Ethical Argument in World Civic Politics: The Role of Liberal Ecofeminism in Furthering the Wildlife Protection Discourse in Indonesia

KINANTI K. TAUFIK

ABSTRACT

Sebagian besar dari fenomena internasional yang terjadi umumnya diukur berdasarkan seberapa banyak keuntungan materi apa yang bisa didapat, seperti teritori, keuntungan ekonomi, dan hard power; dengan seringkali mengesampingkan keberadaan dan manfaat dari kekuatan diskursus yang dibawa oleh civil society. Kekuatan diskursus dalam perpolitikan dunia memang tidak selalu dapat diukur secara kuantitas, tetapi ia mengalami proses perkembangan yang pasti. Implikasinya adalah akademisi ilmu hubungan internasional tidak hanya perlu memahami ‘order’ atau tatanan, tetapi juga harus dapat menganalisa ‘change’ dan bagaimana proses perubahan itu berlangsung dalam perpolitikan masyarakat sipil dunia (world civic politics). Kekuatan diskursus ini sesungguhnya menjadi pedoman nilai dan norma berperilaku dalam perpolitikan dunia, serta kini menjadi lebih nyata dengan semakin berkembangnya masyarakat risiko (risk society). Penelitian empirik dalam tulisan ini menggunakan metode analisis argumentasi informal untuk menjelaskan peran ekofeminisme liberal terhadap proliferasi diskursus perlindungan satwa di Indonesia, dengan contoh kasus pembentukan argumentasi etika oleh ProFauna Indonesia. Tujuan penelitian yakni, pertama, untuk memberikan pemahaman mengenai peran argumentasi etika dalam perpolitikan masyarakat sipil dunia, khususnya dalam proliferasi diskursus perlindungan satwa liar; kedua, adalah agar pembaca dapat memandang modernitas secara kritis dan refleksif, sekali lagi tetap optimis dan progresif dengan memotret keberlangsungan proses perubahan dan penyebaran diskursus dalam reflexive modernization.

Keywords: Discourse, Wildlife Protection, World Civic Politics, Reflexive Modernization, Risk Society, Ethical Arguments, Liberal Ecofeminism

Introduction

The international system is inherently a contested field of material forces vs. discursive forces, yet many fail to recognize this fact. Much of what occurs in the international realm is measured through what or how much material power can be gained, such as territory, economy, and hard power; neglecting the existence and benefits of discursive power brought forth by civil society. This power of discourse is comprised of existing and contesting values in the society. These are the components of what shape beliefs
and behavioral norms of actors in world politics, and become more apparent today as risk societies are growing worldwide.

Discursive power in world politics cannot be measured in quantity, but evolves slowly through process implying the importance for academics of international relations to not only understand ‘order’, but also be able to assess ‘change’ and the process of how change is happening in world civic politics. World civic politics is a broader and more inclusive conception of politics, acknowledging not only the actions of states or what influence civil society has on government decision making, but also the normative beliefs and behavioral norms civil society conveys in the process of change happening within society itself. Thus, this research centers on the inquiry of how do ethical arguments, such as liberal ecofeminism, play a role in world civic politics?

Different types of arguments shape beliefs and behavior in the greater public. One form of argumentation that will be assessed here is the role of ethical arguments in shaping discourse, particularly the role of liberal ecofeminism and its contribution to the proliferation of wildlife protection discourse in Indonesia. This empirical research uses the method of informal argument analysis to explore the role of ecocentric ethics and liberal ecofeminism in forming ethical argumentation by ProFauna, an Indonesian-based international NGO for animal conservation. ProFauna’s network with other Transnational Environmental Activist Organizations (TEAGs) and how transnational cooperation contributes to the proliferation of wildlife protection discourse in Indonesia is also observed in this research. Criteria of persuasiveness and receptiveness of the ecocentric argument constructed by ProFauna will also be evaluated.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First is to provide an understanding of the role of ethical argumentation in world civic politics, particularly regarding the discourse of wildlife conservation. Second, is to view modernity in a critical and reflexive way, but at the same time optimistic and progressive through empirically framing the process of change and discourse proliferation within reflexive modernization.

To attest ethical argumentation at work empirically, this paper assesses the role of liberal ecofeminism as a form of ethical argumentation, explores ProFauna’s achievements in furthering the discourse of wildlife protection in Indonesia, as well as the resilience of existing normative beliefs which serves as a challenge to the process of argumentation. All this will be pictured using the lens of world civic politics, thus taking into consideration everything from awareness raising in local communities to rehabilitation and release of wild animals to legalization and upholding of the law.

Findings of the research show to us that the role of transnational civil society and NGOs in developing countries is not limited to their influence on government policy or regulation per se, but encompass a wider spectrum of changing normative beliefs and awareness in the community through socio-cultural activities and ethical argumentation. In the case of
ProFauna's role in promoting wildlife conservation, we are able to comprehend how liberal ecofeminism, as a form of ethical argumentation, is a causal factor towards change in normative beliefs, but change in normative beliefs does not always bring forth alteration in behavioral norms. Although often the presence of ethical argumentations brought forth by risk societies is often in doubt, their role is gradually creating change in world civic politics, precisely because of their capability in transforming normative beliefs.

Global Environmental Risk, World Civic Politics, and Ethical Argumentation

Global environmental risk and reflexive modernization

Present day industrialization has contributed to the existence of many risk societies unsatisfied with the consequences of industrialization. Among them are environmental risk societies who are displeased with the harmful ecological impacts modern industrialization has created. The risks generated from phenomena like global warming, desertification, pollution, and endangered flora and fauna haunt us every day. This causes some to feel empowered and take action, but most despair as they become overwhelmed and feel helpless in contributing a solution to this chaotic structure. One important point we often forget to realize is that this world is not only made up of material forces, but also inherently comprised of discourses. Although discursive forces cannot be measured by how much wealth, territory, and power we gain, its existence in itself is significant to balancing the rigid social-political structure in our communities. A wide variety of discourse becomes more apparent as risk societies are growing and taking action worldwide.

Transboundary risk societies present themselves in a multitude array of issues, one of which is the environmental issue due to its transboundary nature. The hole in the ozone layer, increase in industrial CO2 emissions, rampant deforestation in resource-rich countries and threat towards the world’s biodiversity are just some examples of transnational environmental problems. These problems arise because of ongoing industrialization that has in no way stopped since the industrial revolution and this creates risk for many societies. The risk societies of environmental problems exist across state borders because they all share the same threat. This burden sharing is what stimulates transnational civil societies to work together in furthering and shaping discourse according to their normative ideals. Among those normative environmental ethics is ecocentric-ecofeminism of which shall be further explored in this paper.

All of the processes above take place in a larger framework called reflexive modernization. Reflexive modernization is an overall critical yet optimistic and progressive approach to modernity. How? Reflexive modernization is a process that believes will or unwilled, conscious or unconscious, seen or unseen, all forms of risk society is moving towards a new modernity by fighting for the values they accept as true and for their what they have been deprived of in their current industrial modernization. Be it big or small, the struggle by transnational civil society is creating a difference and contributing to
developments of discourses. One prime example of this would be Karen Litfin's study on the ozone discourse and how discursive approaches succeeded in bringing forth what is now understood as the 'dis-course of precautionary action' which underpinned establishment of the Montreal Protocol. Important to be noted here is the prominent, sometimes overlooked, role played by civil society in shaping the issues of world civic politics.

**World civic politics**
A study done to attest environmental activism and world civic politics is written and thoroughly explored by Paul Wapner in one of his journal articles “Politics beyond the State”. World civic politics is a concept to illustrate social activities and interaction occurring above the level of an individual but below the state. World civic politics takes place mostly on a semiformal or nonformal context of social, cultural, and economic issues. Reflecting on that very conception, success or failure of transnational society as a political actor is not measured solely based on the intensity of their influence towards government policies, but also acknowledges and puts high emphasis on the social dimensions of efforts by transnational civil society. This implies that actions that are regarded as part of change processes are not only those that serve as a control mechanism to the state, but primarily those actions that influence value and behavioral changes in the civil realm (social sphere).

A case in point of the above concept can be seen through socialization of the concept on animal rights. In Indonesia for instance, there does not yet exist any regulation which prohibits ownership of wild animals that are not protected species. Despite this fact, movements by NGOs like ProFauna Indonesia, who care about rights for all animals, has promoted the core value of ‘wild animals are more beautiful in the wild’ with the aim of preventing people from trading and hunting down these animals. Environmental organizations with a focus beyond state borders can be categorized as what Wapner calls TEAGS (Transnational Environmental Activist Organizations), such as ProFauna, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace are some organizations which seek ecological sensibility and change of environmental perception within society. TEAGS, as a form of present day risk society, work beyond borders to address an issue of their interest. For example, to curb exploitation of turtles and turtle trade in Bali, ProFauna collaborates with a German-based NGO, Turtle Foundation. Both organizations have the same aspiration to free turtles, so together they conduct a campaign to raise awareness on this issue. This is an example of exercising transboundary civic power.

Despite its comprehensiveness, still missing from Wapner’s analysis is a study on the influence of TEAGS in developing countries like Indonesia. Thus, in this research I seek to explain the role of ProFauna and TEAGS forwarding the wildlife protection discourse in Indonesia, as a developing nation, through the argumentation process using liberal ecofeminism ethics.

**Ethical arguments**
The term ‘ethical argument’ has been referred to from the beginning, yet what does
it mean and how does it fit within the general concept of ‘arguments’? First let us take a look at ethics. Ethics mean a critical reflection to assess two things: whether an action is morally right or wrong, and how we should act in a real situation. According to the teleological approach, the assessment is based on an analysis of the objectives and implications of a particular action.

Ethics play a large role shaping arguments in world civic politics. In general, there can be said to be four types of arguments based on their content, namely practical or instrumental arguments, scientific arguments, identity arguments, and ethical arguments. Instrumental arguments are based on causal relations; whereas scientific arguments are those based on scientific findings and technology. Identity arguments are conceptions associated to a certain group or individual to explain their behavior. Now, ethical arguments, of which shall be further discussed in this writing, implies argumentations to seek righteous behavior in every situation based on the reasoning to each particular situation. Sonny Keraf, in his book Eikai Lingkungan, categorized three major environmental ethical arguments: anthropocentrism, biocentrism, and ecocentrism.

**Liberal Ecofeminism: Explored and Defended**

**What is ecofeminism?**

Before I go on to explaining about ecofeminism, it is crucial to first describe ecocentrism as the ethical roots of ecofeminist theories. Ecocentrism is categorized as a deep environmental ethic argumentation that seeks to extend moral communities not only to humans and living beings but also non-living and non-sentient beings because all are considered to be ecological beings. All ecological beings: humans, plants, animals, air, water, and earth are interconnected with each other, so harm done to one component will directly or indirectly have an impact towards another ecological being. Based on this understanding, it is implied that humans as an ecological being have a responsibility to respect and care for all members of the ecological community. The core green values within the ecocentric ethic can be further divided into three specific values: anarchist, socialist, and feminist. Those three values are reflected through the theories of Deep Ecology, Social Ecology, and Ecofeminism. The latter of the three will be further discussed in this section.

Ecofeminism was first coined by French feminist Françoise d’Eaubonne in 1974 in his book *Le Feminisme ou La Mort.* Ecofeminism views human-nature dualism as occurring alongside mind-body dualism, ratio-emotion dualism, and masculine-feminine dualism. Humans are always put in the same box with masculinity, rationality, freedom, and domination nature which results in an unresolved continuity of one constituent’s domination towards another. Disturbed with these forms of dominations, feminism criticizes anthropocentrism (human-centered environmental ethics) by focusing its critiques toward androcentrism (male-centered environmental ethics).³

Karen J. Warren describes the main features of androcentrism as follows: (1) a hierarchic
conceptualization of values, placing higher value to the being with a perceived higher status; (2) dualism in values, meaning that moral evaluation is conducted within the existing dualistic framework; and (3) logic of domination, implying that the way we think and act clearly reflects our approval of the forms of domination and subordination. The third point is also regarded by ecofeminists as the most significant factor contributing to the world’s ecological crisis because dualism and hierarchic conception of values is neutral until logic of domination is imposed.

Based on the above, ecofeminism has two main agenda:

1) On a philosophical and conceptual level, ecofeminism seeks to discontinue the logic of human-nature domination by offering an integrated and holistic view based on the contextualized principles of inclusiveness and pluralism as the central features of ecofeminism.

2) On a practical level, ecofeminism is a movement engendering real action at social, economic, and political institutions aimed at opposing oppression, particularly oppression towards women and nature.

From the two agenda above, there are five main argumentations brought forward by ecofeminism of which we will assess the axiology of in this research:

1) Refuses the logic of domination
2) Presents itself as a contextual ethic based on each particular situation
3) Pluralistic in values meaning that ecofeminism accepts the diversity of all beings in this universe
4) Inclusive, as ecofeminism views all subjects as equal and valuable in an egalitarian ecological community
5) Declines abstract individualism. Ecofeminism sees everything to be relatively determined based on the context of social and cosmological relations in an ecological community.

When we reflect on the above argumentations, the principles of ecofeminism are what produce caring ethics towards ecological others. The basic assumption is human beings become who they are because of our intersubjective relations with others, including social others and ecological others. This shows that there truly exists a sense of egalitarianism engendering ethics to respect and care for other ecological beings.

What is liberal ecofeminism?
There are at least five identified strands of ecofeminism, namely liberal ecofeminism, cultural ecofeminism, social ecofeminism, socialist ecofeminism, and spiritual ecofeminism. Although all strands of ecofeminism have the same objective to restore equal relations between human beings and the rest of nature, each strand has its own way in achieving this objective. One strand examined in this paper is liberal ecofeminism with a key trait of directing social change within the existing socio-political structure. Liberal ecofeminism is aimed primarily at lobbying for favourable environmental regulations, conservation of natural resources and biodiversity, and increasing the quality standard of living. Liberal ecofeminism sees the inequality experienced by women and nature, but distinct from other ecofeminist strands, liberal ecofeminism is not based on 'female val-
ues' or 'male values', and rather seeks to push forward inclusive moral values. Thus, liberal ecofeminism opens the opportunity for beings of all gender and background to care and take action for betterment of our society and ecological surroundings.¹⁴

Defending ecofeminism
An ecosocialist, Janet Biehl, once criticized ecofeminism in the book Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics (1991) on two major points below:¹⁵

1) Ecofeminism is irrational because it mythologizes primordial matriarchy that contributes to uncritical mentality.

2) Ecofeminism does not have a distinguished and utilizable ethic thus failing to provide a behavioral guide on how to react in real empirical cases.

The first critique pressed by Biehl is based on the assumption that ecofeminism is about myths and metaphors and spiritual relations with 'Mother' Earth, etc. This is partly true in a sense that ecofeminists use myths and metaphors to explain human-nature relations and to encourage readers to conceptualize their own understandings of how intersubjective relations should be, but the critique is directed at a wrong course. Ecofeminists base their argumentations on domination and inequality in a social context, not spiritual worship.¹⁶ Secondly, it is inaccurate to claim ecofeminism lacking an ethical behavioral guide because the underpinning of ecofeminism is to overcome dualism and domination in today's social structure by applying the teleology of consequences and objectives of a certain behavior. This is why ecofeminism strongly advocates that behavior towards ecological others should be based on contextual relations between humans and other ecological beings. On the contrary, ethics that support abstract individualism and objective purposes without consideration for intersubjective relations are what have contributed to the environmental problems we face today. The next section of this paper will seek to attest how liberal ecofeminism as a form of ecofeminism has managed to prove wrong the two critiques above and how it has been used prominently by a third-world environmental NGO in furthering the wildlife protection discourse in Indonesia.

Case study: Transnational Environmental Activist Organizations (TEAGS) and Pro-Fauna's Role in Furthering the Wildlife Protection Discourse in Indonesia, 1994–2005

Method of informal argument analysis
The case study of TEAGS furthering the wildlife protection discourse in Indonesia is an example of how critical theories take part in world civic politics, among them to serve as a basis for advancing risk societies' discourse. Research findings from this empirical study I will summarize using Neta Crawford's method of informal argument analysis. My reason for using this method is because it seeks to comprehend the development of discourses through long-term ethical argumentations and assess the loose implications that it brings to world politics. Crawford stated that the role and significance of ethical argumentation can be proven in three points:¹⁷

1. How the argumentation or reasoning is part of the change process,
2. How the argumentation deconstructs
and reconstructs normative values in society, thus becoming part of the change related to that issue.

3. Relevance and influence of the ethical argument's explanation in creating political and institutional change.

The three points above can be operationally assessed based on the method of informal argument analysis through the five steps below:

1. Analyze the purpose and role of an ethical argument in a particular issue.
2. Identify specific beliefs held by the principal actors conveying the argument.
3. To cover a long-term analysis, it is important to understand the historical background in the emerging of those specific beliefs and values.
4. Assess how and why some arguments win over others, in terms of changing perception and dominant practices, by evaluating how the argument was able to denormalize, delegitimize, change actors' conceptions of possibility and their interests, alter the balance of political power, and have its normative beliefs institutionalized.
5. Compare the role of the ethical argument with other plausible explanations for behaviors to see whether they happen causally, based on several tests:
   - Temporal ordering-normative beliefs and arguments should be given as a justification for the behavior before or simultaneous to a behavioral change, not after.
   - Congruence between the normative beliefs that underpinned the ethical arguments and the behavior.

- The normative beliefs are used in arguments modeling correct behavior and those who use the arguments are not ignored or mocked.
- Those who do not adhere to the normative beliefs will seek to justify their behavior on ethical or practical grounds.
- The new normative belief is linked to other normative beliefs which together they form and legitimize an ethical argument.

Actions on the first three steps are observed through an analysis of the discourse and rhetoric, whereas the last two is assessed through changes in the balance of beliefs within society. It is important to keep in mind that the method of informal argument analysis puts more emphasis on the content and process of the argument itself, such as words used (and not used), actions taken to change existing dominant values, use of evidence and facts, and the development of the argument itself from time to time. For the purpose of this research, the content of the ethical argument assessed is liberal ecofeminism and how it contributes to the discourse of wildlife protection; and the process will be seen on how ProFauna applies those ethical values in its struggle to change the dominant practice of illegal wildlife trade in society.

A triangulation approach in social science research comprise of a combined quantitative and qualitative methods in obtaining and analyzing data. This research in particular, used the triangulation approach by obtaining data through qualitative means, then analyze based on quantitative points in the method.
above. Thus, this research includes analysis of both primary and secondary data. The primary data is sourced from a semi-structured oral history interview with the founder and chairman of ProFauna Indonesia during the 1994-2005 period, and also from qualitative questionnaires to staff, active members, passive members of the organization, and also the general society. Respondents for the questionnaire were determined through a purposive/judge mental sampling method. Whereas secondary data was gained through a collection of literature, relevant internet sites, journal articles, and other publications. Analysis on all data was done using the method of informal argument analysis.

The research was carried out as follows. Points one, two and three of informal argument analysis was conducted through an in-depth interview to the founder of ProFauna, member societies, other TEAGS and also through document analysis within the 1994-2005 period. As for points four and five, they were carried out through qualitative questionnaires with society, staff and members of the organization. By doing this, the research hoped to center on the process of ethical argumentation being an engine of change in society.

A diagram of the Informal Argument Analysis Method is pictured in Figure 1 in the following page.

About ProFauna Indonesia
ProFauna was established in 1994 by Rosek Nursahid and Made Astuti in the town of Malang, East Java. It all started with their concern towards the threat of extinction for much of Indonesian wildlife at that time due to the rampant destruction of habitats and cruel, overexploitation to these wild animals. ProFauna is a grassroots international organization, also a TEAG, fighting for the conservation of wildlife and its habitat.

ProFauna's principle is, "Every wild animal has an intrinsic value for ecological sustainability, thus they must be left free in the wild where they belong, and it is humans responsibility to ensure this." The organization's motto is, "Animals can't speak, but we can speak and take actions for them." With that, ProFauna has three main objectives, which are to: (1) protect wild animals from exploitation and ill-treatment; (2) spread awareness to the society on how important it is to protect our wildlife; and (3) release all wild animals back to their natural habitats.

ProFauna and the wildlife protection discourse: reflexive modernization in practice
The complete findings and primary data gathered in this research on the wildlife protection discourse in Indonesia can be found in more detail in my thesis entitled Aksiologi Ekofeminisme Liberal dalam Reflexive Modernization (Studi kaus: Transnational Environmental Activist Organizations dan Peran ProFauna dalam Mengangkat Diskursus Pelestarian Satwa Liar di Indonesia, Periode 1994-2005) (FISIP UI, 2007). For purposes of this article, I will concisely lay out the concluding findings of my research. This will be presented based on the three points to be proven in the informal argument analysis method:
1. Reasoning is an important part of the change process
2. Whether or not the ethical argument succeeded in deconstructing and reconstructing normative values
3. The relevance and influence of explanation from ethical arguments in creating political and institutional changes

First, the ethical argument of liberal ecofeminism is found to be embedded in all of ProFauna’s campaign, thus becoming the underlying normative value in all of the organization's activities. This is reflected from ProFauna’s principle, objectives, strategic five-year work plan, its collaboration with other TEAGS in achieving those objectives, and the organization's history on how it has come to adopt the ethics of liberal ecofeminism from the very beginning of its establishment. The point from all of this which signifies reflexive modernization is the fact that even the founder of the organization was unaware that ProFauna was essentially ecocentric or ecofeminist for that matter. But in fact, findings of the research reveals that ProFauna and its principles are built based on discontent with the current human domination in the structure that leads to overexploitation of animals. Despite this, ProFauna’s ethical arguments have yet to fulfill the criteria of being persuasive and receptive arguments because it is still a new norm compared to other commonly accepted values in society such as anthropocentrism.

Collaboration is shown through ProFauna’s extensive and inclusive network with other TEAGS that have the same idea of conserving wildlife and biodiversity of the Earth. More importantly, ProFauna’s cooperation
with other TEAGS is interdependent, not a dependent relation toward one certain organization for funding needs, thus giving ProFauna the freedom to consistently fight for what it believes in, its aim to protect and conserve Indonesia’s wildlife. The lesson learned here is to never hesitate on being specific and focusing only on a particular issue just because it is not popular. Funding can be obtained through various sources as long as we possess a clear and consistent aim. This is what all civil society organizations should keep in mind.

On the second point, ProFauna succeeded in denormalizing anthropocentric values in society, but the post-anthropocentric beliefs it seeks to proliferate have not been able to be fully adopted by the community due to inconsistency between normative values and behavioral norms reflected in the questionnaires of passive members and society at large. Out of the six criteria for a receptive and persuasive argument, ProFauna has not yet fulfilled the criteria of coherency meaning that the normative arguments introduced has not yet been successfully related to the current existing values held by the society. Despite this shortcoming, all other criteria of a receptive and persuasive argument is fulfilled and has constantly supported ProFauna’s efforts to create interconnection of values with the society’s existing beliefs in furthering the discourse of wildlife conservation.

These efforts can be observed from the use of either practical or other ethical grounds to justify contradictory behaviors with the values believed in which is actually proving that ecocentric norms are slowly spreading in the society. Thus, it can be said that the ethical arguments brought forth by ProFauna has contributed in being a causal factor to change in the society’s normative belief, yet for that normative belief to have an optimal role is still a long process to go through by constantly making interconnections with the existing anthropocentric beliefs held by the society. One thing that ProFauna does not attempt is forcing ecofeminist values to anyone and instead just letting the normative belief slowly but sure grow at its own pace. “If you want to convey a good message, then you have to do it through good means,” was one message from the founder and chairman of ProFauna reflecting the principle of inclusivity of liberal ecofeminism by acknowledging the pluralism of values itself and conducting action within the current existing structure.

Other than just proliferating values to the society, the third point is proven through the fact that ProFauna has also taken its efforts one step higher to the political-institutional level. This can be seen from the organization’s developments in furthering legislations, social campaign and community outreach, wildlife trade investigation, animal rescue and animal release back into the wild. From all the above, it is clear that wildlife protection organizations play an important role in world civic politics, both at the political-institutional level and society level in extending its normative values.

Conclusion

World politics is comprised of three elements: agents, structure, and processes. This paper gives focus to processes, namely the process
in how civil society, as an agent, significantly contributes to creating change in world civil politics, and also how to view modernity in a critical yet optimistic and progressive way through reflexive modernization. People tend to perceive civil society as a marginal actor in world affairs, in which accomplishments of civil society are solely based on how far the people have managed to influence government decision-making process. Whereas the concept of world civic politics, civil society is valued not only for its influence towards the state, but also valued because it is the civil society who have largely influenced society’s social attitude and behavior through its movements.

One form of transnational civil society in our world is TEAGS. The existence of TEAGS has grown the past few years due to discontent regarding present day rapid industrialization. TEAGS can be categorized as civil societies who care about the environmental risks brought forth by modern industrialization. Thus, it is not unusual if TEAGS such as ProFauna support post-anthropocentric values for environmental protection because they believe that always prioritizing of human interests in modern industrialization is the root of all environmental destruction.

ProFauna is an Indonesian born international NGO working to combat illegal wildlife trade. Centralized on this uncommon issue and consistently fighting for animal rights, ProFauna as a part of civil society is regularly viewed as minor in cause. Thus, part of the reason why I brought up the case study of ProFauna in this research is to show that small as the movement may seem their efforts to raise awareness is a large contribution to shaping a new modernity, a contested field not only of material forces but also between material forces and discursive forces. To show that their role has indeed created a difference, this paper has attempted to prove three points: (1) ethical argumentation and reasoning plays a central role in the process of creating change; (2) the ethics used has effectively deconstructed and reconstructed normative values; and (3) the relevance and influence of ethical argumentation in creating political and institutional changes is also taken into consideration. All three points are discussed to show axiology of a critical theory in social political sciences which in this case I bring up the ethical arguments from liberal ecofeminism. These ethical arguments are causal factors to changes in normative beliefs.

In the concept of world civic politics, the role of society and NGOs is not only measured based on how far an NGO is able to lobby government’s policies and influence legislations, but is also seen as a collective creating normative and behavioral change in the social realm that may or may not be related to government affairs. In line with this, Ulrich Beck offers a concept of reflexive modernization where risk society in today’s world will move by their own reflexivity, consent or unwilled, to create the changes they wish to see over dissatisfaction in the modern structure. All of that is happening in an ongoing process which can be seen through the rise of various, new discourses. The fact that these discourses cannot be measured in quantity or as a material gain is
corresponds with what Wapner refers to as normative and behavioral change brought by NGO groups within the civil realm.

NGOs like ProFauna are able to carry out such actions due to their adoption of a strong principle, values which become the basis of ethical argumentations for their campaigns and activities. In ProFauna’s case, it was the ecocentric value of liberal ecofeminism put into practice. This is where I see arguments like ecofeminism play a role in world politics, coupled with consistency and a clear focus of their movement, such critical theories serve as a vision and basis for an organization’s political activity. A concluding thought to the initial query of the role of liberal ecofeminism in world civic politics is liberal ecofeminism as a form of ethical argumentation is a causal factor towards change in normative beliefs, but change in normative beliefs does not always mean alteration in behavioral norms. Although you won’t always feel the presence of ethical argumentations, their role is gradually creating change in world civic politics. One important point to keep in mind is the continuity of the change process towards a new modernity is happening, slowly but sure, this is what is understood as the process of reflexive modernization. The wildlife protection discourse is just one out of the many value laden discourses of risk societies out there fighting for their cause. Discursive power or the processes of change cannot be seen, felt, or measured through material gains, but its existence is true. People are creating a difference in what they believe in, so believe in your self and have faith in others!

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