forests and peatlands have an important role in stabilizing the earth's temperature. By restoring forest and peatland, earth temperature can be reduced by -2°C [32].

The development of the palm oil industry also has a negative impact on biodiversity. One of the biodiversity that is threatened is orangutan. Greenpeace reports that the distribution of orangutan habitat has decreased in Kalimantan since 1999[33]. The main cause of the decline in orangutan habitat is reduced forest land. Orangutans are animals that fully depend on the forest. The loss of forest land makes life increasingly isolated. In addition, the reduced number of orangutan populations is due to attacks by palm oil plantation workers. Greenpeace found that more than 5 concessions of Unilever suppliers were built in orangutan habitat[33]. At present, the existence of a Central Kalimantan orangutan can be found in certain locations along the border between oil palm plantations[34]. In the latest report, the Kalimantan-Sumatran orangutan population is estimated to be less than 150,000[35]. The decline in population is also experienced by Sumatran tigers. In 2013, the presence of the Sumatran tiger population was estimated at 400[36]. Reduced tiger population due to conversion of forests into plantations. Palm oil plantations are estimated to be responsible for the loss of 15 percent of Sumatran tiger habitat[36]. The loss of Sumatran tiger habitat lead to conflict between tigers and humans. This conflict occurs because tigers cannot find food sources. This conflict directly impacts on the decline in tiger population.

Greenpeace explained that the expansion of industrial land for palm oil and forestry led to the reduction of one of the rare tree species, such as *Ramin* (*Gonystylus bancanus*). *Ramin* has a high sale value in the international wood market. *Ramin* is used as a raw material for household furniture, such as chairs, tables and wardrobes. Over time, the presence of *ramin* is increasingly

threatened due to illegal logging practices and the expansion of palm oil fields. *The International Union for Conservation and Nature* (IUCN) categorizes *ramit* as an endangered rare plant[37]. In addition, the action of expanding palm oil plantations threatens the productivity of other plantations, such as rice[38]. Rice is the staple food of the majority of Indonesia's population. Over time, this condition can threaten Indonesia's food security.

Greenpeace considers that the issue of palm oil directly affect people's lives. Greenpeace found that the existence of oil palm plantations was detrimental to the local community. The conversion of forest functions into oil palm plantations closed the livelihoods of local community around area of plantation. Greenpeace refers to the fact that 70 percent of West Kalimantan's Kapuas river water polluted by palm oil plantation waste[35]. Decrease quality of water causes the community unable to catch fish or consume water. In addition, negative impacts are also experienced by the Papuan people. The existence of palm oil plantations eliminated the staple food of the local community, namely sago[39]. Papuan people are also threatened with the loss of other sources of life, such as nipah. Nipah is known by the people of Papua as the basic material to build houses[39].

Greenpeace describes the forest is an important for living creatures. Forests play an important role as climate regulators[32]. However, the growth of the palm oil and forestry industry makes forests vulnerable to dry season and fires. Every year, the dry season increases the potential for forest fires. This condition is exacerbated by the deliberate burning of peatlands due to the expansion of palm oil plantations. To solve this problem, the role of industrialized countries as consumers of Indonesian palm oil is important. Industrial countries also enjoy economic benefits from the expansion of Indonesia's palm oil plantations. This statement refers to the fact that industrial countries play a role in granting licenses to Indonesian palm oil consumer companies. Strengthen industrial state regulations regarding consumption patterns of palm oil could be one problem solving[40], [41]. In addition, Greenpeace emphasized that the climate change issue is part of a shared responsibility. Greenpeace is encouraging industrialized countries to provide funding for forest conservation through the *Forest For Climate (FFC)* mechanism. *Forest For Climate (FFC)* is an international funding mechanism as a solution to reduce carbon emissions and tropical deforestation[42]. Greenpeace estimates that each year the conservation of Indonesia's tropical forests is US\$ 15-30 billion[43]. Therefore, international funding is needed in efforts to conservation forests due to the growth of the palm oil and forestry industries.

Greenpeace recognizes the importance of the awareness of palm oil business people on environmental and social impacts. To make palm oil business aware, Greenpeace publishes a report related to the involvement of palm oil consumer companies in deforestation and peatland fires. The report is intended to put pressure on palm oil consumer companies to improve supplier company behavior[35], [44]. Therefore, Greenpeace emphasized the importance of palm oil consumer companies to find out the practices of palm oil plantation companies. In addition, Greenpeace is aware of the important role of smallholder farmers in the Indonesian palm oil industry[45]. In order to achieve the national target for palm oil, developing the potential of smallholder farmers can be one solution. The potential of smallholder farmers is hampered due to lack of knowledge about management techniques and management. By providing knowledge to smallholder farmers, the productivity of palm oil will increase. In addition, deforestation and peatland fires will be reduced.

The financial sector, especially banking, has a role behind the bad practices of palm oil supplier companies. The role of the financial sector by providing loans to palm oil supplier companies[36], [46]. The financial sector indirectly supports deforestation and peatland fires. Greenpeace emphasized that the financial sector should providing loans or investments based on the zero deforestation, zero destruction of peatlands policy. In addition, public awareness is needed to stop bad palm oil practices. The public as a customer has an important role in the development of the palm oil industry. Public pressure can drive palm oil suppliers and consumers to follow sustainable principles. Greenpeace invites the public to contribute as an online activist by filling petitions to palm oil consumer companies[47]. Besides that, Greenpeace encourages the public to be more critical in choosing processed palm oil products.

4.2 WWF Narration

WWF narrates the development of the palm oil plantation industry as environmental impacts. Environmental impacts directly affect the development of biodiversity. Since 2003, WWF has noted that the development of palm oil plantations has resulted in conflicts between wildlife and humans. Sumatran elephant is one of the endangered wildlife. Riau is one of the areas that is experiencing environmental impacts from the development of oil palm plantations. WWF noted that the remaining Riau forests are 25 percent, 10 percent of which are suitable forests for Sumatran elephant habitat. The loss of habitat makes Sumatran elephants forced to enter residential areas. Lack of access to food sources makes Sumatran elephants consume agricultural products from residents. Because of that, Sumatran elephants are often poisoned or killed. Residents assume the existence of the Sumatran elephant as an agricultural pest. This condition causes the Sumatran elephant population to decrease every year. In 2004, WWF estimated the Sumatran elephant population around 350[48]. On the other hand, WWF noted the economic benefits derived from the development of palm oil plantations in elephant habitat were not proportional with economic losses. Riau is estimated to suffer a loss of 900 billion annually [49]. The amount is almost as big as the Riau regional income and expenditure budget for 1 year [49]. Economic losses are caused by the entry of Sumatran elephants into residential and plantation areas.

The decline in population is also experienced by other wildlife, such as orangutans. WWF refers to the 1993 IUCN data which states that around 80 percent of Sumatra orangutan habitat has been lost [50]. Orangutan habitat has been replaced by the development of plantation industries, such as palm oil. The loss of habitat makes orangutans live in limited space. Orangutans lose the forest as a place to live and a source of life. This certainly affects the development of the orangutan population. WWF considers that the orangutan population is at an endangered level. In addition, habitat destruction causes conflicts between orangutans and humans. Conflicts occur due to the entry of orangutan populations into palm oil plantations. The loss of food sources forced orangutans to consume oil palm fruit [51].

WWF found that the existence of palm oil plantations not only threatens forest ecosystems, but also river ecosystems. One wildlife whose population is threatened is Irrawaddy dolphin. Recent data states that Irrawaddy dolphin has a low population level. In one year, the Irrawaddy dolphin population only increased by eight [52]. One factor driving the low population of the Irrawaddy dolphin is the development of oil palm plantations. WWF argues that the development of palm oil plantations is eliminating the place where Irrawaddy dolphin breeds. In addition, river ecosystems are found to be polluted due to toxic waste produced from palm oil production. The declining quality of river ecosystems also affects the development of other

fish species as a source of food. WWF found that the expansion of palm oil plantation is damaging watershed ecosystems. Damage to watershed ecosystems directly affects the quality of water sources. This problem affects the cost of producing clean water. People are forced to pay more to get clean water [53]. In addition, the economic activity of the community is disrupted. The community cannot use the river as a transportation route and as a source of daily life necessities[54]. The most significant environmental impact is the absence of water absorption. The absence of water absorption causes the area around the river prone to flooding[55].

WWF realizes that the issue of palm oil cannot be separated from the issue of forest conservation. WWF narrates the forest as the source of life for all living creatures. Human, animal and plant life is directly dependent on the forest [56]. In fact, exploitation of forests often occurs. One form of forest exploitation is land use change. The function of forest land has been transferred to support economic development. Palm oil plantations are one example of land use change. Since 2003, WWF has predicted that the development of palm oil plantations threatens forests. The statement was confirmed by the land expansion activities carried out by palm oil plantations. Evidence of changes in the function of forests into palm oil lands can be found in Riau. WWF reports that palm oil plantations are undertaking land expansion efforts. In the 2003-2012 period, WWF stated that around 52,266.5 ha of Tesso Nilo forest had been turned into oil palm plantations, 15,714 ha were within the national park area [57]. WWF narrates the forest as a "bank" that holds "savings" for the lives of indigenous peoples [58]. The use of the word "bank" symbolizes the function of the forest as a source of community life. Therefore, forest conservation action is very necessary. The conversion of forest functions into palm oil plantations directly eliminates the existence of indigenous peoples.

WWF emphasizes that palm oil plantations contribute to climate change. The widespread growth of non-sustainable palm oil plantations worsens climate conditions. In other words, WWF criticizes the actions of deforestation and peatland destruction carried out by palm oil plantations. The statement referred to the fact that Kalimantan's deforestation contributed to an increase in global carbon emissions by 20 percent [59]. Therefore, WWF encourages the restoration of forests and peatlands as an effort to tackle climate change. Besides that, WWF states that palm oil plantations are responsible for forest and peatland fires. For example, the Riau forest fire in July 2006. WWF found that oil palm plantations contributed to the emergence of 295 hot spots or 20.79 percent in Riau [60]. Peatland fires contribute 45 percent of greenhouse gas emissions[61]. WWF emphasizes that the impacts of climate change due to the expansion of palm oil are experienced by orangutans[62]. The orangutan population is decreasing with the increasing bad practices of palm oil plantations. Forest and peatland fires cause a rise in temperature affecting the food sources of orangutans. In addition, rising temperatures cause the growth of diseases and new pests attacking the orangutan's immune system. WWF found the loss of orangutans was also caused by natural factors, such as flood. WWF emphasized that flood can occur due to damage to watershed ecosystems due to the expansion of palm oil plantation.

The strength of the economic narrative drives actions to change the function of forest land into palm oil plantations. This action directly makes the lives of smallholder farmers dependent on oil palm fruit production. Meanwhile, WWF is aware that the length of the harvest and fluctuations in the price of fresh fruit bunch yields affect the income of smallholder farmers [63]. Solutions are needed to avoid economic problems that result in expansion of oil palm plantations. WWF assesses the importance of communities developing other natural potentials.

This action can be carried out by planting several types of plants that have a sale value, such as rubber, psidium guajava and gold dwarf orinoco [64]. In addition, WWF emphasized that the potential of livestock commodities that can still be developed. In general, WWF found that the development of the Indonesian palm oil industry minored smallholder farmers. Smallholder farmers have a small chance to enter the market [65]. In fact, 40 percent of palm oil production comes from 76 percent of the yield of smallholder farmers[66]. This condition often makes the reason for the expansion of palm oil. Therefore, WWF emphasizes the importance of embracing smallholder farmers in order to achieve sustainable palm oil.

To deal with the problem of palm oil, WWF realizes the important role of palm oil business players. Transformations in production and consumption patterns are needed to reach the goal. The certification scheme is one of the ways proposed by WWF. WWF believes that the certification scheme can be a platform that unites the interests of palm oil business players without eliminating environmental and social factors. WWF actively encourages business people to become part of the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* and *Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO)* certification schemes[67], [68]. In addition, WWF described the certification scheme specifically *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* as a concrete commitment to the palm oil business. WWF emphasizes as a member of the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* palm oil business players are bound by an agreement to carry out the practice of managing products and plantations based on sustainable principles [57]. Besides that, WWF is of the opinion that the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* and *Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO)* certification schemes can become instruments of Indonesia's palm oil competitiveness [69]. This opinion refers to the fact that global consumer demand for environmentally friendly products. In other words, the certification scheme opens the way for palm oil business players to the global market. In addition, WWF explained that through the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* and *Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO)* certification programs, businesses could optimize their potential through information related to plantation practices and palm oil management.

To support the transformation of palm oil production patterns, WWF considers the role of financial institutions is needed. Financial institutions indirectly support the bad practices of expanding palm oil plantations. Evidence is supported by the discovery of a flow of funds provided by international banks in bad practices of palm oil producer companies [70]. WWF expects increased responsibility from financial institutions. Financial institutions should not only act as a channel of funds, but also act as a supervisor of the flow of funds. WWF emphasizes the provision of loan, investment or funds should adhere to environmental, social and governance principles[71]. By adhering to these three basic principles, the behavior of palm oil business players can change towards sustainable principles. In addition, WWF does not deny the existence of the public as consumers of processed palm oil products. WWF views the public as the strongest actor in suppressing the actions of palm oil business players [72]. The public has the power to ask for sustainable palm oil products. Therefore, public awareness is needed to achieve sustainable palm oil.

5. Discussions

Greenpeace and WWF use narratives as part of an advocacy strategy. Each issue of palm oil is highlighted for specific objectives. Operation targets are determined based on highlighted

issues and socio-political conditions. Socio-political conditions are the main element influencing the selection of highlighted issues - see Tablet 1 and Tablet 2. In general, both environmental non-governmental organizations look at the issue of palm oil in one lens. The issue of palm oil is considered as a form of threat to the environment and the welfare of local communities. This problem cannot be solved independently. Both environmental non-governmental organizations emphasized the importance of multi-shareholder partnership in dealing with the palm oil issue. The differences between both environmental non-governmental organizations can be seen from the way they project problems and position themselves. The differences between both environmental non-governmental organizations do not distinguish the ideal reality. Both environmental non-governmental organizations have the same ideal reality which is the preservation of Indonesia's forests and peatlands. This research found that two main components in the narrative strategy between Greenpeace and WWF. First, the complexity of the problem of palm oil. Second, the target's role in resolving the issue of palm oil.

Table 1. Greenpeace Narrative of Palm Oil 2007-2018

Timeline	Social-Political Condition	Highlighted Issue	Explanation	Aim	Target
2007-2008	Increasing demand for Palm Oil, SBY's statement at the Japan G8 meeting: intersect half of Indonesia's emissions in 2009	Climate Change Issue	The increasing amount of greenhouse emissions is due to the expansion of oil palm plantations in forests and peatlands.	Encouraging the government's commitment to dealing with the climate issue.	Indonesia Government, Oil Palm Consumer Companies
2008	Development plan: the road construction Trans Papua-West Papua	Indigenous people rights Issue	Development policy: The road construction of Trans Papua-West Papua threatens the source of life of the local community.	Increasing awareness of the importance of forests for the lives of local people.	Indonesia Government

2009-2010	Postponement of the moratorium plan	Forest Conservation Issue	An important role of multi-stakeholders is needed to stop the bad practices of the palm oil industries.	Encouraging multi-stakeholder partnerships to stop acts of destruction of forests and peatlands.	Indonesia Government, Oil Palm Consumer States, Oil Palm Consumer Companies, Supplier Oil Palm Companies, Public
2011-2012	Moratorium Policy	Forest Conservation Issue	The forest moratorium policy does not fully reflect the Indonesian government's commitment to stopping deforestation.	Encouraging government commitment to address the issue of deforestation.	Indonesia Government
2012-2013	Finding: increasing illegal expansion of oil palm plantation	Sustainable Development Issue	The involvement of the multi-parties in achieving sustainable palm oil has not been optimal, strengthening commitments and practices is needed.	Implementation sustainable principles in palm oil industries.	Indonesia Government, Oil Palm Consumer Companies, Supplier Oil Palm, Scientist, Non-Governmental Organization, Public
2013-2014	Report: fire hotspot is on palm oil plantation	Wildlife population decrease issue	Deforestation and peatland fire due to expanding palm oil plantations threatens the	Increasing consumer awareness of sustainable palm oil products	Indonesia Government, Oil Palm Consumer Companies, Supplier Oil Palm, Public,

			existence of wildlife (orangutans and tigers).		Financial Sector
2014-2016	Report: 40% of Riau's three quarters fire hotspots in peatlands	Restoration Peatland Issue	The high level of peatland fires is caused by drainage and deforestation actions carried out by the palm oil industries.	Encouraging the Indonesian government to take action peatlands conservation	Indonesia Government, Oil Palm Consumer Companies, Supplier Oil Palm, Public, Financial Sector
2017-2018	Report: increased conversion of forest and peatland functions into palm oil plantations in the moratorium area	Forest and peatland Fire Issue	The moratorium policy is not effective, the practice of burning forests and peatlands is still carried out due to of expanding oil palm plantations.	Encouraging the adoption of concrete practices to stop deforestation and peatland fires	Indonesia Government, Oil Palm Consumer Companies, Supplier Oil Palm, Public, Financial Sector

Table 2. WWF Narrative of Palm Oil

Timeline	Social-Political Condition	Highlighted Issue	Explanation	Aim	Target
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2003-2004	The rise of conflict between wildlife and humans in Riau	Wildlife population decrease issue	The development of the palm oil industry has led to the loss of wildlife habitats (Sumatran elephants and Sumatran Tigers). Habitat loss causes conflicts between humans and wildlife. This condition leads to a decrease population of wildlife.	Make the community aware of the impact of the disappearance of wildlife habitat.	Indonesia Government, Local Community
2005-2007	forest fires 2005: 90% of forest and peat fires in Riau international conference on climate and biodiversity	Forest conservation Issues	Decreased amount of forestry land, especially conservation high value forests.	Increasing awareness of the importance of forests and peatlands for the life of living creatures.	Indonesia Government, Local community
2009	Bangkok Climate Change Conference (September 28 – October 8)	Climate change Issue	The impact of climate change is getting worse due to forests and peatlands burning.	Encouraging the government's commitment to dealing with climate change issues.	Indonesia Government

2010-2014	WWF Report 2013: increasing illegal oil palm expansion in Riau	Sustainable Development Issue	The widespread practice of bad palm oil plantations is directly supported by a series of international trademarks.	Encouraging palm oil business players to implement sustainable principles.	Indonesia, Government, Oil Palm supplier companies, Oil palm consumer companies, Smallholder farmers
2014-2015	WWF Palm Oil Buyers Score Card 2013: 53% sustainable palm oil products is absorbed by global buyers.	Sustainable Development Issue	Consumption patterns that do not pay attention to sustainable principles contribute to the development of bad palm oil practices	Increasing consumer awareness of sustainable palm oil products.	Public
2016-2017	Aidenvironment Report 2017: The role of Nordic Banks investment in Indonesia's Palm Oil Deforestation.	Sustainable Development Issue	Financial institutions, especially banks, have an indirect role in forest burning and deforestation.	Suppress the funding channel for bad practices of palm oil industries.	Financial Institutions
2017-2018	Joko Widodo's program: Replanting palm oil	Economic dependence Issue	Dependence on palm oil production can weaken the community's economy and lead to poverty.	Community empowerment and reducing possibility of forest land loss to oil palm plantations.	Local community

5.1 The Complexity of Palm Oil Issue

The issue of palm oil is a complex issue, solutions cannot be done by one actor. Greenpeace and WWF emphasized the importance of collaboration between palm oil business players and

related institutions. The complexity of this problem lies in the lack of awareness of the behavior of the palm oil business about environment and local communities. WWF and Greenpeace are aware of economic interests as main motive of palm oil business behavior. WWF underlined that the awareness of local communities, especially smallholder farmers is one of the main solutions[66], [73]. Local communities as actors who experience the direct impact of the expansion of palm oil plantations. Local communities need to be aware of the impact of bad palm oil practices on the environment. Local communities must have the awareness that forests do not only belong to humans. The forest is a place for wildlife and plant life. Therefore, conflict between humans and wildlife is not the fault of wildlife. Conflict between humans and wildlife is caused by human selfishness. Meanwhile, Greenpeace emphasizes the role of palm oil supplier companies as the main source of deforestation and peat fires. Greenpeace demands the awareness of palm oil supplier companies to practice sustainable principle.

In fact, the commitment of palm oil supplier companies cannot be trusted. The high global demand for palm oil is the main reason for the expansion of plantations. The International certification schemes *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* and *Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO)* cannot solve the problem. The majority of palm oil consumer companies do not check the source of palm oil supplier companies. In addition, most of palm oil consumer companies refuse to publish information and data of palm oil plantation supplier company practices[74]. The high cost of *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* and *Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO)* certification is the reason some palm oil supplier companies and smallholder farmers are not bound by sustainable principle commitments[68]. Besides that, the uncertainty of the nominal economic benefits gained from applying the principle of sustainable palm oil is the reason. Practice deforestation and peatland fires practices promise huge profits with low capital. On the other hand, international fund for the restoration of Indonesia's forests is not proportional to the amount of forest land lost[75]. This condition is exacerbated by the existence of corrupt practices in the Ministry of Forestry and Environment[76]. The actual practice of restoring forests and peatlands is not carried out by the Indonesian government. The Indonesian government does not provide law enforcement to stop bad practices of palm oil industry[77].

5.2 The Role of Target in Palm Oil Issue

As member of *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)*, WWF places the palm oil business players as the main target of advocacy. WWF encourages palm oil business players to be part of the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)*. By becoming a part of the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)*, palm oil business players expressed their commitment to carry out sustainable palm oil practices. In fact, WWF found that the bad practices of palm oil still exist within the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* international certification scheme. To encourage the commitment of palm oil business players, WWF believes that there is a need to increase public awareness of sustainable palm oil products[72]. This condition will strengthen the commitment of palm oil business players. Meanwhile, Greenpeace argued that the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* international certification scheme did not stop bad palm oil practices. This statement is based on the *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO)* member palm oil bad practices report. Besides that, sanctions for membership removal are not effective. The palm oil business players

is still doing practice deforestation and burning peatlands[78]. Greenpeace considers that the commitment of palm oil business behavior cannot be trusted.

Therefore, Greenpeace encourages the increasing role of the Indonesian government in the palm oil issue. The Indonesian government needs to take action in making laws that regulate the protection of forests and peatlands[79]. Forest protection is not only given to primary forests, but also secondary forests and industrial forest plantations. In addition, the Government of Indonesia is expected to make legislation explaining the real practices of the conservation of forests and peatlands[77]. To stop the bad practices of the palm oil and forestry industry, Greenpeace emphasizes the importance of law enforcement against environmental criminals. Greenpeace considers strengthening the coordination of the Indonesian National Police and the Ministry of Forestry and the Environment in dealing with environmental criminals[80]. Greenpeace demands transparency of data and information related to forests and natural resources[81]. Transparency of data and information facilitates the role of the community in monitoring the state of Indonesia's forests and natural resources. Greenpeace pressured the government to implement a *One map* policy as a source of information on forest land ownership[82]. *One map* policy enables people and government of Indonesia know the actors behind deforestation and the burning of peat lands.

6. Conclusion

This article shows that in conducting a campaign on the issue of palm oil, environmental non-governmental organizations use narratives as a strategy. In order to achieve its objectives, Greenpeace and WWF select highlighted issues based on socio-political conditions. The selection of highlighted issues was carried out to illustrate the urgency of the Indonesian palm oil problem. Highlighted Issue does not eliminate other environmental issues. The selection of highlighted issue is used to get the attention of the target.

The research found that to achieve sustainable palm oil, Greenpeace and WWF encountered obstacles. These obstacles are inseparable from economic interests. The palm oil industry is still one of Indonesia's main commodities. The failure of the Greenpeace and WWF narrative is that it cannot project the economic benefits of applying the principles of sustainable palm oil. The narrative of economic benefits delivered is still in a small context, such as the smallholder farmers.

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