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Yudi Latif

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The Green Islam Movement in Indonesia: Actors, Strategies, and Networks

Testriono, Ismatu Ropi, Aldi Nur Fadil Auliya, Dedy Ibmar, Savran Billahi, & Tati Rohayati

The Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, conducted a study entitled *Gerakan Green Islam di Indonesia: Aktor, Strategie, dan Jaringan* (*The Green Islam Movement in Indonesia: Actors, Strategies, and Networks*). This study seeks to answer why and how the Green Islam movement has developed in Indonesia, who their key actors are and how they build their networks, and how Green Islam activists use religious identity to design their strategies and programs.

This qualitative research, carried out over eight months, employed a case study approach and utilized data collection techniques including desk research (November 2023–January 2024), focus group discussions (FGDs; February–March 2024), in-depth interviews (April–May 2024), and observations (April–May 2024). FGDs were conducted in Jakarta and Surabaya, involving 50 leaders of faith-based environmental organizations or communities. In addition, the research conducted indepth interviews with 53 informants from Green Islam organizations or communities and carried out observations in 28 environmental work sites belonging to 10 Green Islam organizations or communities across Indonesia.

In this study, Green Islam refers to collective actions aimed at practicing Islamic teachings that affirm the intrinsic connection between faith and environmental stewardship, a movement that applies Islamic principles to concrete environmental conservation initiatives. Although the Green Islam movement has grown significantly in Indonesia, both in the number of organizations and the breadth of their activities, few systematic studies have examined how activists utilize religious identity to develop their strategies, networks, and programs. This research seeks to address that gap, and its principal findings are outlined below.

Religious and Environmental Movements in Indonesia

Findings from this study indicate that the Green Islam movement in Indonesia has undergone three major phases of development. The first phase emerged in the 1980s, when the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) issued a Fatwa on Population, Health, and Development in October 1983, which included discussions on environmental issues. During this period, Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) leaders and prominent Islamic figures such as Abdurrahman Wahid, Ali Yafie, Sahal Mahfudz, Tarmizi Taher, and Quraish Shihab played a crucial role in stimulating environmental movements.

The second phase occurred in the aftermath of the 2004 Aceh tsunami, when post-disaster recovery efforts brought Islamic movements into closer engagement with environmental issues. This period saw a paradigm shift from emergency disaster response to resilience-building and disaster risk mitigation. Indonesia's largest Islamic organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, actively participated in the interfaith humanitarian network Humanitarian Forum Indonesia (HFI), which served as a key platform for civil society engagement at the time. It was during this phase that the Green Islam movement became institutionalized within major mass-based Islamic organizations, shown by the establishment of the Nahdlatul Ulama Disaster Management and Climate Change Institute (LPBI NU), Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC), and the MUI's Environmental and Natural Resources Breeding Institute (LPLHSDA-MUI).

The third phase, known as the ecological turn, was marked by the Islamic Declaration on Global Climate Change in Istanbul, Turkey, and the Paris Agreement in 2015. Following these milestones, numerous Islamic-based environmental groups emerged, and nearly all religious

communities became actively involved in environmental and climate actions.

In terms of its formation patterns, the Green Islam movement in Indonesia can be classified into three distinct models. The first model comprises movements that originate within major Islamic organizations, such as NU's LPBI, the Council for Environmental Preservation (MLH) of Muhammadiyah, MDMC, and the Environment and Disaster Management Unit of 'Aisyiyah (LLHPB), as well as LPLHSDA under MUI. The second model consists of Green Islam movements that emerge from secular environmental organizations, such as the Ummah for Earth initiative that affiliates with Greenpeace and the Forest, Nature, and Environment of Aceh (HAkA) with its Teungku Inong (female ulama) movement. The third model includes movements explicitly established to integrate Islamic principles with environmentalism from their inception, such as the Front Nahdliyin for the Sovereignty of Natural Resources (FNKSDA), Muhammadiyah Green Cadre (KHM), and AgriQuran.

Mapping Networks of Green Islam Movement in Indonesia

This study identifies 142 Islamic-based environmental organizations and community groups across Indonesia, which can be categorized into three typologies based on their environmental movement tendencies: conservationists, mobilizers, and policy advocates. The majority are structurally affiliated with the country's two largest Islamic-based organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. Most operate at the local—rather than national or international—level, and are more commonly organized as religious mass organizations than as NGOs, community associations, or coalitions. Policy campaigning emerges as the predominant model of activism, surpassing both conservation and mass mobilization approaches. Membership structures are generally open, allowing participation without restriction to specific constituencies.

Social network analysis (SNA) further reveals that Indonesia's largest Islamic organizations—Muhammadiyah, NU, and the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI)—serve as the most popular and influential actors within the Green Islam network. The analysis identifies six distinct clusters: (1) groups addressing environmental issues through advocacy and ethical-behavioral change initiatives grounded in Islamic values; (2) groups prioritizing mass mobilization; (3) groups dedicated to environmental education and training; (4) groups engaged in disaster risk mitigation and

post-disaster recovery; (5) groups promoting environmentally friendly personal behavior through narratives of piety rooted in modern Islamic identity; and (6) groups integrating environmental programs with local wisdom and community contexts.

Green Islam as a Social Movement in Indonesia

From a social movement theory perspective, three factors have shaped Green Islam in Indonesia. The first factor is political opportunities. Following the 2004 Aceh tsunami and the 2006 Yogyakarta earthquake, the disaster paradigm has shifted from emergency response to an emphasis on resilience and risk mitigation. This shift led to the introduction of new disaster management regulations that have enabled large Islamic organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, and MUI to form environmental (especially disaster-related) bodies within their respective structures, particularly focused on disaster issues. These organizations have also partnered with influential stakeholders to advance their environmental agendas.

The second factor is resource mobilization. These large Islamic organizations have the institutional capacity to broaden their religious missions to environmental concerns. Their well-established hierarchical structures—from the grassroots to the national level—allow for effective coordination and dissemination of environmental initiatives. Furthermore, these organizations are led by figures who possess the intellectual and practical experience to frame environmentalism in Islamic terms, making it more accessible and legitimate within religious communities.

The third factor is collective action framing, the process by which Green Islam actors construct and communicate environmental issues and mobilize public support in ways that resonate with Islamic values. To gain public support, Green Islam actors have utilized various mediums such as fatwas, books, and religious sermons to convey ecological stewardship as a moral and spiritual obligation. Over time, the framing broadened from disaster-specific issues to encompass global ecological concerns such as climate change, both to align with global trends and to attract broader public engagement.

Religious Identity and Its Influence on Green Islam Movement in Indonesia

Despite variations in theology and organizational character, Green Islam actors employ Islamic identity as a unifying collective identity in

their environmental activism. This shared identity serves as a foundation for building networks with a wide range of stakeholders, including international organizations, government bodies, religious leaders, Islamic institutions, Islamic educational institutions, and Muslim academics. It also facilitates interfaith collaboration, partnerships with secular environmental groups, and engagement with corporations, strategic alliances that collectively enhance the movement's reach and impact.

In terms of strategy, this study identifies four recurring patterns of strategy often used by the Green Islam movement in Indonesia: (1) empowering religious leaders, such as HAkA's initiative to support female clerics in Aceh who promote Green Islam through mosque lectures and community study forums; (2) community training and education, exemplified by Aisyiyah's efforts to providing environmental education to Muhammadiyah schools; (3) mobilization of affected communities, as seen in FNKSDA's collaboration with residents of Pakel Village, East Java, in addressing agrarian conflicts involving local farmers and plantation companies; and (4) expansion and deepening of online networks, illustrated by AgriQuran's use of social media to reach a broader audience—particularly young people—with messages about Islamic agriculture.. These four strategic patterns are closely related to how Green Islam organizations identify and engage with their primary targets, whether they be governmental institutions or individual community members.

In terms of programs, this study reveals three main patterns commonly adopted by Green Islam organizations in carrying out their initiatives: (1) utilization of Islamic identity and terminology, such as incorporating Islamic terms in programs like eco-pesantren and green hajj developed by PPI UNAS; (2) leveraging Islamic occasions, exemplified by Ummah for Earth's "plastic-free iftar" campaign during Ramadan; (3) application of Islamic values, as demonstrated by CTC's framing of its environmental clean-up activities as expressions of religious duty. These three patterns are firmly rooted in the values championed by the Green Islam movement—particularly the belief that Islam is inherently aligned with ecological ethics. As such, these programmatic strategies distinguish Green Islam from more secular environmental initiatives by embedding ecological responsibility within a distinctly Islamic framework.

Best Practices of Green Islam Movement in Indonesia

In general, Green Islam actions in Indonesia aim to respond to environmental issues occurring in local communities, such as waste emergencies, the extinction of protected endangered species, clean water crises, opposition to mining, coastal degradation due to the construction of coal-fired power plants (PLTU), and the struggle to preserve land and traditional customs. Based on FGDs, interviews, and field observations, this study identifies at least six notable best practices within the Green Islam movement in Indonesia: namely community-based waste management initiatives, advocacy for the protection of endangered species in the community, environmental awareness campaigns via social media, active involvement of women in environmental actions, the development of Green Energy Villages funded by zakat, infak, and sedekah (ZIS), and community-based forest conservation efforts. These practices demonstrate the diverse and contextually grounded strategies through which Green Islam actors engage with both ecological and social concerns.

The success of Green Islam programs in Indonesia is shaped by a combination of internal and external factors. Among the key internal factors are (1) a strong Islamic identity, such as environmental actions being seen as fulfilling religious obligations grounded in the Quran and Sunnah; (2) the leadership of environmental activists, for example PPI UNAS' conservation *da'i* training due to the role of Fachruddin Mangunjaya who previously worked at World Wildlife Fund; (3) funding, such as the success of the Green Energy Villages program supported by the Yayasan Hadji Kalla's ZIS management institution; (4) innovative environmental activities, such as the construction of digester reactors to utilize livestock waste to produce organic fertilizer and biogas in Islamic boarding schools; (5) collaboration with various parties, such as cooperation with other environmental organizations and partnerships with local governments in implementing environmental programs.

Meanwhile, several external factors that influence the success of Green Islam programs in Indonesia include (1) the involvement of religious leaders and environmental activists, as seen in the EcoDeen environmental initiatives involving religious teachers and prominent figures such as Fachruddin Mangunjaya (Director of PPI UNAS) and Hayu Prabowo (Chair of LPLHSDA MUI); (2) the involvement of

women, exemplified by LLHPB Aisyiyah's Green Aisyiyah programs, which involves Aisyiyah women from the central to the branch levels; (3) the strategic use of social media, as demonstrated by AgriQuran and Bumi Langit Institute, both of which have built large online followers on their social media to disseminate environmental messages accounts; (4) legal legitimacy through *fatwas*, such as the 2014 MUI Fatwa on the Conservation of Endangered Species, which provides a religious foundation for PPI UNAS's conservation *da'i* program and the creation of several conservation campaign materials, such as Friday sermon modules on the prohibition of wildlife trade; (5) the utilization of momentum, such as the initiatives by Islamic Dakwah Indonesia Institution (LDII) Yogyakarta to launch the *Kyai Peduli Sampah* and *ProKlim* programs in response to "garbage emergency" in Yogyakarta.

Strengths, Opportunities, and Challenges of Green Islam Movement in Indonesia

The Green Islam movement in Indonesia exhibits four key strengths that support its effectiveness and resilience. First, it is grounded in a strong ethical framework, both in terms of ethics related to the importance of preserving the environment for future generations and ethics regarding the unity of humans and nature. Second, it benefits from robust organizational resources, particularly the structured networks of major Islamic organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah, which operate from the national to the grassroots level. Third, the movement draws strength from a base of loyal followers who are united by a shared religious identity, enabling sustained engagement and support. Fourth, the movement shows a high degree of creativity and adaptability, demonstrated by innovations such as the use of solar panels by Bumi Langit Permaculture and LDII, the construction of biopore wells by Save Ake Gaale, and the conversion of organic waste into fertilizer and biogas by the Hadji Kalla Foundation.

In addition, this study identifies three key opportunities that have the potential to further strengthen the environmental activism of the Green Islam movement in Indonesia. First, the movement benefits from organically growing networks, which integrate Islamic principles with environmental concerns and often transcend local boundaries, allowing for broader collaboration and impact. Second, many Green Islam activists possess a strong educational background, including higher education credentials, which enhances the movement's intellectual and organizational capacity. Third, the movement is supported by a broader ecological paradigm shift,

as seen in increasing global attention to sustainability issues, particularly following the 2015 Islamic Declaration on Global Climate Change in Istanbul and the Paris Agreement, both of which have influenced the environmental discourse within Muslim communities worldwide.

However, the Green Islam movement also faces several challenges. These include: (1) a knowledge gap between activists and grassroots constituents, which can hinder effective communication and mobilization; (2) limited financial resources, which constrain the scale and sustainability of programs; (3) the persistence of non-environmentally friendly policies and regulations at both national and local levels; (4) a tendency for some programs to remain targeted at specific identity-based groups, which limits broader inclusivity; and (5) the fact that some activists lack deep environmental expertise, which may impact the effectiveness of certain initiatives.

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- 2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
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- 6. Ms. Undhang-Undhang Banten, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
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