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Political Economy of Import Waste Regulations in East Java: Implications of Indonesia's Role as Waste Importer Country

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ABSTRACT

Waste management is a significant problem faced by the world on a global scale. Globally, the People's Republic of China (PRC) is the country with the most extensive waste trade in the world as the leading export destination country for recycled waste materials. However, the PRC changed its solid waste import policy by issuing a National Sword policy, which aims to limit and tighten plastic waste imports. The PRC policy change's impact is the increased flow of waste imports to Indonesia, thus placing Indonesia in a "Plastic Waste Emergency" situation. Since 2018, Indonesia's flow of waste imports has increased very rapidly, causing various environmental and health problems. On the other hand, waste imports entering Indonesia also open up various opportunities for economic improvement. This research then aims to find that the import of waste has an impact not only in the environmental sector but also on the political economy resulting from the government's efforts to overcome it. To overcome this problem, Indonesia already has several regulations and laws related to importing waste. Lack of strict import waste regulations has resulted in environmental and health losses for local communities in East Java. This research tries to describe various consequences of waste that would potentially harm citizens regarding waste using the role theory approach.

Keywords: Import waste, government regulations, political economy of waste, role theory

Introduction

In 2018, China implemented a new policy called the "National Sword," which prohibits 24 types of imported waste such as Polyethylene terephthalate (PET), Polyethylene (PE), Polyvinyl chloride (PVC), and Polystyrene (PS). The impact of the ban on 24 types of imported waste from entering China has reduced imported plastic waste in China by 93% from 2017 to 2018 (Marrs et al., 2019). The policy related to imported waste aims to protect China from the dangers of pollution. This made countries around the world in an uproar, especially for countries that export waste. Not without reason, for over the last few decades, China was the center of the global plastic waste trade. From 1988 to 2016, China has absorbed approximately 72.40% of imported waste worldwide (Armstrong. 2018).

The impact of China's ban on imported waste caused a resonance throughout the recycling industry, which significantly impacted waste exporting countries and importers or recipients. In exporting countries, the majority of which are developed countries, there is a problem regarding the lack of recipient countries that are willing to accept waste from their countries because many recipient countries are starting to follow China's policies. For example, there are 23,000 tonnes of unsorted plastic waste in Latvia, which was then burned in the open in 2018 because no country

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was willing to accept this waste (Marrs et al., 2019). This causes exporting countries to change their targeting countries - China- to other countries, especially developing countries like Indonesia. The proof is that in the same year since the Chinese policy was implemented, it is known that there was an increase in imported waste in Indonesia by 141% or around 283,152 tonnes, according to Prigi Ariesandi from the Institute for the Study and Conservation of Wetland Ecology (ECOTON), the majority of which came from western countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada (Purningsih, 2020).

This waste diversion has made Indonesia one of the largest waste importer countries due to the massive increase in imported waste entering Indonesia (Kurniawan, 2018). This ultimately has implications for the quality of the environment and the health of the Indonesian population, making Indonesia create a foreign policy change related to imported waste, which in general is to stop imported waste from entering Indonesia so that natural damage and health of the Indonesian population will not be further degraded. With that being said, this article is aimed at answering what is Indonesia's Role as an importer country in waste trade formed and what is the implication of waste-shifting to Indonesia?

Material and Methods

In answering the problem formulation, the writer uses literature as a study. One of them comes "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy." Holsti assumes that a state's actions are determined by a role that is embedded in the country, and one of its roles is the prescription role. The central assumption of prescription roles is that a country in the global stage acts based on the Perceived Role of actors in the global world. This assumption will be used by the author to answer how the perception of other countries - especially waste exporting countries - sees Indonesia as an importer country so that when China closes its waste imports, exporting countries divert their waste to Indonesia.

Another literature comes from Ali (2020) entitled "Environment and Globalization: Solutions to Probatic Relationships. Case Study of Increasing Indonesian Imported Waste Post the 2018 National Sword Policy". The literature explains the impacts resulting from the increase in imported waste after the 2018 Chinese National Sword Policy. The authors will take in this literature what impacts that have been experienced by Indonesia since the increase in waste occurred.

As the author has described in the formulation of the problem, the author wants to answer how Indonesia's view as a waste importer country can be formed and how the impact resulting from the increase in waste after China's 2018 National Sword Policy to Indonesia is a consequence of this image for Indonesia. Therefore, it is essential to answer how the image is formed, and this can be answered through the role theory. The Role of a state is formed by at least three indicators, role conception, role prescription, and role performance. Role conception is the state's personality in terms of its foreign policy, role prescription is the expectation of the state or international entity outside the country, and role performance results from the implementation of foreign policy. The three indicators then create a perception of a country that a country has a specific role.

Departing from this theory, these three indicators also influence the author's argument on creating the image of Indonesia as a waste importer country in the global waste trade. The combination of the three indicators indirectly makes waste exporting countries dominated by developed countries divert their waste to Indonesia after China implemented the National Sword Policy in 2018, causing losses to Indonesia for increasing waste. Departing from this, the author tries to assemble a frame of mind about how Indonesia's image as a waste importer country is formed and how this impacts Indonesia as follows:

Figure 1. Indonesia's image as a waste importer country

Indonesia as waste importer country: how it formed

In a dynamic international system, issues will continue to emerge, and as these issues arise, actors will also emerge. These actors are involved either as actors who tend to be seen as antagonistic actors or as actors who bring solutions and middle options. For example, when the cold war broke out, opposing sides emerged, which were referred to as the eastern and western blocs in the context of that time. However, then appeared parties who seemed to be mediating between the two blocks, namely the non-blocks, Indonesia. The emergence of Indonesia as a non-aligned state seemed to be influenced by Indonesia's condition, which was still a newly independent country, which to a lesser extent, had not been too influenced by opposing ideologies of the two camps. The emergence of Indonesia, which seemed to be the mediator of the turmoil, made Indonesia seen as a neutral country. In other words, the result of Indonesia's foreign policy not to take sides with any bloc impacted, creating an image and Role of Indonesia as an intermediary state at that time.

What happened to Indonesia, which is seen as an intermediary country, and what is happening to Indonesia now, which in global trade is seen as a waste importer country, has the same pattern. To identify this pattern, The role theory is essential. Holsti assumes that three things, one influence an image that then creates the Role of the state in an issue) role conception, 2) role prescription, and 3) role performance. Role conception is broadly understood as a country's personality, role prescription is understood as an expectation or view of the Role by the international system to a country, and role performance refers to the country's behavior in the international system.

Role conception or the personality of a country can be seen from several things, one of which is its foreign policy; this is based on the fact that foreign policy of a country in an international system is closely related to the national goals of the country, and is often referred to as an "extension of the arms." Of the national goals of a country. Based on these questions and returning to the context of Indonesia's image as an importer country, then is the personality of Indonesia as an export dumpster? The answer seems to be inaccurate,

because judging from the Minister of Trade Regulation No. In 2019 regarding imported waste and President Joko Widodo's joy in his second term of administration, Indonesia wants to improve its economy by becoming an industrialized country.

Industry in this context, of course, includes the recycling industry, because in Indonesia itself, according to the Ministry of Industry of the Republic of Indonesia in 2019, 50 recycling industries in Indonesia have invested IDR 2.63 trillion by absorbing a workforce of more than 20,000 people (Ministry of Industry Indonesia, 2019). However, the recycling industry has an excellent demand for insufficient resources to rely on domestic resources alone. Approximately 6 million tonnes of raw material are needed, but domestically, it can only produce 2 tonnes (Nugraha, 2019). In other words, to support industrial activities that are now being promoted by Indonesia, it is necessary to provide raw materials that cannot be fulfilled domestically. The solution is to import raw materials in the form of waste from other countries.

Although based on the calm description of role conception above, it can be concluded that Indonesia's personality is as an industrial country; in fact, this role conception by Indonesia affects other indicators, namely role performance on image creation or Indonesia's Role as a waste importer country. The role performance or behavior of a country in the international system looks at implementing its foreign policy. When it comes back to the discussion, it looks at foreign policies related to the global waste trade. Minister of Trade Regulation No. 84 of 2019 regarding imported waste has a basis for meeting the needs of the Indonesian recycling industry by importing from other countries. This continuously developing industry's need for raw materials seems to have increased every year from 201 to reach the peak in 2018.

Figure 2. Plastic waste import in a million tonnes
Source: CNBC Indonesia (compiled)

The increase in imported waste by Indonesia then indicates that Indonesia is a country that tends to be a waste importer country. In other words, when viewed through role performance in the world of global waste trade, Indonesia's behavior shows consumptive behavior towards imported waste, which is then translated that Indonesia in the global waste trade is a waste importer country. The last one is a role prescription or international system expectations of a country. This

expectation seems to have been formed from a combination of the two indicators above, namely the state's personality and behavior in the international system. Judging from the two indicators above, it seems that the perception of actors in the world of global waste trade regarding Indonesia as an importer country that can become a substitute for China as a country for collecting waste from an exporting country is justified. This is because the personality shown by Indonesia is an industrialized country that is developing its industry, and its behavior illustrates that to develop one of its industries, Indonesia needs raw materials, in this case, imported waste from other countries. Combining these two indicators has led exporting countries to divert their waste, which was initially sent to China but then switched since the National Sword Policy in 2018; in other words, the exporters expect that Indonesia can become an alternative country waste.

Import waste implications: why it is not acceptable and where it ended

It has been stated above that the effect of waste-shifting due to China's policy in 2018 harms Indonesia. However, if Indonesia has a sound system in processing its waste, this increase can benefit the waste processing industry. It is because Indonesia, according to the Ministry of Industry of the Republic of Indonesia in 2019, approximately has 50 recycling industries that have invested IDR 2.63 trillion and absorbing a workforce of more than 20,000 people (Indonesian Ministry of Industry, 2019). However, in reality, Indonesia's waste management system is fraught with flaws, so it only burdened Indonesia more than benefitting it.

According to Dwi Sawung, Urban and Energy Campaign Manager at Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia, the management of waste management in Indonesia is still very poor. Dwi explained why his claim because most urban districts in Indonesia only have a waste management capacity of 50%; the rest is either dumped into rivers, rivers, or into gardens (Wicaksono, 2019). He added that many districts and cities do not have exact data regarding the volume of waste and the types of waste available. The budget for managing waste is only Rp. 20,000 per ton (Wicaksono, 2019). In 2018, through SWI (Sustainable Waste Indonesia) research whose data was compiled by the Ministry of Home Affairs' Research and Development Agency, around 65 million tons of waste in Indonesia each day, around 24%, are not processed. In other words, around 15 million tons of waste is not processed every day (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2018). Besides, only 7% of waste is processed, and the remaining 69% ends up in the TPA (Tempat Pembuangan Akhir or Final Disposal Site). As much as 14% of waste, or around 1.3 million tons of waste, is in the form of plastic waste (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2018).

Two places are usually used to pile up imported waste entering Indonesia: Bangun and Tropodo Village in East Java. The flow of imported waste to Tropodo Village and Bangun Village was initially through 43 countries that exported paper for raw materials for paper mills in nearly 11 factories in East Java, most of which were in the Brantas River Basin or Daerah Aliran Sungai (DAS). However, this unsorted waste paper's composition is smuggled by plastic and B3 waste from domestic waste around 20-30%. In these paper factories, the plastic and B3 waste that has been smuggled in has no use in paper raw materials and ended up being sold to the local community or plastic collectors. Nevertheless, it does not stop there. In its production process, the paper factory produces waste paper and plastic scraps that cannot be processed or have low economic value and are also sold to residents. Then from the residents, it was sold to 29 tofu factories, a tofu factory in Tropodo Village.

Clash of interest

There will always be parties who disagree with every policy and regulation that the government considers the best way to solve a problem and the policy in handling this imported waste problem. However, it cannot be denied that the domestic industry requires imports of used paper raw materials to meet industrial needs because domestic raw materials are not sufficient. It can

be seen from data from the Ministry of Industry of the Republic of Indonesia. Fifty recycling industries in Indonesia have invested Rp 2.63 trillion by absorbing a workforce of more than 20,000 people. The plastic recycling industry requires 5 million tonnes of plastic.

Meanwhile, for the pulp and paper industry, around 48 companies need paper raw materials, and 26 companies are made from 100% paper raw materials so that it reaches 6.4 million tons per year. Meanwhile, the location of the problem with imported waste is in the regulation of the Minister of Trade Regulation Number 31 of 2016 concerning the Import of Non-B3 Waste, which provides an opening for the smuggling of plastic and B3 waste in imported commodities, mainly used paper. Because used paper enters Indonesia with a green light code that does not require physical inspection and is only enough to check or examine the document after issuing the Approval Letter for the Release of Goods (SPPB), therefore it is not impossible that exporters can easily carry out plastic and B3 waste smuggling. Starting from there, the Permendag is replaced with a new Permendag, namely Permendag No. 84 of 2019.

Table 1. Comparison of Ministry of Trade Regulation No. 31 of 2016 and Permendag No. 84 of 2019

	Permendag No. 31 Tahun 2016	Permendag No. 84 Tahun 2019
Advantages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The wet signature provisions as a condition of the Import Approval Issuance are difficult to manipulate • Not using the direct shipment mechanism which has the potential to cause no safety stock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All commodities use Recommendations from the Ministry of Environment and Recommendations from the Ministry of Industry (including paper and metals which are Group A) • (Article 3 paragraph 3) Exporters that can export Non-B3 Wastes as Industrial Raw Materials are Registered Exporters. • (Article 3 paragraph 4) Determination of destination ports, namely: Tanjung Priok, Tanjung Emas, Tanjung Perak, Soekarno Hatta (Makassar), Belawan, Batu Ampar, Teluk Lamong, and Merak. The government can easily control and control the perpetrators. • (Article 17 paragraph 4) The obligation to manage Non-B3 Waste that cannot be utilized in the production process, individually, in groups or in collaboration with a licensed waste processing company. • (Article 29) Import provisions apply at Bonded Piling Places, Free Trade Zones and Free Ports, and Special Economic Zones.

To be continued...

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Added item description settings for rags Issuance of Import Approval using an electronic signature
Lack	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Group A (paper & metal) did not use recommendations and B (glass, plastic, textiles, & rubber) used recommendations from the advisory technical agency. Provisions regarding exporters who can export non-hazardous waste are not regulated. The transport mechanism for imported non-hazardous waste to the port of destination is not regulated. Does not regulate provisions regarding the determination of the port of destination. Provisions regarding the management of Non-B3 Waste that cannot be utilized in the production process are not regulated (Article 27) Import provisions only apply in Free Zones and Free Ports Does not regulate provisions regarding the description of goods for rags Issuance of Import Approval using a wet signature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (Article 3 paragraph 4) The mechanism of transporting non-hazardous waste directly (direct shipment) to the port of destination which makes it difficult for exporters to threaten the availability of raw materials. (Article 3 paragraph 1) Definition of the term Homogeneous. (Article 3 paragraph 3) The definition of the term Net. (Article 5 paragraph 3) Issuance of import approvals using electronic signatures is vulnerable to manipulation.

Source: Ali (2020)

From the comparison table above, it can be said that the Minister of Trade Regulation No. 84 of 2019 has advantages, namely that the entry gap for the smuggling of plastic and B3 waste in paper and metal imports can be reduced because it is no longer a Group A so it must get recommendations from KLH and the Ministry of Industry. Besides, there are also revisions to the import procedure. In addition to being registered importers, exporters must also be registered in the country of origin and certified to prevent illegal imports. As well as strengthening in the field of supervision and checking carried out by surveyors and Customs to ensure that the import of Non-B3 Wastes received is truly clean from B3 waste. The government can directly supervise and control import activities with a direct shipping mechanism to the port of destination.

However, this regulation reaped the cons of the Indonesian Pulp and Paper Association (APKI). This organization accommodates as many as 71 Pulp and Paper industrial companies, with 48 of them using used paper / recycled paper raw material. Reporting from Kontan.co.id (2019), according to APKI, several articles become problems, namely the terms homogeneous, clean, direct shipment provisions, registered exporter provisions issued by the competent authorities in the country of origin, and so on. Most questioned about direct shipments, which after the regulation came out, many surveyors and shipping parties did not want to import non-B3 waste for raw materials in Indonesia so

that the potential for a multiplier effect that was detrimental to other industries such as industries that use paper as basic material drinks) (Rahayu, 2019). Because in the provisions regarding direct shipment on field conditions, not all countries can make direct shipments, but must first transshipment in another country. So that socialization is needed to prepare for the transition period by taking into account various other factors to prevent chaos in the field. Because this regulatory problem is ignored, it will risk affecting the export of paper products, whose contribution in 2018 reached USD 4.5 billion (Rahayu, 2019).

Another party that also objected to the regulation was the Indonesia Iron and Steel Industry Association (IISIA). IISIA considers that the homogeneous provision is impossible to apply because, in the international standard, the impurity requirement is 2%. Because technically, no steel scrap is entirely homogeneous and has 0% impurity (SCISI, 2019). This new regulation is considered to cause the death of almost all steel factories because 32 out of 34 steel factories in Indonesia use scrap steel as raw material. In contrast, domestic scrap is only 20%. It can be seen that there is a conflict of interest and a dilemma between the environmental problems and the industrial needs, which, of course, support the country's economy. If the government continues to loosen up the regulations, there will be environmental and health problems, which are crucial. Meanwhile, the need for loose and easy-to-apply regulations is urgently needed for industry players to maintain the wheels of the country's economy.

People of Tropodo and Bangun Village: The blinded victim

The need for raw materials for the recycling industry and insufficient domestic raw materials, has made some recycling industry producers choose to import waste from other countries. Data from the Ministry of Industry of the Republic of Indonesia recorded that 50 recycling industries in Indonesia invested Rp 2.63 trillion in funds with more than 20,000 people. As for the need for raw materials itself, the plastic recycling industry requires about 5 million tonnes of plastic. Furthermore, the pulp and paper industry is divided into 48 companies requiring paper raw materials and 26 companies made from 100 percent paper raw materials, which require raw materials reaching 6.4 million tons per year (ECOTON et al., 2019).

The fundamental problem with the existence of waste imports is discovering raw materials that are not clean and have contaminated waste and B3 waste, which makes it difficult for producers to recycle back. To reduce losses, the producers sell the waste back to the community, especially in Gresik, Mojokerto, and Sidoarjo areas, to be sorted and resold. The Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) and the United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Data (UN Comtrade) stated that throughout 2018 the volume of imported waste entering the territory of Indonesia had reached 283,000 tons; this figure increased sharply when compared to the figure in 2013 which was only 124,000 tons (Vebri et al., 2019). The existence of a green light code that allows no physical inspection and only checks for the Issuance of Goods Release Approval Letter (SPPB) is one reason why imported B3-contaminated waste can quickly enter Indonesian territory. ECOTON et al. (2019) stated that around nine paper recycling production companies in East Java use 4 million tons of scrap paper per year as raw material for paper making. The composition used as raw material for the product is divided into 63% local paper, and 37% imported paper totaling 1.5 million tons. Previously, the level of scrap plastic contained in imported raw materials ranged from 2% - 10%, but with the increasing number of contaminated waste this figure is increasing, and within three years, the scrap plastic content has reached the range of 60- 70%.

The impact of imported waste on the community of Bangun and Tropodo Villages

The massive influx of imported waste into Indonesia has impacted the existing environmental damage, especially the environment in industrial areas, which is directly related to imported waste production. According to data obtained by Ecological Observation and Wetlands Conservation (ECOTON), it was found that 11 recycled paper industries in the Brantas River basin, East Java, have dumped their waste into the Brantas River, which is a source of drinking water and freshwater fish populations. In his research conducted with the Indonesia Water Community of practice in 2018-2019, it was found that there were microplastic particles contained in the seven downstream areas of the Brantas River, reaching 293-2499 particles/liter. Moreover, there are 3,896 particles/liter found around the sewerage of 11 recycled paper industries in East Java (Kompas, 2019). The microplastic particles in the Brantas river flow have resulted in 30% of the fish experiencing intersexual (multiple sexes) due to damage to the reproductive organs of fish that have consumed microplastics.

Apart from the negative impact of imported waste on waters, imported waste also pollutes the soil and threatens human security. Bangun and Tropodo villages are examples of affected villages due to their proximity to several paper industrial factories in East Java. The Ecoton Investigation Report found several industries sell plastic waste that cannot be reprocessed to the public; the price offered is between 100,000 - 2 million rupiah per truck. The low level of public knowledge about the dangers of recycled plastic waste through burning and drying the soil and health has made them still buy this waste to meet their daily needs.

Besides the environmental impact, imported waste also impacts human safety, especially on health impacts. In Tropodo village, where there are approximately 50 tofu industries that use plastic waste as fuel for their annual management, the impact of plastic combustion smoke released into the air causes high air emissions levels in the Tropodo area; even in 2018, these emission levels have exceeded normal limits there (Nurhadi, 2019). The community's direct impact when the burning activity occurred in this area was that most of the Tropodo people suffered from diseases such as Acute Respiratory Tract Infection (ISPA), myalgia, cephalgia, dermatitis, and several other diseases. Research conducted by IPEN, Nexus 3, Arnika Association, and Ecoton has also found a breakdown of the existing food chain due to burning plastic waste in Tropodo and Bangun villages. Chicken eggs from Tropodo village have been found to contain dioxins with a concentration of 200 pg TEQ g⁻¹ fat. This content is greater than 70 times the tolerable daily intake (TDI) standard limit set by the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA). The high dioxin content in the body will impact the emergence of diseases such as cardiovascular, cancer, porphyria, endometriosis, and changes in the immune system (ECOTON, et al., 2019).

Economic dilemma of Bangun and Tropodo Villages

The real problem of imported waste in Indonesia is not only environmental security and human security but more than that because this problem also relates to an economic dilemma that the government also needs to pay attention to. For most of the villagers of Bangun and Tropodo, plastic waste is one of the gold mines to find a fortune. This is because the majority of Bangun residents, in particular have made imported waste their main livelihood. There are even some residents who are willing to change their profession from farmers to sorting imported waste, this is because they think that the income from sorting waste is more significant and will continue to exist compared to income from farming.

Environmental activist, Hanny Ismail from the Zero Waste Community, stated the reason why people are willing to accommodate plastic waste in their area. This is due to the

economic benefits seen by residents when sorting waste and reselling it to several industries such as the tofu and crackers industry and the plastic seed industry in East Java (Riski, 2019).

"What the community views are the economic value, oh this is the money, that. He could not see that there was a very extraordinary impact other than that economic impact. There are health impacts as well, that is the most dangerous, also impacts on the environment."

If seen from history, people of Bangun village have been working in the waste sorting profession since the 1970s. They have finally become a business that has been passed down from generation to generation in the area. Some residents are even willing to rent land by paying Rp. 1 million / year to a paper industry manager to be used as a waste sorting area. In Bangun village, the waste sorters do not get garbage for anything but have to buy from the factory for Rp. 50-100 thousand. From this capital, the sorters can generate profits of around Rp. 400- 500 thousand / sale.

Meanwhile, for the remaining waste that cannot be used anymore, the people of Bangun village sell it to several tofu industries in Tropodo for a lower price of Rp. 100 thousand / pick up (Fajar, 2019). The proceeds from this sale are used to meet the residents' daily needs, and this income can even be used to send their children to college.

Even though the existence of imported waste in Bangun Village is considered a blessing for the community, the community needs to know how the impact is related to the management of waste that has been contaminated with B3 waste. Director of ECOTON Prigi Arisandi himself stated that the research he conducted in Bangun village found some pollution due to imported waste, soil, air, and water pollution.

"Everything is polluted. Air Pollution was burned at the residents' houses; the waste there was consist of wires and metals that were burned. Garbage is piled up widely; it seeps into the ground eventually because there is metal. In water, all contain microplastic wastewater." said Prigi (Fajar, 2019).

From this problem, the governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawangsana, stated that he had coordinated with several ministries to resolve this waste import problem. He emphasized that industrial producers who use paper raw materials must always follow the regulations based on the Minister of Trade Regulation 31 of 2016 and the Basel Convention in May 2019. Khofifah also stated that now the government's homework is to find solutions for people who currently have made imported waste as a livelihood. Responding to this, the Regent of Mojokerto Pungkasiadi said that he would immediately follow up and negotiate with the residents, the best solution for this problem (Fajar, 2019).

Conclusion

The increase in imported waste that occurred in Indonesia around 2018 seems to be not only an impact of China's National Sword Policy in the same year, but due on Indonesia's role conception, role performance, and role prescription, which ultimately creates a "role" for Indonesia as an importer country in the world. The global waste trade by exporting countries after China closed its waste imports. This increase in waste has implications for many sectors in Indonesia, such as health, the environment, and the economy. To tackle the increase in waste so that degradation in several sectors in Indonesia does not continue to increase, the Indonesian government created Permendag No. 84 of 2019, which then led to conflicts with the corporation because it was considered that the regulation had the potential to reduce the number of raw materials that their industry could obtain. However, it seems that those who have had the most significant impact from this

increase live in places where imported waste has accumulated, namely the people of Bangun and Tropodo Villages in East Java. Communities in both villages were faced with a difficult choice between choosing their continued degraded health or sacrificing the jobs that had supported them for many years.

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