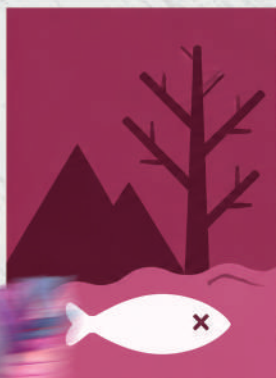


RESEARCH REPORT



WALHI SOUTH SULAWESI
REGIONAL EXECUTIVE OFFICE



Fading Democracy Amid a Fragile Landscape

A Portrait of Ecological Justice in the
Shadow of Shrinking Civic Space Across
Three Landscapes in South Sulawesi



Fading Democracy Amid a Fragile Landscape

A Portrait of Ecological Justice in the Shadow
of Shrinking Civic Space Across Three
Landscapes in South Sulawesi



Authors

Slamet Riadi
Nurwana
Muliana Saharuddin
Zulfaningsih HS

Layout Designer

Fitrah Yusri

Published by

Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI) South Sulawesi
Jalan Aroepala, Permata Hijau Lestari Complex, Block Q1 No.8,
Makassar, Indonesia
+628229 393 9591
+62411 467 1368
walhisulsel@gmail.com
www.walhisulsel.or.id

June, 2026

Happy World Environment Day

Table of Contents



I	Table of Contents
3	A. The Dynamics of Civic Space and Ecological Pressure in South Sulawesi
5	B. Research Methodology and Study Locations
7	C. South Sulawesi amid the Landscape of Ecological Crisis and Civic Space Restrictions
29	D. Tensions Between Policy and Ecological Justice: Concluding Remarks
33	References



**Fading Democracy Amid a Fragile Landscape
A Portrait of Ecological Justice under the Shadow of
Shrinking Civic Space across Three Landscapes
in South Sulawesi**



A

The Dynamics of Civic Space and Ecological Pressure in South Sulawesi

Over the past decade, South Sulawesi has been projected as one of the key growth nodes in Eastern Indonesia. In recent years, the province's economic growth has ranged between 4 and 7 percent annually, with significant contributions from the mining, construction, and manufacturing sectors, as well as strategic infrastructure development. This growth narrative has been positioned as an indicator of successful regional development. Yet behind this acceleration, South Sulawesi's ecological landscape reveals pressure that is increasingly intensive, fragmented, and layered.

In coastal areas, spatial planning changes and the intensification of economic activity have degraded water quality and narrowed fishers' fishing grounds. In karst regions that function as natural water storage and regulation systems, extraction activities and land-use conversion threaten the sustainability of water resources. Meanwhile, in forest and mining areas, changes in land cover and the expansion of business permits reflect a growing tendency for spatial resources to be concentrated around large-scale economic interests. Fluctuations in South Sulawesi's Environmental Quality Index (IKLH) in recent years indicate that pressure on water quality and land cover has not been fully brought under control.

This ecological crisis cannot be understood merely as a technical issue. A political ecology perspective affirms that environmental change is always tied to power relations and the distribution of access to resources (Robbins, 2012). Regional development policy through the RPJPD and RPJMD is a political instrument that shapes sectoral priorities, investment direction, and the configuration of interests that are advantaged or marginalized. Ecological degradation therefore does not stand alone; it is a product of political choices made in the course of development.

Within the political economy of development, the green growth agenda is often promoted green growth as a middle path between economic growth and environmental sustainability. Yet Newell and Mulvaney (2013) show that green growth discourse often continues to operate within the logic of capital accumulation, thereby risking the reproduction of unequal distribution of benefits and ecological risks. In a regional context, sustainability rhetoric can run in parallel with the expansion of resource extraction, without structural transformation in governance. This demands a critical analysis of how development policy in South Sulawesi articulates growth and sustainability, and of who benefits from this configuration.

On the other hand, this issue relates to the role of the state in guaranteeing ecological sustainability. Eckersley (2004), through the concept of The Green State, asserts that the state bears a normative responsibility to protect long-term ecological interests and to integrate the principle of sustainability into its institutional structures and decision-making processes. A green state is not merely a state with environmental policies, but one that places ecological protection as a constitutional and democratic mandate. The question is the extent to which regional development policy in South Sulawesi reflects an ecologically responsive orientation of the state, or is instead dominated by the logic of economic growth.

At the same time, these development dynamics are intertwined with the condition of civic space. Ecological democracy, as formulated by Dryzek (2000), demands a deliberative space that allows diverse interests -- including ecological interests and those of affected communities -- to be weighed equally. Within the framework of ecological justice, Schlosberg (2007) emphasizes the importance of fair distribution, recognition of affected groups, and meaningful participation. When participatory space is limited to administrative procedure without substantive influence, ecological justice becomes difficult to achieve.

Furthermore, Dobson (1998), through the concept of ecological citizenship, asserts that ecological citizenship requires moral responsibility for environmental impacts that extend beyond administrative boundaries and generations. Yet ecological citizenship can only develop within a civic space that is open, deliberative, and transparent. The shrinking of civic space -- whether through restricted access to information, weak transparency, or the marginalization of affected communities' voices -- has implications for the weakening of citizens' capacity to act as active ecological subjects.

The differentiation of landscapes in South Sulawesi -- in coastal, karst, and forest areas alike -- shows that ecological pressure and the dynamics of civic space mutually shape one another in distinct configurations. Development expansion in each landscape not only alters biophysical conditions but also reshapes social relations and local power structures. In this context, regional development policy needs to be read as an arena of contestation between the logic of growth, the state's ecological mandate, and the sustainability of civic space.





B

Methodology and Research Sites

Using a political ecology approach, this research seeks to unpack and examine how development policy in South Sulawesi shapes the direction of ecological justice, and the extent to which civic space functions as a mechanism of control and correction within these dynamics. This research is grounded in South Sulawesi's key ecological landscapes: the coastal marine ecosystem, karst, and forest with sites selected in three areas: the City of Makassar, Maros Regency, and East Luwu Regency. The selection of these three sites was based on two considerations that also underlie the rationale for the research: (1) they represent the three important landscapes found in South Sulawesi, and (2) over the past five years, these three areas have faced ecological pressure and shrinking civic space as a consequence of the surging penetration or expansion of extractive industries such as mining and large-scale infrastructure such as land reclamation.

In general, this research is advocacy-based, specifically designed to change or influence policy. Its output will accordingly produce two key documents: a research report and a policy brief. Both documents will serve as advocacy material for relevant stakeholders, primarily government at both the executive and legislative levels in the City of Makassar, Maros Regency, and East Luwu Regency.

Furthermore, this research draws on two types of data (primary and secondary) using the following data-collection methods: (1) in-depth interviews; (2) focus group discussions (FGDs); (3) questionnaire distribution; (4) determination of the Ecological Democracy Vulnerability and Resilience Index; and (5) literature review,

particularly of Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD) documents, Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) documents, and the Vision-Mission statements of each regional head. Overall, this research was conducted over approximately four months (January to April 2026).

Method for Scoring the Ecological Democracy Vulnerability and Resilience Index

This research uses a composite index scoring approach to measure the level of ecological democracy vulnerability in regencies/cities across South Sulawesi. Measurement was carried out by combining a set of indicators representing two main dimensions: the vulnerability dimension and the ecological democracy resilience dimension. All indicators were measured through a public opinion survey using a 1-3 ordinal scale, where a higher score indicates a greater level of pressure, vulnerability, or experience of ecological issues and shrinking civic space.

The research instrument consists of indicators grouped into two main categories. The vulnerability dimension covers indicators related to limited public participation, minimal access to information, experiences of intimidation or restriction of civic space, and perceptions of the ecological impacts of development. The resilience dimension, meanwhile, covers indicators related to communities' capacity for collective action, community solidarity, the presence of citizen organizations, and the ability to defend living space. Each respondent's answer was given a score between 1 and 3, classified as follows: score 1 (low category), 2 (moderate category), and 3 (high category). The index value for each area was then obtained by calculating the average of all indicators completed by respondents in each regency/city. The basic formula used is:

$$IKKDE = \frac{\sum X_i}{N}$$

Explanation:

- **IKKDE** = Index of Ecological Democratic Resilience and Endurance
- **$\sum X_i$** = Total score of all indicators
- **N** = Number of indicators measured

Finally, based on the average index score, the level of ecological democracy vulnerability was classified into three risk-zone categories: high-risk zone, moderate-risk zone, and low-risk zone. This classification was used to map the level of ecological pressure and shrinking civic space in each area. The higher an area's index score, the greater the indication of an ecological democracy crisis, marked by weak public participation, high pressure on communities' living space, and rising ecological conflict.

Score Range	Category
$\geq 2,00$	● High-Risk Zone
1.50 – 1.99	● Moderate-Risk Zone
$< 1,50$	● Low-Risk Zone





C

South Sulawesi Within a Landscape of Ecological Crisis and Shrinking Civic Space

In recent years, South Sulawesi has shown a development trend increasingly reliant on the expansion of the extractive sector, large-scale infrastructure projects, and coastal reclamation. From the government's perspective, these agendas are promoted as strategies to accelerate economic growth and strengthen regional investment competitiveness. Yet behind this narrative of acceleration, the province's ecological landscape reveals increasingly intensive and recurring pressure. This pressure is now clearly visible across South Sulawesi's three strategic landscapes.

In the coastal areas of Makassar, reclamation projects such as the construction of CPI and Makassar New Port, along with the recently proposed development of the Untia area, have raised concerns over rising tidal-flood risk, disrupted water circulation, and the narrowing of traditional fishers' living space. In the Maros-Pangkep karst region, which serves a vital hydrological function and is also recognized as part of a UNESCO Global Geopark, mining activity and infrastructure development pose threats to the sustainability of the water system and biodiversity. Meanwhile, in East Luwu, the expansion of the nickel industry within

the context of national downstream processing has reportedly affected forest landscapes and the Lake Towuti ecosystem, raising concerns over ecological degradation and rising social conflict. All three landscapes exhibit a relatively similar pattern: the intensification of spatial use for large-scale economic interests, accompanied by rising ecological risk and social tension (WALHI South Sulawesi, 2025).

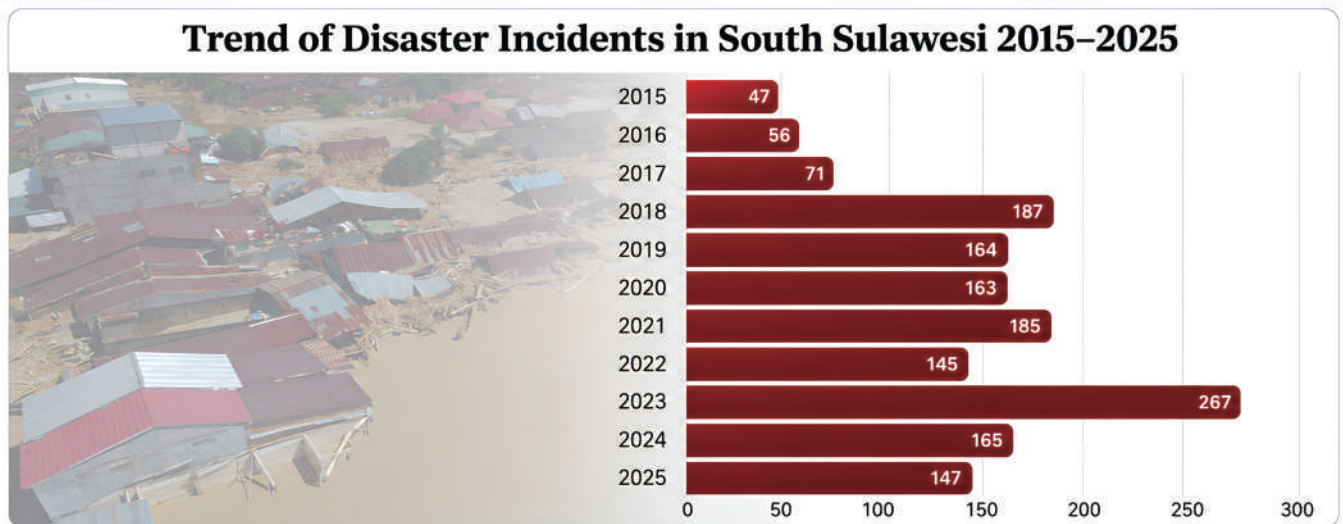


Figure 1. Trend in the number of disaster occurrences in South Sulawesi over the past 10 years

Furthermore, records from WALHI South Sulawesi (2025) show a significant surge in ecological disaster occurrences over the past decade. In 2015, there were only 47 recorded disaster occurrences, but by 2025 this figure had surged to 147 (BNPB, 2025), dominated by floods, landslides, and droughts (BNPB, 2025). This fact shows that the ecological crisis is no longer a sporadic incident but a recurring structural pattern. This crisis and these ecological disasters are, in turn, intertwined with the dynamics of civic space. Based on 2025 Human Rights Violation Data, LBH Makassar (2025) recorded 157 cases of human rights violations that year, of which 58 cases involved police personnel, including in the context of land and environmental conflict.

This series of events shows that ecological degradation and the shrinking of civic space are not two standalone phenomena. From a political ecology perspective, as Robbins (2012) affirms, environmental change is always tied to power relations that determine access to, control over, and distribution of resources. Extractive expansion and reclamation are not merely technical spatial-planning matters, but part of a policy configuration that prioritizes a particular logic of economic growth. When criticism of development projects is restricted or met with a repressive response, the democratic mechanisms that should function to correct ecological inequities are likewise weakened. Thus, the coastal, karst, and forest landscapes of South Sulawesi simultaneously become political landscapes of space, in which economic growth, ecological risk, and the quality of local democracy are mutually entangled.



1. The Paradox of Development Policy Across Three Landscapes

This section examines more deeply and analyzes the models and patterns of regional development in the three research sites (Makassar, Maros, and East Luwu). This study was carried out by analyzing three strategic policy documents at the regional government level: the 2025-2045 RPJPD-RPJMD documents and the Vision-Mission statement of each regional head. A reading of these documents shows that all three areas fall within a broadly similar development pattern, despite having different ecological characteristics. Each area was found to have its own specific ecological vulnerabilities, yet policy responses remain situated within a growth- and investment-based development paradigm. Theoretically, this situation can be read through a political ecology framework (Bryant & Bailey, 1997; Robbins, 2012), which views environmental crisis as the result of interaction between power, economy, and control over space. In this context, development planning is not merely a technical document, but an arena for the production of meaning and legitimacy for a particular economic model.





Image source: WALHI South Sulawesi





Makassar, a Growing City

In recent years, the City of Makassar has transformed into both a center of economic growth and the primary node of rapid urbanization in Eastern Indonesia. As the capital of South Sulawesi Province, the city has become the epicenter of infrastructure development, the expansion of residential areas, and the intensification of economic activity increasingly tied to regional and national development agendas. Yet behind this narrative of modernization and growth, Makassar also faces increasingly complex ecological pressure -- ranging from the degradation of coastal areas and a clean-water availability crisis, to the loss of green open space, and the rising vulnerability of coastal communities and low-income residents to the impacts of urban spatial change. In this context, the City of Makassar can be understood not only as a rapidly developing urban space, but also as a political-ecological arena in which competing interests of development, resource control, and citizenship practices are contested. This condition is further reinforced by a statement from the Head of the Makassar City Environment Agency, who explained to us that:

When it comes to the ecological crisis, in recent years Makassar has consistently seen flood reports every rainy season, because most of the area has already been paved over with asphalt and concrete. This has become the main problem in the city of Makassar, because there is no longer any Green Open Space (RTH) left, and almost no water catchment area remains, since everything has become residential development. Said Dr. Helmy Budiman, S.STP, M.M.

What was conveyed by the Head of the Makassar City Environment Agency aligns with our findings from a critical reading of the City of Makassar's 2025-2045 RPJPD and RPJMD documents. These documents show that the main issue highlighted and underlined by the government is that land-cover quality has declined over the past two years due to the reduction of Green Open Space, a result of population growth and the development of housing and other economic industries.

Beyond the issue of green open space, the use of water resources has also drawn scrutiny, as capture-fisheries productivity in the City of Makassar has tended to slow over the past four years -- falling from 1.4 tons to 1.2 tons in 2022. This has been influenced by fishing grounds moving further away as fish migrate in search of conducive breeding ecosystems, driven by environmentally unfriendly fishing practices and climate change (Makassar City RPJPD, III-4). In addition, the RPJPD document also emphasizes the high volume of waste generated (more than 375,000 tons per year, with a very low processing rate) and vulnerability to a raw-water crisis.

ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES	RPJPD 2025–2045	RPJMD 2025–2029	CRITICAL NOTES
Strengthening Rights to Coastal Living Spaces and Small Islands	Recognizes islands as strategic economic areas	Focus on infrastructure development and area development	Does not explicitly recognize traditional fishing rights and small island communities as the main policy subjects
Protection of Coastal Ecosystems (Mangroves, Coral Reefs, Waters)	Recognizes environmental degradation and climate change issues	Programs for pollution control and climate adaptation	Approach remains technocratic, not yet based on participatory ecosystem restoration
Public Participation & Democratic Space	Not specifically discussed in the coastal context	No mechanism for coastal community participation in programs	Minimal strengthening of coastal community participation in planning
Climate Justice & Coastal Resilience	Mentions climate change resilience and sea level rise	Focus on structural measures, drainage, and flood control	Infrastructure-based adaptation, not yet aligned with socio-ecological approaches
Protection from High-Risk Project Expansion (Reclamation and Other Extractive Activities)	Does not explicitly limit coastal projects that pose risks to communities and the environment	No clause on protection of small island areas	Potential for spatial conflict not yet anticipated in documents
Intergenerational Justice & Long-Term Sustainability	20-year vision oriented toward sustainable development	5-year programs that are operational and pragmatic	No specific indicators for ecological sustainability in coastal, marine, and small island areas

Table 1. Critical Analysis Matrix from a Reading of the City of Makassar 2025-2045 RPJPD-RPJMD Documents



From the critical analysis matrix above, it is evident that the coastal ecosystem of the City of Makassar is currently facing simultaneous pressure from the impacts of urbanization, pollution, reclamation expansion, and climate change. Even so, the development strategy still positions investment and the strengthening of the maritime economy as its main pillar. The narrative of a "blue economy" is presented as a solution, but without explicit limits on area expansion or pressure on coastal and marine carrying capacity. This condition, for instance, was described by Andra Dg Bau, a woman from Lae-Lae Island, who continues to fight against a planned reclamation in their village on Lae-Lae Island.

In 2023, the government had a plan to carry out reclamation on this island (Lae-Lae Island). That (reclamation) could destroy the reefs and strip us of our living space as fishers. So we rejected it. Especially since we have already felt the direct impact of reclamation (CPI). Since CPI was built, we here have lost our ambaring fishing area, even though that used to be our (the women's) fishing ground. Then the sea became dirty, with a lot of drifting waste, and the water turned murky on the southern side of the island. In essence, it's not that we want to fight the government -- of course not. I just want to see the future of our children and grandchildren as fishers of Lae-Lae Island be prosperous. Said Dg Bau.

Beyond Dg Bau's account, the increasingly massive pressure of development and population growth in the City of Makassar also indicates that water demand will keep rising. As a result, several areas, especially in the northern part of the City of Makassar, have had to endure a water crisis for decades.

One of the problems we face here (Tallo) is a shortage of clean water. That's why here, it's not only adults who are involved -- children too take part in fetching water or pushing carts. Said Nirwana.

However, even though the City of Makassar currently faces massive development pressure, the Government of South Sulawesi Province seems indifferent to this condition. This is reflected in the government's plan to carry out reclamation along the Untia-Lantebung coast covering 1,440 hectares, justified as being regulated under Regional Regulation No. 3 of 2022 on the South Sulawesi Spatial Plan (RTRW) for 2022-2041. In connection with the planned Untia-Lantebung reclamation, Nirwan, Director of the Indonesian Marine Conservation Foundation (YKL), asserted that this reclamation plan would certainly affect the lives of the community, particularly fishers.

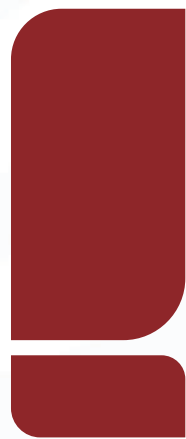
The scale of this planned reclamation will certainly have a social impact on the Lantebung community, because Lantebung fishers are crab catchers. Once mapped, almost ninety percent of Lantebung's crab-fishing grounds fall within the allocated reclamation area. That's what we were just asking -- will it have an impact on the community? It certainly will.

Finally, what has occurred in the City of Makassar, based on both the documents and the reality on the ground, essentially reflects what Hajer (1995) refers to as ecological modernization, in which the environmental crisis is acknowledged, but the solution is framed in terms of efficiency and management rather than limits on growth. The environment is positioned as a risk to be managed, not a boundary to be respected. Overall, this shows that at the level of problem recognition Makassar ranks relatively high, but at the level of structural change it remains low.



Image source: WALHI South Sulawesi





Maros, A Region Standing at Two Crossroads

Maros Regency is often referred to as one of the strategic areas within the Makassar metropolitan region, playing an important role in the dynamics of regional development in South Sulawesi. Geographically, Maros sits at a key junction between coastal areas, agricultural lowlands, and an extensive karst landscape, particularly within the Maros-Pangkep Karst Area, recognized as one of the largest karst landscapes in the world. This region holds high ecological value, functioning as a natural hydrological system, a habitat for biodiversity, and a living space for local communities whose livelihoods depend on agriculture, inland fisheries, and the traditional use of natural resources.

Yet over the past two decades, Maros has also experienced intensive development pressure, mainly due to the expansion of the cement industry, infrastructure development, and the integration of this region into the Mamminasata metropolitan development scheme. This condition makes Maros an important arena for examining how landscape-based development policy interacts with economic interests, ecological protection, and the rights of local communities. This is the situation described by Andi Irfan Paharuddin, S.STP., M.H, Head of the Maros Regency Environment Agency, who explained that:

From a development standpoint, since Maros serves as a buffer region for the city of Makassar, the provincial capital, the distribution of population and the rise in development activity will naturally move in tandem. So I believe that, given our strategic location and the continuing pace of progress, Maros will certainly face the challenge of an ecological crisis in the years ahead.

On the other hand, Iwan Dento, an environmental activist, also sharply highlighted how law enforcement related to environmental destruction in Maros Regency remains weak amid a fairly alarming ecological situation in Maros.

The regulations exist, the policies exist too. So we actually have a lot of regulations, but enforcement is very weak. So what needs to be questioned is whether the government truly supports the environmental conservation movement through a regulatory approach, or what exactly its approach is.

In addition, a critical reading of the 2025-2045 RPJPD-RPJMD Documents of Maros Regency shows recognition of the threat of drought, the vulnerability of the karst region to climate change, and a low Environmental Quality Index, still standing at 68.13%. Yet it is clearly understood that karst serves a vital hydrological function as a storage and regulation system for groundwater, meaning that damage to this area has systemic impacts on water security and agriculture (Maros Regency RPJPD, II-358-364). At the same time, however, the development of mineral potential and investment continues to be positioned as part of the economic growth strategy. This ambiguity places the karst region in a dual position: as an ecological space that must be protected, and as an economic commodity that can be exploited. The matrix shows that Maros occupies a middle position: recognition of the ecological crisis is fairly explicit, but restrictions on extractive activity remain normatively and quantitatively unclear.

ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES	REGIONAL SPATIAL PLAN 2025–2045	REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN 2025–2029	CRITICAL NOTES
Recognition of Karst as an Ecosystem Asset & Strategic Resource	Recognizes karst areas as potential tourism assets and part of environmental areas.	Positions karst (Rammang-Rammang) as a flagship tourism destination.	Karst is positioned more as an economic asset, not as a fragile ecosystem that must be prioritized for protection.
Protection of the Karst Hydrological System (Groundwater & Surface Water)	Not specifically prohibited as a critical hydrological system.	No specific program for ecosystem-based water protection in karst areas.	No integration of karst protection in the regional water security strategy.
Regulation of Extractive Activities in Karst Areas	Does not establish a clear commitment to explicitly limit mining activities.	No policy on moratorium or explicit restriction of mining.	No firm stance on the risks of limestone mining in karst areas.
Long-Term Ecological Risk-Based Approach	Mentions environmental management in general terms.	Focuses on economic development and infrastructure.	Risk of irreversible karst degradation is not the basis for policymaking.
Community Participation in Karst Management	Participation is mentioned in normative terms.	No mechanism for community oversight in karst policies.	Local communities are not yet positioned as the main subjects of protection.
Intergenerational Ecological Justice Perspective	Not explicitly addressed.	Not explicitly addressed.	No framing of justice across generations in karst protection.
Alignment with Spatial Planning & Protection of Karst Core Zones	Mentions spatial management in general terms.	Does not outline strict protection zones.	The boundaries of core karst protection areas are not clearly defined.

Table 2. Critical Analysis Matrix from a Reading of the Maros Regency 2025-2045 RPJPD-RPJMD Documents





Image source: WALHI South Sulawesi



East Luwu: A Barn of Extraction, Inequality, and Structural Dependence

East Luwu Regency is one of the areas holding a strategic position within South Sulawesi's natural-resource landscape, mainly due to its enormous nickel mineral reserves. Located in the eastern part of the province, it encompasses important ecological areas such as the Malili Lakes Complex. This area holds high ecological and social value, serving as a source of water, a living space, and the basis for the economic and cultural practices of local communities that have long interacted with the surrounding aquatic and forest landscapes.

Yet over the past two decades, East Luwu has undergone significant economic and spatial transformation alongside the expansion of the nickel mining industry, particularly as operated by companies such as PT Vale Indonesia Tbk. This extractive industrial expansion has not only altered the region's economic structure but has also triggered new dynamics in the control of space, changes to the ecological landscape, and power relations among the state, corporations, and local communities. This tension between company and community was voiced by Rama, a pepper farmer from Loeha Raya, who has long fought to protect his community's plantations from the expansion of PT Vale Indonesia's nickel mining operations.

When we held a declaration rejecting PT Vale Indonesia in our plantation area, thousands showed up, the village field was packed -- but our access was cut off. So the media couldn't cover it either. Well, that's because the company can do whatever it wants, especially Vale. But no matter what, if the truth is silenced, we will keep fighting.

Furthermore, a critical reading of the 2025-2045 RPJPD-RPJMD Documents shows that East Luwu exhibits an even sharper paradox. The forest matrix shows recognition of environmental degradation caused by mining, deforestation, and land-use conversion, as well as income inequality between the mining sector and other sectors. Stagnant poverty data shows that extraction-based growth has not yet fully contributed to community welfare.

Income inequality has become a central problem. This condition shows that the benefits of economic growth have not yet been felt evenly across all segments of society. Most income remains



concentrated among specific groups directly involved in the mining industry and large corporations. Meanwhile, communities working in agriculture, fisheries, and micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs) tend to have lower income levels. The reduction in poverty in East Luwu Regency over the past five years has shown a relatively slowing trend. Data records a poverty rate of 6.85 percent in 2020, with only a 0.30-point decrease to 6.55 percent by 2024 -- still far from the ideal target of below 5.00 percent (East Luwu Regency RPJMD Document, 250-251).

Nevertheless, mining, or extraction-based growth, continues to be declared the backbone of the regional economy. No indication was found of a moratorium on new permits or a design for transition toward a post-extractive economy. Dependence on the mining sector places this region at risk of a resource curse (Auty, 1993; Bebbington et al., 2008), in which economies dependent on extraction tend to produce long-term inequality and ecological vulnerability. Using the analytical matrix, East Luwu shows the highest level of contradiction between the recognition of impacts and the continuation of the extractive model. Structural transformation is almost invisible, while economic dependence on natural resources remains dominant.

ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE PRINCIPLES	RPJPD 2025–2045	RPJMD 2025–2029	CRITICAL NOTES
Strengthening Deforestation & Forest Degradation Control	Acknowledges the importance of sustainable development and environmental balance.	Addresses deforestation, land-use change, and the risks of floods and degradation.	Addresses the issue, but lacks explicit targets for reducing deforestation and protecting primary forests.
Protected Forests & Ecosystem Conservation	Highlights the importance of maintaining environmental supporting capacity.	Programs for forest and land rehabilitation as well as climate change mitigation.	Focuses on rehabilitation; no clear limits on mine expansion in forest areas.
Limiting Extractive Activities in Forest Areas	Emphasizes regional-based economic development potential.	Downstreaming of nickel and strengthening industrial areas as top priorities.	No moratorium on new mining permits or explicit ecological safeguards for forest areas.
Ecosystem Restoration & Climate Change Mitigation	Supports low-carbon development.	Forest rehabilitation programs, Climate Change Adaptation Action Plan, and renewable energy.	Approach remains technocratic; not based on the protection of primary forest structures.
Strengthening Community Rights over Forests	Does not explicitly place communities as subjects of forest protection.	No scheme for community or social forestry protection as a main strategy.	Forest protection not linked to community management rights and public participation.

Table 3. Critical Analysis Matrix from a Reading of the East Luwu Regency 2025-2045 RPJPD-RPJMD Documents



A General Pattern: Managing the Damage, Not Stopping It

STUDY AREA AND LANDSCAPE	ECOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS	KEY FINDINGS FROM DOCUMENTS	DOMINANT EC ORIENTA
Makassar (Coastal Area)	Coastal city, urbanization pressure, solid waste & water crisis	Exploitation of waste crisis, reduction in green open space, housing limitations, clean water risks	New economy, m investment, area development
Maros (Karst)	Karst hydrological area, agriculture, drought risk	Karst degradation and climate change, low level of environmental carrying capacity	Investment & mi potential remain maintained
East Luwu (Forest Area)	Forest area, nickel mining expansion, deforestation	Degradation and fragmentation due to mining	Development as economic backbo

Table 4. Comparative Analysis Matrix from a Reading of Regional Development Policy Documents (RPJPD, RPJMD, and the Vision-Mission of Regional Heads)



Although the three landscapes have different ecological characters -- coastal areas pressured by urbanization and reclamation projects, karst areas hydrologically vulnerable due to extractive industry, and forests driven by extraction -- the policy responses show a uniform pattern. The solutions offered are generally administrative in nature: monitoring, rehabilitation, control, and capacity building. This approach reflects what James Scott (1998) calls a tendency toward high modernist planning, in which socio-ecological complexity is reduced to a technical problem manageable through bureaucratic governance. Yet from Schlosberg's (2007) perspective, environmental justice requires fair distribution, recognition of rights, and meaningful participation. However, a critical reading of the three documents shows that the environment is more often positioned as a variable of development than as an ecological right of citizens and future generations.

ECONOMIC TATION	POSITIONING OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN POLICY NARRATIVE	LEVEL OF ECOLOGICAL CONTRA-NARRATIVE	CRITICAL NOTES ON ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE
maritime	Environment as a risk to be managed	High	No limits on area expansion; managerial solutions; coastal communities' rights not yet the basis of policy
neral	Environment as an asset as well as a commodity	Medium	Ambiguity between conservation and commodification; no limits on extractive activities in karst areas
an one	Environment as an impact that needs to be rehabilitated	Very High	Structural dependency on extractive economy; no post-extractive transition design; ongoing social- ecological fragmentation

Thus, when the landscape matrix is read comparatively as in the table above, the three areas show the following pattern:

1. The level of recognition of the ecological crisis has relatively increased.
2. Economic orientation remains based on growth and investment.
3. Structural restrictions on extractive expansion have not yet been firmly formulated.
4. The environment is placed within a framework of impact management, rather than restriction of the source of impact.

The integration of document analysis and the landscape matrix shows that the Makassar coast, Maros karst, and East Luwu forest fall within the same development paradigm: the ecological crisis is normatively acknowledged, yet the economic model that risks deepening the crisis is nonetheless upheld. The difference between areas lies in how explicit this contradiction is, not in a shift in paradigm. The coast displays an urban-ecological crisis, such as reclamation managed through a blue-economy narrative; the karst shows ambiguity between conservation and commodification; while the forest shows structural dependence on mining extraction. As such, no shift toward ecological democracy or a carrying-capacity-based economic transition is yet visible. Planning documents remain within a framework of environmental managerialism, rather than substantive ecological transformation. In fact, the challenge toward ecological justice is now becoming further layered by a series of policies that weaken environmental protection efforts, such as the emergence of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. On this point, Mohammad Muttaqin Azikin, a researcher and spatial-planning observer (Ma'Refat Institute), explained that:

The major problem right now lies in Article 34A of Law No. 6 of 2023 (which adopts the provisions of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation), which grants the central government legitimacy to make instant spatial adjustments so that projects designated as National Strategic Projects (PSN) can proceed immediately without having to wait for a revision of the regional RTRW regulation, or matters not yet regulated within it. This means that since the Job Creation Law came into force, the use and management of space in Indonesia has continued to decline.

2. The Shrinking of Civic Space and the Ecological Vulnerability Index of Each Regency/City in South Sulawesi

The shrinking of civic space is not merely a democracy issue, but a key catalyst accelerating the pace of environmental destruction in South Sulawesi. When citizens' access to oversee policy is closed off, the landscape loses its primary safeguard, driving up the ecological vulnerability index in various regencies/cities that now stand at an alarming threshold. This is clearly confirmed by the latest mapping of conditions through a public opinion survey conducted by WALHI South Sulawesi during the February-April 2026 period, in which most areas were found besieged within the High and Moderate Risk Zones. North Luwu Regency recorded the highest vulnerability score at 2.50, followed by East Luwu at 2.18 and Bulukumba at 2.13, as the areas with the most acute ecological risk due to extractive investment pressure combined with minimal public participation.



GRAPH OF CIVIC SPACE RESTRICTIONS AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION IN SOUTH SULAWESI

This map illustrates the level of risk associated with civic space restrictions and environmental degradation across each regency/city in South Sulawesi, based on the results of a survey conducted by WALHI South Sulawesi.

RISK CATEGORY

● HIGH RISK	≥ 2.00
● MEDIUM RISK	1.50 – 1.99
● LOW RISK	< 1.50

REGENCY/CITY	RISK LEVEL	SCORE
North Luwu	● High	2.50
East Luwu	● High	2.18
Bulukumba	● High	2.13
Bantaeng	● High	2.12
Gowa	● High	2.11
Sidrap	● High	2.05
Barru	● High	2.00
Makassar	● High	2.00
Pinrang	● Medium	1.98
Sinjai	● Medium	1.97
Luwu	● Medium	1.93
Maros	● Medium	1.90
Takalar	● Medium	1.88
Jeneponto	● Medium	1.88
Toraja Utara	● Medium	1.86
Enrekang	● Medium	1.86
Pangkep	● Medium	1.80
Wajo	● Medium	1.79
Bone	● Medium	1.75
Palopo	● Medium	1.74
Tana Toraja	● Medium	1.72
Selayar	● Low	1.22
Pare-Pare	● Low	1.48
Soppeng	● Low	1.46

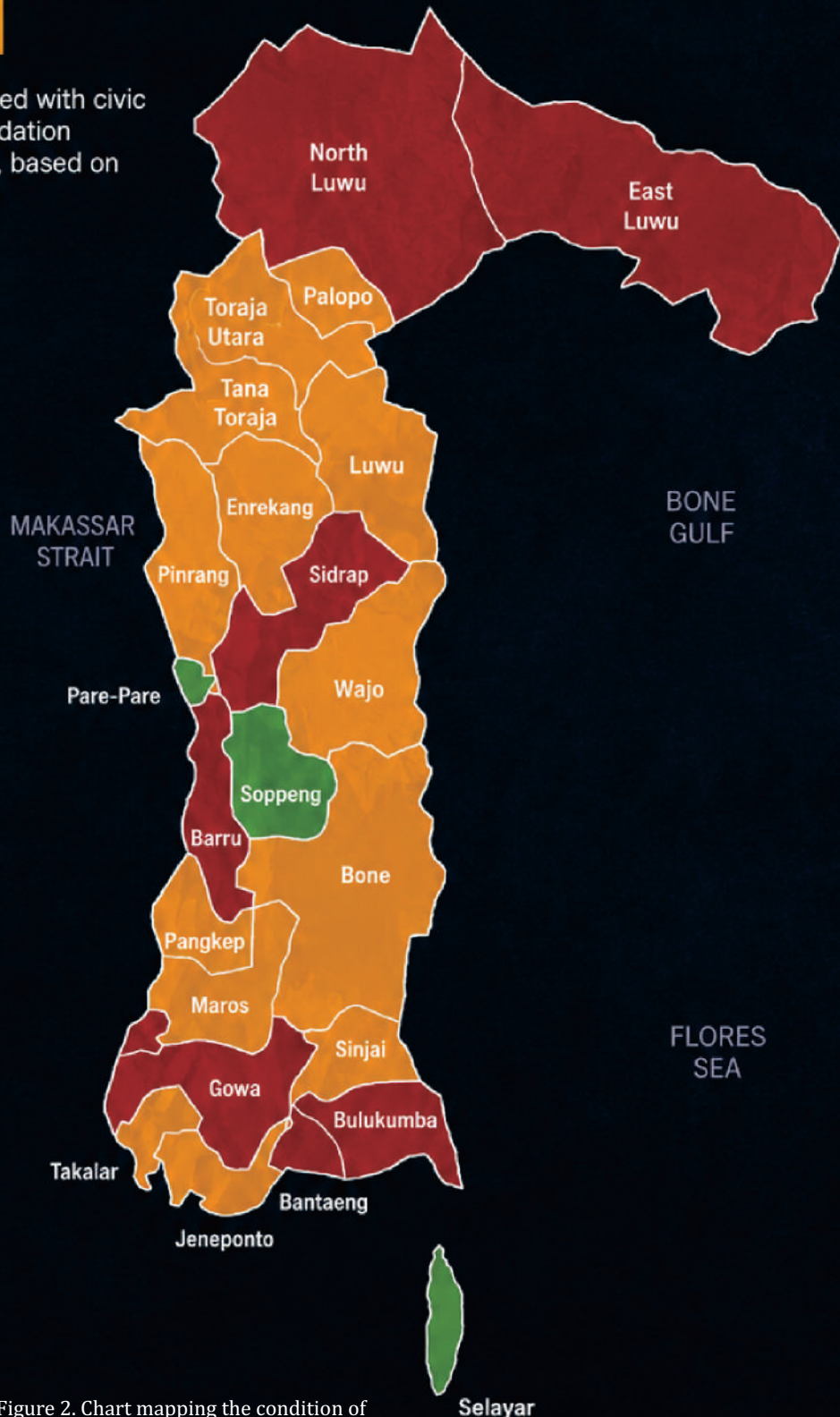


Figure 2. Chart mapping the condition of shrinking civic space and environmental degradation in South Sulawesi

A critical analysis shows that the dominance of High and Moderate Risk Zones in the Greater Luwu region, particularly North Luwu (2.50/High Risk Zone), East Luwu (2.18/High Risk Zone), and Luwu (1.90/Low Risk Zone), reflects the intensity of the clash between extractive industry expansion and the people's sovereignty over their managed space, worsened by the massive scale of ecological disasters in the area. In contrast to Low Risk Zone areas such as Selayar, Pare-Pare, and Soppeng, which face different investment pressures, the high scores in Greater Luwu correspond directly with an accumulation of reports on the minimal transparency of environmental impact assessment (AMDAL) documents and high community resistance to non-participatory mining activity.

The above facts are confirmed by the conflict that occurred in North Luwu, between the Rampi indigenous community and PT Kalla Arebama. This conflict began with the community's firm stance in rejecting the company's presence in their customary territory, Onondowa Village, Rampi Subdistrict. This issue was conveyed directly by Yesaya Wungko of the Rampi Customary Institution, who stated that there is no place for a mining company in their customary territory. Yesaya affirmed that the Rampi Indigenous Community will never negotiate with the mining company.

We unconditionally reject the entry of the mining company into our customary territory. Rampi land is customary land -- let us manage it independently, regulated by the government, without having to involve the company. said Yesaya Wungko during a peaceful protest rejecting the entry of PT Kalla Arebama into Rampi's customary territory in Onondowa Village, Rampi Subdistrict, on Monday, June 23, 2025.

Yet rather than having their aspirations heard, they were instead criminalized on the grounds of carrying out 'illegal' mining activity and 'inciting' other residents to reject PT Kalla Arebama's gold mining activity. At present, at least seventeen (17) members of the Rampi Indigenous Community are facing legal proceedings.

Beyond the issues occurring in North Luwu, a similar conflict has also arisen in East Luwu between pepper farmers and PT Vale Indonesia. This conflict began with a plan to expand PT Vale Indonesia's nickel mining area into community pepper plantations in Loeha Raya. The escalation of this issue has intensified because the company has never once involved the community in meaningful public consultation. This was confirmed by Ibu Caccang and Pak Rama, who explained that:

When it comes to discussions about PT Vale, the community is never invited... only the same few people are invited -- meaning those who do not oppose, or who align with the company's interests. Said Ibu Caccang.

There was a time when people who supported the company were taken to Makassar... we were not involved. It's quite clear -- on the pretext of having brought 10 people, they claimed to represent the community, but that's not the case at all. Those who went to Makassar did not represent the farmers' voice at all -- especially not the farmers who are fighting to protect their plantations. Said Pak Rama.

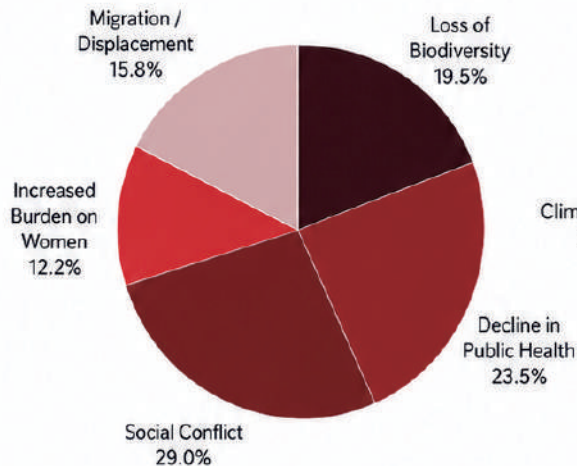
The issue of shrinking civic space and environmental degradation depicted in forest areas, as conveyed by indigenous communities, farmers, and women in North Luwu and East Luwu, in fact also occurs and follows the same pattern in coastal areas. Coastal areas such as Makassar and Bulukumba also show a similar pattern, where ecological vulnerability is driven by large-scale physical development projects that often disregard the rights of coastal communities and women as the group most affected. Take, for example, the planned construction of a Petrochemical Industrial Zone in Bulukumba and the CPI-Makassar New Port-Untia reclamation in Makassar, both of which have faced strong rejection from communities and environmental activists in the two areas. Their rejection has, not infrequently, been met with repressive action by security forces. This was



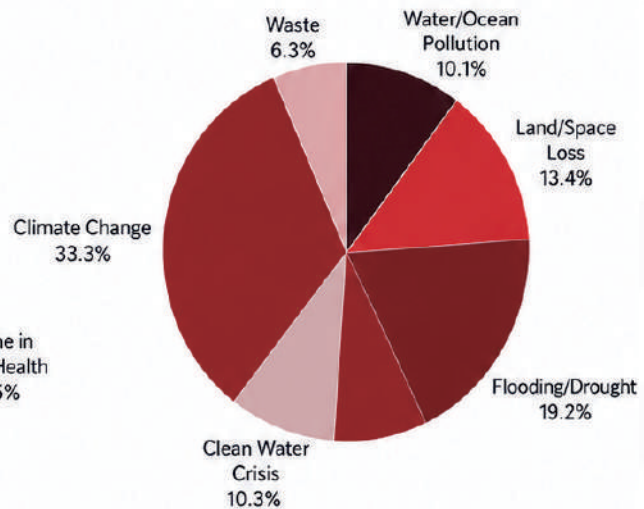
conveyed by Anjar during a protest against the Petrochemical Industrial Zone at the Bulukumba Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) building on February 5, 2026.

What's disappointing is that once the government had prepared the 300-hectare plot of land, the community was notified about eviction roughly twice from that point on. So the government is criminalizing the community while giving investors a wide berth. That's simply not fair.

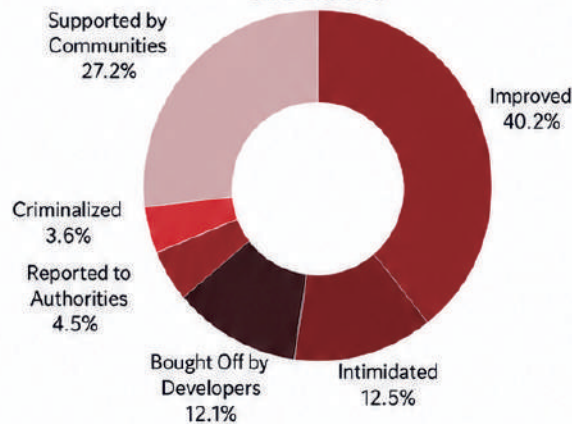
Impacts of Environmental Degradation



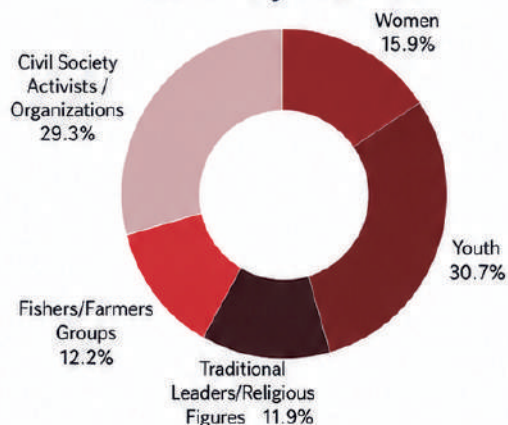
Dominant Environmental Problems



What Happens When Environmental Issues Are Raised



Key Actors in Safeguarding Community Resilience



Community Efforts to Protect Their Living Space

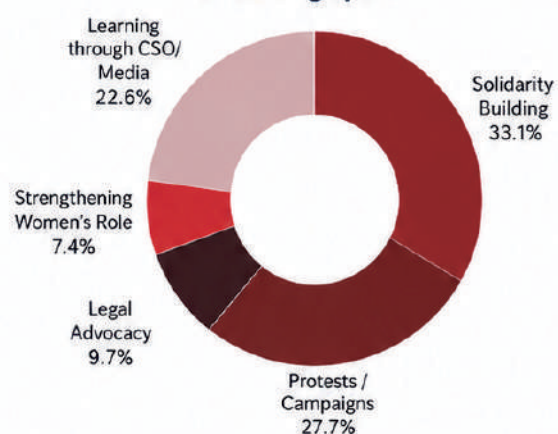


Figure 3. WALHI South Sulawesi public opinion survey on environmental problems, community efforts and the actors considered important for maintaining community resilience

Although classified within the Moderate Risk Zone index, karst areas such as Maros, with a score of 1.90, are likewise not free from problems of shrinking civic space and ecological degradation. Based on field findings and direct interviews, both the community and the government state that this area is now experiencing what is known as 'spatial pressure' as a result of being designated a 'buffer area' for the City of Makassar within the planning and growth landscape of the Mamminasata Region. Yet, amid this situation, citizen participation in overseeing the development agenda, particularly regarding environmental issues, remains very weak and limited to mere participatory tokenism (tokenism) as expressed by Iwan Dento, an environmental activist in Maros Regency, who stated that:

We tend to be involved only in the spaces of (technical) execution. We are almost never involved in the spaces of planning... We are seen only in the position of an object of policy or development. Usually, the first thing that gets shut off is access. For instance, if there's a forum, they're simply not invited. Or they're given a special-seeming role in the government's agenda, which ultimately ends up silencing them. He said

Beyond Iwan Dento, Darwis, a farmer in Salenrang Village, is also concerned about the direction of development in Maros Regency's tourism areas, particularly Rammang-Rammang, which in his view the government focuses on developing for tourism without paying attention to the natural resources of the area. Moreover, this tourism area has frequently experienced flooding every rainy season, harming farmers whose rice fields are submerged before harvest time arrives.

Before, the damage (from flooding) wasn't like it is now -- at most, it would flood in the afternoon and be back to normal by the next day. But now, when it floods, the water usually lingers for one or two weeks. That's what makes things difficult for us farmers. ...if tourism is really going to be pushed hard, it would be better if the goal weren't just about bringing in visitors, but the natural resources also had to be looked after. Said Darwis, who complained about the direction of Rammang-Rammang's tourism development.

Interviews with government officials indicate that some efforts toward environmental and civic-space protection do exist, though these efforts remain far from optimal. This condition, for example, was described by Andi Irfan Paharuddin, Head of the Maros Regency Environment Agency, who explained that:

Community participation and involvement is actually already clearly regulated, starting from the village/sub-district level. It's just that, in the Musrenbang [development planning forum], people often grow weary of it, and it just becomes a routine, ordinary agenda item. Yet in truth, however small their contribution when speaking within a forum, it actually gives them a role in voicing what they raise... I think, from a regulatory standpoint, when it comes to ecology, the regulations need to be strengthened. Right now, the regulations even contradict one another. So if the regulations were solid, the direction of spatial arrangement and use would already make clear that certain things simply aren't allowed at all. So once that is strengthened, our rice fields (natural resources/environment) will be protected. He said

A broadly similar argument was also put forward by Dodi Agrianto, Head of the Research Team at BRIDA Makassar City, who explained that investment carried out in the City of Makassar should comply with applicable environmental protection principles and regulations. However, what often becomes a problem is intervention from the central government in various spatial-use agendas, particularly in the form of National Strategic Projects (PSN) and extractive activities, as conveyed by Ibu Esti, a representative of the East Luwu Regency Environment Agency, and Mohammad Muttaqin Azikin of the Ma'refat Institute.



When it comes to the environment, we are firm, and the regulations are clear too. So any investment that comes in here must still be categorized as green investment. Meaning, they're welcome to invest, but environmental principles absolutely must be complied with, because it's already the rule. Said Dodi Agrianto

The regional government truly stands at the front line, but decision-making does not rest with us... For the mining and forestry sectors, all policy has now been pulled to the center. Said Esti

Under spatial-use regulations, it is actually stipulated that everyone has the right to receive added value (social, economic, cultural) resulting from spatial changes. But what instead occurs is social and spatial segregation. Meaning, ordinary people are pushed to the margins in the use of space, particularly within the National Strategic Project (PSN) agenda. Said Azikin.

All of the findings above affirm that the shrinking of civic space in South Sulawesi is not only correlated with rising ecological vulnerability, but also reveals environmental tokenism as a dominant pattern in regional development governance. Public participation, formally presented through consultation forums, deliberations, or limited involvement, is in practice often merely superficial -- fulfilling procedure without providing any real space of influence for affected communities, particularly women.

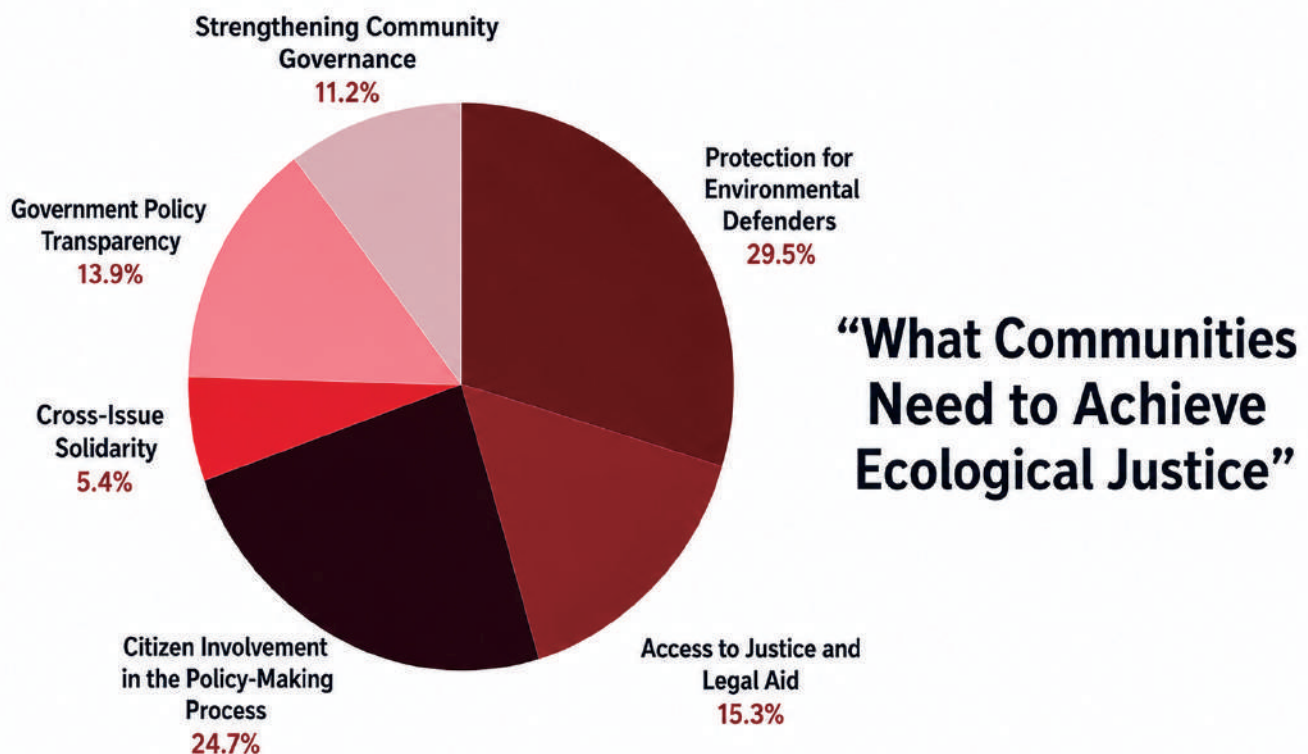


Figure 4. WALHI South Sulawesi public opinion survey on community/community needs in efforts to realize ecological justice

On the other hand, based on the 2025 Annual Notes (CATAHU) released by Komnas Perempuan on March 6, 2026, 376,529 cases of gender-based violence against women were recorded over the past year, an increase of more than 14 percent from the previous year. But this figure only reflects those who dared to report, whose cases were documented, who fell within organizations' radar. What goes uncounted is far greater. Violence against women in the context of agrarian conflict and ecological crisis is layered and cumulative in nature. It does not always appear as a physical act that can be reported to police. It appears in the form of structural neglect accumulated over years: not being involved in decision-making, not being recognized as a legal subject over the land they cultivate, not being given space in negotiations that determine the future of their village.

Environmental tokenism thus functions as a mechanism that "legitimizes" development projects, while simultaneously sidelining critical voices and weakening social control. As a result, development policy continues to operate within an extractive and exploitative logic, while communities are positioned as objects, not subjects, in the management of their own living space. In this context, the ecological crisis that occurs is not merely the impact of environmental pressure, but also the result of a failure of substantive democracy, in which civic space is reduced to administrative formality. Therefore, without dismantling the practice of environmental tokenism and restoring meaningful public participation, efforts toward ecological justice will continue to be obstructed by unequal power structures.

In this situation, the State should bear responsibility for upholding the democratic principles related to environmental sustainability. This is as expressed by Jimly Asshiddiqie (2009; 2021), who affirms that the Indonesian constitution contains a principle of constitutional democracy that requires the protection of human rights and the limitation of state power. In the context of the environment, this limitation is reflected in the state's obligation not to issue policies that harm the public's right to a healthy environment. State power must be exercised based on the principle of checks and balances and must be subject to legal norms that guarantee environmental sustainability.

Amid the ecological uncertainty and weak public participation reinforced by this research's findings, the principle of "in dubio pro natura" (when in doubt, the decision must favor the protection of nature) becomes crucial as an ethical and legal foundation to ensure that every development policy favors environmental protection. However, this research's findings instead show the opposite tendency, where scientific doubt and community rejection are not met with caution, but rather set aside in favor of investment interests.





D

Tension Between Policy and Ecological Justice: A Closing Note

This research shows that the ecological crisis in South Sulawesi cannot be understood merely as a consequence of the intensified use of natural resources, but rather as the result of a development policy configuration that places economic growth as its main orientation amid a civic space that is not fully deliberative. In a situation where public participation is reduced to a procedural administrative mechanism, the distribution of ecological benefits and risks becomes increasingly unequal. Groups of people who live and depend directly on the coastal, karst, and forest landscapes -- such as fishers, farmers, women, and indigenous communities -- are precisely the ones who bear the greatest share of ecological impact, while their access to influence the direction of policy grows ever more limited. Ecological justice thus remains in the shadow of shrinking civic space: it continues to exist as a normative horizon of development, yet remains constrained by power relations and policy structures that weaken citizens' capacity to substantively exercise their ecological citizenship.

In this context, this research affirms the presence of the practice of environmental tokenism as one of the dominant patterns in development governance in South Sulawesi. Community participation is indeed presented through consultation forums, outreach, or formal deliberation mechanisms. However, this involvement is often merely symbolic and provides no real influence over strategic decision-making. Citizens are invited to be "present", but are not truly given the space to determine the direction of development affecting their own living space. As a result, ecological democracy is reduced to mere administrative formality, while important decisions remain dominated by investment interests, extractive industry expansion, and large-scale development projects. In this situation, the shrinking of civic space and environmental degradation mutually reinforce one another, forming a condition that this research understands as a crisis of ecological democracy.

Furthermore, findings across the various landscapes show a relatively similar pattern. In forest and mining areas such as Greater Luwu, ecological conflict arises alongside the criminalization and delegitimization of communities defending their living space. In coastal areas such as Makassar and Bulukumba, reclamation projects and industrial zones show a development tendency that disregards the rights of coastal communities and women as the affected group. Meanwhile, in the Maros karst area, spatial pressure resulting from metropolitan and tourism-area expansion shows how development is often carried out without meaningful deliberative mechanisms. Altogether, these dynamics show that the environmental issue in South Sulawesi is in fact not merely a technical ecological matter, but a political matter concerning who holds power over space, who is included, and who is excluded from the development process.

Therefore, this research emphasizes that restoring environmental quality cannot be separated from efforts to expand and strengthen civic space. The principle of *In Dubio Pro Natura* -- that in situations of doubt, policy must favor environmental protection -- needs to be placed as an ethical and political foundation in regional development governance. The state and regional governments must not merely present participation formally, but must ensure meaningful, equal, and influential participation throughout the entire development decision-making process.

Based on the research findings, there are several key recommendations that need to be carried out to improve ecological democracy and environmental governance in South Sulawesi:

1. **Strengthening deliberative and inclusive public participation space through information openness, meaningful public consultation, open complaint mechanisms, and the active involvement of affected communities from the earliest stage of development planning.**
2. **Ending the practice of environmental tokenism by ensuring that participation forums are not merely administrative legitimization, but carry real influence over policy and permitting decisions.**
3. **Improving the transparency of environmental documents, particularly public access to AMDAL, business permits, and spatial-planning documents, so that they can be democratically monitored.**
4. **Guaranteeing protection for environmental defenders and communities affected by ecological conflict, including ending the criminalization of indigenous communities, farmers, fishers, women, and environmental activists.**



5. **Conducting ecological evaluation and auditing of strategic and extractive projects located in areas with a high level of ecological vulnerability.**
6. **Encouraging the integration of the principles of ecological justice and gender justice into RPJPD, RPJMD documents, and regional spatial-planning policy, so that development is measured not only through economic growth, but also through ecological sustainability and social justice.**
7. **Placing the principle of In Dubio Pro Natura as the foundation of regional development policy, particularly in decision-making that carries the potential to cause ecological damage and social conflict.**

Pada akhirnya, masa depan ekologis Sulawesi Selatan tidak hanya ditentukan oleh kemampuan negara mengelola sumber daya alam, tetapi juga oleh sejauh mana demokrasi mampu menjamin ruang bagi warga untuk menjaga, mengawasi, dan menentukan masa depan ruang hidupnya sendiri.



**In Solidarity for Justice and Sustainability
Happy World Environment Day**

References

Asshiddiqie, Jimly. 2009. *Green Constitution: Nuansa Hijau UUD Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.

Asshiddiqie, Jimly. 2021. *Konstitusi dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia*. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika.

Auty, R. (1993). *Sustaining Development in Mineral Economies: The Resource Curse Thesis*.

Bebbington, A. et al. (2008). *Contestation and Ambiguity: Mining and the Possibilities of Development*.

Bryant, R. & Bailey, S. (1997). *Third World Political Ecology*.

Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana. (2025). *Infografis Data Bencana Indonesia Tahun 2025*: Jakarta.

Dobson, A. (1998). *Justice and the Environment: Conceptions of Environmental Sustainability and Dimensions of Social Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dryzek, J. S. (2000). *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dryzek, J. S. (1997). *The politics of the earth: Environmental discourses*. Oxford University Press.

Eckersley, R. (2004). *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hajer, M. (1995). *The Politics of Environmental Discourse*.

Komnas Perempuan. (2026, Maret 6). *Siaran Pers: Peluncuran Catatan Tahunan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan 2025*. Komnas Perempuan.

Newell, P., & Mulvaney, D. (2013). *The political economy of the 'just transition'*. *The Geographical Journal*, 179(2), 132-140.

Robbins, P. (2012). *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction (2nd ed.)*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Schlosberg, D. (2007). *Defining Environmental Justice: Theories, Movements, and Nature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing Like a State*.

Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI) Sulawesi Selatan. (2025). *Fakta Ekologi: Membaca Krisis dan Arah Tata Ruang Kota Makassar di Era Pendidikan Global*: Makassar

Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI) Sulawesi Selatan. (2025). *Fakta Ekologi: Jejak Tanah dan Laut yang Direbut, Harapan Pada Alam yang Dirawat*: Makassar

YLBHI-Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Makassar. (2025). *Demokrasi Menuju Distopia: Rakyat Perkuat Solidaritas Normalisasi Represi: Kriminalisasi aktivis, pembatasan demonstrasi, dan pengawasan digital meningkat*: Makassar.

Link Web/Berita

<https://aman.or.id/news/read/2125>

- diakses pada tanggal 5 Mei 2026

<https://kabarmakassar.com/news/tolak-kawasan-industri-warga-pesisir-bontobahari-geruduk-kantor-dprd-bulukumba>

- diakses pada tanggal 5 Mei 2026

Fading Democracy Amid a Fragile Landscape

A Portrait of Ecological Justice in the
Shadow of Shrinking Civic Space Across
Three Landscapes in South Sulawesi



Published by
Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI) South Sulawesi