# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 32, Number 3, 2025


## Revisiting Religious Environmentalism in Indonesia: Navigating Ethics, Politics, and Policy

Testriono & Savran Billahi

## How Green is Green Islam? Religious Environmentalism and Public Policy in Indonesia

Frans Wijsen

## Beyond Instrumentalization: Lived Religion, Politics, and Justice in Indonesian Muslim Environmentalisms

Zainal Abidin Bagir


ISSN: 0215-0492 E-ISSN: 2355-6145

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 32, no. 3, 2025

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) is an international journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, INDONESIA. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines. All submitted papers are subject to double-blind review process.*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (Decree No. 32a/E/KPT/2017).*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA has become a CrossRef Member since year 2014. Therefore, all articles published by STUDIA ISLAMIKA will have unique Digital Object Identifier (DOI) number.*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA is indexed in Scopus since 30 May 2015.*

Editorial Office:
STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.
Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;
E-mail: studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id
Website: http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia, institution: US$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US$ 25,00; individual: US$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy is US$ 20,00. Rates do not include international postage and handling.

Please make all payment through bank transfer to: **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia,** account No. **101-00-0514550-1 (USD), Swift Code: bmriidja**

Harga berlangganan di Indonesia untuk satu tahun, lembaga: Rp. 150.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 50.000,-; individu: Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-. Harga belum termasuk ongkos kirim.

Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

# Table of Contents

*Frans Wijsen*

# How Green is Green Islam? Religious Environmentalism and Public Policy in Indonesia

**Abstract:** *Studies of religious environmentalism often start from the assumption that religious communities are essential to the fight against environmental changes. In this article I will address the question whether and in what way this is indeed the case, and if and how religious environmental ethics can be integrated into public policy. Numerous large-scale studies show that evidence for a relationship between religious beliefs and environment-friendly behavior is not robust. Integrating religious beliefs into public policy is not unambiguous. This article has two parts. In the first part I draw on the religious environmentalism actions study and the humans and nature study to explore empirical evidence for a relationship between religious beliefs and environmental ethics in Indonesia. In the second part I ask what this evidence signifies for environmental policy making. I advocate a discursive approach in policy-making showing the multiplicity of meanings of environmental problems and the need of forming discourse coalitions.*

**Keywords:** Religious Values, Environmental Ethics, Public Policy, Islam, Indonesia.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654

**Abstrak:** *Kajian mengenai* religious environmentalism *sering kali bermula dari asumsi bahwa komunitas keagamaan memiliki peran esensial dalam upaya mitigasi perubahan lingkungan. Dalam artikel ini, saya akan menguji sejauh mana dan dalam cara apa asumsi ini benar, serta apakah dan bagaimana etika lingkungan hidup religius dapat diintegrasikan ke dalam kebijakan publik. Sejumlah studi berskala besar menunjukkan bahwa bukti empiris mengenai hubungan antara keyakinan religius dan perilaku ramah lingkungan tidaklah kokoh. Lebih lanjut, integrasi religiusitas ke dalam kebijakan publik bukanlah hal yang tidak ambigu. Pada bagian pertama artikel ini, saya merujuk pada* religious environmentalism actions study *dan studi manusia dan alam untuk menelusuri bukti empiris mengenai hubungan antara keyakinan religius dan etika lingkungan hidup di Indonesia. Bagian kedua, saya menanyakan implikasi temuan ini bagi perumusan kebijakan lingkungan. Saya menganjurkan pendekatan diskursif dalam perumusan kebijakan, yang menekankan multiplisitas makna dari permasalahan lingkungan dan perlunya pembentukan koalisi wacana terpadu.*

**Kata kunci:** Nilai-Nilai Religius, Etika Lingkungan Hidup, Kebijakan Publik, Islam, Indonesia.

**ملخص:** ما تنطلق دراسات البيئة الدينية (Religious Environmentalism) من افتراض مفاده أن المجتمعات الدينية ضرورية لمكافحة التغيرات البيئية. تتناول هذه المقالة سؤال ما إذا كانت هذه الافتراضات صحيحة، وبأي طريقة تكون كذلك، وما إذا كان يمكن دمج أخلاقيات البيئة الدينية في السياسة العامة، وكيفية ذلك. تشير العديد من الدراسات واسعة النطاق إلى أن الأدلة التي تربط المعتقدات الدينية بالسلوك الصديق للبيئة ليست قوية. إن دمج المعتقدات الدينية في السياسة العامة أمر ينطوي على غموض. تنقسم هذه المقالة إلى جزئين. في الجزء الأول، أعتمد على دراسة إجراءات البيئة الدينية (Religious Environmentalism Actions Study) ودراسة البشر والطبيعة (Humans and Nature Study) لاستكشاف الأدلة التجريبية على العلاقة بين المعتقدات الدينية والأخلاق البيئية في إندونيسيا. في الجزء الثاني، أتساءل عن دلالة هذه الأدلة على صياغة السياسات البيئية. أدعو إلى اتباع نهج حواري (discursive approach) في صنع السياسات، يبرز تعدد معاني المشكلات البيئية وضرورة تشكيل تحالفات الخطاب (discourse coalitions).

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** القيم الدينية، الأخلاق البيئية، السياسة العامة، الإسلام، إندونيسيا.

In 2024, the Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) at the State Islamic University (UIN) in Jakarta conducted a large-scale survey on Religious Environmentalism Actions (hereafter referred to as REACT). A year earlier, the Humans and Nature in Indonesia research team at Gadjah Madah University (UGM) in Yogyakarta conducted a large-scale survey on Human-Nature Relationships and Religious Views in Indonesia (hereafter referred to as HAN). The findings of both studies were presented during an International Conference on Religious Environmentalism Actions: Knowledge, Movements and Policies in Jakarta, July 16-18, 2025. The present article addresses one of the questions that were discussed during that conference, how can religious environmental ethics be integrated into public policy? Henceforth, this article has two parts, one on religious environmentalism and one on public policy. With respect to religious environmentalism I will compare the findings of the two above mentioned studies and conclude that the contribution of religious values to environmental ethics is ambivalent. For policy making I will argue for a discursive approach, focusing on forming discourse coalitions, taking seriously the multiplicity of meanings and the need of a management of meanings.

## The Ambivalence of Religion

The REACT researchers start from the assumption that Indonesians are overwhelmingly religious and that religious values play a role in shaping environmental ethics (Halimatusa'diyah et al. 2024, 2). With respect to the first assumption, the researchers quote studies that seem to confirm this assumption. But, they also note that religion is difficult to measure (Adam 2024; Halimatusa'diyah et al. 2024, 220). With respect to the second assumption, the REACT researchers conclude that religion has a dual role in shaping environmental ethics (Halimatusa'diyah et al. 2024, 247). Hereafter I will elaborate on these complexities in greater detail. For the purpose of this article, I operationalize the concept of religion as the (institutionalized or lived) belief in and interaction with (postulated) Higher Powers and/or God (Bagir et al. 2025, 20).

### *How Religious are Indonesians?*

One of the indicators that the REACT study uses to measure religion is if people take religious values into account in decision making (Adam

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654

2024, 165). The HAN study did the same. But on closer inspection one may question if this is a good indicator of religiosity. Even if Indonesians are not or not so religious, they would take religious values into account, for example in choosing a school for their children or choosing a marriage partner. In Indonesia it is almost impossible not to take religion into account. The same applies to frequency of religious worship as an indicator (Adam 2024, 182), which in Indonesia is more a social obligation and less a personal choice. There might be a Western, more specifically Protestant (in Indonesia referred to as Christian; Catholicism in general is more church-oriented, thus institutional) bias here, seeing religion as personal conviction and less as a communal ritual. Thus, the question of how religious Indonesians are (in quantitative terms) cannot be separated from the question of how religious indonesians are (in qualitative terms).

The researchers distinguish between Indonesians who take religious values into account in decision-making and Indonesians who do not take religious values into account in decision-making (Adam 2024, 166). This is surprising in a country where the overwhelming majority of the population claims to be very religious. One would assume that almost all Indonesians would take religious values into account in decision making. The REACT researchers differentiate Indonesians who never, seldom, quite often, always/very often take religion into account in decision making. Unfortunately, the REACT researchers do not give the proportion of these groups, so readers do not know how big these groups are in their research population. In the HAN study, roughly half of the Muslims strongly agree with the statement "My religion plays an important role for decision making in my life", namely 48.3%; 38.3% agree with this statement and 15.8% are undecided or disagree (Bagir et al. 2025, 12). In a study of Kantar Indonesia (2021, 53; Leiserowitz et al. 2023) on Public Beliefs on Climate Change, 'religious texts and teachings' is the last but one topic that Indonesians search for on social media, which is also surprising if Indonesians are overwhelmingly religious. More often Indonesians look for comedies, food and culinary, tutorials, tourist destinations and tours, society and culture in Indonesia, national news and politics, learning materials, fashion and make-up.

The REACT researchers make a distinction between (theological) conservative and non-conservative religion (measured by statements such as 'all religions are equally true', or 'whatever religion, everyone

worships the same God') and individual and collective religious practice (measured by communal prayer other than Friday prayer, and attending religious studies classes). Of course, both distinctions are influenced by government policies. The Indonesian Government promotes moderate Islam and distinguishes (official) religion (*agama*) and (individual) belief (*īmān*). This is important for my second part where I deal with public policy-making.

*Do Religious Values Shape Environmental Ethics?*

With respect to the second assumption, the researchers conclude that "Although the Indonesian population is often viewed as a religious society, the theocentric position has actually the smallest proportion" (Halimatusa'diyah et al. 2024, 222).

The REACT study starts from the HAN classification but classifies attitudes in a different way. In a nutshell, the HAN study distinguishes images of humans as masters of nature, humans as stewards of nature, humans as partners of nature and humans as participants in nature (Bagir et al. 2025, 4). The difference between the REACT study and the HAN study is that the latter starts from views of humans, the former starts from views of nature. The REACT study distinguishes eco-centric, anthropocentric and theocentric views of nature. The eco-centric view is that nature is cared for because of the value of nature in itself. In the anthropocentric view nature is cared for because nature serves human needs. In the theocentric view nature is cared for because nature is God's creature.

The anthropocentric and the eco-centric view – at least the theoretical constructs – do not take religious values into account in shaping environmental ethics (Halimatusa'diyah et al. 2024, 219). The theocentric view, which according to the REACT researchers is derived from the Catholic theological perspective, proposes an important role for religious values in shaping human attitudes and behaviors towards the natural environment. In other words, in the theocentric view, religious beliefs define the relationship between humans and nature in relation to God (Halimatusa'diyah et al. 2024, 219).

The REACT study concludes that most Indonesians have an anthropocentric view of nature, namely 38.86%, followed by those who have an eco-centric view (33.18%) and a theocentric view (27.97%), and that individuals from various religious groups do not

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654

differ that much in this respect. Compared to other groups, Muslims score higher on the theocentric view and lower on the eco-centric view, but also among Muslims the anthropocentric view is dominant (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 222–23). The react study also shows that the support for the theocentric view, thus the influence of religious values in shaping environmental ethics decreases over generations, from 45.4% among Boomers to 26.9% among GenZ (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta 2024, 21). This sheds another light on the previous question, how religious are Indonesians? Younger generations seem less religious than older generations, at least when it comes to environmental issues.

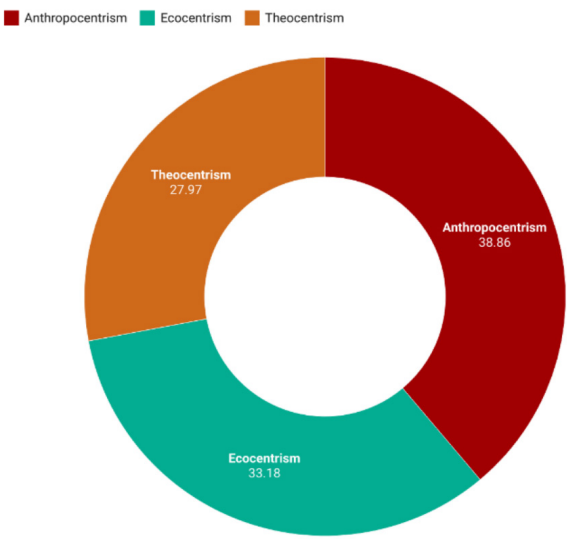


Table 1. Views on the relationship between humans and nature in the REACT study. Source: Halimatusa'diyah (2024, 222).

In the HAN study, the researchers found two versions of care for nature which they labelled eco-centric stewardship. But they found two versions of it, one with items that they labelled religious in terms of referring to God or Higher Powers, and one without. This means that people in their minds clearly distinguish (but not separate) between a religious and a non-religious version of care for nature. The highest agreement is with the non-religious one and this applies to the largest religious groups (Bagir et al. 2025, 13–17).

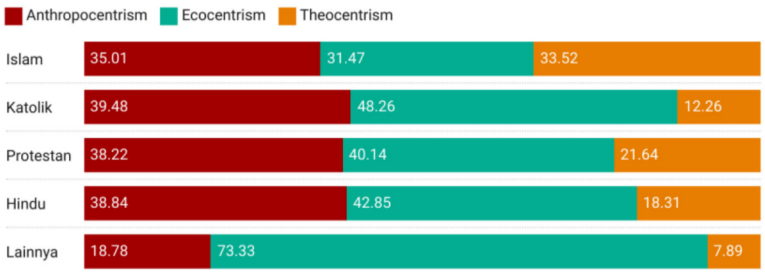


Table 2. Views on humans and nature based on generations. Source: Pusat Penelitian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta (2024).

| | Religious steward | Humanist steward | Religious Master | Religious participant |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| General | 1.31 | 1.42 | 0.38 | 0.54 |
| Muslim | 1.27 | 1.37 | 0.48 | 0.33 |
| Protestant | 1.39 | 1.47 | 0.55 | 0.51 |
| Catholic | 1.37 | 1.51 | 0.26 | 0.79 |
| Hindu | 1.38 | 1.43 | 0.17 | 1.11 |

Table 3. Levels of agreement to the four images of human-nature relationships for the four largest religious affiliations in the HAN study. Agreement was measured using a 5-point Likert scale from -2 (fully disagree) to +2 (fully agree). Source: Bagir et. al. (2025).

The REACT study concludes that theocentric and anthropocentric views do not exclude each other. In the same vein, the HAN study concludes that respondents simultaneously agree with the religious and the non-religious views. There might be implicit religious values in supporting anthropocentric or non-religious views of humans and nature, an issue that I will come back to in part 2.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654

*Do Religious Values Shape Environmental Ethics more than Non-Religious Values?*

In Indonesia, religious and non-religious individuals (measured by whether or not and to what extent religious values in decision-making) seem to have the same level of concern for the environment (Adam 2024, 173–74). There are slight but overall not significant differences. Theologically conservative individuals tend to have a higher support for the master model, and tend to show a low level of pro-environment behavior. Individuals who practice religion individually tend to have a higher support for the stewardship model and tend to show more pro-environment behavior at both individual and public levels (Halimatusa'diyah et al. 2024, 247).

In conclusion, the findings seem somewhat paradoxical and quite confusing (Garadian 2024, 63). Most respondents in the REACT study hold the view that humans have the right to change nature and at the same time that nature needs to be protected. The HAN study writes about eco-centric stewardship (Bagir et al. 2025). This means, in people's minds (empirical level) humans are not above nature, as conceptualized in the stewardship model (theoretical level), but partner with nature (humans and nature are equal). In the theoretical model, humans as masters of nature and humans as stewards of nature are seen as anthropocentric images; humans as partners of nature and humans as participants in nature are seen as eco-centric images. The HAN study found that in reality the stewardship model leans more towards an eco-centric image.

According to the REACT study, religious values have a dual role when it comes to environmental ethics (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 247). They have a positive or a negative correlation with environment-friendly beliefs and practices. In agreement with earlier HAN studies, the HAN study in Indonesia concludes that there are two layers in the way humans relate to nature, a fundamental (or universal) and a constructed, country- or culture-dependent one (Bagir et al. 2025, 21). Humans do not primarily relate to nature as Dutch or Indonesians, Catholics or Muslims, but as humans (in this layer, human-nature relationship is an anthropological constant). However, humans may frame their relationship to nature in religious vocabulary if this vocabulary is available to them and important for them (in this layer, human-nature relationship is context-dependent) (Wijsen 2025).

## Implications for Policy Making

I now move to the second question, how religious environmental ethics can be integrated into public policy. By public policy I mean policy-making by governmental agents, or policies financed by public funds (Hajer 1995). The REACT researchers conclude that "it is important to integrate religion into environmental policies and programs so that they can provide better results for the environment" (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 247). From the perspective of public policy making the question is, why is that so?

Given the conclusions above, if the Indonesian Government is serious with its 'green agenda' (and some researchers doubt if this is indeed the case), for public policy makers it is not so obvious to take religion into account (or they have reasons to take religion into account, other than a green agenda). Based on the findings of the REACT study, there are at least three reasons for this. First, religion has a dual role in shaping human views, attitudes and behavior towards nature (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 247). Second, the influence of religious leaders and religious organizations is not significant or has to be read carefully (Afrimadona 2024, 117, 118, 124). Third, religious and non-religious individuals (measured by taking religious values into account in decision making) have the same level of concern for the environment (Adam 2024, 173).

The conclusions of the REACT study seem more important for policy-making within the religious institutions themselves, at least to the extent that they are really committed to promote environment-friendly beliefs and practices. So, why should religious values or religious institutions be taken into account when it comes to public policy-making?

### *Multiplicity of Meanings*

The REACT researchers conclude that Green Islam is an elitist movement and green Islamic ideas and movements are unfamiliar to most Muslims (depending on the variable that is measured, 80% or more) in Indonesia (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 241). They recommend socialization. The pitfall that I see here is that scholars and policy-makers approach environmental issues in a realist and managerial way, assuming that environmental problems exist by themselves and that they can be solved by giving more and better information.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654

However, the issue is not that people lack information. The REACT study shows that 79.45% of the Indonesians know about climate change (Garadian 2024, 42). In fact there is an overload of information. The issue is that this information is selected and interpreted from different positions, normative frameworks and conflicting interests (bounded rationality). Thus, environmental problems are partly also interpretative and discursive (Hajer 1995).

Compared to environmental degradation, Indonesians are more concerned about health, criminality and corruption, namely 57.9%, 57.0% and 55.4% respectively (Garadian 2024, 39–40) and they select and process information accordingly. A study by Purpose on Climate Action through the Eyes of Indonesian Muslims (Wonawatan 2025) showed that Indonesians see employment, health, poverty and education as priorities and that only 27% of the Indonesian population see the environment as a priority.

For a public health officer, plastic waste might be a problem that endangers human health, for a lawyer it is a legal issue, for an activist it signifies injustice, for a green entrepreneur it is a business opportunity, for a green technology expert it might be an interesting research interest, for a garbage picker it is a source of income, not a problem but an opportunity, and for religious leaders it is not their business; they are concerned with spiritual affairs, not with mundane matters (Wijsen 2023; Wijsen and Saptaningtyas 2016). Environmentalism must be understood from the interaction between environmental changes and changes in the general policy discourse (Hajer 1995, 24). This is not to deny that environmental issues exist but to show that they are also interpretative and discursive. There is a multiplicity of meanings attached to the environment (environmental change, challenge or crisis).

Behind the realist view that environmental problems exist is the epistemological question of how scholars can know what is out there (Hajer 1995, 16) and it seems more promising for policy-makers to shift from realism to social constructivism (Hajer 1995, 17). Social constructivist geographers for example would argue that humans always have used nature to further their goals, and that this has always caused environmental changes (Hajer 1995, 17). They do not speak about environmental problems or crises, but about issues or challenges (Hajer, 1995: 18). Social constructivist geographers would argue that conservation of nature is a romantic reaction against modernization

(Hajer 1995, 19). Thus ecological problems are not problems by themselves but are constructed as problems from specific points of view (Hajer 1995, 40).

## The Multi-Voiced Self

Moreover, not only do different people hold different positions in the society with their respective points of view, but one and the same person holds different positions and thus a person can have different points of view simultaneously. People are not unitary but polyphonic, multi-voiced. I look at this from a Dialogical Self Theory perspective (Wijsen and Hermans 2020). Dialogical Self Theory takes its inspiration from American pragmatism and Russian dialogism. From William James it borrows the idea of the extended self; people are not separated from their environments. From Mikhail Bakhtin it takes the notion of polyphonic novel; in a novel there is not one author at work, but multiple authors with their respective voices that are represented by the characters.

From this background, Dialogical Self Theory hypothesizes that the self exists of a multiplicity of embodied I-positions or selves among which dialogical relationships can exist, and that the self is capable of shifting from one position to another in accordance with different, and even contrasting, circumstances. Dialogical Self Theory was first developed in the context of psychotherapy. It then broadened to include issues of globalization and radicalization and was extended to embrace environmental issues such as global warming and climate change. As humans are part of nature and nature is part of humans, the voice of nature is a voice in the self (Hermans 2022).

| I- and we-positions | Description | Responsibility |
|---|---|---|
| I as an individual | I position myself as an individual and as different from other people | Individual |
| We as group members | I position myself as a group member and as different from other groups | Social |
| We as human beings | I position myself as a human being and include other individuals and groups | Collective |
| We as participants of the earth | I position myself as a participant of the earth that is common to all of us | Ecological |

Table 4. Identity levels and responsibilities.
Source: (with permission of the publisher) Hermans (2022, 233).

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654

The multiplicity of voices in the self partly explains the finding that people's views on the environment are complex (Garadian 2024, 64) and that the relationships between religiosity and the environment is not one-way, but diverse (Adam 2024, 216). Respondents hold seemingly contradictory views with respect to nature. Well-educated Muslims for example hold green ideas but also support coal mining, palm oil plantations and selling mineral water in plastic bottles (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 245). Overall, economic motivations are dominant in Muslims' attitudes towards nature (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 242).

To make this concrete, if the believer's voice of Nadhlatul Ulama members tells them that they should not buy mineral water in plastic bottles, because Nadhlatul Ulama leaders ordered that the use of plastic is undesirable (*makrūh*), but mineral water in plastic bottles is cheaper than mineral water in other packages (e.g. glass or carton), most likely the economic voice in them will win. Put differently, from a Dialogical Self Theory perspective, the religious voice might not be absent (it might be implicit) in dealing with the environment, but it is not the dominant one and marginalized by other voices in the self and the society. This could be reversed if the government and businesses would work together to make plastic bottles more expensive, or if religious and political leaders would collaborate to ban them all together (Wijsen 2023).

From a Dialogical Self Theory perspective (Hermans 2022), green policy-making would entail strengthening voices in the Self and in the Society that support environment-friendly behavior, be they religious or not-religious. From the REACT research it is evident that social media are more influential than religious leaders or religious organizations. Roughly 33% of the youngsters say that they regularly or often get information about environmental issues from social media, whereas for religious figures this is less than 20% (Afrimadona 2024, 109–28). The Kantar Indonesia (2021) study shows that youngsters spend 38 hours per week on social media. Both the strength of the influence and the duration of the use of social media support the conclusion of the REACT study that social media is a socialization agent that can effectively reach the public (Afrimadona 2024, 128).

### *Forming Discourse Coalitions*

However, from a policy-making perspective, addressing environmental issues is not only a matter of giving more and better information, but of

managing meanings and of forming discourse coalitions among various stakeholders, such as environmental activists, government officials, scholars, businesspeople and (Islamic) bankers. As argued before, there is an overload of information, but various people select and interpret this information from different positions, frameworks and interests that need social support. Discourse coalitions are important to construct shared meanings and shared representations of realities such as environmental destruction and climate change (Hajer 1995).

The REACT study shows that most people agree (75.49%) that ecological challenges can bring believers of different faiths together. However, the number of people who have worked with people of other faiths is small (24.6%). Most respondents say that they lack opportunities to practice interreligious environmentalism (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 238). The same applies to collaboration between religious and non-religious agents (e.g. activists or artists). Religious agents fear to be labeled as liberal or atheist if they collaborate with secular agents. Policy makers can create conditions to facilitate discourse coalitions and collaboration by producing a shared language and stimulating common visioning (Hajer 1995).

A study on the influence of the fatwa on deforestation and forest burning issued by the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) shows a correlation between the fatwa and the decrease of forest burnings (Luck 2021), but also that the finding is ambiguous. "It is important to emphasize that the fatwa was not issued in isolation" (Luck 2021, 51). Several government regulations and initiatives were launched simultaneously. Thus, it cannot be determined if and how exactly the fatwa changed behavior. Luck (2021, 53) suggests that government programs such as financial compensation alone may not have been enough to stop forest burning and that the fatwa may have provided a more individual incentive to change this behavior.

The REACT study shows that people are driven by economic motives, quite understandable in a country where employment and income are major concerns. The REACT study also concludes that high-income groups have more knowledge about environmental challenges than low-income groups. But, when we look at environment-friendly behavior there is no significant difference between high-income and low-income groups (Halimatusa'diyah 2024, 246). If policy-making is driven by the value of social justice, this is unfair (Sidabalok 2023). High-income

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654

groups not only know more about environmental degradation, they also contribute more to the causes of it in terms of production of waste and consumption of energy. From the perspective of ecological justice, policy-makers might expect high-income groups to do more for the environment than low-income groups (Sidabalok 2023).

Overall, people are willing to practice environment-friendly behaviors that do not require costs and are less motivated to practice environment-friendly behaviors if they are costly. Financial incentives are dominant (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta 2024, 17). Here public policy-making can play a role. Governments have numerous instruments to regulate markets, for example by putting higher taxes on products that harm nature and lower taxes on products that are nature friendly. The costs of recycling plastic and of mitigating climate change are not calculated in the price of plastic anyway. Moreover, environment-friendly behavior is to be stimulated by law-making and law-enforcement, as the Governor of Bali did in 2025 by banning single-use plastic bottles of less than one liter.

This is not to deny that religion plays a role in solving environmental challenges but to show that religion alone can do little. Financial incentives, law-making and law enforcement and religious beliefs and practices can strengthen each other (Luck 2021). Even if it is not exactly clear what the influences are and how significant they are, public policy-making should focus on forming discourse coalitions, and strengthening collaboration between government, businesses and civil society groups, be they religious or non-religions (Wijsen and Saptaningtyas 2021). And the good news of both the REACT study and the HAN study is that there is a common ground for this collaboration.

## Conclusion

How can religious environmental ethics be integrated into public policy? This study shows that religion in Indonesia is not so green as some scholars of religion claim, and that integration of religious values in public policy-making is not effective without other influences, such as financial incentives and law-making and law-enforcement. The release of the National Survey on Green Islam (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta 2024) puts half-hearted (*setengah hati*) in its title, albeit with a question mark. There is no robust evidence that there is a positive correlation between religious

values and environmental ethics, although case studies often show that there is such a correlation (Adam 2024, 164). But, many of those case studies focus on the good practices that might be exceptions to the rule. For example, there are various case studies on eco-*pesanten*. But, out of about 40.000 *pesantren*, less than 100 *pesantren* are eco-*pesantren*, Of course, there might be more *pesantren* that perform environment-friendly practices without explicitly labelling themselves as eco-*pesantren*, but overall they are a very small minority. The HAN research suggests that human attitudes towards nature are general, but that they may be strengthened by religious values. The strength of the REACT study is that it studies the relationship between beliefs and practices. The HAN study did not study concrete practices, although behavior dispositions are included in its research instrument. An issue that both studies did not study in-depth is the role of implicit religious values in environment-friendly behavior. This is an issue that future research could focus on.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654

## Bibliography

Adam, Ronald. 2024. "Agama dan Lingkungan: Peran Agama dalam Membentuk Pengetahuan, Pandangan, dan Perilaku Pro Lingkungan." In *Dilema Environmentalisme: Seberapa 'Hijau' Masyarakat Indonesia?*, eds. Iim Halimatusa'diyah and Endi Garadian. Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta

Afrimadona. 2024. "Agen Sosialisasi Dan Pembentukan Sikap Dan Perilaku Mengenai Lingkungan." In *Dilema Environmentalisme: Seberapa 'Hijau' Masyarakat Indonesia?*, eds. Iim Halimatusa'diyah and Endi Garadian. Jakarta: PPIM-UIN. https://ppim.uinjkt.ac.id/download/dilema-environmentalisme-seberapa-hijau-masyarakat-indonesia/.

Bagir, Zainal Abidin, R. van den Born, B. van Heel, Samsul Ma'arif, W. Ganzevoort, W. de Groot, and Frans Wijsen. 2025. "Human-Nature Relationships and Religious Views in Indonesia." *Journal of Empirical Theology* 38(1): 1–24. doi:10.1163/15709256-20240030.

Garadian, Endi. 2024. "Iklim Berubah, Apakah Kita Juga? Tingkat Pengetahuan, Sikap, Dan Perilaku Masyarakat Indonesia Terhadap Persoalan Lingkunan." In *Dilema Environmentalisme: Seberapa 'Hijau' Masyarakat Indonesia?*, eds. Iim Halimatusa'diyah and Endi Garadian. Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta

Hajer, Maarten. 1995. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Halimatusa'diyah, Iim. 2024. "Iman Hijau Dan Perilaku Pro Lingkungan Masyarakat Indonesia." In *Dilema Environmentalisme: Seberapa 'Hijau' Masyarakat Indonesia?*, eds. Iim Halimatusa'diyah and Endi Garadian. Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta

Halimatusa'diyah, Iim, Endi Aulia Garadian, Ronald Adam, Aptiani Nur Jannah, Afrimadona, Khalid Walid Djamaludin, and Grace Rachmanda. 2024. *Dilema Environmentalisme: Seberapa "Hijau" Masyarakat Indonesia?* Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta.

Hermans, Hubert. 2022. *Liberation in the Face of Uncertainty: A New Development in Dialogical Self Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kantar Indonesia. 2021. *Public's Beliefs and Behavior Related to Climate Collective Action In Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kantar.

Leiserowitz, A., S. Rosenthal, M. Verner, S. Lee, M. Ballew, J. Carman, M. Goldberg, et al. 2023. *Climate Change in the Indonesian Mind*. New Haven, CT: Yale Program on Climate Change Communication. https://yale.edu/climate-change-indonesian-mind.

Luck, Nathalie. 2021. "Transformation Towards a More Sustainable Agricultural System in Indonesia: Empirical Essays on the Role of Information and Endorsement." Ph.D. Thesis. University of Passau.

Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta. 2024. "Rilis Survei Nasional: REACT." https://ppim.uinjkt.ac.id/category/react/.

Sidabalok, H. 2023. "Residential Solid Waste Management in Semarang: The Question of Geographical Environmental Justice." Ph.D. Thesis. Radboud University.

Wijsen, Frans. 2023. "Reduce or Refuse Plastic? The Contribution of Pesantren in Pasuruan." In *Engaged Scholarship and Emancipation*, eds. T. van Meijl and Frans Wijsen. Nijmegen: Radboud University Press.

Wijsen, Frans, and Hubert Hermans. 2020. "Editors' Introduction: Radicalization and Deradicalization from the Perspective of Dialogical Self Theory." *Constructivist Psychology* 33(3): 231–34. doi:10.1080/10720537.2019.1677534.

Wijsen, Frans, and Haryani Saptaningtyas. 2016. "Religion and Environment: Pollution of Citarum River and Purification in Islamic Thought." In *Teologi Yang Membebaskan Dan Membebaskan Teologi*, eds. R. Setio and W. Wibowo. Yogyakarta: Fakultas Teologi Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana, 125–54.

Wijsen, Frans, and Haryani Saptaningtyas. 2021. "'Cleanliness Is Part of Faith': Religious Values in Water Management in West-Java, Indonesia." In *Varieties of Religion and Ecology: Dispatches from Indonesia*, Nijmegen studies in development and cultural change, eds. Zainal Abidin Bagir, Michael Northcott, and Frans Wijsen. Zürich: LIT Verlag, 163–82.

Wonawatan, M. 2025. "Climate Action through the Eyes of Indonesian Muslims." https://www.purpose.com/climate-action-through-the-eyes-of-indonesian-muslims/.

---

Frans Wijsen, *Radboud University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands.* Email: frans.wijsen@ru.nl.

*Guidelines*

# Submission of Articles

*Studia Islamika*, published three times a year since 1994, is a peer-reviewed journal, and specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular and Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general. The aim is to provide readers with a better understanding of Indonesia and Southeast Asia's Muslim history and present developments through the publication of articles, research reports, and book reviews.

The journal invites scholars and experts working in all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences pertaining to Islam or Muslim societies. Articles should be original, research-based, unpublished and not under review for possible publication in other journals. All submitted papers are subject to review of the editors, editorial board, and blind reviewers. Submissions that violate our guidelines on formatting or length will be rejected without review.

Articles should be written in American English between approximately 10.000-15.000 words including text, all tables and figures, notes, references, and appendices intended for publication. All submission must include 150 words abstract and 5 keywords. Quotations, passages, and words in local or foreign languages should be translated into English. *Studia Islamika* accepts only electronic

submissions. All manuscripts should be sent in Ms. Word to: http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika.

All notes must appear in the text as citations. A citation usually requires only the last name of the author(s), year of publication, and (sometimes) page numbers. For example: (Hefner 2009a, 45; Geertz 1966, 114). Explanatory footnotes may be included but should not be used for simple citations. All works cited must appear in the reference list at the end of the article. In matter of bibliographical style, *Studia Islamika* follows the American Political Science Association (APSA) manual style, such as below:

1. Hefner, Robert. 2009a. "Introduction: The Political Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia," in *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, ed. Robert Hefner, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
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.
3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

Letters: *'*, *b*, *t*, *th*, *j*, *ḥ*, *kh*, *d*, *dh*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *sh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *'*, *gh*, *f*, *q*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *h*, *w*, *y*. Short vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*. long vowels: *ā*, ī, ū. Diphthongs: *aw*, *ay*. *Tā marbūṭā*: *t*. Article: *al-*. For detail information on Arabic Romanization, please refer the transliteration system of the Library of Congress (LC) Guidelines.

ستوديا إسلاميكا (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) مجلة علمية دولية محكمة تصدر عن مركز دراسات الإسلام والمجتمع (PPIM) بجامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا، تعنى بدراسة الإسلام في إندونيسيا خاصة وفي جنوب شرقي آسيا عامة. وتستهدف المجلة نشر البحوث العلمية الأصيلة والقضايا المعاصرة حول الموضوع، كما ترحب بإسهامات الباحثين أصحاب التخصصات ذات الصلة. وتخضع جميع الأبحاث المقدمة للمجلة للتحكيم من قبل لجنة مختصة.

تم اعتماد ستوديا إسلاميكا من قبل وزارة البحوث والتكنولوجيا والتعليم العالي بجمهورية إندونيسيا باعتبارها دورية علمية (رقم القرار: 32a/E/KPT/2017).

ستوديا إسلاميكا عضو في CrossRef (الإحالات الثابتة في الأدبيات الأكاديمية) منذ ٢٠١٤، وبالتالي فإن جميع المقالات التي نشرتها مرقمة حسب معرّف الوثيقة الرقمية (DOI).

ستوديا إسلاميكا مجلة مفهرسة في سكوبس (Scopus) منذ ٣٠ مايو ٢٠١٥.

عنوان المراسلة:

Editorial Office:
STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.
Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;
E-mail: studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id
Website: http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي خارج إندونيسيا:
للمؤسسات: ٧٥ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٥ دولار أمريكي.
للأفراد: ٥٠ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٠ دولار أمريكي.
والقيمة لا تشمل نفقة الإرسال بالبريد الجوي.

رقم الحساب:
خارج إندونيسيا (دولار أمريكي):
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
No Rek: 128-00-0105080-3 (Rp).

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:
لسنة واحدة ١٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للمؤسسة) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية، ١٠٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للفرد) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٤٠,٠٠٠ روبية.
والقيمة لا تشتمل على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوى.

# ستوديا إسلاميكا
مجلة إندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية
السنة الثانية والثلاثون، العدد ٣، ٢٠٢٥

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

ستودي اسلاميكا

مجلة **إندونيسية** للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة الثانية والثلاثون، العدد ٣، ٢٠٢٥

## Climate, Sustainability, and Future Generations: An Ecotheology for Indonesia's Ummah of 'Nonidentity'

Anna M. Gade

## Religious Institutions as Global Sustainability Champions: Istiqlal Mosque's Green Mosque Program and the Sustainable Development Goals

Nadia Farabi & Anjani Tri Fatharini

## Rejecting Geothermal Projects: Muslim Environmentalism in The SAPAR Movement for Ecological Justice and Sustainable Natural Resources

Muizudin