Conceptual Article

Environmental Law, Populism, and Welfare State: Discourse on Environmental Law in the 21st Century

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ABSTRACT

In the 21st century, the problems of environmental law in various parts of the world are getting more and more alarming. The research results by Elizabeth Fisher (2019) and Sanja Bogojevic (2019) indicate that several environmental law policies have been controlled by populism, as happened in several countries in Europe. Populism is transformed into a movement of people's will which certainly has an impact on the enforcement of environmental laws by various countries around the world. For this reason, this paper intends to discuss the law and to find the definition and influence of populism in protecting environmental laws in the welfare state. The aim was to determine a picture of populism and its influence on the development of environmental law. The result is that populism as an idea or ideology also means a discursive style, and it can also be interpreted as a form of political mobilization. The rise of populism threatens the development of environmental law. Populist attitudes lead to climate skepticism on environmental protection. Environmental protection may provide idealized targets for populists by framing this issue area as an elite project. Individuals who display highly populist attitudes perceive a lack of representation in these issue areas and, therefore, because of the problem of anti-elitism, reject climate and environmental policies. In other words, elite resistance tends to be associated with climate skepticism and lower support for environmental protection.

Keywords: Populism; Climate Skepticism; Environmental law; Welfare State.

A. INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on the author's interest in the research results of Elizabeth Fisher and Sanja Bogojevic in the Journal of Environmental Law, Oxford University, which commented on the problems of environmental law caused by populism in several regions of European countries. Both saw that legal procedures have been weakened by populist ideology as happened in Yugoslavia. Meanwhile in Serbia, there has been a gradual reduction of environmental protection law regulations through the efforts to hide information, to limit participation, and to

provide access to justice in the fields related to environmental protection (Bogojevic, 2019). Then, ideological antipathy to environmental regulations led to the attacks on courts that tried environmental cases (Fisher, 2019). The surprising conclusion in the results of Bogojevic's research states that populism, rule of law, and environmental protection operate in a venn diagram in which one another intersects or is interrelated.

The fact that happened in Europe is that populism has spread to various levels of society (Hilson, 2019). Some of the cases occurred were the

attempts by populist groups to carry out attacks on local courts because they were deemed to obstruct the "will of the people". For example, (1) the case of Judge Miller labeled "Enemy of the People" in the Brexit case in England (Aroney, 2017). (2) the change of government in Poland in the case of the retirement age of judicial court judges which threatened judicial independence and violated Article 19 paragraph (1) of TEU by European Court Justice. For this reason, Bogojevic and Fisher regretted the lack of studies and discourses from academics and lawyers who focus on environmental law to analyze this problem.

Public dissatisfaction with socio-economic conditions triggers political tensions between the community and the government. The decline in public trust affects the level of public apathy towards political elites. Supposedly, the presence of the government (people's representatives) through policies that are just and prosperous is very much needed in order to realize the lofty ideals of the welfare state. This momentum is then a major factor in the development of populism in politics and the birth of populist actors as the agencies who are given the opportunity to compete to become political leaders through democratic election mechanisms (Preston, 2019).

Another trend that accompanies the emergence of populism in the form of politics is the increasingly focused attention on figures although sometimes the figures have similarities in improving welfare based on the parameters of the breadth of support, group interests, and the quality of political

party programs that are able to accommodate the aspirations of the people and their career interests. Through the above process, it will be very difficult to distinguish them (the figures) from the previous actors, resulting in this phenomenon being only read as an elite circulation from the old elite to the non-elite.

The emergence of populism is usually trimmed and leads to the appearance of a number of popular figures. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the future, these figures are more concerned with the interests of maintaining their respective "power domination" and "popularity", rather than busy themselves with initiating public dialogue on future policy directions. This is what hinders the government's efforts to create a democratic welfare state (Preston, 2019).

Populist policies may certainly maintain the image of leaders and their own popularity. In other hand, populist leaders will encounter a dilemma when they come to choose between the quality of policy or the popularity of the policy. As we know, not all quality policies are popular policies, and vice versa, not all popular policies are quality and good policies to solve existing problems. This dilemma is a test for the resilience of the leadership of populist leaders with the ideas of populism they carry. If this populist leader is unable to fulfill the promise of achieving prosperity, he is actually overshadowed by other populist actors and old elites expelled from political power to be ready to be removed for the same reasons: "on behalf of the people" and "for well-being "(Preston, 2019).

A populist leader can offer a suitable solution to all parties to the problems posed by the rule of the corrupt elite who have "kidnapped the will of the majority" (de la Torre, 2018). Obviously, populism will increase when democracy experiences a deficit of trust from its people (Wisnu, 2019).

If a populist leader is elected, all of his policies will lead to the interests of populist groups labeled "the interests of the people". Indeed, it will have an impact on various public sectors, one of which is environmental protection. For example, President Trump's foreign policies have become populist prominence and fundamentally violated the liberal internationalist tradition (Lacatus, 2021). This policy is to exploit resources on a large scale and to create a crisis in society to mobilize its domestic base in line with the needs and spirit of populism (Hall, 2021). President Trump also constructed the concept of 'real America' as a Jaksonian working class, white, and man. This is a debate both before and after which choice is a form of resistance and reclaiming of the superiority of white working America, and national identity (Holland, & Fermor, 2021).

Based on the background description above, we agree that; although populism is not really a new concept in legal discourse, it is still very interesting to study because of its rapid development. In Populism development data from 1980 to 2000, the growth graph continues to increase from year to year (Kaltwasser et al, 2017). The 21st century is considered to be the highest momentum for the development of populism in various countries in the world. Populism has now been transformed into a movement of "people's will" and the "interests of the people" which are considered to be very detrimental to environmental protection. In addition, a populist leader with "for the sake of the people" will always try to find opportunities from the policies that can benefit him even though he is in a country that actually has the goal of the people's welfare (welfare state).

The formulations of the problems that will be discussed and examined in this article are: (1) what is the definition of populism and the approach to understand it? (2) what is the influence of populism in environmental law and welfare state? The goal to achieve in this discussion is to find out the meaning and influence of populism in upholding environmental laws in democratic countries that carry the concept of welfare state. The purpose of this paper was to determine the meaning of populism from various approaches and their effects on environmental law and welfare state.

This article attempts to discuss more deeply the influence of populism on the environmental sector. However, it is different from previous research, such as: Elizabeth Fisher's research on the relationship between environmental law and populism (Fisher, 2019), Chris Hilson's research on the impact of populism on courts (Hilson, 2019), The research of Jayanto on the phenomenon of Islamic Populism in Indonesia (Jayanto, 2019), the research of Choirunisa Agustin Hutari and Caroline Paskarina on the implementation of populist policies that have taken place in the province of DKI Jakarta (Hutari, & Paskarina, 2019), and Restu Rahmawati's research which examined the rise of populism and its influence

on the level of Indonesian democracy (Rahmawati, 2018).

The focus of the problem discussed in this study first was on the revelation in the meaning of populism viewed from various scientific perspectives in search of a comprehensive meaning. The study was then continued by specifically analyzing various policies of the countries adhering to democratic systems in responding to populism. The problem of populism arises from the fact that it is increasingly widespread and massive in various democratic countries, while there are still few writings or articles that discuss it. Therefore, this paper intends to discuss law and seeks the meaning and influence of populism in protecting environmental laws in welfare states. This discussion can be used as a reference for the government to anticipate populism in Indonesia, particularly in the field of environmental law protection.

B. DISCUSSION

Talking about populism theory is not easy because populism alone is a debate. For example, the debate whether populism is an ideology or not? Some say that populism is only a rhetorical feature, not a serious ideology. In addition, Laclau included it in the leadership style that is popular in the midst of society (Howarth, 2014).

To help answer the question of the meaning of populism, the author proposes a conclusion from a literature review from Gidron & Bonikowski (2013) seen through political and sociological approaches. According to him, populism is defined as an idea or

ideology and discursive style, and it can also be interpreted as a form of political mobilization. Of the three variants of the approach conceptualized by Gidron and Bonikowski, each approach has a way of working and strength in seeing phenomena (Maulidya, & Alfirdaus, 2019).

Previously, Laclau also concludes the definition of populism based on the results of his analysis as a political logic which means a consequence of the political conditions of society. Besides, there is a naming and effect, which means that the definition of the word populism or populist may have a special consequence in determining its main objective category oriented to "the people" and particular demand as a social request that comes from a sense of public dissatisfaction with their socio-economic conditions. This societal discontent is seen as an important driving factor in the attractiveness of populism (Aytac, Carkoglu, & Elci, 2021).

Although it is still in theoretical debate, at least some sort of common thread can be found in the form of general characteristics when looking at the conception of populism (Ritoga, & Adela, 2020). Three general characteristics of populism are anti-establishment, authoritarian, and nativism (equality of identity).

In PWD′s research, populism is understood as a Manichean political style that includes three main dimensions; first, populism refers to the "people". Populist leaders generally claim to represent and act on behalf of "the people" in the common sense of the people. Second, populism is also concerned with the idea of creating and strengthening direct relationships

between populist leaders and the people. Third, this political style strongly contains anti-establishment and anti-elite sentiments. This understanding of populism contains two coinciding implications between a movement against oligarchic domination by mobilizing the masses and marginalized groups or a political idea of people-oriented development perspective. Then, the two implications above have a slight difference so that a special study is needed to later make populism not be viewed with negative and cynical connotations. Populism is not only seen from the leadership figure but also seen from the perspective of society both its role and influence (Personal, 2013).

Populism as a contemporary study offers a concept that can accommodate various criticisms and perspectives. In the late 19th century, the beginning of the study of populism was marked by a movement by local farmers in Russia and the United States, and then in the mid-20th century populism emerged and spread in Latin America. Finally, populism has now developed in America, Latin America, and several countries in Europe (Gidron, & Bonikowski, 2013).

In scientific disciplines, populism studies are generally included in the political, social, and economic fields, and then the analysis is taken from theoretical perspectives and approaches including structuralism, post-structuralism, modernization, social movement theory, political psychology, political political economy, and democracy theories, as well as political parties (Gidron, & Bonikowski, 2013).

The term populism is seen as an ambiguous concept and "Cinderella Complex" which means that they overlap due to theoretical debates and have not found a common ground. The complexity of populism is due to the lack of efforts to conceptualize ideas and tends to understand more from a comparative lens of global cases from different points of view (Tarchi, 2013).

The implication of this diversity raises several categories of approaches used in populism studies, such as discursive, ideational, organizational or multiclass (Hadiz, & Robinson, 2017). First, the discursive approach by Ernesto Laclau in his book "On Populist Reason" focuses more on political construction. This construction is built by a heterogeneous society to unite aspirations / demands to be homogeneous. even though this demand occurs in the dichotomy between the unresponsiveness of the power holders and the unfulfilled demands of the people. It is transformed into a common political agenda through a discursive process based on the symbolic similarity of the people (Margiansyah, 2019). Second, the ideational approach of Cas Mudde's focuses more the attention on populist ideas, rhetoric, and political maneuvers with three basic elements: "the people", "the elite", and "the general will of people" (Mudde, & Kaltwasser, 2017). According to Mudde, populism has become an ideology that is procedural, elastic, and centrally (a thin centered ideology) which wants to separate subjects in society between virtuous "pure people" and "elites" who are corrupt, oppressive, greedy, and do not care about interests of the people. Third, the multiclass (organizational) approach is based on a structural economic and

political perspective. This approach, by Vedi R Hadiz and Richard Robinson, argues that the main focus is the organization of populism, movement strategy, the representative institutions it faces, accentuation on the social and material basis of populism related to conflicts over power and resources in a particular historical context (Hadiz, & Robinson, 2017).

When viewed from a structuralist's framework, populism is a political expression based on like-minded people for the collective interest by an asymmetric coalition between classes of society. This populist "people's" coalition does not differentiate between the political identities of its members as long as its purpose is for common interests against corrupt elites as common enemies through power lines (Hadiz & Robinson, 2017). As a result, not infrequently, this hostility makes some people (as conducted by Orban and journalists) in Central Europe choose to become antagonists of European liberal democracy (Lamour, 2021). According to Caroline, Paskarina added that the identity of the populist "people" coalition is formed through differences in the process of resistance, which one is insider as "the people" and the other one is outsider as someone else (Paskarina, 2017). This is the process of homogenization of the people because they have a common vision and goal even though they are from different backgrounds against the elite as a common enemy. The impact, in a study by Widmann, is that actors from populist parties are more likely to be emotional to differences than actors from Widmann's main party (2021).

According to De Vreese, this hegemonization involved various elements with only one exception being the elite as an outsider. Then, it is necessary to communicate and unite visions in building this social identity as the key to smooth the goals of populism. The flow of communication within the insider who tries to create ideas and definitions that the coalition of populist people is a moral people who should be the holders of power and the political elites as outsiders are a small, corrupt and problematic minority group that greatly disappoints all the people. The rhetoric of outsider often points to the right (foreigners, elites, etc.) from the left (populism) (De Vreese et.al, 2018).

Returning again to the description of the approach above, it can be said that each approach has an important emphasis and mutually reinforces the conceptualization of populism in general. Of course, these approaches can provide insight and help to understand populism from a comprehensive perspective. In choosing the right approach, of course, a procedure is needed in analytic eclecticism. This is important in strengthening the construction of the substantive argument that is built (Sil, & Katzenstein, 2010).

For this reason, the effort to develop conceptual ideas in understanding polulism is not only from one side as a movement but also as a political style, seizing the domination of power by the elite, and an ideology that favors the interests of the people. According to Margaret Canovan (1999), this populist movement is a tactic and strategy of mobilizing all of the people to defend the interests of

the "vox populist" people as a people's sovereignty by legitimizing politics from the common enemy of "political elites" (Mudde, 2010). Its main objectives include weakening social class, status quo, and domination of political elites. Political elites will be powerless if the "people" have been mobilized by populist actors. According to Taggart, this strategy is also an outlet for the people who have been disappointed over the policies and performance of the elites who have been making policies that are not impartial and marginalized by the people from the mainstream of politics (Kaltwasser, 2012). There are several elements that can be used as the parameters in determining the operational success of populist movements, namely charismatic leader figures, political parties, and resistance movements (Tarchi, 2013).

However, according to Taggart, there is still ambiguity in the definition of the people of the populist movement because it is understood based on one's own imagination with a unity of community groups that have morals in certain areas (heartland) (Engesser et.al., 2017). Hence, it can be understood that the people of certain areas are the majority people who feel disappointed at the results of elite policies because they are not based on their previous aspirations and expectations. The disillusionment of the majority makes a strong excuse for populists to blame the elites. Finally, this disappointment becomes the basis of the movement in building a relationship and social base as a new hope that can accommodate the various aspirations of the community, particularly those who have disillusioned

with the previous power. In addition, the study of hearthland will be very helpful in analyzing populism in identifying potential populist voting support pockets on the basis of primordial identity, demographic characteristics, political culture, and socio-economic conditions.

According to Mudde & Kaltwasser (2017), the strategic pattern of populism in mobilizing the masses of the people is carried out with the logic of reality based on media that corner the elite, so constituent support is needed to fight it. To understand this pattern, it is important to know the populist's mode of interaction in constructing a common interest with multiple constituents.

Meanwhile, populism has also become prevalent in Indonesia, based on the work of Burhanuddin Muhtadi on an interesting research conducted by the UGM Power Welfare and Democracy (PWD) that there are new alternatives in political relations in Indonesia, apart from patron-client relationships, namely the relationship does not tend to lead to populism anymore (Muhtadi, 2013). Marcus Mietzer clearly argues that the emergence of populism in Indonesia has started since the 2014 presidential election. At that time, there was competition between Jokowi and Prabowo, both of whom were populist politicians. We can see it from the figure shown by Prabowo who is charismatic, ultra nationalist, and confrontational against injustice and tiring the elites with the aim of restoring the glory of the Indonesian state. While the opponent, a charismatic Jokowi figure was the same populist politics as resistance, and then he combined it with

his technocratic experience as president and the incognito (blusukan) to the lower class. Apart from that, he also promoted pragmatism that is not ideological (Mietzner, 2015).

1. The Influence of Populism, Climate Skepticism, and Support for Environmental Protection

Then, the next question is: Is populism a threat, especially in the field of environmental law? To answer this question, we must understand very well on populism.

Populism has always been anti-immigrant, anti-establishment, anti-elitist and anti-pluralist sentiment. When using simple logic, there is someone with the status of the native people and not the plurality of groups that have different identities in one society. The implication is that there is only one truth. It means that only these populist groups represent the "real and genuine people", they also do not just speak on behalf of the people, but they also see themselves as part of the "elected" people to realize the people's will. Thus, it can be said that they are "anti-pluralist in principle", and they also "cannot accept legitimate opposition" (Müller, 2015). Therefore, in the world of politics, most populist parties define themselves only as a movement in which they are pretending to represent the people at large (the majority). Until now, there are still many populist parties that make it the object of research, particularly the parties in Europe because populism has permeated political science research (Meijers & Zaslove, 2021).

Populism which puts the people in the first place has now begun to spread to democratic countries. Most of the populism, known as right-wing populism, later acquires climate skepticism. Its revival has been marked since the rise of the National Front Party at the French elections in 2002. In general, populism develops in the United States, Brazil, Japan, the Philippines, India and Indonesia (Anditya, 2017). Specifically, populism has peaked by joining the radical right populist parties (PRR) as partners (as has been the case in Austria, Hungary, Finland and Norway) and as supporters of government (as in Denmark and the Netherlands) (Harteveld et al., 2021). As happened above, this populist party movement also uses a lot of symbolic names as opposition that is against the political elite, for example Thai Rak Thai, Forza Italia, Podemos, Alternative für Deutschland, MoVimento 5 Stelle, and other symbolic names (Ufen , 2019).

According to Robert A. Huber (2020), after examining the relationship in populist attitude, skepticism climate, and support for environmental protection out of the explanation as a political ideology, populist attitude is also strongly associated with climate skepticism and attitudes on environmental protection. Environmental protection can provide idealized targets for populists by framing this issue area as an elite project. Individuals who display highly populist attitudes perceive a lack of representation in these issue areas and, therefore, due to the problem of anti-elitism, reject climate and environmental policies. In other words, elite resistance tends to be associated with climate

skepticism and lower support for environmental protection.

The data from the British Election Study offer a lot of support for the claim that individuals who display highly populist attitudes also tend to be more skeptical about climate change. Populist attitudes also explain the variations in favor of environmental protection. These findings illustrate the importance of populism in explaining individual attitudes towards climate change and environmental politics. The effects of populism appear to be independent of political ideology. Overall, emerging populist attitudes have the potential to jeopardize public support for future and new climate action, binding international agreements beyond the specific combination of populism and political ideology (Huber, 2020).

Considering populism as an explanation for differences in attitudes to climate change and environmental protection is very important for the reason that first, populist attitudes have an independent stance to vote for the opposition in favor of certain ideologies, which may be said to be the reason for the bred of climate skepticism and environmental protection apart from political attitudes. Second, the current explanation ignores the main actors in climate action and environmental protection. With a focus on populism, I am here directly confronting the central actors at the heart of policy making. Third, the conceptualization of people and elites is very different between left-wing and right-wing populism.

Losses from populism occurred in Brazil, the big role of the controversial policies of Jair Bolsonaro (President of Brazil) who changed the function of Amazon land by making it as corporate land considered the cause of Amazon forest fires. Bolsonaro, like the leaders of the right, for example Trump (US President) and Nigel Farage (British politician) do not believe in climate change and global warming (Tirto, 2019). According to the World Resources Institute, estimates that around 30% of global greenhouse gas emissions come from countries led by populist elites (Calland, 2019). The climate skepticism of this populist (elite) leader by exploiting rainforests on the pretext of economic interests will certainly endanger environmental sustainability. Several climate policies have been challenged particularly regarding tax increases related to the environment and denying climate change or questioning the severity of their effects.

These elites negotiate international treaties hoping that individuals will receive these encouragement signals to adjust their behavior; but even though they seek to raise awareness of climate change, the public is largely excluded, which in turn causes anti-elitism to sway public support for this policy in populist countermeasures. That's how elites communicate the negative effects of climate change that can backfire; and in order to reach individuals who strongly exhibit populist attitudes, governments must assess these various ways of making and communicating political decisions. In this context, greater inclusion of citizens in decision-making can help overcome current problems in garnering sufficient public support for climate and environmental politics (Huber, 2020).

2. Populism and the Welfare State in the Study of Environmental Law(Environment Law)

According to Helen V. Milner in his research that globalization is increasing support for populist parties the right wing and reduced support for leftist parties. Populist leaders will incorporate policies into highly nationalist and anti-democratic practices, as seen in countries such as Hungary and Poland (Milner, 2019). In Hungary itself, the Prime Minister Victor Orban as a right-wing populist actor has deprived football and sports so widely that the Hungarian government is trying to reclaim and rediscover their original identity (Molnar, & Whigham, 2021). This has an impact on increasing inequality, financial crisis, deflationary pressure, deindustrialization and of course hindering the state to achieve welfare (welfare state).

Populists view politics as a struggle between the 'pure people' and the 'corrupt elite'. So to translate the division of the two into the realm of the welfare state resulted in a suggestion that elites (eg politicians or bureaucrats) should be stripped of any privileges, and taxpayer money should be spent only on benefits for 'ordinary people'. Similar ideas have emerged under the label 'welfare populism'. However, Willem de Koster et al (2013) argues, 'welfare populism' requires an even more fundamental critique of 'welfare state' as an institution. This combines an egalitarian attitude economically with the view that the 'welfare state' is no longer able to provide assistance to those who really need it, but has become a self-serving tool in the hands of bureaucrats (Jedenastik, 2016).

Besides having an impact on the 'welfare state', the idea of 'welfare populism' also has an impact on environmental law. In the research, Brian J. Peston said that the emergence of populism threatens the development of environmental law. According to him, the 21st century is an era where ignorance is seen as a virtue, not a bad character, or a regression of the risks of environmental law. Debates on environmental issues are no longer driven by opinions based on evidence, scientific method and reason. The elite have personalized politics and used seductive slogans to transform the reality of environmental problems. Then we will be increasingly isolated from our natural environment, people will no longer be able to verify or refute these populist claims (Preston, 2019).

In general, the debate on contemporary environmental issues is driven by different ways of looking at the world. The way people perceive the world is influenced by their beliefs and cultural values. Smith and Pangsapa observe that: "As the debate on climate change has shown, an adequate practical understanding of contemporary environmental problems must also take into account the social dimension. The way we view environmental problems, like all social representations, is also subject to social construction mechanisms "(Preston, 2019). The way people perceive the world is also influenced by knowledge, training, and experience: scientists, economists and lawyers view the world and its problems differ not only from one another but for people who are not steeped in those disciplines. Jeremy Waldron

provides an example of a different view on the rule of law, the 'dissonance between academic and lay understanding of the Rule of Law' (Waldron, 2011).

Every country certainly wants to become a welfare state besides security (Muksinin, 2020). In an effort to realize the idea of a 'welfare state', environmental law has become a very important and dominant state administration instrument because it includes regulating environmental protection and management. So far, the community only sees that management is limited to utilizing the environment, whereas in it it requires management that is 'environmentally friendly' to achieve people's welfare. Otto Soemarwoto added that the attitude to protect and manage the environment should also not be anti-sustainable development (Helmi, 2011).

According to Rangkuti, the function of environmental law is not only for social control which positions itself as an agent of stability, but also for a tool of social engineering which positions itself as an agent of development (Rangkuti, 2020). Meanwhile, according to NHT Siahaan in his book "Environmental Law" quoted by Helmi (2011), environmental law has a role as a regulator of interactions between humans and the environment to create social order and order and the goal of social reform (social order and social engineering).

Although many consider populism cynical, its existence is acknowledged so that according to Beetham it must be appreciated from the emergence of this idea; an idea of projection of the people as the holder of a role in realizing the welfare state. So this idea is not completely ridden by political actors for personal gain but it also has a good impact on realizing a democratic life for the welfare of its people (Mustofa, 2019). Apart from the figures who project themselves on behalf of the people, there are alternative actors who take shortcuts to exert direct pressure on policy-making institutions to side with the needs and interests of the people.

C. CONCLUSION

The definition of populism in general can be defined as an idea or ideology, discursive style, and political mobilization. In particular, populism is a political expression based on like-minded people for the collective interest by an asymmetrical coalition between classes of society. This coalition of "people" populism does not differentiate between the political identities of its members as long as its aim is for the common interest of fighting corrupt elites as common enemies through power lines. The identity of this populist "people" coalition is formed through the difference between the process of resistance, with the one is insider as "the people" and the other one is outsider as someone else. The emergence of a populist coalition acting on behalf of itself as the "will of the people" in seizing elite domination certainly had an impact on his defense. Therefore, the success of this populism goal will certainly threaten the development of environmental law.

The influence of populism in environmental law and the welfare state is caused by populist leaders to combine policies on highly nationalist and anti-democratic practices and have an impact on increasing inequality, financial crises, deflationary

pressures, deindustrialization and of course inhibiting in the state to achieve welfare (welfare state). They understand that the welfare state results in the suggestion that elites (e.g. politicians or bureaucrats) should be stripped of any privileges, and taxpayers' money should be spent solely on the benefits of 'common people'. Then, a new idea of 'welfare populism' is formed which threatens the development of environmental law. They are adopting climate skepticism by exploiting rainforests on the pretext that the people's economic interests will certainly endanger environmental sustainability. Several climate policies have been challenged particularly regarding tax increases related to the environment and denying climate change or questioning the severity of their effects. In other hand, in an effort to realize the idea of a 'welfare state', the law of environmental protection and management is a very important and dominant instrument because it includes regulating environmental protection and management which will certainly protect the life of its people from nature.

For the government, they have to anticipate the phenomenon of populism that has spread in democratic countries with the right policies. One of the important policies to be implemented is campaigning for a movement to care for the environment in order to maintain the sustainability of the ecosystem and to prevent global warming. This movement is also a form of resistance to the policies of "climate skepticism" by populist leaders who have exploited nature on a large scale for the benefit of the people and built the country's economy. Meanwhile, it

is for the public to know and understand the populist movement which is always on behalf of the people for the benefit of the people as a cover even though they are the people who are disappointed by the policies that do not side with their interests and the elites as common enemies. The hope is that the community will be able to protect themselves (to protect) so that they are not easily influenced by populist ideas that try to dominate the politics of a country in order to realize the interests of populist actors without paying attention to environmental aspects.

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