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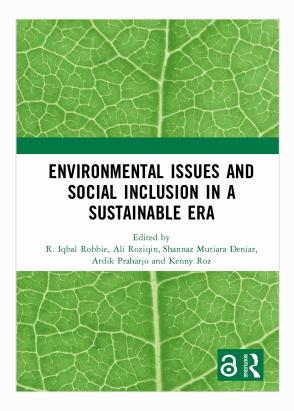
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# NAJAMUDDIN KHAIRUR RIJAL Global civil society vis-a-vis state and corporation The challenges of Greenpeace in reducing deforestation in Brazil

by Turnitin Instructor

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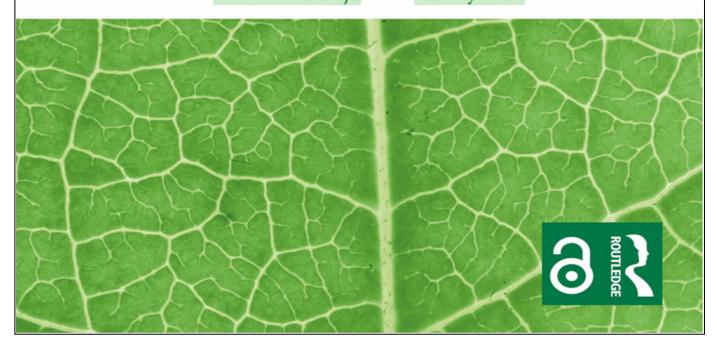
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## ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN A SUSTAINABLE ERA

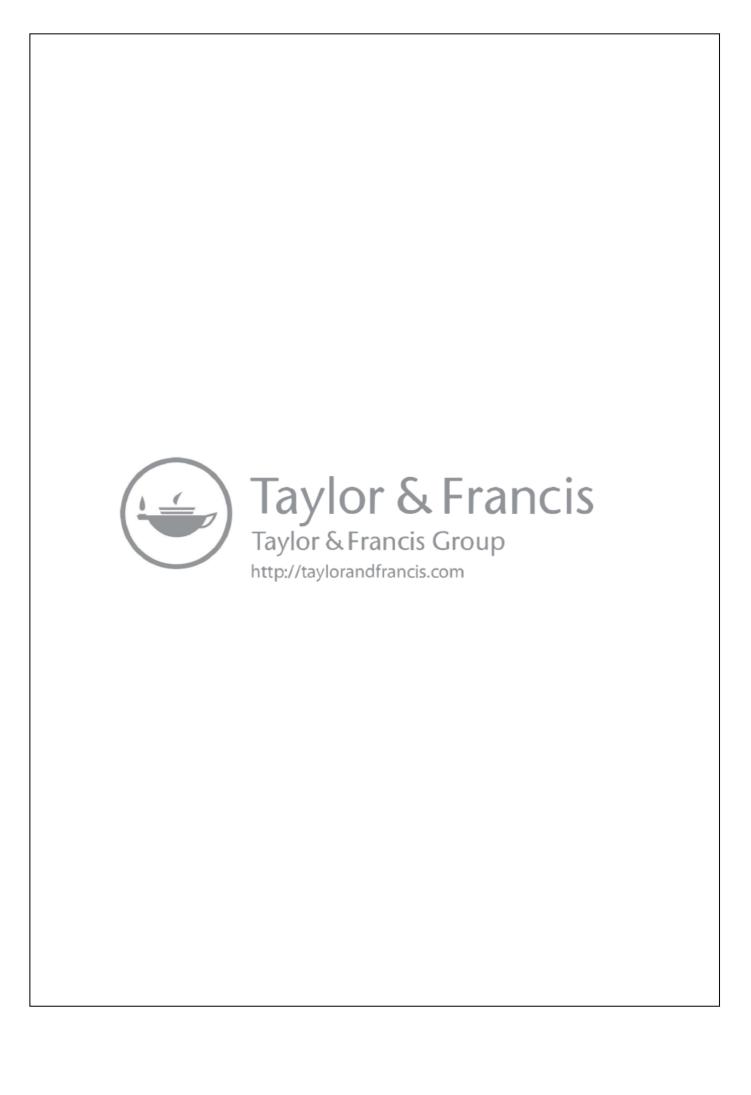
Edited by R. Iqbal Robbie, Ali Roziqin, Shannaz Mutiara Deniar, Ardik Praharjo and Kenny Roz



#### 5 ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN A SUSTAINABLE ERA

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and the Paris Climate Agreement are examples of initiatives where countries show recognition of their interconnected interests and goals. This is particularly evident in the case of global environmental issues because they require global decision-making. The emergence of global environmental issues such as climate change, marine pollution and biodiversity loss has brought new challenges to governance and requires political support and innovation of global public policies. In addition, many social problems arise because of the environmental crisis.

Environmental Issues and Social Inclusion in a Sustainable Era discusses environmental and social inclusion from a socio-economic perspective. The contributions analyse the management of global environmental problems at local, national and international levels, with a special focus on multilevel governance, innovative public policies, and economic development finance and business.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES (ICHSOS 2022), MALANG, INDONESIA, 1-2 JULY 2022

## Environmental Issues and Social Inclusion in a Sustainable Era

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10

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#### Table of Contents

Preface Acknowledgements Committee Members Icientific Committee			
The implementation of sustainable energy policy in Indonesia:  New and renewable energy  Asep Nurjaman	1		
The effect of sustainability report disclosure on company value with profitability as a moderating variable Muhammad Wildan Affan & Kresnalan Wicaksana	7		
Human resources management: Bibliometric analysis of green training Nurul Asfiah, Ratya Shafira Arifiani & Titiek Ambarwati	16		
The performance measures of Islamic banking in Indonesia based on the Sharia Maqashid Index  Masiyah Kholmi, Adi Prasetyo & Tri Wahyu Oktavendi	21		
A zero-waste communication campaign on a vocational school environmental design through mural and signage  D. Trihanondo, T. Haryotedjo & D. Endriawan	32		
Indonesia green human resource management: A bibliometric analysis Khusnul Rofida Novianti & Aniek Rumijati	37		
Constructing green human capital concept for corporate sustainability: Interdisciplinary perspective Driana Leniwati & Mudrifah	43		
Superior and inferior: CSR, assurance CSR, performance and value of firm, and halo effects  Endang Dwi Wahyuni, Fahmi Dwi, Mawardi & Agung P.N. Wicaksono	56		
Fundamentals of peace education: Civic education and peacebuilding in Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM)  E. Ian Nasser & Berowa	70		
Does volunteer motivation affect the satisfaction of COVID-19 task force volunteers?  Immanuel Mu'ammal, Siti Nurhasanah & Lukman Dzulhilmi	88		
Marketing management: Bibliometric analysis of social media marketing during the COVID-19 pandemic  Robinst Divi Latniko & Rinaldy Achmad Roberth Fathoni	93		

sustainability  Chalimatuz Sa'diyah	99
MOTHAFAKA as a communication medium to raise sustainable eco-fashion F.M. Gasa, Y.A. Kusumawati & J.D. Nugroho	105
Jempol paten: A technology-based public service innovation Iradhad Taqwa Sihidi, Holifah, Salahudin & Ali Roziqin	115
Antecedent factors operations strategy and impact on performance: Indonesian construction case Fien Zulfikarijah, Baroya Mila Shanty & Tsabita Khwarazmita	128
The impact of product packaging, consumer knowledge, and celebrity endorsement on purchase intention mediated by consumer perceived value in the millennial mom segment <i>R.T. Herman &amp; Theresa Oeylianto</i>	143
EQO: Designing eco-friendly packaging using bagasse and rice husk waste Y.A. Kusumawati & J.C. Wijaya	152
Public sector innovation of local government to mitigate violence against women and children in Pasuruan Regency Ali Roziqin, Yusrin, Rahmawati, Asep Nurjaman & Yana S. Hijri	160
E-Siap as a public service innovation: An evaluation of efficiency and effectiveness  Lailatul Fajriyah, Krishno Hadi, Iradhat Taqwa Sihidi & Ali Roziqin	168
Consumer's behavior intention in using green skincare products Ardik Praharjo & Rahmad Wijaya	176
Green diplomacy as an effort by the Indonesian government in Realizing Net Zero Emission (NZE) in the year 2060 Haryo Prasodjo	184
The application of deep learning to predict Indonesian green banking stock Widhiyo Sudiyono	191
Occupation of palm plantation population to <i>Rombong Suku Rimba</i> in Dharmasraya, <i>Sumatra Barat</i> : domain analysis of rural settlements from transmigrant program <i>Ahmad Arrozy, Ali Roziqin &amp; Siti Muhibah</i>	199
The effect of spiritual leadership on organizational commitment through workplace spirituality and intrinsic motivation Mukrimah, Tri Wulida Afrianty & Arik Prasetya	208
Carbon emission disclosure and cost of capital in Indonesian Andanrani, Dwi Irawan, Ahmad Juanda & Sri Wibawani Wahyuning Astuti	220
What is the husband's role in supporting his working wife to be involved in social life?  Sowanya Ardi Prahara, Triana Noor Edwina Dewayani Soeharto & Muhammad WahyuKuncoro	231

A systematic review of smart eco-industrial park development: Environment policy based on the industrial area in Indonesia  Tri Sulistyaningsih & Umi Kulsum	245
Global civil society vis-a-vis state and corporation: The challenges of Greenpeace in reducing deforestation in Brazil  Najamuddin Khairur Rijal & Uswatun Hasanah	255
Islamic corporate governance, profitability, corporate social responsibility, and sustainability report disclosure  Siti Zubaidah & Pipit Diah Pratiwi	263
The theory of planned behavior examination on pro-environment consumer behavior: A study in Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan Indonesia Widayat, Helina Ade Putri, Sri Nastiti Andharini & Warsono	273
Analyzing the perceived understanding of public managers of data quality for data-driven decision-making at local government in Indonesia Djoko Sigit Sayogo, Sri Budi Cantika Yuli & Firda Ayu Amalia	283
The role of organizational citizenship behavior for environment (OCBE) in mediating the effect of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) on green performance Rizki Febriani & Sandra Irawati	289
Green supply chain management practice and competitive advantage: Evidence in SMEs Malang City Nazaruddin Malik & Kenny Roz	295
Halal tourism development (Literature perspective) Ratih Juliati & Yulist Rima Fiandari	301
Taiwan digital diplomacy association as new public diplomacy practice in the digital era Bima Jon Nanda	310
Online political trust in Anies Baswedan as a candidate for the President of Indonesia 2024  Luth, Rani Maswati & Tawakkal Baharuddin	317
Media and empowerment for sustainable production of coconut sugar in Banyumas Central Java 1 Agoeng Noegroho, Shinta Prastyanti, Bambang Widodo, Dwi Pangastuti Marhaeni & Wiwik Novianti	323
The role of corporate governance in moderating the effect of risk finance and intellectual capital on Islamic banks performance in Indonesia Indra Siswanti, Yusliza Mohd Yusoff, Yananto Mihadi Putra & Embun Prowanta	327
Big data and village's SDG-based development policy (Study in Terong Village, Kapanewon Dlingo, Bantul Regency, Yogyakarta)  Condrodewi Puspitasari, Fadjarini Sulistyowati, B. Hari Saptaning Tyas & MC. Candra R. Dibyorini	339

12	
The effect of company profitability, leverage, and size on carbon emission disclosure with environmental performance as a moderating variable (empirical study on manufacturing companies listed on the stock exchange in 2020) Dinda Galuh Efendy, Ihyaul Ulum & Aviani Widyastuti	347
Millennial generation mental health: Self-healing process and coping strategies in the time of the pandemic Moordiningsih, Sowanya Ardi Prahara & Angelina Dyah Arum Setyaningtyas	357
Government graphic design response to Covid-19 vaccination in Indonesia Aditya Dwi Putra Bhakti & Awan Setia Dharmawan	366
Pedestrian development in supporting sustainable community mobility Evi Satispi, Aulia Widyajasita & Dini Herliani	375
Murals: Art, politics, and democracy Analysis of Michel Foucault's discourse of power on the mural phenomenon "Jokowi 404: Not Found" Aditya Dwi Putra Bhakti	384
Author index	395

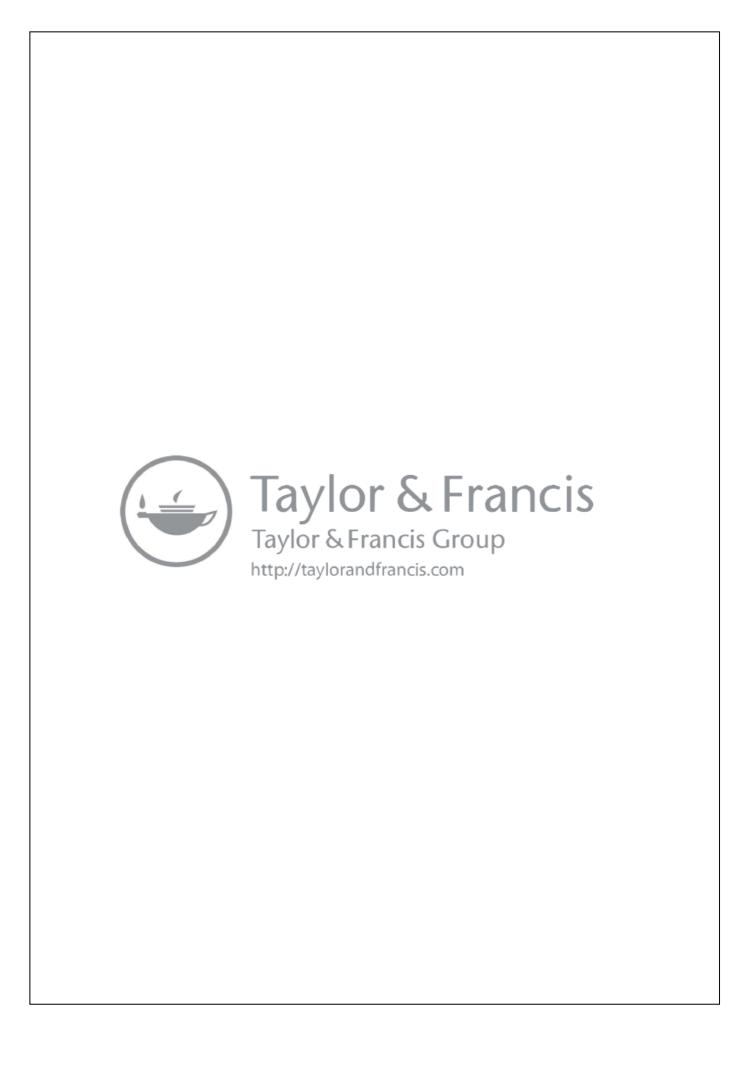
#### Preface

Today's societies face two major challenges: environmental sustainability and social inclusion. According to Brundtland Report 1987, sustainable development is defined as development that meets the nodes of the present without jeopardizing future generations' ability to meet their own needs. Scholars have increasingly argued for paying closer attention to the links between ecological and ocial sustainability and analyzing these challenges holistically. Three crucial connections should be highlighted. First, negative environmental impacts disproportionately affect poor and marginalized groups and individuals, as extensively researched in the environmental justice literature. Second, policies and measures that seek to lessen equironmental harm run the danger of having a relatively greater impact on society. Third, so their lifestyles are more materialistic, energy-intensive, and travel-intensive, wealthy countries or richer households and people within countries contribute a greater share to environmental issues like climate change and local air pollution.

In addition to socially inclusive, in all areas where there are cultural, economic, political, or other differences due to the presence of people and their unique method of settling in a nation or region, social inclusion must be understood as a component of human development. The notion of social leverage is based on the fundamental idea of social inclusion. This final idea primarily alludes to the work typically done by public institutions, whose primary goal is to socially and economically integrate social groups that exhibit a high level of vulnerability. These are low-income individuals and social organizations that are struggling to survive.

As contribution from academic discourse, The Faculty of Social and Political Sciences and the Faculty of Economic and Business, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang was held an international conference under the name, the Second International Conference on Humanities and Social Sciences (ICHSOS) 2022, on 1–2 July 2022, in Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, East Java, Indonesia. The conference was held hybrid (online and offline) due to the pandemic with keynote speaker by Dr. Siti Nurbaya, M.Sc, Minister of Environment and Forestry Republic of Indonesia and five main speakers Jewel Andoh, Ph.D. CSIR-Forestry Research Institute of Ghana, Dr. Nik Hazimah Bt. Nik Mat, Universiti Malaysia Trengganu, Malaysia, Alam Surya Putra, Deputy Director of Environmental Governance Unit, The Asia Foundation, Prof. Dr. Tri Sulistyaningsih, M.Si, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang and Prof. Djoko Sigit Sayogo, Ph.D., Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.

Under the theme entitled "Environmental Issues and Social Inclusion in Sustainable Era", the Conference gathered participants from various universities in Indonesia and other countries. The Inference accepted 90 articles to be presented. There were 45 articles inside the book series published by CRC Press Balkema, Taylor & Francis Group. Hopefully that the participants of the conference will be able to dissect problems, find solutions and get alternative perspectives in preventing about environmental issues and social inclusion.

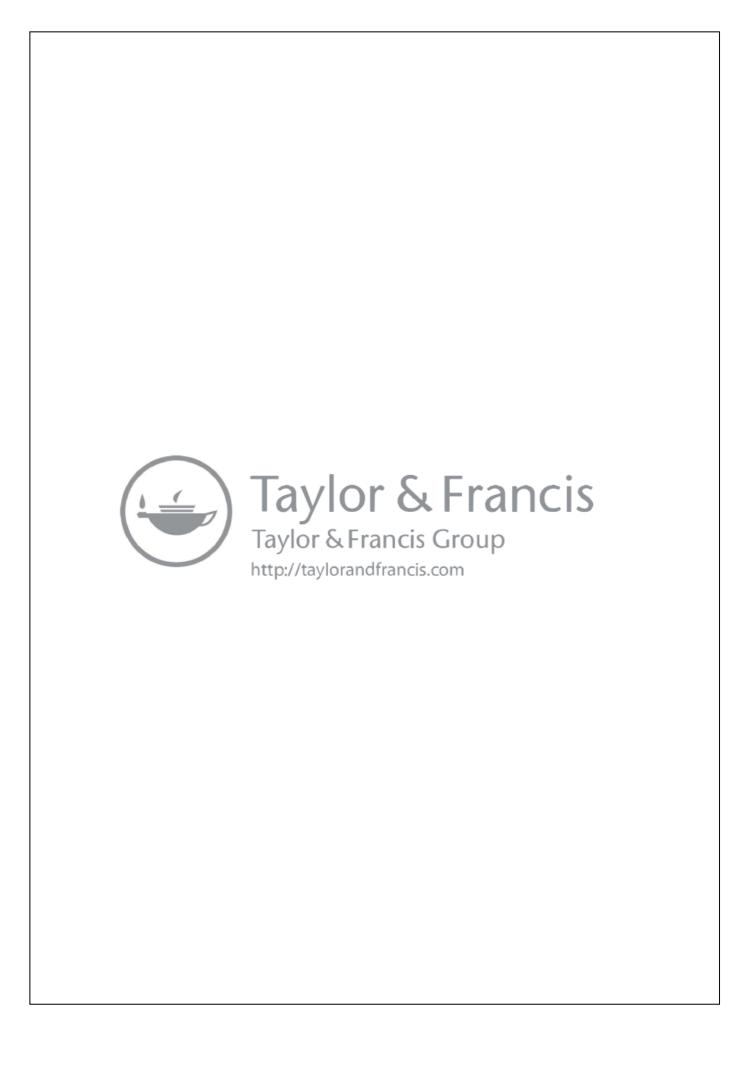


#### Acknowledgements

This book has been published. We would like to thank Rector of Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, who have supported to this event. This event is collaboration between the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, and the Faculty of Economic The Business. All articles in this book are the final version of the paper presented in the International Conference on Humanities and Social Sciences (ICHSOS) which was held on 1–2 July 2022 through an online and offline seminar. On behalf of the committee, we would also like to thank all keynote speakers and reviewers for the contribution and dedication for this conference. All article is this book has gone through the blind review process. Finally, we would like to thank for the committee, authors, participants, and all peoples who have supported in this conference.

We hope we meet again in the next conferences.

Malang, March 1, 2023 Organizer of ICHSOS 2022 Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang Indonesia



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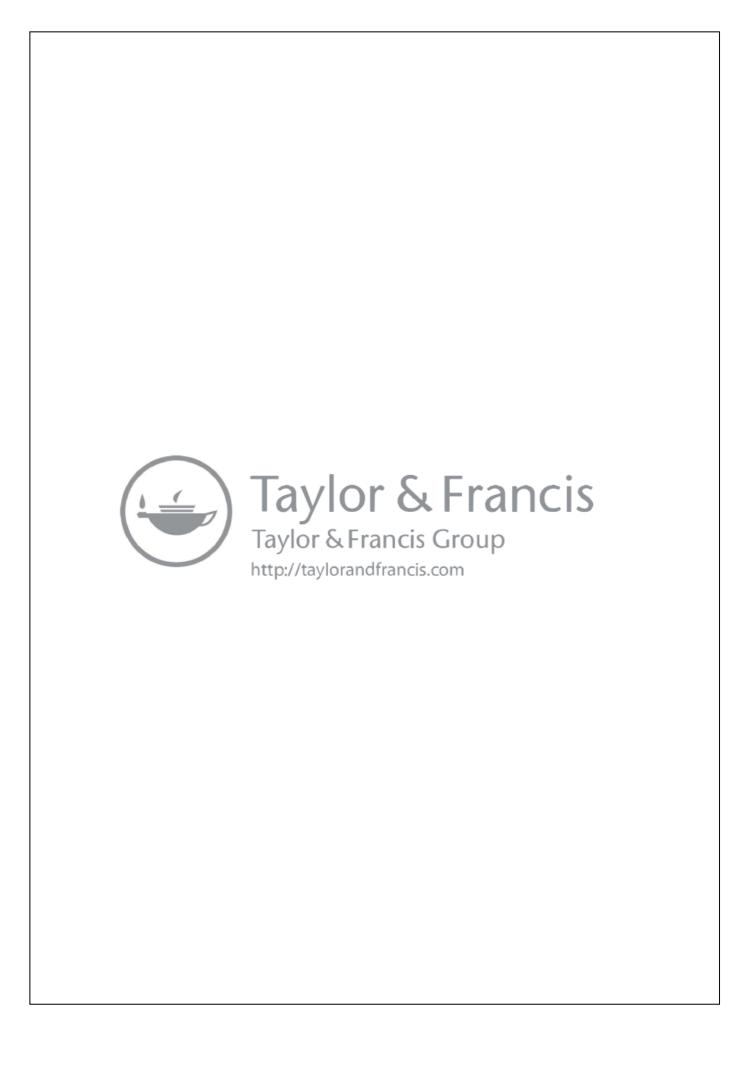
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### Global civil society vis-a-vis state and corporation: The challenges of Greenpeace in reducing deforestation in Brazil

Najamuddin Khairur Rijal\* & Uswatun Hasanah University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Malang, Indonesia

ABSTRACT: This study discusses the challenges of Greenpeace as a global civil society actor in suppressing the increase in deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon forest. The election of Jair Bolsonaro as president has caused an increase in deforestation rates compared to previous years. This is inseparable from Bolsonaro's vision of encouraging economic development through prodeforestation policies. This study uses a descriptive-qualitative approach. The data source comes from secondary data collected from the internet, such as journal articles, books, research reports, news, and other library materials relevant to research needs. Data analysis involves collection, condensation, display, and conclusion drawing. This study found that Greenpeace was faced with two things. First, pro-deforestation government policies. Second, the company's business activities are pro-deforestation, facilitated by state policies. This coalition between states and corporations is a challenge for Greenpeace in its efforts to reduce deforestation in the Amazon. In other words, the struggle that Greenpeace is fighting vis-a-vis with the state and corporations.

#### 1 INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the challenges faced by Greenpeace as a global civil society actor in overcoming deforestation in the Amazon forest in Brazil. These challenges relate to state policies oriented towards development and the economy by perpetuating deforestation. In addition, the interests of corporations in coalition with the government are increasingly preserving the occurrence of deforestation. In this regard, Greenpeace is faced with the state's political power and corporation's economic interests.

Deforestation in the Amazon forest is important because, as the largest forest in the world, the Amazon is the lungs of the world, the richest and most diverse biological reservoir (Petruzzello 2019). It covers an area of 5.5 million square kilometers, of which 60 percent is located in Brazil, and the rest is divided into eight other countries, namely, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Suriname, Guyana, and French Guiana (Save The Amazon Rainforest 2017).

Deforestation in the Amazon forest began in the 1990s and continues. In 2019 along with the election of Jair Bolsonaro as the 38th President of Brazil, there was an increase in deforestation in the Amazon forest with a percentage increase of almost 104% compared to 2018. This increase in deforestation rates was marked by a threefold increase in the rate of fires; National Institute for Space Research (INPE) noted that around 9,762 square kilometers of Amazon forest were dam-aged (Shamil 2019).

Bolsonaro's policy of wanting to restore the country's economy by abusing the use of the environment has triggered an increase in the number of forest fires. Bolsonaro even said that the Amazon forest is a limiting factor for economic growth and therefore needs to be cleared for commercial exploitation. Unfortunately, foreign companies, as well as local companies, are also involved in financing environmental exploitation.

<sup>\*</sup>Corresponding Author

Due to this fact, the international community, such as NGO actors and the environmentalist community have criticized Bolsonaro's policies because they are considered to support deforestation. The government only focuses on development rather than conservation. One of the actors vocally criticizes is Greenpeace, a global civil society actor that was established in 1970. Intending to make the earth green peacefully, Greenpeace adheres to basic values such as non-violence, independence, and having neither friends nor foes, trying to solve every problem (Greenpeace 2021). Regarding the Amazon forest, Greenpeace conducted an investigation into the Amazon forest in 1998 by collaborating with several communities in the Amazon. But along the way, efforts to suppress deforestation are faced with challenges.

This article aims to describe the challenges facing Greenpeace. The challenge in question is that Greenpeace has to deal with pro-deforestation state policies, which in turn preserves the involvement of various companies in environmental exploitation. The conceptual basis used is global civil society. Global civil society is a transnational actor who fights for the public interest universally (Scholte 1999). Therefore he is critical of various state policies that are not part of the government (the state). Therefore, it is critical of various state policies contrary to the public interest.

The discussion begins by describing the deforestation that occurs in the Amazon and Greenpeace's efforts to tackle deforestation. Next, two challenges from Greenpeace are presented: state policy and corporate involvement. These arguments are then discussed in the discussion section.

#### 2 METHODS

This study uses a descriptive-qualitative approach. The data source comes from secondary data collected from the internet, such as journal articles, books, research reports, new 11 nd other library materials relevant to research needs. Data analysis adopts what Miles, Huberman, and Saldana have stated data analysis involves four components, namely data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles *et al.* 2014).

#### 3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 Progress of deforestation in the Amazon forest

Deforestation is the clearing of forestland to turn it into agricultural land, animal development, using wood for fuel, manufacturing, and construction. Many factors can cause deforestation, both natural and human factors. Natural factors can be natural forest fires or diseases caused by parasites. However, human activities are a major factor in deforestation.

Population growth and migration in the Amazon forest indicate the beginning of deforestation around 1970–1996. Over time, deforestation is not only a matter of migration and population growth. Economic growth that is dynamic and dependent on primary industries with ever-increasing demand is an additional factor. The figure below shows fluctuations in deforestation from year to year.

During the reign of Lula da Silva (2003–2010), the deforestation rate showed a downward trend between 2009 and 2010. Conservation, sustainability, and population policies are at the core of the policies of this government. The election of Marina Silva and Carlos Minc as ministers of the environment builds a good image in society (de Castro 2014). President Lula also showed his seriousness and commitment to environmental policies that would allow a 36.1% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions and changes to agricultural systems by 38.9% and a reduction in deforestation in the Amazon forest by 80% (Comitelulalivre 2019).

However, during Dilma Rousseff's reign, deforestation in the Amazon forest increased after a decade of decline. This government policy prioritizes the development agenda over

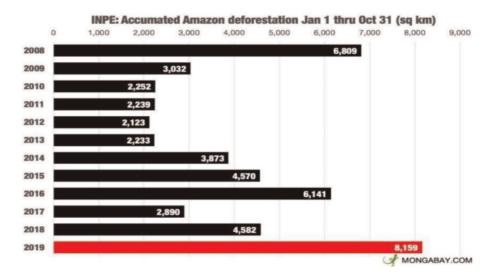


Figure 1. Deforestation from 2008-2019 (Butler 2020).

conservation, ultimately creating tension between civil society organizations and the state (de Castro & Motta 2015). The damage done by Dilma at the beginning of his tenure shows his lack of seriousness in addressing the deforestation problem in Brazil. Giving the "green light" for several controversial projects that damage the environment and people's lives (Branford 2019).

Jair Bolsonaro was elected on January 1, 2019. During his reign, the increase in deforestation was even greater. In August 2019 and 2020, Amazon forest destruction jumped by 9.5%. Bolsonaro admitted that from the start, he wanted to turn the Amazon into industrial and plantation land (Deutsche Welle 2021). Bolsonaro appears to be strongly championing industries that want access to the Amazon forest by undermining indigenous peoples' rights and reducing efforts to combat illegal burning because environmental regulations must be relaxed to build better economic growth (Simoes 2019).

#### 3.2 Greenpeace's efforts to tackle deforestation

Greenpeace's efforts to tackle deforestation in Brazil during the reign of Jair Bolsonaro include petitions, campaigns, and multi actors' cooperation. First, is the petition. The petition launched by Greenpeace is expected to have a great opportunity as a space for aspirations and to encourage the community to take an active role. Petition Save Amazon-Stand with the Guardians of the Amazon, for example, was aimed at a group of Indians in Brazil as a token of appreciation for risking their lives to save the Amazon. The second petition is Petition Industrial Meat is Destroying our Forest, the content of this petition is a form of voice for the Tesco company to stop buying products from the JBS company by replacing half the meat sold with plant foods.

The second, campaign, is the Greenpeace Fires Europe Guilty Campaign. Greenpeace calls for strong EU laws to ensure that no products that destroy forests or ecosystems are sold to Europe. In this campaign, Greenpeace also asked the European Union to reject the trade cooperation between the EU and Mercosur, which would accelerate deforestation in the Amazon forest (Perring 2020). Greenpeace also conducts campaigns through its official website and its various social media.

Greenpeace's next effort is in the form of a campaign video with the title "Countdown to Destruction, do you know where the food you eat comes from". The content of this video

campaign collaborates with Brazilian actress and producer Alice Braga to discuss the relationship between the food we eat every day and the climate crisis, which aims to discuss and explain the damaged food system and its impacts (Gorski 2020). Greenpeace also uses social media in carrying out its actions.

Third, the efforts made by Greenpeace are to cooperate with the European Union in protecting the Amazon forest. Greenpeace raised its voice by unfurling giant poster at the European Commission headquarters in Brussels to draw EU attention to deforestation in the region he European Union alone is responsible for 10% of global deforestation, finding that a fifth of soy and beef imported from Brazil comes from illegally deforested land.

Greenpeace also emphasized that the European Union carries strong laws to ensure that no products are sold in Europe that contribute to the destruction of ecosystems and that there are no human rights violations against the goods being traded (Frost 2020). Greenpeace also demands the government's commitment to funding the protection of nature and preserving natural resources, which means respect for the values of equal human rights (Greenpeace 2020).

In addition to collaborating with the European Union, Greenpeace also collaborates with indigenous peoples in the form of holding a tour entitled Advocacy Tour Indigenous Blood: Not a Single Day More. On this tour, ten indigenous leaders from five Brazilian regions took to Downing Street and demanded the British government support them in ending the bloodshed by suspending trade talks with Brazil. Greenpeace organizes advocacy tours to help indigenous leaders raise issues related to the Amazon through meetings with companies such as; Tesco, ASDA, Sainsbury's, Morrisons, Iceland and the British Retail Consortium, Nestlé, Unilever, and Mondelēz.

The efforts made by Greenpeace above show the seriousness of Greenpeace in dealing with the problem of deforestation. However, Greenpeace's efforts are faced with challenges because government policies have perpetuated environmental exploitation. At the same time, various companies are taking an important role in exploiting the natural resources of Amazon.

#### 3.3 The Greenpeace challenge: Pro-deforestation country policies

Three government policies affect the sustainability of deforestation in the Amazon forest. First, policies related to cutting agency budgets in the environmental sector. The policies approved by Jair Bolsonaro affected several environmental institutions, so they could not carry out well-designed programs due to budget cuts.

Second, policies related to development and industry in the Amazon forest. Jair Bolsonaro supports industrialization and development. Bolsonaro redeveloped the Amazon project as the Baron of Rio Branco Project. This project has existed since the 1960s in the military regime. This project is the construction of a hydroelectric dam and the expansion of the highway to Suriname. It is estimated that the planned development of this project will cause greater deforestation and disturb the indigenous tribes there.

The third is the easing of supervision of foreign investors. In 2021 at the opening ceremony of the Brazilian Investment Forum hosted by Apex-Brazil, the government of Brazil is offering investors around the world to take a "unique opportunity" regarding the abundant resources that exist in the Amazon forest. Brazil will receive \$50 billion in investment to generate 22,000 jobs between 2021 and 2022 (Business Standard 2021).

Also, the Brazilian Congress voted for Bill 191/2020, which would legalize mining, fossil fuel extraction, construction of water dams, industrial agriculture, and animal husbandry in the Amazon indigenous territories. President Jair Bolsonaro signed this bill, but it did not explain environmental or social protection. Under this law, investors are even allowed to exploit industrial natural resources without having permission from indigenous peoples (Ferreira & Zimmerman 2020). This bill is said to directly violate the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples signed by Brazil (Evtimov 2021). This has

also encouraged several investors such as Blackrock, Citigroup, JPMorgan Chase, Vanguard, Bank of America, and Dimensional Fund Advisors to continue investing in social and environmental rights violations with an investment of more than US\$18 billion (Amazon Watch, n.d.).

#### 3.4 Greenpeace challenge: Corporate engagement in deforestation

Various companies are involved in the exploitation of nature that occurs in the Amazon forest. These companies are divided into several sectors. In the mining sector, such as Vale, Anglo American, Belo Sun, and Potássio Do Brasil. There are Cragil, JBS, Bunge, and Cosan/Raízen in the agribusiness sector. Meanwhile, Energisa Mato Grosso, Bomb Futuro Energia, Equatorial Energia Mranhão, and Eletronorte are in the Energy sector.

In the agribusiness sector, for example, Bunge, an American company, which is a grain import-export company, has exported soybeans from Brazilian agricultural plantations, including violence, illegality, and environmental damage. Bunge is believed to supply soybeans to international fast food brands such as McDonald's, KFC, and Burger King (Greenpeace International 2019).

In the mining sector, one of the companies involved is Anglo-American. Anglo-American and its two subsidiaries excavate gold and minerals found in indigenous areas of the Amazon forest. This prompted indigenous peoples to demand Anglo Americans move away from their lands to open up their territory to mining (Angelo 2021). In exploiting the mining sector, Anglo American also reaps profits from iron ore mining in the Minas-Rio region in Brazil.

The impact is a loss for the surrounding community. Local water for mining processes causes the community to lack water. In 2018, the 529-kilometer pipeline that Anglo American uses to transport its refined ore to the Port ruptured and spilled nearly 1,000 metric tons of iron ore into the surrounding river. This ultimately contaminates agricultural land, grasslands, and water sources (Hanbury 2021). Since taking office as President, Jair Bolsonaro has passed 57 laws that undermine environmental protection, including mining permits. In addition, BlackRock, for example, is a company from the United States, which invests its money in fossil fuels and the agribusiness industry. This company contributes more to climate change than any other company in the world (Action Network, n.d.). Not only BlackRock, but JP Morgan is also a financial holding company by provides financial and investment banking services. The company provides offers on several products and provides in-vestment banking services in all major capital markets. Not only provide services and offers but also advice, strategy, corporate structure, equity and debt market capital raising, risk management, and much more (Companies History, n.d.).

JP Morgan provides loans and underwriting to companies that produce and trade commodities that ultimately accelerate deforestation such as beef, palm oil, soybeans, and pulp/paper. Brazil paper giant Suzano is JP Morgan's biggest credit recipient with a total of USD 4.5 billion. JP Morgan also provided guarantees and loans to meat packers in Brazil for USD 451 million. Not only Brazil paper giant Suzano but clients JP Morgan Minerva and Marfrig are also involved in accelerating deforestation by creating land for pasture (Heineken 2020).

Another company that plays a role in sustainable deforestation in the Amazon is Citigroup, an American company that provides financial services. Citigroup is known as a major investor in coal mining and holds a 51% share of the global market. Citigroup also ranks third in funding for forest products and paper production. In 2001 Citigroup was also number one for oil drilling and new pipelines (Hogue 2002).

#### 4 DISCUSSION

The explanation above shows that Greenpeace as a global civil society actor who is concerned with environmental issues, in this case, related to deforestation in Brazil, is faced with

two main challenges. First, the challenge concerns about government policies that are prodeforestation rather than environmental sustainability. The justification is the vision of the country's economic development. Second, the challenge is related to the involvement of large companies whose business activities have implications for increasing deforestation. In other words, Greenpeace is dealing with a coalition between governments and corporations. The government owns political power in a coalition with the company as the owner of the power of capital. Even in some cases, corporations are more powerful than the state so that they can influence state policies (Prinanda 2019). It is this coalition of political and economic interests that, according to the researcher, often becomes an obstacle for global civil society actors in carrying out their mission for the wider public interest.

The above argument is in line with the position of the GCS actor referred to as the "third sector" (Anheier *et al.* 2001; Kowsar 2022; Wagner 2012). GCS is the third actor, between the state (public actor) and corporations (private actor). His position is a critical element of the state, corporation, or coalition between the two (Rijal & Anggraheni 2019; Rijal & Widiatmojo 2021). Because of that, GCS actors are referred to as non-profit, non-governmental, and independent (Anheier *et al.* 2001; Scholte 1999; Wagner 2012).

As a non-governmental actor, GCS is critical of the state (Barrow 2020). As a non-profit actor, GCS is critical of corporations. That's what Greenpeace is showing in its efforts to reduce deforestation in the Amazon. Greenpeace deals vis-a-vis with countries and corporations. Through petitions, campaigns, and multi-actor collaborations, Greenpeace seeks to encourage the government to stop pro-deforestation policies and pressure corporations not to carry out deforestation through their business activities.

The above cannot be separated from the fact that the environment is a universal interest that must be maintained for sustainability. Especially with the fact that the Amazon is the "lungs of the world", where one well-known motto of environmentalists is "Forest for people." Even more so, according to Usman, the environment is legal subjects, who have rights and can be empowered to be represented in the struggle to defend their rights before the law (Usman 2018).

However, Greenpeace's efforts are not easy. The state owns and controls all political resources. Meanwhile, corporations control material resources. However, according to Dryzek, GCS actors have one important advantage over states and companies: they have the freedom to act. So that no matter how disadvantaged they are in terms of material resources (compared to companies) and political influence (compared to the state), "civil society actors are privileged in terms of the freedom to act reflexively" (Dryzek 2012). In other words, even though the state and corporations are not on the side of Greenpeace's struggle, it still has the public support and global network to continue to contribute to the future of the environment, especially the problem of deforestation in Brazil.

#### 5 CONCLUSIONS

Policies formed by the state, such as budget cuts, easing policies for foreign investors, and development and industrial policies in the Amazon forest, have implications for increasing deforestation. Therefore, as a GCS actor who is concerned with environmental issues, Greenpeace is involved in fighting for efforts to stop deforestation. However, in fighting its efforts to reduce deforestation rates, Greenpeace is faced with political power and capital power. In other words, Greenspace is faced with two challenges. First, Jair Bolsonaro's prodeforestation policy in the name of economic development. Second, the company's business activities are pro-deforestation facilitated by state policies. These two things are a challenge for Greenpeace as a GCS actor, where the position of GCS as a critical element is between the two actors (government and corporations).

This research is then expected to be useful for international relations and so movement researchers. In addition, it contributes to the study of global civil society as one of the

important actors in contemporary international relations studies. These contributions are specifically related to the challenges faced by GCS in its efforts to advocate the public interest.

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