

Ummah for Earth: The Influence of Religious Soft Power Manifestation in Greenpeace Indonesia's Strategies

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Abstract

Indonesia is acknowledged as the most populous Muslim country. Islam within its society definitely has an impact in shaping them. Thus, Islam sometimes is used as a tool to achieve particular goals related to the society. This article focuses on Greenpeace Indonesia (as a non-state environmentalist organization) with the Ummah For Earth (U4E) alliance project in which they are participating. It is compelling because in this project Greenpeace (Indonesia) sees the urgency to utilize an Islamic religious approach namely Ummah For Earth (U4E) in a Muslim majority society like Indonesia. By using qualitative methods, namely interviews, social media analytics, and literature review in collecting data, it was found that there are three U4E' influences on Greenpeace Indonesia's strategy in increasing the environmental awareness of the Indonesian people. They are (1) audience targeting and segmentation, (2) an emphasis on the use of digital media, and (3) cooperation with government and local grassroots actors.

Keywords: *Environment; Greenpeace Indonesia; Islam; Religious Soft Power; Ummah for Earth.*

Abstrak

Indonesia dikenal sebagai negara dengan populasi Muslim terbesar di dunia. Islam di dalam masyarakatnya tentu saja memiliki dampak dalam membentuk mereka. Oleh karena itu, Islam terkadang digunakan sebagai alat untuk mencapai tujuan tertentu yang berkaitan dengan masyarakat. Artikel ini berfokus pada Greenpeace Indonesia (sebagai organisasi lingkungan non-negara) dengan proyek aliansi Ummah For Earth (U4E) yang mereka ikuti. Hal ini menarik karena dalam proyek ini Greenpeace (Indonesia) melihat adanya urgensi untuk menggunakan pendekatan agama Islam yaitu 'Ummah Untuk Bumi' di tengah masyarakat yang mayoritas Muslim seperti Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif, yaitu wawancara, analisa sosial media, dan studi literatur dalam pengumpulan data, ditemukan bahwa ada tiga pengaruh U4E terhadap strategi Greenpeace Indonesia dalam meningkatkan kesadaran lingkungan masyarakat Indonesia. Ketiga hal tersebut adalah (1) penargetan dan segmentasi audiens, (2) penekanan pada penggunaan media digital, dan (3) kerja sama dengan pemerintah dan aktor-aktor akar rumput lokal.

Kata Kunci: *Lingkungan; Greenpeace Indonesia; Islam; Kekuatan Lunak Agama; Ummah for Earth.*



INTRODUCTION

Environmental issues are contemporary global topics calling real attention and resolution by multi actors, both state and non-state actors. It has been discussed globally from time to time since 1972. Initially, the United Nations (UN) held the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE), in Stockholm.¹ This meeting was considered a breakthrough because it became the foundation for agreements with environmental themes, one of which was the birth of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) aiming to prevent human activities that can harm the environment and hinder sustainable development. Since 1995, the signatories to the UNFCCC met what would later be known as the Conference on Parties (COP) annually.² COP has created several prominent environmental agreements such as the Berlin Mandate (1995) which became the basis of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, and also Paris Agreement that is still used as the standard of global environmental goals. It aims to keep global temperatures from rising more than 2 degrees Celsius and suppress it to stay below 1.5 degrees Celsius.³

This research discusses Greenpeace Indonesia as one of many actors in the International Relations (IR) study, namely an international non-profit organization (INGO/International Non-Governmental) and also as a non-state actor in environmental fields. (I)NGOs are believed to have a role in advocating, outreach, and researching within the study of IR.⁴ This research focuses on Greenpeace Indonesia as the main subject because of the organization's involvement in advocating and educating the public and government about environmental awareness, degradation, and exploitation at the local, national, regional, and global levels through various actions and campaigns.

One interesting aspect, which is also the focus of this research is the alliance of Greenpeace Indonesia to an international Islamic project (campaign) named *Ummah For Earth* (U4E). U4E is an international project alliance that intends to empower Muslims around the world in facing an (environmental) crisis.⁵ It was first coined by Greenpeace Middle East &

¹ Michel M Betsill and Elisabeth Corell, "Introduction to NGO Diplomacy," in *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of NGO in International Environmental Negotiations* (MIT Press, 2007), 1–17.

² "Timeline: UN Climate Talks," Council on Foreign Relations, accessed February 20, 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/un-climate-talks>.

³ "Timeline."

⁴ Betsill and Corell, "Introduction to NGO Diplomacy."

⁵ "Ummah For Earth - Greenpeace Indonesia - Greenpeace Indonesia," accessed February 21, 2024, https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/campaign/ummah-for-earth/?utm_term=&utm_campaign=GPTH-Drive+Traffic+:+Dynamic+Ad&utm_source=adwords&utm_medium=ppc&hsa_acc=2641717568&hsa_cam=18316300486&hsa_grp=136380207810&hsa_ad=621355663851&hsa_src=g&hsa_tgt=dsa-19959388920&hsa_kw=&hsa_mt=&hsa_net=adwords&hsa_ver=3&gad_source=1&gclid=CjwKCAiAuNGuBhAkEiwAGId4ajP13M5v7Wwl8nDIV4AFFXB3tnRfVrpBEIfQRIHkcy_4pXP2zb7jzRoC2XsQA_vD_BwE.

North Africa (MENA) in 2020 with the awareness that Muslims have a voice to be reckoned with.⁶ It is also called an alliance project because various parties (allies) have been involved to realize the mission. They are Global One, Greenpeace Middle East & North Africa (MENA), Greenpeace Southeast Asia (specifically Greenpeace Indonesia), Eco Islam, Islamic Relief, Atlas for Development, Green Generation Foundation, Greenish Foundation, Adyan, Center for Islamic Studies National University, Indonesia, Green Faith, Hazrat Sultan Bahu Trust, Greenpeace Canada, GRASS (Group Alam Sekitar Sejahtera) Malaysia, and Dr. Odeh Al Jayoussi.⁷ It can be seen that the alliance consists not only of Greenpeace networking, but also of Islamic foundations, environmental INGOs, universities, and even environmentalist figures. With such various alliance members, hopefully each ally could bring green change in their community wherever they are.

This campaign specifically invites Muslims, as a strong and immense community, to be empowered and to play an active role in prospering and protecting the earth. Based on three values, namely unity, *Kholifah* (guard), and action, It aims to increase environmental awareness within an Islamic framework in Muslim societies and the world. This is referred as target engagement.⁸ The hope is if the target engagement is successfully delivered, it can encourage the national government, starting from Indonesia at least, to be more ambitious and progressive in paying attention to the environment. However, the ultimate measurement will be still the 100% implementation of the existing Paris Agreement. U4E has two closest common goals, namely the Green Hajj⁹ and the Green Mosque.¹⁰ Green Hajj is a hope that in the future, all Hajj pilgrims can consistently carry out activities that protect the environment. As for the Green Mosque, it is a hope for the use of solar systems in mosques all over the world.

The participation of Greenpeace Indonesia in the U4E campaign is an innovative collaboration. By joining this campaign, it shows that Greenpeace is well aware that environmental issues are multi-dimensional problems requiring multi-approach solutions. In this case, Greenpeace Indonesia uses a religious (Islamic) approach conveyed through the U4E campaign. Greenpeace Indonesia also realizes the importance of activating the transnational advocacy network (TAN) to convey and expand the values and ideas they want to deliver. It

⁶ R Shofiana, GPI & U4E Project Alliance (with Manager of Media Campaign), April 20, 2022.

⁷ "About Ummah for Earth-Ummah for Earth," accessed February 21, 2024, <https://ummah4earth.org/en/about-ummah-for-earth/>.

⁸ Eji Romadhon, GPI & U4E Project Alliance (with Project Officer), April 26, 2022.

⁹ "The Green Hajj and Umrah Guide," Ummah for Earth, accessed February 21, 2024, <https://ummah4earth.org/en/greenguide/>.

¹⁰ "Green Mosques Initiative," Ummah for Earth, accessed February 21, 2024, <https://ummah4earth.org/en/green-mosques-initiative/>.

also realizes that religion (Islam) can become a soft power that will greatly influence Indonesia and the world.

Indonesia is well known as a country with the largest Muslim majority in the world. Islam has an important role in the formation of an individual, society, and the Indonesian state itself. There are many phenomena in Indonesia that when linked to Islam, receive tremendous mass support. For example, Indonesia is well known as a country with its two biggest Islamic Organization in it, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. NU was claimed by Gus Yahya (its chairman) for having nearly 150 million Muslim Indonesian followers.¹¹ Muhammadiyah on the other hand was claimed for having nearly 60 million Muslim Indonesian followers.¹² Both have strong influences in almost every aspect of society in Indonesia. They have roles in health (i.e hospitals, ambulances, medical clinics, etc), education (i.e boarding schools, universities, etc), fund centres, research centres, and many more including roles in politics. In every general election, their votes matter. In every cabinet, there will be their representation too. In addition, such influence is also popular abroad too. NU for example, had been the mediator of Pattani conflict, Sunni Syiah in Iraq, and Taliban in Afghanistan.¹³ From the examples above, they imply that religion (Islam) as a soft power is something that has proven to have an impactful influence on society and its approach should be taken into account.

Therefore, before further research on how this Islamic approach (named U4E) influence the Indonesian society, this research is more intrigued to focus first on how it influences the strategy of Greenpeace Indonesia itself.

METHOD

This study employs qualitative methodology, focusing on interviews, literature review, and data analysis,¹⁴ prioritizing data completeness, in-depth analysis, writing techniques, and researchers' integrated knowledge.¹⁵ It utilizes conceptual and theoretical frameworks from

¹¹ C. N. N. Indonesia, "Gus Yahya Klaim 59,2 Persen Pemeluk Islam di Indonesia Mengaku NU," nasional, accessed February 21, 2024, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20221026021709-32-865346/gus-yahya-klaim-592-persen-pemeluk-islam-di-indonesia-mengaku-nu>.

¹² "Daftar Organisasi Islam Di Indonesia Yang Paling Banyak Pengikutnya - Hot Liputan6.Com," accessed February 21, 2024, <https://www.liputan6.com/hot/read/5357846/daftar-organisasi-islam-di-indonesia-yang-paling-banyak-pengikutnya>.

¹³ antaranews.com, "NU siap jadi mediator terkait Uighur," Antara News, December 24, 2018, <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/780974/nu-siap-jadi-mediator-terkait-uighur>.

¹⁴ Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1994).

¹⁵ Anol Bhattacharjee, *Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices*, Second edition (Tampa, Florida? Anol Bhattacharjee, 2012).

International Relations (IR) theories, particularly Joseph Nye's concept of Soft Power¹⁶ and Alexander Vuving's Soft Power Currency (SPC) concept.¹⁷ The research aims to demonstrate that Ummah for Earth (U4E) embodies Religious Soft Power (RSP), leveraging Islam's principles to influence behavior, notably that of Greenpeace Indonesia, without resorting to violence.

RSP, as per Nye's definition, denotes the use of religion as a form of soft power,¹⁸ while Vuving's SPC theory elucidates how U4E attracts alliances through beauty, brilliance, and benignity. Beauty manifests in shared values, with both U4E and Greenpeace Indonesia advocating for environmental conservation. Brilliance reflects U4E's success in demonstrating the feasibility of its mission, such as establishing green mosques. Benignity entails providing a welcoming platform for collaborative efforts toward environmental sustainability, particularly crucial given U4E's non-state actor status and focus on non-traditional issues.

U4E's impact extends beyond Greenpeace Indonesia, as evidenced by its collaboration with the Center for Islamic Studies at the National University (UNAS) and Greenpeace MENA, facilitating knowledge exchange and international advocacy efforts. Moreover, U4E strengthens the vision and mission of organizations like Green Faith, fostering multi-faith dialogue and collective action on climate change.

The research concludes that U4E functions as a religious soft power, effectively promoting global environmental awareness through Islamic principles, recognized by entities like the UNFCCC. U4E's inclusion in global climate forums underscores its potential to mobilize Muslims and contribute to climate solutions.¹⁹

After proofing that U4E is a Religious Soft Power (RSP), in framing the answers this research uses the Scaling-up concept by Michael Edwards and David Hulme.²⁰ Scaling up concept is a concept aiming to leverage the impact of the NGO's strategies. There are four types of scaling up that can be used: 1) scaling up via cooperation with the governments 2) scaling up via operational expansion, 3) scaling up via lobbying and advocacy and 4) scaling up via supporting local initiatives. The last concept of this research is the Digital International

¹⁶ Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 153, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1148580>.

¹⁷ Alexander Vuving, "How Soft Power Works," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY, September 1, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1466220>.

¹⁸ Jeffrey Haynes, *Religious Transnational Actors and Soft Power*, Religion and International Security (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁹ "Green_Guide_for_Hajj.Pdf," accessed February 21, 2024, https://globalone.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Green_Guide_for_Hajj.pdf.

²⁰ Michael Edwards and David Hulme, "Scaling up NGO Impact on Development: Learning from Experience," 2024.

Organization (DIO) concept by C. Bjola and R. Zaiotti.²¹ DIO explains on how technology could advance the International Organization by going digitalized. If SPC concept is meant to strengthen the idea of Ummah For Earth as the manifestation of religious soft power, both scaling up theory and DIO are aimed to frame the research's answer.

In this article, the author uses two types of data, namely primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from interviews with Greenpeace Indonesia. From Greenpeace Indonesia, researchers managed to conduct interviews with Greenpeace Indonesia Media Campaigner, Rahma Shofiana, and Greenpeace Indonesia Ummah For Earth' Project Leader, Eji Anugrah Romadhon. In addition, the researchers also managed to interview Dr. Fachruddin Mangunjaya, Head of the Center for Islamic Studies at the National University (UNAS), who is also an alliance of the Ummah For Earth (U4E) campaign in Indonesia. Then, secondary data was obtained by using the literature review from previous researches, raw data from Greenpeace Indonesia, analysis of official websites and social media, etc. Later the data was analyzed using the (International Relations) concepts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Finally, this research discovers that U4E, as a manifestation of Religious Soft Power, has influenced Greenpeace Indonesia's strategies. These influences include first, audience targeting and segmentation. Second, the emphasis on digital media as a socialization tool as the second aspect, and third, the cooperation with governments and local grassroots. The discussion is as follows:

Audience Targeting and Segmentation

Greenpeace Indonesia has specifically tailored its approach to engage Muslim followers, emphasizing that environmental preservation aligns with Islamic principles. Numerous Quranic verses and Hadiths are integrated into Greenpeace Indonesia's social media campaigns to reinforce the notion that environmental responsibility is inherent in Islamic teachings. Notably, these messages are shared through various Instagram posts, connecting Islamic values with contemporary environmental challenges. For example, Greenpeace Indonesia tries to specifically approach its Muslim followers in Indonesia by reminding the Muslim followers that saving the environment is a part of Muslim as caliph in this earth. It has been mentioned several

²¹ Corneliu Bjola and Ruben Zaiotti, *Digital Diplomacy and International Organisations: Autonomy, Legitimacy and Contestation*, ed. Corneliu Bjola and Ruben Zaiotti, 1st ed. (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2021. |: Routledge, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003032724>.

times in Qur'an and Sunnah as the source of Muslims' guidance, such as verses Al A'raf 56 and Ar Rum 41.²² Both verses were implied in Greenpeace Indonesia via instagram posts such as 'Kondisi Bumi Semakin Mengkhawatirkan, Krisis Iklim Karena Hukuman Tuhan?' (Earth's Condition is Getting Worse, Climate Crisis is God's Punishment?) in June 10th, 2022; 'Apa Hukum Mengambil Yang Bukan Haknya?' (What is the ruling on taking what is not rightfully yours?) in February 11th, 2022; 'Melawan Antroposentrisme' (Against Anthropocentrism) in December 17th, 2021; 'Perubahan Iklim Kehendak Allah, Tapi Karena Ulah Manusia' (Climate Change is God's Will, but Man-made) in December, 3rd, 2021; 'Hal yang bisa kita lakukan sebagai Umat untuk mengamalkan ajaran Islam dan menjadi khalifah sesungguhnya di bumi' (What we can do as the Ummah to practice the teachings of Islam and become the real khalifah on earth) in September 17th, 2021, etc.²³ Prof. Quraissy Syihab, an Indonesian Muslim Scholar, also mentioned that there are 450 words that mention the word "earth" and this is quite a portion compared to for example about property or prophethood which is only about 80 times.²⁴

In addition, this is also further strengthened by the hadith which explains the prohibition of the Messenger of Allah (Prophet Muhammad) to damage the environment. They are²⁵ first, the prohibition of environmental pollution. 'Avoid the three most cursed behavior: defecating in a water source, by the roadside, and in the shade of a tree' (Abu Daud, Ahmad and Ibn Majah). This hadith was socialized by Greenpeace Indonesia via Instagram posts such as 'Hal – hal yang dapat kita lakukan sebagai umat untuk mengamalkan ajaran Islam dan menjadi Khalifah sesungguhnya di Bumi (September 17th, 2021), etc.²⁶ Second, the teaching to keep the environment clean. 'All the deeds of my Ummah were revealed to me, both good and bad. I found among the good deeds is removing harm from the streets and I found among the bad deeds is blowing one's nose in the mosque and not cleaning it' (Muslim, Ahmad and Ibn Majah). This hadith was socialized by Greenpeace Indonesia via some Instagram posts such as 'Demi perubahan yang positif, kita perlu melakukan hal-hal kecil untuk mulai kebiasaan baik' (For positive change, we need to do small things to start good habits) in October 1st, 2021; 'Rahasia

²² "Al-Quran Online Terjemah Dan Tafsir Bahasa Indonesia | Quran NU Online," accessed February 21, 2024, <https://quran.nu.or.id/>.

²³ "Greenpeace Indonesia (@greenpeaceid) • Instagram Photos and Videos," accessed February 21, 2024, <https://www.instagram.com/greenpeaceid/>.

²⁴ *Kata Abi Quraish, Jangan Anggap Dirimu 'Tuan' Di Bumi Ini | Shibab & Shibab*, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPn1ssAebIE>.

²⁵ "Enam Prinsip Rasulullah SAW untuk Pelestarian Lingkungan," Republika Online, February 7, 2013, <https://republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/hikmah/13/02/07/mhu2ib-enam-prinsip-rasulullah-saw-untuk-pelestarian-lingkungan>.

²⁶ "Greenpeace Indonesia (@greenpeaceid) • Instagram Photos and Videos."

Rasulullah Agar Tetap Sehat dan Bugar' (The Prophet's Secret to Stay Healthy and Fit) in September 9th, 2022; etc.²⁷

Third, hadiths that encourage us to go green and conserve energy. 'No Muslim plants a tree except that the fruit he eats becomes charity, that which is stolen is charity, that which is eaten by wild animals is charity, that which is eaten by birds is charity, and that which is taken by someone is not charity' (Muslim and Ahmad). This hadith was socialized by Greenpeace Indonesia via some Instagram posts such as 'Rahasia Rasulullah Agar Tetap Sehat dan Bugar' (The Prophet's Secret to Stay Healthy and Fit) in September 9th, 2022; 'Green Hajj: Guidance for Eco Hajj and Umrah' in July 1st, 2022), 'Penghijauan di Lingkungan Perkotaan Dapat Mengurangi Suhu Permukaan Bumi' (Greening Urban Environments Can Reduce Earth's Surface Temperature) in May 20th, 2022; 'Ramadhan for Earth' a set of eco-green activities' (April 21st-22nd, 2022), etc (Greenpeace Indonesia, n.d.). 'Fastabiqul Khairat Dalam Transisi Energi' (Fastabiqul Khairat in the Energy Transition) in July 15th, 2022; 'Pemasangan Panel Surya di Glasgow Central Mosque (Solar Panel Installation at Glasgow Central Mosque) in November 19th, 2021; 'Panduan Masjid Hijau' (Guide to Green Mosque); etc.²⁸

The Quran and the sunnah (taught through hadith) are the two things that the Prophet Muhammad bequeathed after his death to Muslims the world. So, the above quotes are proof that Islam also regulates human behavior (of its adherents) to preserve the earth. This is what U4E is trying to disseminate to at least Muslims themselves.

It is also the case with Greenpeace Indonesia in this U4E alliance project. While other campaigns are general in nature for the Indonesian public, the U4E campaign implemented by Greenpeace Indonesia targets a specific Muslim audience although it is not limited to it (it is also open to other religious audiences who want to know). In substance, (i) it involves Muslim activists and Islamic approaches. (ii) for ordinary days (not Ramadan), this campaign is specifically carried out on social media always on Fridays (the Muslim feast day of the week) (iii) the campaign was intensified during the month of Ramadan or the so-called push period (a monumental month for Muslims in the Hijri calendar) and this was focused on one of them by playing truth or dare through the Google application. This game was done online which essentially invited us to do good to the earth such as sorting waste and planting trees. This online game was held only by Greenpeace MENA and Indonesia, not with the entire U4E alliance. Materially, all posts or activities carried out within the framework of U4E are always

²⁷ "Greenpeace Indonesia (@greenpeaceid) • Instagram Photos and Videos."

²⁸ "Greenpeace Indonesia (@greenpeaceid) • Instagram Photos and Videos."

marked with the U4E emblem: Ummah For Earth x Greenpeace. This strongly indicates that the project first uses a different approach (Islamic values) and the target audience is (minimally but not exclusively) Muslim.

Additionally, Greenpeace Indonesia ensures gender inclusivity and equality in its activities, collaborating with prominent female figures and actively involving women in environmental discussions. While striving for a 50% commitment from female participants, it acknowledges the ongoing progress in achieving this goal. Actually, it is not a new strategy because Greenpeace has been paying attention to gender inclusivity and equality long before U4E. However, U4E strengthen this idea even more. A simple example is by involving women as resource persons in webinars and other activities. For example,²⁹ Dwi Sasetyaningsih (CEO of Sustainability) at the Ngaji Ramadhan Santuy (Relaxed Learning in Ramadhan) event: Consumerism in Islam, dr. Ade Imasanti Sp.JP in the Ngaji Ramadhan Santuy activity: Benefit for Others and the Environment. Inaya Wulandari Wahid in Ngaji Ramadhan Santuy (Relaxed Learning in Ramadhan): Welcoming a Better Day through Harmony with the Environment. It continues to be implemented even in the U4E campaign by, for example, involving DK Wardhani (Minimal waste activist) in Friday Talks: Maintaining Nature's Balance with Permaculture Farming System and Minimal Waste Living. In addition, Greenpeace Indonesia also collaborated with the YouTube channel platform of Najwa Shihab, a renowned Indonesian Muslim female reporter in the edition of Shihab-Shihab: 'Abi Quraish Says: Don't Consider Yourself 'Master' on Earth'.³⁰ In its targets, U4E aims for 50% of action commitment signatories to be women³¹. It is still a work in progress. On the day of data collection, of the 4777 call-to-action pledge signatories, only 23% were female.³²

Furthermore, this research finds that the U4E campaign by Greenpeace Indonesia indirectly targeted the middle to upper-class society but did not limit it. It happened because this alliance project took place during the pandemic (moratorium until the end of 2022) when Indonesia was experiencing a wretched COVID-19 pandemic causing social restrictions and limiting face-to-face space. Thus, many campaign activities were carried out online rather than in person or street actions that can invite all groups including the lower middle class. If most activities were done online, then the platform needed should be advanced. For example, smartphone, tablet, or laptop let alone the cost of the internet quota.

²⁹ "Greenpeace Indonesia (@greenpeaceid) • Instagram Photos and Videos."

³⁰ *Kata Abi Quraish, Jangan Anggap Dirimu 'Tuan' Di Bumi Ini | Shihab & Shihab*.

³¹ Romadhon, GPI & U4E Project Alliance (with Project Officer).

³² Romadhon.

In addition, Dr. Mangundjaya also reaffirmed this idea in the interview session.³³ As an environmental activist and also part of the U4E alliance project with the UNAS Centre for Islamic Studies, he stated that according to him, the U4E campaign by Greenpeace Indonesia is for the upper middle class who are educated (young people whose education has access to know about Greenpeace as an international non-profit environmental organization) and can afford quotas and smart phones; both for reading content, participating in webinars in a matter of hours, participating in online games, listening to podcasts, and so on. He specifically stated, *“Tapi ini targetnya anak-anak muda dan anak mudanya social media, ya segmennya kan segmen elit ini ya (the target is the young people and young people are social media, so the segment is the elites)”*.³⁴ With this online system, the approach differs from direct actions seen in street or Greenpeace Indonesia's peaceful activities. Instead, it involves releasing the net and observing, allowing anyone with access to Greenpeace Indonesia's socialization to participate. The U4E campaign, though more specific in targeting Indonesian Muslims, women, and (young) middle to upper-class individuals, maintains its value by inviting everyone to learn together. The goal is for Indonesian Muslims, the majority in the country, to understand how earth preservation aligns with their religion (Islam).

Emphasis on Digital Media as a Socializing Tool

As mentioned earlier, the U4E campaign was promoted heavily through digital platforms. This was influenced by the limited time (the moratorium ended in late 2022) and also the pandemic that limited the room to explore. Therefore, Greenpeace Indonesia undertaken its strategies and mission on digital platform mostly. Among others were first,³⁵ 1000 people visiting the U4E blog. When this data was gathered in 2022, the number was still in progress with a provisional achievement of 363 visitors (212 on the ‘Muslims take actions for Climate’ page, 75 people on the ‘Eid al-Adha’ page, 76 visitors on the ‘Green Mosque’ initiatives page). Second, 100 pieces of Muslim Eco lifestyle experience stories. This was also still being collected when the research was done. At the time of the interview, 14 testimonials had been shared on the story map page and 13 stories were in the editing phase to be published on the U4E blog. In this case, Greenpeace Indonesia tried to stimulate more upcoming stories by providing incentives.

³³ Fachrudin Mangundjaya, U4E and Center of Islamic Study UNAS, May 2, 2022.

³⁴ Mangundjaya.

³⁵ Romadhon, GPI & U4E Project Alliance (with Project Officer).

Third, 5000 signatories to the pledge call to action. This was close to the target with 4777 signatories. Fourth, 6000 new followers on Greenpeace Indonesia's Instagram account during Ramadan. The exact gender or religious distribution of it was unknown, but it did not diminish the value of the mission of educating the public about the environment. Even though during Ramadan most activities used the U4E label and the content also used Islamic approach, Greenpeace Indonesia successfully accomplished the target to 10000k new followers. Last but not least, 4000 new followers on Greenpeace Indonesia's YouTube channel during Ramadan. This was achieved with a total of 10000 new followers.

In response to the challenges posed by the Ummah for Earth (U4E) campaign, it becomes evident that the prioritization of social media as a primary channel for socialization is a deliberate and strategic choice. The impact of the pandemic on conventional outreach methods is acknowledged, but the U4E moratorium, concluding in 2022, adds significant pressure on Greenpeace Indonesia. The condensed timeframe of approximately two years for such an extensive campaign underscores the urgency to reach a substantial portion of Indonesia's vast population, estimated at 273 million.³⁶

Greenpeace Indonesia and U4E actively advocated for the use of smartphones, specifically encouraging their Instagram followers, predominantly Muslim Indonesians, to utilize this digital tool for environmental advocacy.³⁷ The emphasis on digital platforms, especially social media, is perceived as a strategic shortcut to effectively address the campaign's ambitious targets. The U4E campaign strategically capitalizes on the digital landscape, recognizing its prevalence and the constraints imposed by the pandemic. Noteworthy achievements include robust engagement on the U4E blog, the compilation of Muslim eco-lifestyle experiences, and the successful solicitation of signatories for the call to action pledge. Instagram and YouTube emerge as the primary focal points of the campaign, demonstrating substantial follower growth, particularly during the holy month of Ramadan.

This intentional reliance on digital platforms aligns with the campaign's objectives and adapts to the contemporary reliance on online communication. The U4E campaign's success in leveraging these platforms attests to the efficacy of this digital-centric approach in fostering widespread engagement and environmental advocacy among the target audience.

³⁶ "Greenpeace Indonesia (@greenpeaceid) • Instagram Photos and Videos."

³⁷ "World Bank Open Data," World Bank Open Data, accessed February 23, 2024, <https://data.worldbank.org>.

Cooperation with Local Governments and Local Grassroots

Cooperation with governments is intriguing as Greenpeace seldom engages in collaborations and more frequently adopts a confrontational stance, particularly concerning the Indonesian government. However, this does not preclude the possibility of collaboration entirely. In essence, Greenpeace maintains its independence, refusing donations from corporations, governments, or political entities.³⁸ Nevertheless, Greenpeace adheres to the principle of 'no permanent friends or foes',³⁹ suggesting a potential avenue for collaboration with companies or governments, provided their objectives align positively with those of Greenpeace. In such cases, Greenpeace would lend its support to endeavors that uphold virtuous environmental goals for a more significant and positive impact.

The Ummah for Earth (U4E) alliance campaign introduces a prospect where collaboration with the government, particularly the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia under the Directorate of Hajj and Umrah, can be actualized. This collaboration is specifically prioritized for counseling related to Hajj and Umrah, aimed at achieving environmentally conscious practices during these religious pilgrimages. The tangible manifestation of this collaboration is evident in the launch of the Green Hajj application, supported by the Directorate of Hajj and Umrah of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, which took place on Thursday, June 30th, 2022, in the form of a hybrid webinar.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the U4E Greenpeace Indonesia project officer has expressed aspirations to engage in discussions and collaborate with at least five national leaders in Indonesia, although this remains a nascent initiative. Despite being in its infancy, acknowledging this positive intention is essential, particularly given the historical tendency for Greenpeace Indonesia and the Indonesian Government to be perceived more as adversaries than collaborators.

This collaborative effort exemplifies the U4E campaign's embodiment of (religious) soft power executed with diplomatic finesse. Notably, Greenpeace Indonesia refrains from employing hard power in its missions, distinguishing U4E from other Greenpeace Indonesia initiatives characterized by spirited criticism of the government or related entities. While constructive criticism remains a valid approach, U4E's strategic approach allows Greenpeace

³⁸ "Tentang Kami - Greenpeace Indonesia - Greenpeace Indonesia," accessed February 23, 2024, <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/tentang-kami/>.

³⁹ "Tentang Kami - Greenpeace Indonesia - Greenpeace Indonesia."

⁴⁰ Medina Basaib, "Haji dan Perubahan Iklim, Launching Green Hajj Apps: Panduan Haji dan Umrah Ramah Lingkungan," Greenpeace Indonesia, July 1, 2022, <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers/46261/haji-dan-perubahan-iklim-launching-green-hajj-apps-panduan-haji-dan-umrah-ramah-lingkungan/>.

Indonesia to engage in cooperative ventures. This aligns with Joseph Nye Jr.'s formulation that the ultimate goal of soft power is the cultivation of cooperation.^{41 42}

In supporting local initiatives, Greenpeace Indonesia has conducted several projects with several Islamic organizations in Indonesia, both giant Islamic organizations such as NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) and Muhammadiyah and other local Islamic organizations. Researchers call them giant Islamic organizations because both of them have been established since the early 1900s so that they have large masses, both organizations are able to enter the government also because of their large masses. Earlier in this article, it has been mentioned that NU was claimed by Gus Yahya (its chairman) for having nearly 150 million Muslim Indonesian followers.⁴³ Muhammadiyah on the other hand was claimed for having nearly 60 million Muslim Indonesian followers.⁴⁴ Both have strong influences in almost every aspect of society in Indonesia. They have roles in health (i.e hospitals, ambulances, medical clinics, etc), education (i.e boarding schools, universities, etc), fund centres, research centres, and many more including roles in politics. In every general election, their votes matter. In every cabinet, there will be their representation too. In addition, such influences is also popular in abroad too. NU for example, had been the mediator of Pattani conflict, Sunni Syiah in Iraq, and Taliban in Afghanistan.⁴⁵ So, the hope is that U4E can have a wider impact both from below - among the community or from above - from the government elite.

The activities that have been carried out are permaculture education with the Muhammadiyah Green Cadre, Beringin Foundation, Green Welfare, Greenfaith, orphanage, and Dompot Dhuafa.⁴⁶ There were also workshops on composting waste with orphanages and young people in Yogyakarta.⁴⁷ This is necessary because environmental education must be accompanied by concrete actions to protect and revive the environment, not just social media. However, this has not happened often due to the pandemic. Greenpeace also held a discussion with the Muhammadiyah Green Cadre and Green Faith about the 40 hadiths of environmental sustainability.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Nye, "Soft Power."

⁴² Author Stella Edwaina Mangowal, "Soft Power Jepang :Studi Kasus Jenesys (Japan-East Network of Exchange for Students and Youths)," Universitas Indonesia Library (Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Indonesia, 2010), <https://lib.ui.ac.id>.

⁴³ Indonesia, "Gus Yahya Klaim 59,2 Persen Pemeluk Islam di Indonesia Mengaku NU."

⁴⁴ "Daftar Organisasi Islam Di Indonesia Yang Paling Banyak Pengikutnya - Hot Liputan6.Com."

⁴⁵ antaranews.com, "NU siap jadi mediator terkait Uighur."

⁴⁶ Shofiana, GPI & U4E Project Alliance (with Manager of Media Campaign).

⁴⁷ Shofiana.

⁴⁸ Shofiana.

For activities with NU itself, there has not been one. However, the direction to it continues to be pursued. And indeed from the results of Greenpeace Indonesia's discussion with Mr. Hayu Prabowo, Head of the Environmental and Natural Resources Agency of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), it is known that it turns out that MUI together with NU, Muhammadiyah already have guidelines on how Muslims carry out activities as well as worship that are environmentally friendly.⁴⁹ Even Muhammadiyah itself has launched a book "Fikih Air" (the Fiqh or the Islamic Jurisprudence of water) about the Prophet's guide to ablution that is ecofriendly. This means that the green initiative already exists, it just needs a wider network to spread the knowledge and enthusiasm. In addition, still, through social media, Greenpeace Indonesia educates through podcast talks with Greenpeace Indonesia's media partners, KBR (Kantor Berita Radio or The Office of Radio News), and also the Surplus Community. They raised several themes such as waste management (zero waste), food waste prevention, energy-saving efforts, eco (Islamic) boarding schools, etc.

Furthermore, although still through social media, Greenpeace Indonesia also involves Muslim scholars.⁵⁰ Such as webinars with Dr. Fachruddin Mangunjaya, M.Si (environmental activist and postgraduate lecturer at the National University), Prof. Dr. Komaruddin Hidayat (Rector of the International Islamic University of Indonesia), Prof. Dr. K.H. Nasaruddin Umar, MA (Grand Imam of the Istiqlal Mosque), Prof. Dr. Quraisy Shihab in the Shihab-Shihab episode, K.H. Amrullah A'la Habib (Gus Aun-Secretary General of the Ansor NU Youth Movement), and so on. Greenpeace Indonesia also engages local activists such as Iskandar Woworuntu U4E Greenpeace Indonesia also involves local activists and influencers such as Iskandar Waworuntu (Bumi Langit Foundation), DK Wardhani (Minim Sampah (Less Waste) Activist), and Nadhea Tanj (actress and influencer).

Finally, Greenpeace Indonesia also reported on the profile of Green Mosque in Indonesia, namely the Istiqlal Mosque in Jakarta. The Istiqlal Mosque in April 2022 was named the world's first environmentally friendly place of worship after receiving the Excellence in Design for Greater Efficiencies (EDGE) award.⁵¹ The renovation was focused on the efficiency of water and energy spending of the mosque by utilizing energy-efficient roofs (solar panel), electricity, and outer walls which successfully saving 13 percent of the building's energy

⁴⁹ Shofiana.

⁵⁰ "Greenpeace Indonesia (@greenpeaceid) • Instagram Photos and Videos."

⁵¹ "Masjid Istiqlal Raih Sertifikat EDGE | Republika Online," accessed February 23, 2024, <https://visual.republika.co.id/berita/r9wo0x283/masjid-istiqlal-raih-sertifikat-edge>.

consumption.⁵² Second, the profile of Az Zikra Sentul Mosque as one of the government's manifestations in the 1000 eco friendly mosque program began in 2017. Az Zikra Mosque has adopted a system of renewable energy, reduce, and reuse.⁵³ It is evidenced by the use and the treatment of the water that is taken from filtered rainwater and the flowing of used ablution water for watering plants, washing cars, and cooking.

The results of the analysis above show some of the influence of the U4E alliance campaign or project as a religious soft power on Greenpeace's efforts to build environmental awareness of the Indonesian people. Some of these influences are strengthening and some are specific. It is called reinforcement because actually before U4E, Greenpeace had already implemented it. The difference lies in the approach, namely the Islamic value approach. Likewise, in the specific influence where it is clear that there will be specificity in this project carrying Islamic values in it, a majority belief in Indonesian society.

As for how this influence affects the environmental awareness of the Indonesian people, further research needs to be conducted. However, this research sees that religious soft power manifested in Greenpeace Indonesia's U4E alliance project is very promising. This can be seen from some of Greenpeace Indonesia's achievements that have been achieved although some are still in process. It is very reasonable because it is still an initial step with short-term achievements in approximately two years. However, the author believes that it is possible for Greenpeace Indonesia with the U4E framework to significantly increase the environmental awareness of the Indonesian people and also encourage the Indonesian government (from the regional to the national level) to make environmental issues a top priority for the government in policy-making as an achievement in the long term.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Ummah for Earth (U4E) alliance project, as the manifestation of Religious Soft Power, has significantly influenced Greenpeace Indonesia's environmental awareness strategies in Indonesia. Through a qualitative research approach incorporating interviews and literature reviews, the study identifies three key impacts of the U4E campaign

⁵² "Istiqlal First Mosque in World to Achieve Green Building Certification - ANTARA News Kalimantan Selatan," accessed February 23, 2024, <https://kalsel.antaranews.com/berita/321653/istiqlal-first-mosque-in-world-to-achieve-green-building-certification>.

⁵³ *The eco-friendly Azzikra Mosque | Here's an amazing example of an eco-friendly mosque that uses rain water and even recycles used water! Stories like this, however big or small, can... | By Greenpeace Southeast Asia | Facebook*, accessed February 23, 2024, <https://hi-in.facebook.com/GreenpeaceSEA/videos/the-eco-friendly-azzikra-mosque/427768715435703/>.

on Greenpeace Indonesia. First, Audience Targeting and Segmentation: the U4E campaign strategically tailors its approach to engage Muslim followers, emphasizing the alignment of environmental preservation with Islamic principles. By integrating Quranic verses and Hadiths into social media campaigns, Greenpeace Indonesia targets Muslim audiences, fostering a connection between Islamic values and contemporary environmental challenges. Second, Emphasis on Digital Media: recognizing the prevalence of digital platforms, the U4E campaign heavily relies on social media, particularly Instagram and YouTube, as primary channels for engagement. The campaign's success in leveraging digital platforms attests to the effectiveness of this approach in fostering widespread environmental advocacy among the target audience, especially during the pandemic. Third, Cooperation with Government and Local Grassroots: in a departure from Greenpeace's usual confrontational stance, the U4E campaign explores collaboration with the Indonesian government, particularly with the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The campaign's focus on counseling related to environmentally conscious practices during Hajj and Umrah exemplifies this diplomatic approach. Additionally, collaboration with Islamic organizations, including Muhammadiyah and NU, highlights the importance of engaging local grassroots initiatives. While reinforcing existing practices, the U4E alliance project introduces a unique blend of Islamic values to Greenpeace Indonesia's strategies. The campaign's multi-dimensional approach, combining digital media emphasis, diplomatic collaboration, and grassroots engagement, positions U4E as a promising religious soft power. The short-term achievements underscore its potential to enhance environmental awareness among Indonesians and catalyze governmental prioritization of environmental issues. Further research is essential to assess the long-term impact on public consciousness and government policies.

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