Said Annual Roundtable on Indonesia and Religious Affairs Theme: Religion and Ecology for Sustainable Development Sukoharjo, August 27th - 28th 2025

## Communicative Rationality in FNKSDA's Digital Communication Based on Islamic Ecotheology to Respond to the Environmental Crisis

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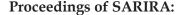
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#### **Abstract**

The advancement of popular Islamic media in the digital era has also driven a transformation in society's mindset, especially regarding issues of ecological justice and agrarian resistance. Ironically, the digital space remains largely dominated by conservative and pragmatic narratives that often marginalize discourses on environmental justice. In response to this situation, this study examines the strategies of FNKSDA (Front Nahdliyyin untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam) in promoting Islamic eco-theological awareness through its official portal and digital channels. This study analyzes articles, digital sermons, and critical reflections published by FNKSDA to assess the extent to which the Islamic values of rahmatan lil 'alamin are used as the basis for ecological and agrarian resistance. This research employs Jürgen Habermas's theory of communicative rationality to evaluate FNKSDA's discursive practices in building an inclusive, reflective, and argumentative public sphere. In addition, FNKSDA's writings are evaluated based on three validity claims: truth, accuracy, and honesty. The findings show that FNKSDA's strategy successfully presents an alternative narrative that connects Islamic spirituality, rational argumentation, and structural critique of exploitative development practices. By utilizing digital spaces, FNKSDA consistently opens discourses of ecological liberation that are embraced by grassroots Nahdliyyin communities, farmers, activists, and students. Therefore, FNKSDA's approach can be seen as a strategic step to strengthen ecological resistance based on religious values amid the hegemony of capitalistic development narratives.

**Keywords**: FNKSDA, Islamic Ecotheology, Communicative Rationality.





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#### Introduction

This study analyzes the relationship between religion (theology) and the increasingly urgent environmental (ecological) problems today, by taking the case of the *Front Nahdliyyin untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam* (FNKSDA, or the Nahdliyyin Front for Natural Resource Sovereignty). FNKSDA is an organization that various studies have identified as a representation of a progressive Islamic movement in Indonesia, particularly among members of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) (Almujaddidy, 2021; Kodir & Mushoffa, 2017; Murtadho, n.d.). FNKSDA was founded as a space for cadre formation, ideological development, and strengthening of technical skills needed to advocate for agrarian justice and sovereign management of natural resources (Rozuli et al., 2022).

The Nahdliyyin Front for Natural Resource Sovereignty was established on December 8, 2013, at the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, Jombang, and was formally ratified through its first National Assembly on April 3, 2015, in Kuningan, West Java. This organization emerged alongside the peasant labor movement, with the philosophy of the name *front* signifying that the movement stands at the forefront in fighting for the sovereignty and sustainability of natural resources. The term *nahdliyyin* emphasizes the cultural identity of NU members as the movement's social base (Setiawan, 2022). Although not structurally affiliated with the NU Central Board (*Pengurus Besar NU*), FNKSDA is recognized as an alternative cultural movement accommodating NU members with an awareness of the importance of environmental sustainability and fair governance of natural resources (Widayati, 2019).

Today's environmental crisis has become a global challenge that transcends national borders, ideologies, ethnicities, cultures, and even religions (Quddus et al., 2020). The United Nations Global Assessment Report 2019 warned that nature is on the verge of severe degradation, with biodiversity declining at the fastest rate in human history (Ventimilla, 2023). Various studies have noted that discourse on the ecological crisis actually emerged as early as the 1960s through monumental works (Carson, 2002; Hardin, 2013; White Jr, 1967). These discourses helped position environmental issues as one of the key pillars of development since the 1970s and even more strongly in the 1980s (Kurniawan, 2012).

The paradigm of sustainable development as reflected in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has become a global narrative for responding to ecological damage. However, the SDGs are still deemed inadequate as their social and ecological pillars are often marginalized compared to the dominance of economic growth (Fata, 2014). This imbalance has contributed to ongoing ecological destruction under the banner of economic development. Such circumstances have prompted the emergence of alternative approaches, including spiritual and theological initiatives such as the ecotheology movement.

Within this context, FNKSDA emerges as a movement emphasizing the importance of Islamic theology as a mercy to all creation (rahmatan lil 'alamin') as its ideological foundation to

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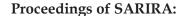
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respond to the environmental crisis through the collective action of NU members. FNKSDA considers that NU's structural moderation has not fully addressed horizontal problems such as agrarian conflicts and the ecological crisis. Therefore, FNKSDA develops an alternative ideology based on environmental theology (Islamic ecotheology) manifested through social movements, advocacy, and digital communication. To carry this out, FNKSDA practices a communication pattern aligned with Jürgen Habermas' idea of communicative rationality, namely building collective awareness through an open, participatory discourse space based on rational arguments.

The spirit of environmental theology upheld by FNKSDA stems from the awareness that ecological degradation strongly correlates with a crisis of spirituality and religious values. Sayyed Hossein Nasr emphasized that the ecological crisis is fundamentally linked to the existential spiritual crisis of modern humans (Muda, 2020; Nasr, 1968). In Islam, harmony between humans and nature is an integral part of worship. Therefore, how FNKSDA implements Islamic ecotheology through rational and dialogical digital communication strategies becomes crucial to examine, because it is this digital communication practice that serves as the means to build collective awareness, expand networks of solidarity, and strengthen the movement's position in the public sphere, as envisioned in the framework of communicative rationality.

Previous works have analyzed the contribution of Islamic religious organizations in responding to environmental issues in Indonesia. For example, Efendi et al. (2021) examined how Muhammadiyah, as a Right-Green movement, strives to address the environmental crisis through a religious approach. Their research shows that Islamic organizations have significant potential in building ecological awareness and environmental resilience, even though this potential has yet to be fully realized globally. From these dynamics, it can be inferred that Islamic values—especially the concept of humans as stewards (*khalifah*)—are highly compatible with advocacy practices for ecology and ecosystem protection. Thus, religious organizations in Indonesia, including Nahdlatul Ulama and its cultural movements, have the potential to play a significant role in facing the increasingly complex challenges of climate change and environmental crises.

Aoki (2015) provides an overview of how Islamic NGOs in Indonesia, including NU, engage in environmental issues through pesantren networks with the *eco-pesantren* concept managed by LPPNU (the NU Agricultural Development Institute). In addition, Muhammadiyah's role is also evident through the *Aisyiyah Environmental Institute* (LLH) which focuses on reforestation programs across various regions. Aoki's findings affirm that religious values can serve as a driving force for Muslims to actively participate in preserving the environment. Theological aspects in





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this context become a source of motivation as well as moral legitimacy for concrete actions responding to the ecological crisis.

In the context of Nahdlatul Ulama itself, the emergence of the Nahdliyyin Front for Natural Resource Sovereignty (FNKSDA), pioneered by young NU members, is a concrete example of how the cultural base of NU builds an alternative movement with an ecotheological spirit. Research by Asworo & Akbar (2019) shows that FNKSDA emerged as a response to dissatisfaction with NU's structural response, which was perceived as insufficient in addressing environmental degradation. This is inseparable from the fact that the majority of NU members live in rural areas and are highly dependent on natural resources. Consequently, exploitative resource management and agrarian inequality have become pressing issues that triggered the birth of FNKSDA as an advocacy movement based on environmental theology.

By adopting Bourdieu's concept of social capital, FNKSDA utilizes religion as social capital characterized by communality and strong mobilizing networks. In this framework, religion functions not only ethically-normatively but also realistically as collective energy to build solidarity and consolidate grassroots movements through dialogical and rational communication.

FNKSDA's environmental theology spirit is rooted in the awareness that the human-nature relationship is an integral part of practicing Islamic teachings. Treating nature well is considered an act of worship, so the Islamic ecotheology movement is not mere rhetoric but the actualization of religious values in social life. In this regard, this study offers a framework to understand how FNKSDA's ecotheological practice is carried out through a digital communication approach aligned with Habermas' communicative rationality. This is relevant because digital media transformation has opened up new spaces for FNKSDA to expand its advocacy networks, disseminate the narrative of Islamic ecotheology, and build public awareness across communities based on open, free, and mutual understanding arguments.

With a flexible, cultural, and networked organizational format, FNKSDA operates not only in the field through direct advocacy actions but also actively utilizes digital media for campaigns, education, and mobilizing public support. Therefore, research on FNKSDA's Islamic Ecotheology-Based Digital Communication is crucial to understand how digital communication practices can strengthen the ecotheology movement in Indonesia through participatory and rational discourse.

There are several compelling reasons why this study is urgent. Empirically, it emerges from the author's concern about the lack of institutionalized Islamic ecotheological practices that are effectively managed through strategic digital communication. In this context, movements such as FNKSDA (Forum of Islamic Environmentalists) have made efforts to construct a critical, Islambased environmental narrative. Yet critical questions arise: why does ecological degradation persist despite religious teachings that emphasize humanity's responsibility as *khalifah fil ardh* 

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(vicegerent on Earth)? Have religious messages failed to address structural injustice and environmental colonialism? Or are the communication strategies employed not yet capable of fostering dialogical and transformative communicative rationality in the digital age?

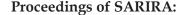
This research seeks to answer these questions by analyzing the content and discourse of FNKSDA's published articles. It focuses on how environmental values are constructed on the FNKSDA website, how communicative rationality—in Habermas' sense—is manifested in their narratives, and how structural inequality and the colonization of living spaces are framed as issues of ecological resistance. Furthermore, this study highlights the reconstruction of the *khalifah* concept in response to ecological injustice and examines critiques of patriarchy and the exploitation of women as expressed through FNKSDA's ecofeminist perspectives. Thus, this research explores not only theological dimensions, but also the roles of communication and digital advocacy in the broader struggle for ecological justice (Ghufron, 2010).

#### Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach by applying Jürgen Habermas's theory of communicative rationality. The research is grounded in a worldview rooted in communicative rationality, which aligns with the post-positivist paradigm. Data for this study were collected from various sources, including articles, books, and reports relevant to the theme of FNKSDA's Islamic ecotheology-based digital communication in responding to the environmental crisis. The primary data focus is on articles published by FNKSDA, supporting documents, and online publications discussing FNKSDA's communication practices and ecotheological narratives.

Data collection methods included observing FNKSDA's digital communication practices, as well as analyzing documents and openly published digital content. The data analysis technique follows the concept of Miles and Huberman (1984), consisting of three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. In the reduction stage, the researcher selects and sorts data relevant to the research focus, namely how FNKSDA implements digital communication from an Islamic ecotheology perspective. The display stage organizes the data into tables, matrices, or simple visualizations to support arguments. The final stage involves systematically drawing conclusions by formulating key findings that address the research questions.

Habermas's theory of communicative rationality is used to examine how FNKSDA's digital communication practices aim to build collective awareness, bridge differences in perspectives, and encourage collective action related to ecological justice. According to Habermas, rationality in communication is not only oriented toward objective processes but also toward the intersubjective reality constructed in the public sphere (Habermas, 1991). Through *The Theory* 





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of Communicative Action, Habermas emphasizes that social relations should ideally be based on communicative rationality that fosters mutual understanding (Ahlhaus, 2022).

Habermas also asserts that the structure of language is the main arena for the emergence of communicative rationality (Halton, 2011). Every participant in communication must uphold three discourse claims: appropriateness, sincerity, and truthfulness. These three are prerequisites for FNKSDA's digital communication to be genuinely effective in constructing an Islamic ecotheology narrative that can drive social transformation. Although communication may sometimes fail, Habermas emphasizes that communicative success can be achieved if participants understand the principles of communicative rationality (Aubert, 2021).

As an epistemic foundation for ethical discourse, communicative rationality is also expected to bridge the diversity of citizens' identities, particularly in the context of FNKSDA, which is rooted in Nahdliyyin communities with a progressive Islamic spirit. Rational dialogue enables FNKSDA's Islamic ecotheology narrative to be not merely symbolic but also to influence changes in public mindsets, attitudes, and actions in responding to the environmental crisis. The principles of autonomy and responsibility (*Mündigkeit*) are expected to characterize FNKSDA's digital communication, thereby realizing a free, rational, and critical discourse space without domination (Blau, 2022).

#### **Results and Discussion**

#### **Environmental Values on the FNKSDA Website**

The Front Nahdliyyin untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam (FNKSDA) is recognized as one of the representations of a progressive Islamic movement led by young Nahdliyyin who are concerned about the ecological crisis and agrarian justice. FNKSDA emphasizes the importance of integrating Islamic ecological theology (ecotheology) into collective social action and digital communication strategies to respond to the increasingly urgent environmental crisis (Fannani et al., 2024).

As a cultural movement rooted in the *Nahdlatul Ulama* community, FNKSDA utilizes its official website and various digital platforms to raise awareness of environmental justice, advocate for fair management of natural resources, and strengthen solidarity among communities affected by ecological conflicts. Through its website and digital channels, FNKSDA seeks to cultivate critical awareness and encourage collective action based on the values of *rahmatan lil 'alamin*—a vision that affirms humanity's responsibility to maintain harmony with nature as an integral part of worship (Nashirulhaq, 2017).

The FNKSDA website regularly publishes articles, statements, reflections, and analyses addressing various environmental themes, such as agrarian conflicts, forest conservation, sustainable agriculture, and the impacts of extractive industries. Each publication not only



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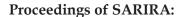
provides information but also serves as a call to action for readers—particularly Nahdliyyin farmers, students, activists, and community organizers—to engage actively. The narratives emphasize the importance of Islamic teachings as a moral compass to resist exploitative practices that damage ecosystems and threaten the livelihoods of local communities (Ubaidillah, 2018).

In terms of design, the FNKSDA website is simple and accessible, aiming to reach a broad audience, including rural communities with limited internet infrastructure. In addition to articles, the platform also provides advocacy reports, educational materials, infographics, and multimedia content designed to strengthen the organization's message. In line with the theory of communicative rationality, FNKSDA's digital communication practices aim to build an inclusive public sphere where various stakeholders can engage in dialogue, exchange ideas, and develop a shared understanding of the urgency of ecological justice.



Figure 1. FNKSDA Website Illustration

Compared to other Islamic environmental movements, FNKSDA has a distinctive character by combining cultural identity with grassroots mobilization. By promoting Islamic ecotheology through digital media, FNKSDA demonstrates how religion and communication technology can complement each other in addressing the challenges of the modern environmental crisis. This approach proves that environmental values are continuously negotiated, produced, and disseminated in the digital public sphere, while also reinforcing FNKSDA's position at the forefront of the struggle for Indonesia's natural resource sovereignty and sustainability.





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#### The Character of Communicative Rationality in the FNKSDA Portal

The digital portal of the *Front Nahdliyyin untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam* (FNKSDA) serves as an important space that articulates the values of communicative rationality (Habermas, 1984) within the context of Islamic ecotheology, particularly in response to the increasingly complex environmental crisis. Amid the current tide of digital conservatism that often sidelines narratives of ecological justice (Daheri et al., 2023), FNKSDA presents a critical approach that reflects ecological awareness grounded in Islamic values, while also opening a dialogical space for Nahdliyyin members and the wider public.

As part of the Nahdliyyin civil society movement, FNKSDA practices Habermasian communicative rationality through a critical discourse space that emphasizes argumentation, reflective dialogue, and rational consensus. Here, communicative rationality is not merely an instinct for information dissemination but a conscious discursive act that affirms Islam as a religion that upholds ecological justice and sustainability (Habermas, 1991). Open access to alternative ideas, structural criticism, and ideological reflection are key elements that enable Nahdliyyin communities to pursue peaceful social transformation through transformative public discourse (Feteris & Feteris, 2017).

The framework of Islamic creation theology supports this discursive structure. In Islam, nature is not merely a material object but  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}t$  — signs of God (Nasr, 1996). This view rejects the Cartesian dichotomy between the material and immaterial, affirming that knowledge is not a rival to revelation but a means of reading the divine laws of creation (Nasr, 1996; Yazdi, 2023). Within this framework, humans are not positioned as absolute rulers of nature but as *khalifah* (Qur'an, 2:30) as well as 'abd (Qur'an, 7:172) who bear the *Amana* — the trust to steward God's resources responsibly (Qur'an, 57:7).

The FNKSDA article "Membaca(-Kembali) NU: Kritik dan Refleksi Menuju 1 Abad NU" (Fajar, 2023) illustrates how FNKSDA's digital space serves as a medium for deconstructing dominant narratives. The critique highlights NU's shift from a material-cosmological basis — which emphasized harmonious relations between humans, nature, and the cosmos — toward a structural-organizational dimension that is more accommodating to neoliberal hegemony. This discourse exposes the alienation of Nahdliyyin communities, proletarianization, the ecological crisis, and the disconnection between religious ideology and the material realities at the grassroots level.

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Figure 2. "Rereading NU: Critique and Reflection Towards NU's First Century".

Table 1. Claim validity indicators

Validity Claims	Indicator
Truth Claim	The truth claim in this article is evident in the author's effort to base arguments on the historical realities and socio-economic conditions of the grassroots Nahdliyyin. The author demonstrates the shift in how NU is interpreted — from a material-cosmological dimension to a structural-organizational one — which results in a more pragmatic and elitist perspective. The author argues that NU's success at the elite level does not automatically translate to success at the grassroots, basing this claim on actual observations of alienation, proletarianization, and material contradictions within the Nahdliyyin community. These facts form the basis for asserting that NU's hegemonic relationship with neoliberal power has created paradoxes and a disconnect between praxis and the lived realities of marginalized communities.
Accuracy Claim	The accuracy claim is reflected in how the author situates the ideological reading of NU within Indonesia's current socio-political context. The author argues that NU's once-transformative moderate Islam narrative now functions more as a tool for legitimizing neoliberal power. This analysis is presented accurately by linking religious discourse, power structures, and capitalist policies that marginalize Nahdliyyin grassroots communities. The author also precisely identifies how the <i>Islam Nusantara</i> discourse is used as an



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Validity Claims	Indicator
	ideological state apparatus (citing Althusser) to discipline the ummah into compliance and compromise, rather than confrontation against structural injustice. This accuracy is evident in the author's ability to connect real conditions — such as land grabbing, the ecological crisis, and class inequality — with the ideological contradictions that have increasingly distanced NU from its original emancipatory spirit.
Honesty Claim	The honesty claim in this article is demonstrated by the author's courage to criticize the dominant face of NU without hesitation. The author highlights the excessive euphoria among some Nahdliyyin over political dominance and close ties with power, while ignoring marginalized voices at the grassroots. By exposing the paradox between elite claims of success and failure to defend the people at the base, the author demonstrates a commitment to intellectual honesty and critical reflection. The author also candidly acknowledges that challenging NU's entrenched ideological order is not easy but must begin with a clear-sighted re-reading that takes the side of social reality. This honesty claim foregrounds a reflective attitude that opens space for debate and transformation within NU itself.

In the context of Islamic ecotheology, FNKSDA's discourse serves as a reminder that religious heritage should not become a mere "halal stamp" for neoliberal practices that damage the environment (Nasr, 1996). By referring to the Qur'an as the authoritative revelation (Qur'an, 2:115; 3:189), FNKSDA reaffirms God's position as the sole rightful owner of creation. This means humans have no right to plunder nature for short-term interests (Yazdi, 2023). Nasr (1993) emphasizes that all creation, including humans, are signs of God (*Vestigia Dei*) interconnected in a way that obligates humans to maintain ecological balance.

According to Habermas, communicative rationality can only succeed if supported by critical reflection, deep knowledge, and a willingness to listen to marginalized voices (Habermas, 1984). FNKSDA fulfills this condition by creating a dialogical space that revisits the transformative legacy of Islamic ideology in light of contemporary ecological crises and structural inequalities. FNKSDA's vision of strengthening natural resource sovereignty based on Islam does not merely build informative digital communication but also sustains a discursive community that

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encourages collective action, non-violent resistance, and the defense of living spaces — an embodiment of communicative rationality in the framework of contemporary Islamic ecotheology (Habermas, 1991; Nasr, 1996).

## Issues of Structural Injustice and Ecological Resistance Raised by FNKSDA Authors How Should the Unfinished Revolution and the Struggle for Living Space Be Understood?

This study draws on a number of FNKSDA articles to encourage critical awareness that Indonesia's social-ecological revolution remains incomplete. The country's formal independence in 1945 has not fully guaranteed the people's rights to prosperity, production sovereignty, and sustainable living space. This aligns with the idea of communicative rationality (Habermas, 1984), which emphasizes the importance of critical reflection and discursive action to reclaim the people's sovereignty over nature.

The article "We Have Not Completed the Revolution: Notes on an Independence Day (Not) Celebrated" by Fahri Fajar highlights how independence is often reduced to symbolic rituals: flag-raising ceremonies, parades, or patriotic posts on social media. The structural reality shows otherwise — economic and political rights remain concentrated in the hands of a few elites. The era of neoliberal capitalism, which Nasr (1996) describes as the continuation of modern colonialism, reinforces human domination over nature and the exploitation of the people in the name of capital accumulation.

Nationalist celebrations are frequently used by the bourgeois and oligarchic classes to mask the factual crisis: precarious workers, low wages, high education costs, illegal fees, evictions, land grabbing, and ecological degradation. Examples such as illegal fees in schools and the commodification of living spaces underline that oppression is not only material but also ideological (Nasr, 1996). Nasr's perspective connects here: Muslims themselves are often ensnared by Western ideals that idolize endless industrialization and growth, eroding Islamic ecotheology as the normative balance between humans and nature.

Fahri Fajar asserts that independence must be understood as an ongoing process. Without critical reflection, efforts to liberate the people from the grip of the extractive capitalist regime will remain trapped in a cycle of empty ceremonial gestures. It is at this point that communicative rationality (Habermas, 1984) demands the articulation of emancipatory discourse through public debate, not just political rhetoric.



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#### Kita Belum Menuntaskan Revolusi: Catatan Hari Kemerdekaan yang (Tak) Dirayakan

Oleh: Fahri Fajar (Kader FNKSDA Komite Daerah Makassar dan Anggota Biro Agitasi dan Propaganda) Negara telah merdeka, tetapi mengapa hak rakyat untuk hidup sejahtera tak pernah diwujudkan? Mengapa hak ekonomi politik masih terbatas dikuasai oleh segelintir orang yang memiliki akses terhadap kekayaan ekonomi dan intelektual?



Figure 3. "We Have Not Completed the Revolution: Notes on an Independence Day That (Is Not) Celebrated".

Table 2. Claim validity indicators

Validity Claims	Indicator
Truth Claim	The truth claim in this article is rooted in the assertion that Indonesia's formal independence has not fully realized substantive freedom for its people. The author builds this claim through historical reflection and concrete situations: workers remain bound by structures of oppression, the expropriation of means of production continues, and exploitation by the neoliberal regime occurs in subtle and brutal ways. The author points to social facts such as evictions, legalized land grabs through law, criminalization, illegal school fees, and a rising cost of living that traps the people. All these concrete examples affirm the truth that symbolic independence — ceremonies, competitions, concerts at the palace — does not align with the lived reality of workers still colonized by global and local capitalism.
Accuracy Claim	The accuracy claim emerges from the connection between critical reflection and measurable structural conditions. The author does not stop at ideological rhetoric but links neoliberal realities to social data such as the high cost of education, land expropriation, forced evictions, and village development policies that oppress grassroots communities through local brokers. The precision of the analysis is clear when the author distinguishes between classical colonialism and the new forms of colonialism (neocolonialism-neoliberalism)



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Validity Claims	Indicator
	that camouflage themselves through market mechanisms, laws, and local elites. Thus, the reflective narrative offered by the author has a logical basis and contextual relevance to today's issues of injustice.
Honesty Claim	The honesty claim is clearly shown in the author's candid exposition that independence today is mostly celebrated ceremonially while concealing the true face of inequality. The author frankly acknowledges that workers are often trapped in a half-hearted nationalism that masks structural oppression. There is no false romanticism: the author instead emphasizes that the revolution for independence remains unfinished because structures of oppression persist under the guise of a "Progressive Indonesia." This honesty is also evident in the reflective call at the end of the piece: the author reminds readers not to accept the status quo as destiny but to complete the historical task of dismantling tyranny and breaking people's dependency on the parasites of capitalism.

The article "World Environment Day 2023: The Struggle Against the Destruction of Living Spaces in Jember Regency Is Not Over!" by Samsul Muarif further reinforces the message that ecological struggle and structural justice are deeply connected. The stories of resistance by the communities of Silo and Paseban show how grassroots solidarity, a fatwa from PCNU Jember, and truth claims based on faith managed to halt a destructive mining project (Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Decree No. 1802/2018).

However, the author warns that a temporary victory does not close loopholes for legal manipulation by the oligarchy through autocratic legalism (the Mining Law, the Omnibus Law). From Nasr's (1996) perspective, this domination is the result of the modern Western worldview that reduces nature to a postcolonial commodity. Therefore, the people's victory in Jember underlines the importance of revitalizing Islamic ethics to restore the human-nature relationship.

Nasr's view (1996) deepens this narrative: Muslims often unknowingly replicate Western models, abandoning the Islamic theology of nature that upholds the sacredness of the earth. He asserts that the root problem is not only external factors (economic imperialism) but also the spiritual disconnect of Muslims from an Islamic worldview that venerates nature as  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}t$ .

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Therefore, the struggles in Silo and Paseban are not merely legal protests but moral and spiritual resistance to reject the degradation of living spaces.



#### Hari lingkungan Hidup 2023: Perjuangan Lawan Penghancuran Ruang Hidup di Kabupaten Jember Belum Berakhir!

Oleh: Samsul Muarif (Koordinator FNKSDA Komite Daerah Jember) "Silo berhasil menang!" Begitulah kabar besar kemenangan rakyat yang terdengar publik pada tahun 2019 silam. Perjuangan warga Kecamatan Silo dalam melawan upaya pertambangan emas di wilayahnya berujung manis setelah majelis pemeriksa sidang mediasi menyatakan, "Perlu pencabutan Keputusan



Figure 4. "World Environment Day 2023: The Struggle Against the Destruction of Living Spaces in Jember Regency Is Not Over!"

Table 3. Claim validity indicators

Validity Claims	Indicator
Truth Claim	The truth claim in this article is evident through arguments based on concrete historical facts of the Jember community's resistance — especially in Silo and Paseban Districts — against mining industry expansion. The author grounds the claim in legal rulings that annulled the Blok Silo mining permit due to procedural flaws, as well as the collective rejection chronology of Paseban residents consistently opposing the project since 2008. Rejection data — such as 7,000 residents' signatures, the <i>Bahstul Masa'il</i> PCNU Jember fatwa declaring destructive mining <i>haram</i> , and the criminalization of Paseban villagers — serve as evidence that the people's struggle is rooted in real conditions and socio-ecological aspirations. The author affirms that this victory claim is not an empty narrative but a factual truth supported by cross-community solidarity.
Accuracy Claim	The accuracy claim is reflected in how the author connects the local struggle to the national structural-political framework. This article links the experiences of Jember residents with pro-mining policies at the national and local levels: the Mining Law, the Omnibus Law, and



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Validity Claims	Indicator
	spatial planning revisions that create legal openings for mining expansion. The author also cites WALHI East Java and <i>Radar Jember</i> to highlight how spatial policy facilitates capitalist interests. Thus, the accuracy of the author's claim does not stop at a heroic tale of resistance but stresses that threats remain because of an autocratic legal regime that favors investors and sidelines the people. The narrative of "victory" is recalibrated with critical vigilance to prevent people from falling into false euphoria.
Honesty Claim	The honesty claim is seen in the author's explicit reminder that the people's victory is not final and that the threat of living space expropriation remains. The author frankly emphasizes that the victories in Silo and Paseban are not the end but the foundation for continuously strengthening the people's movement. By highlighting spatial policy, the track record of pro-investor local leaders, and the potential for greedy capital to enter through legal policy, the author acknowledges the precarious conditions and does not conceal the challenges. The author also openly invites the public to maintain collective awareness, build new strength, and affirm ecological struggle as a form of social <i>jihad</i> . This honesty is reflected in the insistence that the struggle can only endure if the people remain steadfast ( <i>istiqamah</i> ), critical, and united.

FNKSDA not only highlights structural injustice and ecological resistance but also revitalizes the discourse of Islamic ecotheology as envisioned by Nasr (1996) — that nature is a sign of the sacred, and the struggle to liberate it from capital expropriation is part of the Muslim community's spiritual revolution and communicative rationality.

#### Reconstructing the Meaning of Khalifah fil Ardh in Responding to Ecological Injustice

The Friday sermon text "Humans Are Khalifah fil Ardh, Not Syaithan fil Ardh" by Dendy Wahyu Anugrah, published by FNKSDA on June 16, 2023, exemplifies an articulation of communicative rationality (Habermas, 1984) rooted in Islamic ecotheology. Through digital media, this sermon asserts that humanity's position as khalifah fil ardh (vicegerent on earth) is



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not merely a symbolic identity but an ethical and spiritual mandate to care for the earth — not to destroy it like *syaithan fil ardh* (*devils on earth*).

In the context of digital dakwah (Islamic preaching), this sermon revives the discourse of hablum minal 'alam (harmonious relations with nature) as an integral dimension of human servitude to Allah SWT. Quranic verses such as QS. Al-Baqarah: 30, which appoints humans as khalifah, QS. Ali Imran: 190, which commands reflection upon the signs of God's greatness in the heavens and the earth, and QS. Al-Hadid: 25, which reminds believers of their responsibility to uphold justice, form the normative basis for building a robust ecological consciousness.

This message becomes even more urgent in the face of rampant destructive practices by economic-political elites who exploit legal loopholes for capital accumulation. Coastal reclamation, the appropriation of customary lands, deforestation, and coastal degradation are concrete forms of betrayal of the *khalifah* mandate. This view aligns with Nasr's (1996) critique that Muslims are often dragged into Western modernization logics and capitalist consumption patterns that starkly contradict the sacred Islamic worldview.

Through this digital sermon, FNKSDA presents a counter-narrative against religious interpretations that are often co-opted to legitimize exploitative projects. By restoring the concept of *khalifah fil ardh* to its roots — namely the upholding of ecological justice — this sermon acts as a vehicle for knowledge transformation that merges spirituality, rational ethics, and solidarity with affected communities. Such ecotheological *dakwah* also aligns with Habermas's (1984) communicative rationality, as it creates public discourse spaces to critically examine human-nature relations on the basis of scriptural evidence and dialogical argumentation.

As Nasr (1996) emphasizes, Islam is not merely a moral voice but an alternative rationality that rejects the anthropocentrism of Western science and reasserts the sacredness of creation. By reminding believers that humans are responsible for preserving the "Face of God" on earth (QS. Al-Baqarah: 115), this sermon instills a spiritual awareness that caring for the earth means caring for faith and human dignity.



#### Khutbah Jumat: Manusia adalah Khalifah fil Ardh, Bukan Syaithan fil Ardh

Oleh: Dendy Wahyu Anugrah (Kader FNKSDA Komite Daerah Banyuwangi) Alam semesta diciptakan oleh Allah Swt. tidak lain sebagai lokus untuk makhluk-Nya beribadah. Ibadah makhluk Tuhan bisa bermacam-macam, tapi yang jelas, bagi manusia, sholat adalah salah satu bentuk ibadah yang sangat diwajibkan. Bahkan, kalau bahasa agama,

JUN 16, 2022 by DAULATHIJAU

Figure 5. "Friday Sermon: Humans Are Khalifah fil Ardh, Not Syaithan fil Ardh".

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Table 4. Claim validity indicators

Table 4. Claim validity indicators	
Validity Claims	Indicator
Truth Claim	The truth claim in this sermon article is evident in the argumentation directly rooted in Quranic verses. The author affirms the human position as <i>khalifah fil ardh</i> based on QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 30 and QS. Ali Imran [3]: 190. The argument that humans should preserve the universe, not destroy it, is constructed by referencing Islam's message as <i>rahmatan lil 'alamin</i> (a mercy to all creation). The author also critiques the misuse of the <i>khalifah fil ardh</i> concept, which is often used to legitimize environmental destruction in the name of development and exploitation. This emphasis demonstrates the normative truth that the human duty is to protect the earth, not to oppress it.
Accuracy Claim	The accuracy claim is reflected in how the author connects the religious concept with real-world environmental damage. The author cites concrete examples: reclamation, customary land grabbing, forest tenure conflicts, and ecological impacts such as floods and landslides. By linking hablum minal 'alam (good relations with nature) with everyday actions — for instance, not littering or dumping waste into rivers — the author aligns spiritual values with relevant, applicable daily practices. This accuracy is strengthened by contrasting the behavior of khalifah fil ardh and syaithan fil ardh as a sharp critique of actors who destroy the environment for vested interests.
Honesty Claim	The honesty claim in this sermon is seen in the author's courage to expose contradictions in modern human behavior. The author does not conceal the fact that many individuals or groups interpret Quranic verses one-sidedly to justify environmental exploitation. The author openly states that acts of environmental destruction stand in complete opposition to Islam's mission. The sermon's closing appeal — which distinguishes <i>Al-Fatihah</i> as a tribute for justice fighters and <i>Al-Zalzalah</i> as a threat for environmental destroyers — demonstrates a commitment to the honesty of



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Validity Claims	Indicator
	dakwah: upholding the truth uncompromisingly, even against exploitative worldly interests. The author also honestly reminds the ummah that the task of being khalifah fil ardh is not trivial but a noble and weighty responsibility.

FNKSDA's digital sermon thus becomes a practice of communicative rationality that integrates Quranic interpretation, scientific argumentation, and a call for collective action. This ecotheological *dakwah* strengthens Muslim awareness as enforcers of ecological justice, dismantles structural injustice, and answers the challenges of Western modernity through the lens of Islamic ethics and spirituality.

#### The Colonization of Women and Ecofeminist Resistance

A clear example of how FNKSDA raises the issue of structural injustice through the lens of Islamic ecotheology is the publication of the article "The Colonization of Women in the Construction of the Bener Dam, Purworejo" by Ayu Nuzul, a cadre of FNKSDA Jombang. Published on May 3, 2021, the article unpacks how a mega-infrastructure project — claimed to be in the public interest — actually manifests as a new face of colonization of rural living spaces, especially for women.

The construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo, projected to be the tallest dam in Indonesia, brings ecological and social impacts that cannot be overlooked. Behind the narrative of national strategic development, Ayu exposes administrative manipulation and legal smuggling through flawed environmental impact assessments (AMDAL) and policies that lack genuine community participation. This is where structural inequality is starkly visible: women in Wadas Village — known as *Wadon Wadas* — are the most affected group, losing access to water, medicinal plants, food sources, and their spiritual relationship with the land, which for them is a living body: the land is their flesh, the water is their blood, and the stone is their bones.

The ecofeminist frame in this article actualizes the perspective of Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies that capitalist development always bears a patriarchal face — positioning women and nature as objects of exploitation for capital accumulation. The state, through legal instruments and strategic projects, acts as an extension of global capitalism. In this logic, as Nasr (1996) critiques, the Islamic ideal of *khalifah fil ardh* (*vicegerent on earth*) is often distorted by the absorption of Western modernity, pushing aside the spirituality and ethics of caring for the earth beneath the obsession with economic growth.

The Wadon Wadas resistance becomes a practice of communicative rationality (Habermas, 1984) rooted in local wisdom and Islamic spirituality. The poster "Yen Ditambang"

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Ora Iso Ngibadah" ("If Mined, We Cannot Worship") symbolizes the close link between ecological crisis, spirituality, and the right to life. Through the normative claim that mining hinders worship, the villagers assert that development without ecological justice is a betrayal of humanity's mandate as guardians of the earth.

By publishing this narrative, FNKSDA delivers a digital *dakwah* grounded in Islamic ecotheology that rejects the reduction of religion to a mere tool for legitimizing exploitation. On the contrary, religion is restored to its normative root: *rahmatan lil 'alamin* — a mercy to all creation — which requires the protection of humans' spiritual relationship with nature. Thus, the *Wadon Wadas* resistance asserts that women are not passive victims but subjects who articulate eco-political arguments, uphold the Islamic ethic of *khalifah fil ardh*, and open spaces for cross-community solidarity.



Ayu Nuzul (FNKSDA Jombang) "Yen ditambang ora iso ngibadah" sebuah poster tulisan yang dibawa seorang ibu dalam sebuah aksi bersama perempuan menolak pertambangan dari desa Wadas Purworejo. Rencananya, wilayah ini ditetapkan sebagai Pertambangan Quarry Batuan Adesit yaitu bahan material pembangunan bendungan yang direncanakan untuk



Figure 6. "The Colonization of Women in the Construction of the Bener Dam, Purworejo".

Table 5. Claim validity indicators

Validity Claims	Indicator
Truth Claim	The truth claim in this article is clear: the construction of the Bener Dam is not just an infrastructure project but a real manifestation of the colonization of women by a development regime driven by patriarchal capitalism. The author presents concrete facts: the quarrying scheme for andesite rock, overlapping AMDAL processes, legally flawed site designation, and the national project leveraging the legitimacy of the Omnibus Law ( <i>UU Cipta Kerja</i> ). Data on landslide risks, ecological impacts, and detailed explanations about local plants and the function of Wadas land support this claim



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Validity Claims	Indicator
	factually. References to Vandana Shiva, Mies, and dependency theory experts further strengthen the truth that development in peripheral countries is carried out as a modern mechanism of colonization over nature and women.
Accuracy Claim	The accuracy claim is evident in how the article connects global contexts (debt schemes, global capital circuits) with the local case (Wadas). The author cites credible sources: Purworejo's spatial plans (RTRW), WALHI research findings, ministerial regulations, and testimonies from <i>Wadon Wadas</i> villagers that demonstrate how the substance of development destroys the ecological chain sustaining women's daily lives. The philosophical illustration of the land as the human body (flesh, blood, bones) underscores the accuracy of the ecological relationship that would be severed if mining proceeds. By outlining the logic of landslide vulnerability, landscape damage, and loss of water resources, the author proves that the project is not merely a 'water project' but a structured disaster.
Honesty Claim	The honesty claim is clear in the author's alignment with the most marginalized voices: rural women. The article does not conceal that the state, bureaucracy, and global capitalism use 'welfare' narratives as camouflage. By citing Vandana Shiva, Mies, and colonization theory, the author emphasizes that development that displaces communities (especially women) is a form of recurring new colonialism. Honesty is demonstrated through the emphasis that the narrative of resistance must continue to be nurtured so that communities do not fall for the false rhetoric of 'progress'. The closing call to support <i>Wadon Wadas</i> is a moral appeal for readers not to remain neutral in the face of ecological injustice.

In the end, the article "The Colonization of Women in the Construction of the Bener Dam, Purworejo" demonstrates how FNKSDA presents a narrative of resistance based on data, theory, and Islamic spirituality. Structural critique is built through an Islamic ecofeminism that rejects the patriarchal colonization of living spaces. Within the framework of communicative rationality, FNKSDA utilizes the digital sphere to expand public discourse, organize solidarity, and strengthen a movement that places Islamic ecotheology as an ethical foundation to confront exploitative development.



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#### Conclusion

In conclusion, FNKSDA applies Jürgen Habermas's theory of communicative rationality to convey messages of ecological justice and agrarian resistance in a structured manner. By adhering to the principles of rational discourse, FNKSDA ensures that the articles it publishes are grounded in religious arguments, social logic, and ecotheological values aligned with dialogical norms. This approach is evident in FNKSDA's commitment to building an Islamic narrative based on ecotheology, drawing from authentic references such as the Qur'an, Hadith, the thoughts of Islamic scholars, and linking these to perspectives on structural justice. FNKSDA does not merely promote ecological awareness but also encourages the formation of new consensus through open and rational discussion, in line with Habermas's concept of collective understanding.

Moreover, the application of Habermas's theory in FNKSDA's digital communication is also reflected in its careful and credible selection of sources, ranging from field data and academic studies to a strong normative Islamic foundation. This strengthens its arguments while affirming that FNKSDA's movement is not merely reactive but offers a sustainable discursive space for ecotheology.

The discourse of ecotheology within religious organizations has only found its contemporary relevance in recent years, whereas concerns about ecological degradation were previously advocated primarily by secular civil society groups. Given the limitations of secular civil movements — which often face fragmentation and limited grassroots support — the involvement of religious communities such as FNKSDA opens up new spaces for resistance based on spiritual, social, and ecological justice values.

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