



Greenpeace Effort in Opposing Food Estate Development in Indonesia

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Abstract

Article History:

Received: Nov 14, 2024

Revised: Nov 19, 2024

Accepted: Dec 9, 2024

Published: Jan 02, 2025

Keywords: Food Estate, Deforestation, Campaign

This research aims to analyze the efforts made by Greenpeace in opposing food estate development. The method used in this research is qualitative method. This research uses a literature study approach. The data used in this research were obtained through scientific journals, theses, related articles, official websites, and documentation from related institutions. The data analysis technique used in this research uses data reduction techniques, the conceptual framework that author uses in this research is the concept of Environmental Non-Governmental Organization and the concept of non-violence. The results of this study show that in an effort to oppose the development of food estate in Indonesia, Greenpeace made efforts described by McCormick in the concept of environmental NGO. The efforts made by Greenpeace in opposing the development of food estates in Indonesia are, collaboration with authorized local officials, conducting campaigns, utilizing the media as a means of disseminating campaigns, conducting research, and building public awareness of the importance of maintaining environmental awareness. In addition, Greenpeace also uses a non-violent approach in its actions. This approach is carried out through two methods, protest and persuasion methods.



I. INTRODUCTION

Food security is a key instrument in maintaining human security. Food security is the ability of a country or region to meet the food needs of its population on an ongoing and sustainable basis. Food security is important in international relations because it can affect social, political and economic stability within a country as well as at the global level¹. Countries with strong food security can strengthen their position in international relations, as they can feed their population and reduce their dependence on food imports. This can improve food security and reduce the risk of food crises that could affect the stability of the country. On the other hand, countries with weak food security can have difficulties in meeting the food needs of their population and become vulnerable to food crises. These countries may become dependent on food imports, which may increase the risk of dependence on other countries in international relations.

The Food estate project involves the development of large, modern farms utilizing advanced agricultural technologies, including improved irrigation, effective use of fertilizers and pesticides, and modern food processing technologies. The aim is to increase food production, such as rice, corn, soybeans and freshwater fish, and ultimately reduce food imports from abroad. Another objective of implementing this project is to recover the economy after the COVID-19 pandemic². Food estates in Indonesia are developed in three main regions, namely Sumatra Island (Humbang Hasundutan Regency, South Tapanuli Regency, and Serdang Bedagai Regency), Kalimantan Island (Kapuas Hulu Regency and Pulang Pisau Regency), and Papua Island (Merauke Regency)³. However, the program has also drawn controversy over its environmental and social impacts, as well as the long-term sustainability of the project. The process of food estate development in Indonesia began with 30,000 hectares of land in the province of Central Kalimantan, located in the districts of Palang Pisau, Kapuas, and Gunung Mas, as a medium for growing food and horticultural commodities⁴. Food estate development offers good potential for increasing food availability.

However, this development project also has the potential to destabilize the ecosystem. During the development period, there were many criticisms about the food

¹ Arlyan, R. (2018). Hubungan Ketahanan Pangan Dan Stabilitas Keamanan Negara (Krisis Pangan di Venezuela). *Dinamika Global: Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, 3(01), 108-131.

² Wirapranatha, A., Sutrasna, Y., & Simbolon, L. (2022). Strategi Pengembangan Food estate Dalam Pemulihan Ekonomi Nasional. *Ekonomi Pertahanan*, 8(1), 1-13.

³ "Bappenas Finalkan Masterplan Food estate Untuk Dukung Capaian Target Pembangunan | Kementerian PPN/Bappenas," accessed February 18, 2024, <https://www.bappenas.go.id/id/berita/bappenas-finalkan-masterplan-food-estate-untuk-dukung-capaian-target-pembangunan>.

⁴ Cahyana, Destika, Muhrizal Sarwani, and Muhammad Noor. *Trivia rawa: serba serbi sumber daya lahan rawa*. UGM PRESS, 2022.



estate development. Criticism regarding the development of the food estate began when the Minister of Environment and Forestry issued a regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry Number P.24 / MENLHK / SETJEN / KUM1 / 10/2020 concerning the provision of forest areas for the development of food estate, which is currently undergoing changes in the Minister of LHK regulation number 7 of 2021 Forestry Planning, Changes in Forest Area Designation and Changes in Forest Area Functions and Use of Forest Areas. Which allows production forest areas and / or protected forest areas to be used for the food estate project. This has drawn a lot of criticism from DPR officials, activists, academics, etc⁵

Greenpeace is a non-governmental organization engaged in preserving nature and the environment. Greenpeace was founded in 1971 in Canada. Initially this organization was formed to oppose the United States nuclear tests in Alaska. Greenpeace is known as an organization that carries out its mission directly and puts forward peaceful principles without using violence. Greenpeace has carried out its actions in various countries and has gained a number of successes. Greenpeace entered Indonesia in 2001. During Greenpeace's time in Indonesia, Greenpeace has conducted various campaigns and advocacy to preserve the ecosystem in Indonesia. One of them is Greenpeace's campaign against the development of food estate in Indonesia.

The development of this project has a negative impact on the ecosystem environment. According to Greenpeace, the development of this food estate will have a negative impact in the future⁶. This is because forests are being converted into agricultural fields. The reduction of forestry areas in Indonesia has led to climate crisis and lack of clean oxygen production. In responding to this, Greenpeace criticized that the development of this food estate. This issue is very important to discuss in the realm of international relations because this issue discusses how transnational actors respond to environmental problems. Ecologists view environmental degradation as the clearest reflection and most important cause of social chaos⁷. Food estate development certainly provides benefits for increasing food production and can help economic recovery. However, there are negative impacts that can be caused in the development of food estates such as land clearing for food estates can result in deforestation or logging which

⁵ Mutia, A. N. A., Nurlinda, I., & Astriani, N. (2022). Pengaturan Pembangunan Food estate Pada Kawasan Hutan Untuk Mewujudkan Ketahanan Pangan Di Indonesia. *Bina Hukum Lingkungan*, 6(2), 224-240.

⁶ Arsi Agnitasari, "Pemerintah Indonesia Hanya Memberi Makan Krisis Iklim Lewat Food estate," *Greenpeace Indonesia*, November 10, 2022, <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers/55727/pemerintah-indonesia-hanya-memberi-makan-krisis-iklim-lewat-food-estate/>.

⁷ Laferrière, Eric, and Peter J. Stoett. *International relations theory and ecological thought: towards a synthesis*. Routledge, 2003.



results in the loss of diversity of flora and fauna⁸. Deforestation can also increase greenhouse gas emissions and reduce water catchment areas due to the loss of trees that previously absorbed carbon dioxide and water catchment areas⁹.

1.1. Formulation of The Problem

Referring to the background that has been described above, the following problem formulation can be determined: How are Greenpeace's efforts as an environmental non-governmental organization in opposing the development of food estates in Indonesia?

1.2. Objective Research

This research aims to analyze Greenpeace efforts to oppose the development of food estates in Indonesia

II. METHODOLOGY

The method that researchers will use in research related to Greenpeace's efforts in opposing food estate development is a qualitative research method using a case study approach. Qualitative research method is a research method used to describe social phenomena that occur by collaborating various research stages. According to Maxwell, there are five stages in qualitative research, namely formulating research objectives, building a conceptual context, developing research questions, choosing research methods and ensuring data validity¹⁰. The case study approach is one of eight approaches that can be used in qualitative research. The case study approach is an approach used to examine the phenomenon of a particular agency, institution or organization within a certain period. The purpose of the case study approach is to obtain an in-depth description of a particular phenomenon¹¹

The object of this research will concentrate on the efforts made by Greenpeace in opposing the development of food estates in Indonesia. By using the concept of environmental NGO and the Concept of Nonviolence. This research is qualitative, with a method using literature review. Literature review is a form of research conducted by collecting and analyzing library materials that are relevant to the topic under study.

⁸ "Ancaman Lingkungan Akibat Pembukaan Food estate - Info Tempo - Koran.Tempo.Co," accessed February 14, 2024, <https://koran.tempo.co/read/info-tempo/469748/ancaman-lingkungan-akibat-pembukaan-food-estate>.

⁹ Jainuddin, Nanang. "DAMPAK DEFORESTASI TERHADAP KEANEKARAGAMAN HAYATI DAN

EKOSISTEM." *HUMANITIS: Jurnal Homaniora, Sosial dan Bisnis* 1, no. 2 (2023) p. 131-140.

¹⁰ J. A. Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design: An Introduction* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996).

¹¹ "Jenis Dan Metode Penelitian Kualitatif," uin-malang.ac.id, accessed June 2, 2024, <https://uin-malang.ac.id/blog/post/read/100601/jenis-dan-metode-penelitian-kualitatif.html>.



Literature materials used in the literature review can be in the form of books, journals, articles, research reports, official documents, video documentation and other sources relevant to the research topic, namely the role of Greenpeace in opposing food estate development in Indonesia. The steps in conducting a literature review include identifying the topic to be researched, searching for library materials relevant to the topic, selecting library materials according to certain criteria, reading and analyzing the selected library materials, and preparing a literature review report.

In analyzing the data, the author uses the Miles and Huberman Analysis Technique. According to Miles and Huberman, there are three stages in data analysis, namely data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Data reduction is the process of sorting data with variables that are relevant to the research topic. After the data is reduced, the data is presented in narrative form. Furthermore, conclusions will be drawn from the data that has been analyzed¹².

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Environmental issues are important to discuss because the existence of a good environment greatly affects the sustainability of human life. The life of living things in this world requires air, water and natural resources that support the life of living things¹³. However, humans are often unfair to the environment. Humans tend to be greedy in exploiting natural resources without considering the damage to the relationship between humans and the environment. This damage will result in negative impacts that can be felt by the global community. The impact of this damage includes increased greenhouse gas emissions, climate crisis, and can bring natural disasters. The effects of environmental degradation are not only felt by one country but can be felt by various countries. This is because humans live in the same environment.

In an effort to combat the environmental degradation that continues to occur, various organizations that care about environmental issues have emerged, commonly known as Environmental NGOs. The purpose of the establishment of this environmental organization is to fight for environmental rights and sustainability. This organization also opposes any activities or actions that are considered to be able to disrupt the stability of the environment. One of the Environmental NGOs that aggressively voices the negative impact of environmental degradation is Greenpeace.

¹² Sugiono. (2011). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif, Kuantitatif dan R&D*. Bandung. Alfabeta. 245-246

¹³ Vania Zulfa et al., "ISU-ISU KRITIS LINGKUNGAN DAN PERSPEKTIF GLOBAL," *JURNAL GREEN GROWTH DAN MANAJEMEN LINGKUNGAN* 5, no. 1 (June 20, 2015): 31.



Greenpeace is an environmental NGO founded in 1971 by a group of environmental activists who sailed from Vancouver, British Columbia Canada to the Amchitka district, Alaska. The initial name of the organization was Don't Make a Wave Committee which later changed its name on July 4, 1972¹⁴. The original purpose of Greenpeace was to oppose nuclear experiments by the US government. According to Greenpeace, the island of Amchitka is home to a variety of wildlife such as otters and bald-headed eagles. In an effort to oppose nuclear experiments on Amchitka island Greenpeace sailed the old ship Phyllis Cormack to Alaska. On the way to Alaska Greenpeace experienced various challenges and obstacles. However, Greenpeace still managed to arrive in Alaska. This action succeeded in gaining sympathy and support from the global community. Greenpeace action the same year the United States stopped nuclear tests in Alaska and made Greenpeace is known for using non-violent direct action, peaceful confrontation in campaigning to stop various acts of environmental destruction such as nuclear testing, massive whaling, deforestation, and so on. The global organization receives funding through direct contributions from individuals estimated at 2.8 million financial supporters, as well as from charitable foundations, but does not receive funding from governments or corporations. With its headquarters located in Amsterdam, Netherlands, Greenpeace is an international organization that advocates for environmental conservation on a global scale. Greenpeace has regional offices in 41 countries and 2.8 million supporters worldwide¹⁵.

Greenpeace is a neutral and independent NGO. Greenpeace is not affiliated with any agency or country. All activities and campaigns carried out by Greenpeace in defense of the environment are purely based on the interest to defend environmental sustainability and oppose environmental damage. In order to maintain neutrality, Greenpeace does not receive funding from agencies or from the state, or certain political parties¹⁶. The funds used in the Greenpeace campaign come from donations from the global community who care about the sustainability of the environment. The funds are obtained in several ways, among others. Direct Dialogue Campaign (Street Fundraiser) the process of collecting funds directly this process is usually carried out in strategic places such as bus stops, station terminals, and shopping centers. This is an effective

¹⁴ "Sejarah Greenpeace - Greenpeace Indonesia - Greenpeace Indonesia," accessed February 14, 2024, <https://www.Greenpeace.org/indonesia/sejarah-Greenpeace/>.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ "Pendanaan," Greenpeace Indonesia, accessed February 15, 2024, <https://www.Greenpeace.org/indonesia/pendanaan/>.



way to raise funds and promote the urgency to protect the environment¹⁷. The second method is telefundraising. Greenpeace raises funds through phone calls. Greenpeace makes phone calls to donors who have been recorded by Greenpeace¹⁸. The third way is by opening an online donation. Greenpeace opens online donations available on the official Greenpeace website¹⁹.

In carrying out its various missions Greenpeace promotes the following values:

1. Non-violent action and personal responsibility. Every time Greenpeace carries out its mission, it always uses a non-violent approach in defending environmental sustainability. All Greenpeace activists have been equipped with knowledge on the principles of peace. Greenpeace is always responsible for its actions.
2. Independence. All campaign activities carried out by Greenpeace are carried out on the basis of awareness about environmental protection not on orders from a particular group or country. In maintaining its independence, Greenpeace obtains funds from donations that are not affiliated with a particular group.
3. Greenpeace has no permanent opponents or friends. If an agency or institution has the desire to stop doing damage to the environment and wants to make good changes, Greenpeace will collaborate with the agency. If it refuses to change, Greenpeace will continue to voice the environmental crimes committed by Greenpeace.
4. Greenpeace not only criticizes environmental degradation, but also conducts research to find solutions that can overcome environmental problems²⁰.

One of the regions targeted by Greenpeace's actions and campaigns is Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia is a region that has a tropical climate. This makes Southeast Asia known as a region rich in diversity of flora and fauna. Southeast Asia also has various protected forests and tropical forests. The island of Borneo itself has the nickname as the lungs of the world. In recent years, Southeast Asia has experienced changes due to the Industrial Revolution. This has led to negative impacts such as the clearing of forest areas for the development of factories and agricultural land which causes deforestation,

¹⁷ "Direct Dialogue Campaigner (Street Fundraiser) - Greenpeace Indonesia - Greenpeace Indonesia," accessed February 15, 2024, <https://www.Greenpeace.org/indonesia/aksi/berdonasi/ddc/>.

¹⁸ "Telefundraising - Greenpeace Indonesia - Greenpeace Indonesia," accessed February 15, 2024, <https://www.Greenpeace.org/indonesia/aksi/berdonasi/tft/>.

¹⁹ "Donasi Online," Greenpeace Indonesia, accessed February 15, 2024, <https://www.Greenpeace.org/indonesia/aksi/berdonasi/online/>.

²⁰ "Tentang Kami," Greenpeace Indonesia, accessed February 15, 2024, <https://www.Greenpeace.org/indonesia/tentang-kami/>.



water and air pollution, climate crisis, reduced water catchment areas and increased carbon gas emissions. The negative effects of this environmental degradation are not only felt by the entire Southeast Asian region, but even the negative effects are felt by regions outside Southeast Asia. In overcoming this, Greenpeace conducts actions and campaigns to defend the environment in the Southeast Asia region.

One of Greenpeace's campaign actions in Southeast Asia is the Rainbow Warrior Ship Tour program. In carrying out this action, Greenpeace uses ships as a medium to promote environmental sustainability²¹. The ship is sailing for 5 months and will visit countries in the southeast Asia region. While docked in Thailand the ship promoted the importance of renewable energy in Phuket and Kharbi. While docked in Indonesia it visited Jakarta, Bali and Papua. Greenpeace promoted the importance of energy transition, clean air and water, the negative impacts of deforestation. Calls for a reduction in the use of plastic waste. Greenpeace also advocates for a good waste management system in Indonesia. While campaigning in Singapore, Greenpeace organized a dinner and piano recital on board the Rainbow Warrior. The event was organized to promote the urgency of environmental sustainability. Upon arrival in Portklang, Selangor, Greenpeace collaborated with supporters and the local community in taking concrete action to reduce plastic pollution. This action is a follow-up to the opening of the Greenpeace office in Malaysia in 2017.

3.1. Greenpeace Effort in Opposing Food Estate Development in Indonesia

In the process of implementation, food estate development experienced several controversies, including the permitting of the conversion of protected forests to protected areas for the provision of food estate projects. This caused the orangutan species to lose its habitat. Ecological impacts were also felt by the surrounding population such as deforestation which led to increased carbon gas emissions, flooding caused by reduced water catchment areas. As an environmental NGO, Greenpeace opposes the development of this project. In an effort to oppose the development of the food estate, Greenpeace used a peaceful and non-violent approach in conducting the campaign. In this chapter the author will discuss Greenpeace's efforts to oppose the construction of the food estate using the concept of environmental NGO and the concept of non-violence.

²¹ Greenpeace, "2018 ANNUAL REPORT YOU CANT SINK A RAINBOW" (Greenpeace, 2018).



3.1.1. Lobbying with Regional Officials of Boven Digoel Regency and Merauke Regency

Environmental NGOs have the ability to lobby with certain agencies and organizations. Lobbying by environmental NGOs aims to convey their interests²². In an effort to oppose the development of the food estate, Greenpeace lobbied the local government of Boven Digoel district and the Merauke district government to reveal the facts that occurred in the development of the food estate project. Greenpeace used the interview method to reveal the facts that occurred.

In an interview with the Boven Digoel district government, an official working at the Boven Digoel planning agency stated that approving the development of a food estate is tantamount to approving the genocide of the Papuan people. Genocide here does not mean mass murder but ecological genocide by taking over forests that have long been the basis of life for indigenous Papuans. This has led to a lack of local community involvement in maintaining the sustainability of traditional food gardens. Although the presence of this food estate program provides access to subsidized rice, if examined further this actually causes dependence on food supplies. If the food supply is disrupted, the food security of the community will also be disrupted²³.

The results of interviews with the Merauke district government found that the food estate development scheme is not the main solution to improve food security for the people of Merauke. For the people of Merauke, food security can be achieved through legal legitimacy over legal legitimacy over community land management rights with protection of these lands from the impact of the first industry, consumed by the people of Merauke. According to Merauke regional government staff, food insecurity that occurs in Merauke district is not the result of a decrease in local or national food production, but rather food insecurity in Mrauke occurs when people lose their rights to manage forests to hunt and search for food, lack of transportation which has an impact on food distribution which is hampered and poverty which causes unaffordable food prices²⁴.

3.1.2. Campaigning and Organizing Public Protest

Campaigns are the main instrument of an environmental NGO in raising environmental issues that are happening. The urgency of environmental NGOs in

²² Rietig, Katharina. "The power of strategy: environmental NGO influence in international climate negotiations." *Global Governance* 22, no. 2 (2016): 269.

²³ Greenpeace, "Food estate: MENANAM KEHANCURAN MENUAI KRISIS IKLIM" (Jakarta: Greenpeace, 2022).

²⁴ *Ibid.*



conducting campaigns related to environmental issues is to increase public understanding and awareness regarding environmental conservation. Awareness that is built will increase people's understanding of the environmental issues that are happening. In opposing food estate development, Greenpeace uses several campaign models, including direct campaigns in the food estate development area, social media campaigns, and campaigns to elect leaders who are not oriented towards oligarchs.

On November 22, 2021, Greenpeace held a collaborative social media campaign with Pantau Gambut Indonesia and Tempo media, releasing a video entitled "Mengulik Logika Food estate". In the campaign, Greenpeace highlighted and questioned the rationality behind the development of food estate projects in Indonesia. In a presentation, they expressed concerns about the environmental and social impacts of the project.

Greenpeace highlighted the fact that the development of food estate projects in the past often led to the uncontrolled clear-cutting of millions of hectares of forest, without delivering satisfactory results. They pointed out that such projects often fail to provide long-term benefits to local communities or the environment, while the ecological costs are enormous. In their presentation, Greenpeace also highlighted the areas-of-interest (AOI) of planned or ongoing food estate projects, emphasizing that the natural forest areas included in the AOI must be taken seriously. They underlined the importance of safeguarding biodiversity and natural forest ecosystems that are vulnerable to degradation due to human activities.

The campaign aims to sensitize the public to the possible impacts of food estate development, and to encourage the government and other stakeholders to reconsider the development policy. Greenpeace hopes that the development of such projects can be carried out with attention to environmental sustainability and community welfare, while prioritizing nature conservation and social justice. The list of natural forest areas affected by food estate development is as follows :

Table 3.1 Number of natural forests included in the Area of Interest food estate

No.	Food estate region	<i>Area Of Interest</i>	Threatened Natural Forests
1.	Sumatera Utara	63.000 ha	42.000 ha
2.	Jambi	64.000 ha	32.500 ha
3.	Kalimantan Tengah	815.000 ha	156.000 ha



4.	Papua	1.940.000 ha	817.000 ha
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Based on the data above, it can be seen that food estate development can have a negative impact on increasing the potential for deforestation in Indonesia. According to Greenpeace, the Indonesian government is considered not serious in overcoming deforestation. This is in line with the words of the Minister of Forestry and Environment who stated that "Even in that year onwards, it can be negative or there is carbon sequestration/storage in the forestry sector. Therefore, the massive ongoing development in the era of President Jokowi must not stop in the name of carbon emissions or deforestation."²⁵. From this statement, it can be concluded that the Indonesian government is not serious about tackling deforestation. The Indonesian government only underestimates deforestation and pays little attention to the negative impacts caused by deforestation.

On November 10, 2022, a combination of Greenpeace activists, Walhi Kalteng, Save our Borneo, and LBH Kaltim conducted a demonstration in the food estate area using a banner with the slogan "Food estate development will only exacerbate the climate crisis"²⁶. This action is aimed at sending a message to the world that food estate projects have the potential to exacerbate the climate crisis rather than being a solution to sustainable food security.

On December 2, 2023, Greenpeace together with Walhi Kalteng, and Safe Our Borneo conducted a parody lunch in the Gunung Mas district food estate project area. In the parody, activists wore masks representing presidential candidates Anis Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, and Ganjar Pranowo having lunch with Joko Widodo in the middle of a barren food estate. This action was a response to President Jokowi's speech at the COP 28 Dubai forum. In his speech, President Joko Widodo seemed to overlook the failure of the food estate and its impact on environmental sustainability, instead promoting funding for food estate projects. The meaning of the parody lunch attended by presidential candidates and the president is a message that whoever becomes the next leader of Indonesia must make environmental issues a major consideration in policy

²⁵ "Hujan Kritik Untuk Siti Nurbaya Yang Dianggap Tak Peduli Deforestasi - Nasional Tempo.Co," accessed June 15, 2024, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1524970/hujan-kritik-untuk-siti-nurbaya-yang-dianggap-tak-peduli-deforestasi>.

²⁶ Arsi Agnitasari, "Pemerintah Indonesia Hanya Memberi Makan Krisis Iklim Lewat Food estate," Greenpeace Indonesia, November 10, 2022, <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers/55727/pemerintah-indonesia-hanya-memberi-makan-krisis-iklim-lewat-food-estate/>.



making²⁷. Greenpeace's symbolic action against food estate development is intended to put direct pressure on decision makers, including governments and companies, to stop or limit projects that are considered harmful to the environment and society.

During the campaign, Greenpeace also released a sarcastic video on Greenpeace's official YouTube channel related to the lunch of four Greenpeace volunteers in the food estate area in Central Kalimantan. This video was aired by Greenpeace as an effort by Greenpeace to build public awareness of the climate crisis that greatly affects the daily food commodities that we consume. The video shows a special menu by the waiter called the climate crisis special menu. The special menu features a plate of vegetables with a small portion and without using rice. This is a sarcastic response to the climate crisis that has caused 80% of the world's crop failures. This has led to a reduction in the world's food stocks. The waiter then brought out a plate filled with small, tainted fish. This is a form of sarcasm from marine pollution caused by mining waste such as nickel and coal. In addition, the small portion of fish is also a form of sarcasm from the practice of overfishing that is rampant by mankind.

During the campaign period of the presidential and presidential candidates, Greenpeace also conducted the "wrong choice is difficult to recover" campaign. This campaign was carried out by Greenpeace in an effort to sensitize the public to be wiser in choosing presidential candidates who care about environmental sustainability. In the campaign, Greenpeace revealed the track records and facts of the presidential and vice presidential candidates on environmental and climate issues. According to Greenpeace, this campaign is very important to do so that people are aware of the commitment of the presidential candidates regarding environmental issues. Because the government's lack of alignment on environmental issues can lead to a sustainable environmental crisis²⁸.

3.1.3. Use of Media to Promote Environmental Issues

The use of media has significant urgency in Greenpeace's efforts to oppose food estate development. The media acts as a key tool to disseminate information and build public awareness about the negative impacts of the development on the environment and sustainability. Through the use of various media platforms, such as articles, videos, and online campaigns, Greenpeace is able to mobilize support from the wider community both locally and globally. In disseminating the campaign, Greenpeace cooperates with

²⁷ Budiarti Putri, "Presiden Jokowi Menutup Mata atas Kegagalan Food estate di COP28 Dubai," Greenpeace Indonesia, December 2, 2023, <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers/57709/presiden-jokowi-menutup-mata-atas-kegagalan-food-estate-di-cop28-dubai/>.

²⁸ "Salah Pilih Susah Pulih," Greenpeace Indonesia, accessed May 8, 2024, <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/salah-pilih-susah-pulih/>.



well-known commercial media such as Tempo and Kompas TV. In addition, Greenpeace also utilizes social media such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter.

Greenpeace uses the media as a tactic to influence public opinion. They use editorial angles, interviews and special coverage to provide arguments in favor of opposing the Food estate project. Greenpeace aims to influence public opinion by offering multiple perspectives and compelling narratives to raise awareness and foster a more critical and caring attitude towards environmental challenges. In addition to conducting research, Greenpeace also utilizes mass media to disseminate campaigns and research conducted by Greenpeace.

Greenpeace collaborated with Tempo media to create a forum "scrutinizing the logic of food estate". The results of the forum can be accessed on Greenpeace Indonesia's official YouTube channel. In the forum, Greenpeace stated that the food estate development project could damage the integrity of Indonesia's natural forests, which are increasingly depleting due to continuous deforestation. Greenpeace also assesses that the food estate development project is not oriented towards food security but an effort to acquire protected forest land. This is marked by the Minister of Environment's regulation that allows the use of protected forest areas to be used as land for food estate development.

From the explanation above, the author can analyze that in disseminating the campaign and research conducted, Greenpeace uses mass media as an effort to expand the advocacy network. sees the need to utilize mass media as an important component in their campaign to oppose the development of food estates. Greenpeace utilized the mainstream media to draw the attention of the wider public to the risks and negative impacts associated with the expansion of the food estate. Through news coverage, articles and investigative studies, they reveal the potential environmental damage, soil erosion, loss of wildlife habitat and land conflicts that could be caused by the project. These problems could be caused by the project. Through the dissemination of hard facts and scientific data, Greenpeace intends to educate the general public on the complexity of the issue and bring attention to the fact that the expansion of the Food estate is something that cannot be made sustainable.

Greenpeace used mass media to mobilize broad support. They coordinate online petitions, social media campaigns, and demonstrations in various locations to garner the support and involvement of individuals, groups, and organizations interested in the environment. Greenpeace has expanded the reach and effectiveness of their campaigns by utilizing social media and extensive communication networks.

3.1.4. Conduct Litigation and Supervision on the Implementation of Environmental Law



Litigation and monitoring of environmental laws are powerful weapons for environmental NGOs (Non-Governmental Organization) in protecting the environment. This method allows NGOs to enforce regulations, encourage accountability, raise awareness, support policy change.

In an effort to oppose food estate development, greenpeace held a focus group discussion (FGD) aimed at monitoring the application of environmental laws. In 2021, greenpeace together with pantau gambut indonesia and tempo media conducted an FGD with the theme of examining the logic of food estate. In the FGD, greenpeace and Pantau Gambut Indonesia examined the rationality of the implementation of the food estate program in terms of the potential environmental damage caused by the food estate development project and reviewed the application of environmental law in the project.

3.2. Greenpeace's Efforts to Oppose Food Estate Development Using the Concept of Nonviolence

3.2.1. Concept of Nonviolence

Social protest is a form of political expression that seeks to bring about social or political change by influencing public knowledge, attitudes, and behavior or the policies of an organization or government²⁹. Social experts categorize social protest into two categories: nonviolent and violent. Nonviolence is a form of social protest against a political or social policy by not using violence³⁰. Violent is the opposite of nonviolent protest, which uses violence in its actions to achieve social, political and economic change. During its campaigns and advocacy, Greenpeace has always used a nonviolent approach in dealing with various environmental issues. This is in line with Greenpeace's values which state that every campaign and action carried out by Greenpeace must use a nonviolent and peaceful approach. In addition, all Greenpeace activists have been provided with training related to peaceful action³¹.

The concept of nonviolence is an umbrella term that encompasses a variety of methods used in responding to a conflict or resisting a policy without the use of violence. Nonviolent action is based on the assumption that political power can be efficiently controlled at its source. Nonviolence can be bold and aggressive, even embodying a type

²⁹ Hanna, Philippe, Frank Vanclay, Esther Jean Langdon, and Jos Arts. "Conceptualizing social protest and the significance of protest actions to large projects." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 3, no. 1 (2016): 217-2

³⁰ Mantena, Karuna. "Showdown for nonviolence: The theory and practice of nonviolent politics." *To shape a new world: Essays on the political philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr* (2018): 78-102.

³¹"Tentang Kami," Greenpeace Indonesia, accessed February 15, 2024, <https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/tentang-kami/>.



of power. In the political realm, power can be obtained through authority, human resources, skills and knowledge, other factors, material resources, and sanctions³².

Table 3.2. Types of Protes, Target, dan Outcome

No.	Type of Protest	Target Audience	Outcome
1.	Normative nonviolent	Sympathetic	Mobilization
2.	Non-normative nonviolent	Resistant	Policy Change
3.	Radical flank	Resistant	Policy Change
4.	Non-normative violent	Resistant	Policy Change

In order to realize campaigns and advocacy based on nonviolence, appropriate methods are needed that can attract community sympathy and build strength to oppose the Indonesian government's policy in developing food estate projects. According to Gene Sharp, there are 3 methods that can be used in conducting campaigns and nonviolent actions, namely, methods of protest and persuasion, social and economic boycotts, and political intervention.

The methods that Greenpeace tends to use in opposing food estate development in Indonesia are protest and persuasion. Protest and persuasion methods are nonviolent methods that consist of a variety of techniques, most of which are symbolic acts of nonviolent opposition or persuasion that go beyond words but do not go as far as social boycotts or nonviolent interventions³³. Methods of persuasion and protest can also be used to convey strong moral convictions or intensely felt emotions about social or political issues. Protest is a way to vote in and by the streets, asserting the feelings of people who are radically unrepresented by the existing "representative" government³⁴. The methods used in this protest use several creative actions such as In conducting its campaigns, Greenpeace always fights for the rights of indigenous peoples who have long occupied forest areas. Greenpeace supports the ratification of the Indigenous Peoples Bill in an effort to guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples in managing forests. Greenpeace's campaign against the development of food estates is Greenpeace's step in representing the rights of the environment and indigenous peoples who are not represented by the government.

IV. CONCLUSION

³² Gene Sharp, *The Politics Of Nonviolent Action* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Albert Einstein Institution Ninth Printing, 1972).

³³ *Ibid*

³⁴ Butler, Judith. "Protest, violent and nonviolent." In *Antidemocracy in America: Truth, Power, and the Republic at Risk*, pp. 233-240. Columbia University Press, 2019



Based on the results of the research described above, the researcher concludes that, as an environmental NGO, Greenpeace is strongly opposed to the development of food estate projects. This is because food estate development can cause deforestation which can destabilize the environment. For Greenpeace, food estate development is not the right solution to overcome the problem of food crisis in Indonesia but will worsen the climate crisis. The methods used by Greenpeace in opposing food estate development are working with local officials related to Boven Digoel regional officials in revealing field facts related to food estate development, conducting campaigns and organizing public protests, utilizing commercial mass media such as tempo and kompas tv as well as social media such as X, Facebook and Youtube. in disseminating facts related to food estate development projects, conducting focus group discussions in order to supervise the application of environmental law, and also working with local environmental organizations in raising local people's awareness of the importance of protecting the environment.

Greenpeace also uses a Nonviolent approach in conducting its campaigns. Greenpeace used protest and persuasion methods in opposing the food estate development. The protest method was carried out by Greenpeace through direct campaign actions in the food estate development area and demonstrations in the Indonesian hotel roundabout area. Meanwhile, the persuasion method is carried out by Greenpeace through creative mass media that can provide messages directly to the public regarding the negative impacts that will be caused by the food estate project.

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