

Integrating environmental issues in the policy agenda by the ruling parties in East Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

This research explores how green ideologies are embedded in the policy agendas of ruling parties, including the three main political parties that won the 2020 local head elections in East Java Province, Indonesia. The research approach used is mixed methods, with quantitative and qualitative analysis to understand the awareness, discourse, and strategy of environmental issues in the policy agenda of the winning political parties. The results show that within political parties, sustainability considerations are largely reactive, oriented towards short-term goals, and mainly used for instrumental purposes. Despite the existing literature, parties that are more likely to survive electorally are in areas where voters are highly concerned about environmental issues and have different party strategies in terms of general policy. However, in East Java province, the increasing public concern for environmental issues has not been used as a strategic tool by political parties. These findings suggest that moving beyond superficial environmental initiatives towards strategic environmental integration can improve electoral competitiveness and promote sustainable development. The results suggest that by aligning their strategies with broader sustainability goals and adopting proactive measures for environmental management, regional political parties in East Java can not only respond to short-term electoral pressures; they can even begin to resolve some of the key sustainability challenges that underpin future electoral success and the quality of governance in their regions.

Keywords: environmental issues, political party, elections, policy agenda

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Introduction

The urgency of integrating environmental issues into political agendas is increasingly acknowledged worldwide, with many regions adopting various environmental policies. However, the response intensity, particularly at the regional level in developing countries, often remains limited (Folke, 2014; Stahlke, 2023). In East Java, Indonesia, the provincial DPRD (Regional House of Representatives) plays a crucial role in shaping policy discourse and decision-making. Despite growing environmental awareness (Alim, 2024; Sutrisno, 2023), comprehensive action plans addressing environmental remain sparse. This gap between the global urgency of environmental and its minimal representation in East Java's political agendas highlights the need for more robust integration of environmental policies within regional politics. This situation is exacerbated in regional politics, where local governments often exhibit a limited commitment to sustainable policies (Morton, 2018; Sohlberg, 2016).

The local head elections in 2020, for example, showed the lack of prioritization of integration of environmental issues among the ruling parties in East Java. Research suggests that mainstream political parties typically engage with environmental issues

superficially, often influenced more by electoral concerns than by an intrinsic commitment to sustainability (Milfont et al., 2019; Russell et al., 2020). In the absence of significant voter pressure or electoral gains tied to green platforms, parties are less likely to integrate these issues meaningfully into their agendas (Carter et al., 2017; Clements, 2014). This discrepancy highlights a crucial research question: are East Java's political parties making environmental a priority within their political frameworks, and, if so, how effectively are these issues addressed in party agendas?

The primary issue investigated here is that political parties in East Java prioritize short-term electoral gains over long-term sustainability, resulting in superficial engagement with environmental. This disengagement undermines effective governance and weakens voter support for mainstream parties (Ostermann & Wagner, 2023). Addressing this disjunction requires a dual strategy: enhancing party members' awareness through targeted educational programs and instituting policies that require consistent reference to environmental issues in party platforms, especially in preparation for the upcoming 2024 elections to ensure immediate and sustained action on environmental (Hu, 2024).

The adaptation of East Java's political parties to environmental issues could be positively influenced by the policy successes of niche green parties, which often drive larger parties to adopt environmental agendas in regions where public demand for climate action is high (Álvarez & Morrier, 2023). This approach aligns with findings that mainstream parties are more likely to address environmental concerns when they face competition from green parties or experience high public pressure (Bailey & Compston, 2010; Crowley & Tighe, 2017). Moreover, collaboration between parties that promote climate policies and influential environmental interest groups has shown to increase policy success in other regional contexts (Pangestu et al., 2022).

Another significant factor is the role of elite polarization on party members' perceptions of environmental. Sohlberg (2016) suggests that in polarized political climates, party elites can monopolize policy narratives, often leading to rigid and superficial environmental agendas. This issue is critical in East Java, where the political landscape is marked by identity-driven divides that impact climate policy. Addressing these divides, possibly through hybrid negotiated approaches, could facilitate greater bipartisan support for environmental strategies (Taufik, 2023).

Overall, this study intends to provide a comprehensive analysis of East Java's political climate concerning environmental issues, filling a research gap that assesses environmental from a political perspective within a developing region. While the issue is gaining traction within scientific and international policy discussions, its representation in East Java's regional political sphere remains inconsistent. By examining the extent to which political identities, ideological divides, and public pressures influence climate policy, this research aims to offer insights for integrating sustainability more fully into regional governance structures (Dasandi et al., 2022; Stoddart & Yang, 2022).

Critical reviews identify the need for such research, although there is a gap in how the scientific theory works out in more task-specific cases. It involves political identity and elite polarization in environmental discourse, furthering creating here as well as Sohlberg 2016 The current literature concentrates predominately on Western democracies, which suggests a gap in our knowledge about the influence of these factors concerning environmental policymaking outside this geographical and institutional context. Examining how political identities and elite attitudes towards

environmental in their context mediate policy creation and implementation through a specific lens can shed light on the peculiar case of East Java DPRD (Sohlberg, 2016).

In order to accelerate the momentum of such change, additional research still needs to be conducted on carbon mitigation at local levels; a detailed understanding of how political parties in East Java perceive and incorporate climate into their agenda (including how they view this while forming a collaborative government); more nuanced analysis around the implications for environmental policy-making from an increasingly polarized politics & identity debates.; further strategies regional political parties might use toward transforming as a green party by the 2024 elections Filling in these gaps serves not only to enrich the academic literature, but also provide useful perspectives for local policymakers and political strategists.

This research strives to better understand political party perspectives in regard to environmental as of now and hopes to discover how the election-winning parties raise them nationally within their agenda so that they could curate a similar narrative towards mitigating or adapting the current related scenario. The study thus specifically attempts to 1) evaluate party knowledge and understanding of environmental issues, the lessons it highlights/ offers them; 2) code and analyze discussion on environmental within a coalition or opposition ahead of general elections in their agenda respectively; even profiling these parties positioning as they transit towards policies that bear resemblance with said green gruel against election outcomes between now till next five years (2024). This study is unique as it fills the lacunae on how regional political parties in a developing country environment respond to global environmental challenges and will help lay down steps political parties could apply at an operational level (tactics) or strategic levels (policy spaces/ acceptance/ collaboration), support change framework due to critical mass of capacity leading spread, sensitizing, influencing outreach mechanisms.

This study was specifically conducted with the nine political parties that won a seat in East Java DPRD after the general election of 2020 as the target population, and it naturally excludes other causal factors of large scope. This focus enables an in-depth analysis of the interaction between regional political economies and global environmental imperatives that is both regionally-specific, and globally relevant. This examination of parties lays the groundwork for future research on how to inject more environmental content into regional politics, by measuring up contemporary perceptions and strategies side-by-side. The main limitation of this study is the scope and difficulties in researching political entities. For one, it may not encompass the variety of political positions on environmental matters in East Java as a whole because they are confined to only those groups that won during 2020 regional elections. A second limitation could be political sensitivity and dependence on individual party members' willingness to engage openly around these issues that might have affected the quality - both in terms of depth and honesty of data, hence influencing findings.

Further research could consider broadening the analysis to include all other parties within these regions, regardless of whether they won any seats or not to deliver a more holistic view about the political horizons. Longitudinal work might also help illuminate whether the party agendas are changing over time, especially as interests in the environment begin to resonate more distinctly through public and political discourse. Additionally, future research may look into how effective the strategies adopted by political parties in connecting with citizens on environmental issues are - or they could explore higher-level policy implementation and public communication efforts.

Research Methods

Utilizing a pragmatic paradigm, the study is carried out by employing a mixed-method research approach to investigate and comprehend indigenous knowledge owned by political parties in Indonesia—in this case, the nine winning political parties in East Java Province following the March–December regional elections of 2020. The research follows a Sequential Explanatory mixed-method design to obtain an extensive understanding of how the parties perceive and address environmental issues. This design involves collecting and analyzing quantitative data first, followed by qualitative data to provide deeper context and explanation for the quantitative results.

The research objectives are as follows: (1) measure knowledge and perceptions of environmental by political parties in the East Java DPRD; (2) evaluate discourse on environmental within winners' agendas from the nine pro-KPU winning parties during the 2020 regional elections; and (3) simultaneously examine their strategies to achieve green party status by 2024. An explanatory sequential design "entails collecting and analyzing quantitative data first, then using the results to help inform what is collected in the second phase" (Bopp & Mikesky, 2009) with qualitative data specifically enhancing the quantitative findings by providing context, illustrating how survey responses reflect underlying strategies, and uncovering nuanced perspectives that numbers alone cannot reveal.

Sampling is done by probability sampling, specifically simple random sampling with a sample size of 89 individuals from the population of 120 members within the nine political parties in East Java's Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). Given the relatively small population size, a simple random sampling method was chosen to ensure each member had an equal chance of being selected, thereby minimizing selection bias. This approach balances feasibility with the need for representative data, although a full census was considered but deemed impractical due to resource constraints. These parties are Kebangkitan Bangsa Party (PKB), NasDem Party (Nasional Demokrat), Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party (PDIP), Gerakan Indonesia Raya Party (Gerindra), Golongan Karya Party (Golkar), Keadilan Sejahtera Party (PKS), Demokrat Party (Demokrat), Amanat Nasional Party (PAN), and Persatuan Pembangunan Party (PPP).

The data collection consists of closed-ended questionnaires distributed in person and via an online platform which survey ideas, perceptions, and knowledge on environmental. This research centers further on qualitative data collection from interviews and document studies to extend the meaning of quantitative findings. Qualitative interviews are conducted with key party members to explore their motivations, challenges, and strategies related to environmental policies, while document analysis includes reviewing party manifestos, policy statements, and public communications. The analysis of the qualitative data takes an iterative approach using a model by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, where knowledge is condensed to assemble storylines from certain in-depth interviews as well as document analyses.

Qualitative research findings are triangulated with quantitative data sources to ensure accuracy of measurement. The objective of the study is to shed light on political narratives, public communication about environmental, and party strategies in emphasizing media awareness for global warming. To sum up, the study uses a mixed-method approach to examine how voters with environmental knowledge mobilize political parties and present strategies for mitigating this global issue in East Java simultaneously with an explanatory formative design combining quantitative and

qualitative data to provide insights into political processes from two perspectives for in-depth analysis.

Results and Discussion

This study investigates how the nine primary political parties in East Java integrate green ideologies into their operational frameworks, including both internal and external policy agendas. Using Randall & Svasand’s eco-political model, we examine the concept of "eco-systemness," which refers to the comprehensive integration of environmental values into a party's structure and operations, and its sub-components—eco-value infusion, eco-decision autonomy, and eco-reification—to assess the depth of these parties’ commitment to environmental policies. This section presents our findings on the diverse strategies used by political parties, explores their differing levels of environmental engagement, and discusses the implications for sustainable development and electoral success.

Our analysis reveals that eco-value infusion varies considerably across East Java’s political parties. Eco-value infusion, in this context, represents how core environmental values are incorporated into a party's beliefs and agenda. For example, PKB Party exhibits substantial eco-value infusion by promoting policies aimed at sustainable agriculture, reforestation, and public awareness initiatives, often aligning with international frameworks like the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This approach reflects a deeper integration of environmentalism into its core ideology, which is increasingly visible in their public communications and policy advocacy. For instance, PKB's commitment is evident through their extensive environmental training programs for party members and consistent emphasis on green policies during their campaigns.

Conversely, Nasdem Party treats environmental issues more as tactical assets rather than foundational elements of their identity. Their approach is generally reactive, aimed at image management during election campaigns (Alim, 2024; Carter, 2015). This finding aligns with broader observations in developing regions, where short-term electoral gains often take precedence over sustainable strategies (Folke, 2014). Unlike PKB, which integrates green ideologies more holistically, NasDem, PDIP, Gerindra, Golkar, PKS, Demokrat, PAN, and PPP focus on environmental issues in response to specific electoral pressures or in an attempt to appeal to environmentally conscious voters. For example, Nasdem Party’s reactive approach during election campaigns is illustrated by their statements on addressing El Niño-induced droughts, positioning themselves as problem-solvers without committing to long-term environmental policies. In contrast, PKB claims to be a “green party” by promoting green democracy as their main agenda throughout their tenure in parliament. These political parties’ agenda on environmental value can be seen through this table below:

Table 1. Integration of Environmental Values in East Java’s Political Parties

Party	Eco-Value Infusion	Eco-Decision Autonomy	Eco-Reification	Stakeholder Engagement
PKB	High: Integrates SDGs and sustainable agriculture in policy	Moderate: Initiates local projects with limited autonomy	Moderate: Has policies, but budget limits implementation	Limited but consistent with NGOs
Nasdem	Moderate: Reactive approach, driven by elections	Low: Dependent on central policy and resources	Low: Uses green issues superficially in campaigns	Minimal, primarily symbolic

PDIP, Gerindra, Golkar, PKS, Demokrat, PAN, PPP	Low: Superficial endorsement of green policies	Very Low: Rarely engages in independent environmental policies	Very Low: Focuses on image over substance	Low, engagement is sporadic
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Source: adapted from the authors' analysis of the 2020 East Java Regional Elections.

Research indicates that parties that embed eco-values as core elements often perform better electorally in regions with high environmental awareness (Meguid, 2005). The contrast observed between East Java's parties and those in Western democracies highlights the need for local parties to move from short-term, reactionary stances to more sustainable frameworks that could enhance both their competitiveness and governance quality (Barros, 2017). However, East Java's unique political landscape, characterized by strong central government influence and limited regional autonomy, poses challenges that differ from those in established democracies. These local factors contribute to the slower adoption of comprehensive environmental policies, as parties navigate between central directives and regional priorities.

Eco-decision autonomy reflects the ability of parties to independently formulate and implement environmental policies. In East Java, political autonomy in environmental decision-making is constrained by limited institutional support, inadequate funding, and reliance on central government policies. PKB Party demonstrates moderate eco-decision autonomy, enabling it to pursue environmentally focused projects such as local climate adaptation initiatives. These include small-scale renewable energy projects and collaborative efforts with environmental NGOs, indicating an incremental shift towards a more autonomous approach to sustainability.

NasDem party, PDIP party, Gerindra party, Golkar party, PKS party, Demokrat party, PAN party, and PPP party, however, show minimal eco-decision autonomy, largely due to dependence on central government resources and policies. This dependency restricts their ability to implement independent environmental initiatives, reinforcing their reactive approach to environmental issues. According to Green et al. (2022), regional political autonomy is essential for adapting policies to specific environmental challenges, but the lack of decentralized power in East Java hinders this adaptation.

Strengthening eco-decision autonomy is crucial for effective climate governance in East Java. Decentralized decision-making could enable local parties to tailor policies to the unique environmental needs of their constituencies, potentially enhancing public support and trust in their commitment to climate action (Stoddart & Yang, 2022).

Eco-reification, or the standardization of environmental values into party policies, remains underdeveloped among East Java's political parties. While PKB has made strides toward operationalizing environmental policies, there is often a disconnect between policy rhetoric and implementation. For instance, PKB's public stance on reducing plastic waste aligns with its policy initiatives; however, budgetary limitations and weak enforcement mechanisms have hindered effective implementation.

Nasdem party, in contrast, uses eco-reification superficially, promoting environmental issues only when strategically advantageous. This tactic can be described as "greenwashing"—the superficial endorsement of environmental issues without substantive policy backing (Flores-Rivera et al., 2023). Although , PDIP party, Gerindra party, Golkar party, PKS party, Demokrat party, PAN party, and PPP party have attempted to engage in environmental discourse, their initiatives are primarily symbolic,

with little follow-through on concrete environmental actions. This pattern is consistent with findings by Magarey et al. (2019), who caution against the performative nature of eco-innovation when political interests overshadow genuine environmental stewardship (Magarey et al., 2019).

The global literature underscores the importance of moving beyond symbolic eco-reification toward impactful policy implementation. For East Java's political parties, enhancing eco-reification could mean establishing more rigorous frameworks that translate green values into tangible, measurable actions, which could strengthen public trust and reinforce long-term commitment to sustainability.

A comparative analysis of East Java's parties with successful green parties in other countries offers insights into potential growth trajectories. In Germany, the Green Party has successfully transitioned from a niche to a mainstream political force by adopting pragmatic policies that appeal to a broad voter base (Kwidziński, 2020). This evolution was possible due to Germany's proportional representation system, which provides smaller parties greater influence (Spoon et al., 2013).

In contrast, East Java's major parties lack the structural and ideological foundations that have propelled green parties elsewhere. Unlike their Western counterparts, they are at an early stage of ideological development, with green agendas primarily driven by electoral incentives rather than an institutionalized commitment to environmentalism (Schwörer, 2023). Integrating elements of successful green party models, such as coalition-building with environmental organizations and enhancing eco-policy advocacy, could improve their environmental strategies and electoral competitiveness.

Emulating effective green parties could enable East Java's parties to capture the growing demographic of environmentally conscious voters, potentially improving their electoral standing. Aligning their policies with the environmental expectations of young and informed voters could create a sustainable, long-term base of support (Grant & Tilley, 2018).

The study found that public engagement in environmental policies is limited across East Java's political parties, despite an increasing demand for sustainable governance. PKB has made limited efforts to involve stakeholders, such as local environmental groups and civil society organizations, in policy discussions. However, the depth of these collaborations is often hindered by budget constraints and the lack of a coherent framework for stakeholder engagement.

, PDIP party, Gerindra party, Golkar party, PKS party, Demokrat party, PAN party, and PPP party engagement is sporadic and largely ceremonial, with minimal efforts to build genuine partnerships. Research by Basheer et al. (2022) underscores that inclusive stakeholder engagement enhances the legitimacy and effectiveness of environmental policies (Basheer et al., 2022). However, political constraints in East Java, including resistance from entrenched interests, pose significant challenges to achieving such inclusivity.

Establishing formal mechanisms for stakeholder engagement could empower local communities to participate in environmental decision-making, thus fostering a sense of ownership and accountability in climate initiatives. Enhanced collaboration with NGOs and grassroots movements could also improve the efficacy of environmental policies (Fowler, 2022).

The primary barriers to effective environmental policy integration among East Java's parties include limited financial resources, institutional inertia, and political polarization. These factors restrict parties' ability to prioritize and implement robust

environmental policies. While public awareness of climate issues is growing, a corresponding political response remains tepid. The current political landscape in East Java mirrors findings from other regions where short-term electoral gains often outweigh long-term sustainability goals (Durant et al., 2018).

Table 2. Barriers to Environmental Policy Integration in East Java’s Political Parties

Barrier	Description	Examples
Financial Constraints	Limited budget allocations for environmental initiatives	PKB limited ability to fund renewable energy projects
Institutional Inertia	Lack of established frameworks for green policy implementation	Reliance on central government policy directives
Political Polarization	Divergent views and lack of consensus on environmental priorities	Low collaboration on environmental issues between parties
Limited Environmental Literacy	Insufficient training on climate issues for party members	Party members unaware of sustainable policy frameworks

Source: derived from the authors’ identification of challenges faced by political parties in East Java regarding environmental policy integration, 2024

Another barrier is the limited exposure of party members to environmental training, which restricts their understanding and capacity to advocate for green policies effectively. Developing educational programs to enhance environmental literacy among party members could help overcome this barrier, fostering a culture of sustainability within the parties. The environmental sustainability agenda within the political parties can be improved by improving their communication strategy. Leveraging technology as a tool for social engineering can promote environmental consciousness throughout election cycles. By doing so, political parties can enhance their environmental agendas and shift voting ideologies during electoral sequences. Political parties need to strengthen their formal mechanisms to adopt environmental consciousness, one concept being the use of political carbon offsets in their environmental strategies.

Political carbon offsets are one of the environmental preservation concepts that focus primarily on how to make politicians responsible for their own carbon footprints during their regimes and participation in elections. This concept also pushes politicians into committing to environmental law-making and fostering a moral responsibility towards the environment.

Pushing towards greener law-making policies is vital as political parties hold enormous power in the policy-making process. This includes shifting political ideologies to improve their stance on environmental issues. As seen in the research above, the current scenario shows that political parties lack environmental commitment.

The concept of political carbon offsets has emerged as a strategic discourse that needs to be amplified. If we assume that shifts in voter ideology can influence the implementation of greener policies, political parties' commitment both internally and externally becomes crucial. The concept of political carbon offsets would obligate election contestants to reduce their carbon footprints. This is because, generally, voters tend to view political moments from a perspective of material and economic benefits. In this context, incumbents often implement populist policies to increase their chances

of re-election, a pattern observed especially in developing countries. Therefore, environmental policies in this context should not be imposed on supporters of election contestants but rather targeted at public officials elected through the electoral process.

The next direction is to ensure politicians' commitment to fulfilling their responsibilities after the election. This is because, in general, a country can shift its general policy outlook on environmental issues during the momentum of an election, and political parties should be aware of this matter. Every political party could require all of their politicians to pay attention to environmental policy directions that must be accounted for after the election concludes. The electoral process thus serves as a strategic moment in determining future policy directions related to environmental issues.

The integration of environmental issues with political ideology matters becomes an initial strategy for implementing greener ideologies that prioritize environmental sustainability. This integration can be approached top-down, with authorities introducing environmentally friendly election regulations. Such steps include creating policies that embed environmental considerations into the electoral process. The United States provides an example, particularly California, which has been ambitious in establishing environmental regulations that surpass federal standards. These policies include requiring election candidates to promote public transportation and renewable energy use, conveying a political message that California's elections are committed to fostering a sustainable environment.

The importance of conducting green ideology on political parties extends beyond fostering sustainable environmental development; it also ties into electoral dynamics. The relationship between green ideology by the political parties and electoral needs is evident in how voter behavior and environmental awareness promoted by election candidates intersect. This influence is apparent through the dissemination of information via social media or other public spaces, serving as platforms for public scrutiny of candidates' environmental commitments.

In this context, a subsequent idea arises: the necessity of mandating environmental commitments through election regulations to ensure candidates uphold them during their tenure, should they be elected. This concept, known as Political Carbon Offsets, requires candidates to support carbon offset initiatives during their campaigns. It obligates them to commit to concrete environmental promises, with measures like reducing carbon footprints during campaign activities.

This concept holds potential for implementation in Indonesia by mandating all election contestants to include tangible environmental pledges. One approach is through regulations aimed at minimizing carbon emissions during campaign periods. These efforts could influence social and economic recycling levels while effectively shifting political ideologies toward environmental sustainability throughout the electoral process. If governed by the goodwill of all political parties, this concept could be a game changer for environmental matters, shifting political parties' main agendas from solely focusing on winning parliament to committing more to environmental issues. Shifting political parties' environmental ideologies will lead to strengthening their positions on future electoral issues related to the environment.

Thus, environmental matters cannot be handled alone by the political parties. The most important part is policy-making. In this idea, the study on Election Law in Indonesia has yet to explicitly regulate environmental violations, but its principles can still be utilized to encourage more responsible behavior among election participants. For instance, administrative sanctions or fines could be imposed on political parties or candidates found engaging in environmentally harmful campaign practices. These efforts could be integrated with local regulations on environmental management, such as waste management rules or bans on single-use plastics.

With stricter enforcement of such sanctions, elections could proceed more sustainably, supporting green election goals and aligning with national and global objectives, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Linking electoral sanctions to environmental violations reinforces the understanding that elections are not merely political processes but also opportunities to promote ecosystem sustainability and long-term societal well-being.

Concrete steps to incorporate environmental issues into election regulations could pave the way for more responsible electoral processes, minimizing environmental damage during campaigns and beyond. Such measures would reflect a commitment to efficient resource management and environmental protection, enhancing the broader impact of elections on sustainable development.

Concrete steps to embed environmental issues into election regulations could include mandatory environmental impact assessments for large campaign events or caps on the use of non-recyclable materials. Electoral commissions could also incentivize candidates to adopt sustainable practices, such as using renewable energy sources for campaign events or pledging to plant trees to offset their carbon footprint. Such measures would reduce the environmental impact of elections and instill a culture of responsibility among political leaders and their supporters.

Ultimately, integrating environmental considerations into electoral processes reflects a broader understanding of elections as more than political contests. Elections can be transformative moments that set the tone for governance priorities, including environmental stewardship. By ensuring that campaigns are conducted sustainably, Indonesia can pave the way for a future where electoral processes not only reflect democratic values but also contribute to the long-term health of ecosystems and communities. Such a commitment enhances the credibility of elections and strengthens public trust in political institutions, fostering a vision of governance that values sustainability and collective well-being.

Conclusion

This article is a critical study of the integrating environmental issues in the policy agenda by the ruling parties in East Java, with the three major parties that succeeded in winning the local head elections of 2020 as samples. The findings emphasize that the attention devoted to environmental issues has increased in all these parties, but their inclusion into party agendas and strategic behavior can be considered rather short-term and reactive. This is part of a wider pattern, common in middle- and low-income political systems where immediate electoral imperatives frequently take precedence over long-term sustainability ambitions.

The research findings confirmed that political parties in East Java need to change from being reactive and transform into proactive goals on environmental

issues. By aligning strategies with long-term sustainability goals while taking an active role in environmental stewardship, parties can strengthen their electoral competitiveness and improve SDG delivery. This shift is crucial not only for winning elections in the short term but also for ensuring long-term governance that can effectively address environmental challenges unique to the region.

This is followed by the notion that, in East Java, political parties could increase their chances at winning elections and enhance governance quality if they administered green ideas through a collective strategy filter as argued earlier. As public awareness and calls for institutional accountability concerning environmental issues continue to ramp up, stakeholders that can display a real commitment to the environment will likely only yield dividends. Therefore, the leadership of East Java needs to not only prioritize environmental conservancy within their operations and strategic planning but must also ensure that conservation is no longer a topic up for grabs among political lines, but rather an ingrained principle throughout all layers of governance in the province.

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