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GREENPEACE'S TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY STRATEGIES AGAINST NICKEL MINING IN RAJA AMPAT

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis strategi advokasi transnasional yang dilakukan oleh Greenpeace dalam menolak proyek pertambangan di Raja Ampat, Papua Barat Daya. Wilayah ini merupakan salah satu konservasi laut global yang terancam oleh eksploitasi sumber daya alam yang dilakukan oleh perusahaan-perusahaan tambang. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif dengan metode studi kasus yang sumbernya melalui dokumen resmi Greenpeace, seperti laporan, siaran pers, dan publikasi kampanye, artikel jurnal maupun berita nasional dan internasional yang relevan dengan tulisan ini, serta wawancara dengan Forest Campaigner Greenpeace Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Greenpeace menggunakan empat strategi utama dalam melakukan advokasi transnasional, seperti (a) kampanye media dan advokasi global, (b) aliansi dengan masyarakat adat dan NGO lokal, (c) tekanan melalui jalur internasional, dan (d) mobilisasi opini publik berbasis simbol dan narasi ekologis. Strategi ini berhasil membangun tekanan publik terhadap Pemerintah Indonesia dan menghasilkan respons berupa evaluasi ulang izin tambang dan, pada akhirnya, penghentian sementara seluruh kegiatan produksi tambang di Raja Ampat.

Kata Kunci: Greenpeace, Advokasi Transnasional, Raja Ampat, Tambang Nikel, Masyarakat Adat

ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze the environmental diplomacy strategies employed by Greenpeace in opposing the mining project in Raja Ampat, Southwest Papua. This area is one of the global marine conservation sites threatened by the exploitation of natural resources carried out by mining companies. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study method, sourcing data from official Greenpeace documents, such as reports, press releases, and campaign publications, relevant national and international journal articles and news, as well as interviews with Greenpeace Indonesia's Forest Campaigner. The results show that Greenpeace employs four main strategies to maintain environmental diplomacy, such as: (a) media campaigns and global advocacy, (b) alliances with indigenous communities and local NGOs, (c) pressure through international channels, and (d) mobilization of public opinion based on ecological symbols and narratives. These strategies successfully built public pressure on the Indonesian government, resulting in a reevaluation of mining permits and, eventually, the temporary halting of all mining production activities in Raja Ampat.

Keywords: Greenpeace, Transnational Advocacy, Raja Ampat, Nickel Mining, Indigenous People

BACKGROUND

The global ecological crisis is evident in the decline of biodiversity in both marine and terrestrial ecosystems. In marine environments, this crisis is reflected in the decline of coral reefs and marine mammal species such as green turtles and whales. On land, the global ecological crisis is manifested in deforestation, which has led to the extinction of various species of flora and fauna. Indonesia is recognized as one of the world's megabiodiverse countries, characterized by exceptionally high levels of endemism and species richness, ranking second after Brazil. This status is largely attributed to Indonesia's location in the tropics, which supports highly diverse marine and terrestrial ecosystems. One of Indonesia's regions renowned for its megabiodiversity is Raja Ampat, located in the Southwest Papua Province, within the Coral Triangle. Raja Ampat harbors approximately 75 percent of the world's coral species, encompassing more than 550 species of hard corals and over 1,500 species of reef fish. Due to its natural beauty and extraordinary biodiversity, Raja Ampat is often referred to as "The Last Paradise on Earth." (PPID Balai Kawasan Konservasi Perairan Nasional Kupang, 2025).

However, behind the image of Raja Ampat's natural beauty lies evidence of environmental degradation or ecological crisis, which has recently become a subject of public debate in relation to nickel mining. This issue has emerged as a critical concern and has drawn the attention of the central government since 2022 (JDIH Kemenko Bidang Kemaritiman dan Investasi, 2022). It has also attracted the attention of Greenpeace, one of the influential transnational non-state actors recognized for its expertise in exerting pressure on governments, as well as its capacity, resources, and networks to amplify the issue of nickel mining in Raja Ampat from a local concern into a global one.

The exploitation of nickel mining in Raja Ampat is confronted with a policy dilemma between environmental interests and national energy priorities, as the push

for national energy transition is strongly supported by regulatory frameworks. This is reinforced by data from Setyono and Kiono (2021), which indicate that the Government of Indonesia has set targets for New and Renewable Energy (NRE) at 23 percent by 2025 and 31 percent by 2050, as stipulated in Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 79 of 2014 on National Energy Policy (*Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 79 Tahun 2014 tentang Kebijakan Energi Nasional*) and the Presidential Regulation Number 22 of 2017 on the National Energy General Plan (*Peraturan Presiden Nomor 22 Tahun 2017 tentang Rencana Umum Energi Nasional*). These policies were formulated by positioning nickel as a primary raw material for electric vehicle batteries. However, the implementation of such policies has, in practice, generated both legal and ecological challenges.

Legally, mining activities in Raja Ampat violate Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 2014 on the Management of Coastal Areas and Small Islands (*Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2014 tentang Pengelolaan Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil*), which prohibits mining operations on islands with an area of less than 2,000 km². In this context, Gag Island, which serves as the mining site, covers only 60 km² (Saputra, 2025). The presence of five nickel mining companies constitutes the core of this issue (Kumparan, 2025). Although the licenses of four companies—PT Anugerah Surya Pratama, PT Mulia Raymond Perkasa, PT Kawei Sejahtera Mining, and PT Nurham—were revoked by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources due to environmental violations and the geopark status of the area (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2025a), the license of PT Gag Nikel was not revoked but instead retained, allowing the company to continue its operations. At present, PT Gag Nikel operates under the state-owned enterprise PT Aneka Tambang Tbk (Antam). Initially, the majority of Antam's shares were owned by a foreign company, Asia Pacific Nickel Pty. Ltd., which held 75 percent of the shares, before they were eventually taken over entirely by Indonesia.

This development has undoubtedly added to the complexity of the issue (A. Rompas, personal communication, 2025).

The mining activities have triggered strong reactions from indigenous communities, activists, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Among them is Greenpeace, a transnational actor that has played a crucial role in opposing mining operations in Raja Ampat through transnational advocacy. Although Greenpeace is one of the major international NGOs, it does not possess sufficient power; nevertheless, its presence through transnational advocacy is essential to exert pressure on the government, shape public opinion, and defend the rights of indigenous peoples. This context has prompted the authors' interest in examining the extent to which Greenpeace employs transnational advocacy strategies to oppose nickel mining operations in Raja Ampat. Based on the issues outlined above, the research question posed is: "What are Greenpeace's transnational advocacy strategies in opposing nickel mining in Raja Ampat?" Accordingly, this study aims to analyze the transnational advocacy strategies undertaken by Greenpeace in resisting mining projects in Raja Ampat.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Studies

Studies on the role of NGOs, such as Greenpeace, in influencing state policies have been widely conducted by previous researchers, Virgy et al. (2020), for instance, examining Greenpeace's role in advocating against deforestation through transnational advocacy networks. In the case of Wilmar International, one of the world's leading palm oil producers, Greenpeace produced a report based on in-depth research conducted by a specialized team to pressure Wilmar regarding its deforestation practices. These findings underscore that Greenpeace's strategies rely heavily on credible investigative data as a tool to mobilize public pressure.

In line with this, a study on Greenpeace's role in the Grime Nawa Valley, Papua, conducted by Rahman et al. (2023), demonstrated that Greenpeace played an active role in advocating for local communities and the government regarding land expansion by PT PNM. The strategies employed by Greenpeace emphasized public campaigns to raise awareness of the negative impacts of deforestation through: (a) ecological monitoring, (b) compliance monitoring, and (c) policy monitoring. In this context, Greenpeace utilized advocacy as a substitute for classical diplomacy, illustrating that it can take action to protect the environment, even by pursuing legal measures and public campaigns as manifestations of non-governmental channels within multi-track diplomacy. Greenpeace also grounded its actions in research. This is particularly relevant to the case of Raja Ampat, as Greenpeace has employed a similar approach by combining field research, public mobilization, and emphasis on legal compliance to advocate against nickel mining.

In another study on Greenpeace's role, Trianda et al. (2018) described Greenpeace's strategy in implementing the Detox Campaign in the People's Republic of China. The program aimed to reduce water pollution caused by chemicals and hazardous waste in China. Its targets were expected to directly address the government, corporations, and the international community. In this program, Greenpeace also employed an independent advocacy strategy.

From these three studies, a clear interrelation can be observed, namely the presence of Greenpeace as a non-state actor. In addressing various environmental issues, Greenpeace has employed independent advocacy and campaign strategies to ensure that such issues are heard by relevant stakeholders, including governments, corporations, and the public. The issues highlighted in previous studies primarily concerned deforestation and water pollution in China. By contrast, the present study focuses on the issue of nickel mining activities in Raja Ampat. Furthermore, there is a distinction in the strategies employed: in this study, Greenpeace places greater

emphasis on transnational advocacy by shaping public opinion and pursuing legal measures to pressure the government into revoking mining permits in Raja Ampat.

The Concept of Multi-Track Diplomacy

Multi-track diplomacy is a form of diplomacy that involves various state and non-state actors in addressing specific issues. This concept represents an expansion of traditional diplomacy, which has been primarily focused on government actors (the government track) in the international arena. According to Diamond and McDonald (1996), multi-track diplomacy is divided into ten tracks, each with a specific and complementary role: government; non-governmental/professional; business; private citizens; research, training, and education; peace activism; religion; funding; media and communication; and civil society.

In classical international relations, the focus of diplomacy was on inter-state negotiations. Consequently, diplomacy was regarded as the exclusive domain of state actors (Track 1), where the success of negotiations was measured by formal policy changes achieved through official channels, namely the government (Berridge, 2015; Diamond & McDonald, 1996). However, with the passage of time, the role of non-state actors has increasingly emerged in modern international relations.

Studies on environmental diplomacy, for instance, were previously dominated by the role of states in various international forums addressing environmental issues (Shabirah et al., 2025). However, more recent studies have increasingly examined environmental diplomacy carried out by non-state actors. This aligns with the framework of multi-track diplomacy, in which NGOs operate within the non-governmental track (Track 2). The existence of NGOs in diplomacy, although rarely categorized as pure diplomacy, constitutes a form of transnational advocacy operating within the broader framework of multi-track diplomacy. This concept acknowledges that the resolution of global problems must involve a wide range of actors.

Thus, NGOs are no longer viewed merely as complementary actors but can also serve as instruments in diplomatic processes. Greenpeace's actions in Raja Ampat—such as advocacy, public mobilization, and the emphasis on local cultural and spiritual values—represent forms of transnational advocacy. This advocacy transforms the domestic issue of nickel mining into one framed as a violation of global legitimacy regarding environmental conversion and the rights of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Greenpeace generates pressure by shaping public opinion, compelling the government and corporations to take demands for ecological justice into consideration.

Therefore, Greenpeace's transnational advocacy aims to establish norms, rules, and policies to safeguard environmental balance, particularly concerning the issue of nickel mining in Raja Ampat. This effort is necessary to align government policies—perceived as unfavorable to both local communities and the environment—with ecological and social justice in the context of mining activities in Raja Ampat. In this case, such alignment was achieved through Greenpeace's transnational advocacy, which successfully influenced government policy, including the revocation of several mining permits and the temporary suspension of PT Gag Nikel's operations. This demonstrates the effectiveness of multi-track diplomacy in advancing environmental interests and justice.

The Concept of Non-Governmental Organizations

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are private entities established for humanitarian or cooperative objectives and are non-commercial in nature, with activities such as alleviating suffering, promoting the interests of the poor, protecting the environment, providing basic social services, or fostering community development in developing countries (Werker & Ahmed, 2008). In general, NGOs can be defined as groups that operate independently from any government (Devaney, 2022).

At the institutional level, NGOs are considered part of international organizations. These organizations do not act on behalf of, nor directly involved with, states. Warkentin, as cited in Griffiths (2013), defines NGOs as private, voluntary, and non-profit associations. To emphasize their transnational dimension, many scholars in social sciences and international relations also refer to NGOs as international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). Specifically, INGOs denote groups or organizations whose membership and activities extend across national boundaries.

According to Lewis (2014), NGOs possess five characteristics. *First*, they are formal, meaning that the organization is institutionalized through regular meetings, supporting offices, and other organizational structures. *Second*, they are private, which indicates that institutionally they are separate from the government, although they may receive government support in carrying out their activities. *Third*, they are non-profit oriented, meaning that if an NGO generates surplus funds, such funds are not distributed to owners or directors. *Fourth*, they are self-governing, which means they are capable of controlling and managing their own affairs. *Fifth*, they are voluntary, signifying that even if they cannot employ fully voluntary staff, there must be at least some degree of voluntary participation in the management of the organization (Lewis, 2014).

The terminology of NGOs was first introduced in 1945, and their existence has since gained recognition from the international community. NGOs represent a highly diverse group of organizations engaged in various activities with objectives ranging from charity to political, religious, and other purposes. Based on their orientation, NGOs can be classified into four types. *First*, the charitable orientation, which is aimed at meeting the needs of the poor. *Second*, the service orientation, which focuses on areas such as health, environment, family planning, education, and other social services. *Third*, the participatory orientation, characterized by self-help projects in which local communities are involved both in providing contributions and in project

implementation. *Fourth*, the empowerment orientation, which seeks to assist disadvantaged communities in developing a clearer understanding of social, political, and economic factors (Frandsen, 2009).

The advancement of technology has contributed to the growth of NGOs and has brought positive impacts to the lives of the international community. This demonstrates that the power and role of NGOs, along with their transnational movements, significantly influence state policies. Greenpeace, as one such NGO, was first established in 1971 by a group of activists in Vancouver, Canada (Greenpeace Indonesia, n.d.). The organization subsequently expanded worldwide, including to Indonesia. Greenpeace is environmentally oriented, with a focus on nature conservation, as exemplified in Raja Ampat. This is evidenced by its capacity to employ advocacy and public campaigns to pressure governments and corporations regarding mining operations deemed harmful to indigenous communities.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this study is qualitative. According to Patton, as cited in Poerwandari (2007), qualitative methods produce rich and detailed data concerning a relatively small number of cases and human-related issues. The type of research applied is descriptive research, which aims to present social phenomena and related narratives. The qualitative data are then processed and further developed to support the renewal of meanings that are valuable for the study.

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), qualitative research has the strength to explore the meanings of individuals and specific communities, to present narratives, and to provide complex descriptions and interpretations of particular issues. The data collection techniques employed in this study include interviews with Greenpeace Indonesia's Forest Campaigner, Arie Rompas, document and journal analysis, as well as a literature review related to the activities of non-state actors,

namely Greenpeace, in its transnational advocacy against mining activities in Raja Ampat.

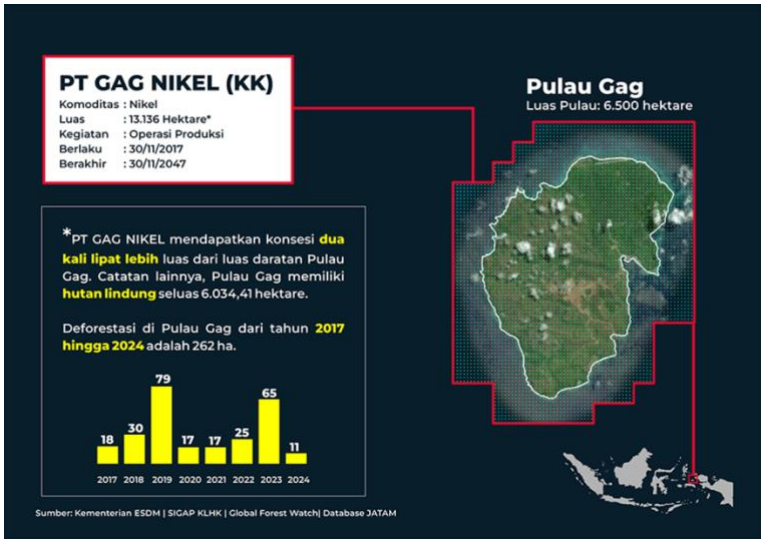
Through this methodological approach, the study seeks to analyze Greenpeace's transnational advocacy strategies in opposing mining projects in Raja Ampat. Nevertheless, this research is not without methodological limitations. The reliance on a single informant in interviews, along with secondary sources, constrains the breadth of data that could be obtained. Therefore, to ensure the validity of the findings, the authors employed data adequacy as the technique for establishing data credibility in this study.

DISCUSSION

Economic Potential and Ecological Threats of Mining in Raja Ampat

Raja Ampat is one of the regions in Eastern Indonesia endowed with significant mineral reserves and mining resources, including gold, copper, and other minerals. In addition, Raja Ampat is internationally recognized as a prominent tourism destination, attracting foreign visitors due to its pristine marine beauty, coral reefs, and diverse marine ecosystems. However, this natural beauty and valuable natural resources have also become a source of threat to the islands of Raja Ampat. Recently, the region—particularly Gag Island—has faced challenges associated with the impacts of nickel mining operations, as illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 1.
Map and Description of Gag Island



Source: JATAM (2025)

The figure above (in Indonesian) illustrates the extent of protected forest on Gag Island, along with graphs and data on deforestation that occurred on the island between 2017 and 2024. The figure highlights that Gag Island is one of the protected forest areas, covering 6,034.41 hectares. Mining activities in this region have become a matter of controversy, given that it is a coastal area and a relatively small island located within the Raja Ampat region.

As noted by Putra (2025), in the rulings of the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court, mining activities on small islands with an area of less than 2,000 km² are prohibited, as they constitute abnormally dangerous activities that pose severe risks and cause irreversible damage. This is stipulated in Supreme Court Decision (*Putusan Mahkamah Agung*) No. 57 P/HUM/2022 and Constitutional Court Decision (*Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi*) No. 35/PUU-XXI/2023. Various findings also indicate that the rate of deforestation on Gag Island reached its highest level in 2019 (Asnawi, 2025). Thus, the issue of nickel mining is not merely about the operations or activities themselves, but also about the resulting deforestation.

In addition to problematic mining activities, various findings indicate that nickel represents one of the most significant potentials in Raja Ampat. The nickel found in Raja Ampat is premium-quality saprolite. Saprolite is a type of nickel ore containing between 1.5 and 3.0 percent nickel (Harita Nickel, 2025). Furthermore, the strategic location of the islands makes Raja Ampat a target for miners seeking to open new sites. Raja Ampat lies approximately 230 kilometers from Halmahera, which also serves as a nickel processing hub. This distance is considerably shorter compared to nickel mines in Sulawesi. According to economist Rossanto Dwi Handoyo (2025), Raja Ampat plays an important role in the global economic chain, particularly as the world is currently experiencing rapid growth in the electric vehicle battery industry.

Nickel mining in the Raja Ampat region contributes significantly and has the potential to generate regional revenue of up to IDR 2 trillion per year. According to the 2024 Regional Own-Source Revenue data, the economic income in Raja Ampat amounts to approximately IDR 31 billion per year. This figure is relatively small compared to the potential economic benefits that could be achieved without causing environmental degradation (Jasmine, 2025).

However, behind this strategic condition lies the consequence that mining activities, if conducted without proper environmental management, threaten various ecosystems in Raja Ampat. Environmental impacts such as water pollution, deforestation, and the extinction of coral reef species due to marine sedimentation endanger the maritime potential of Raja Ampat. Water pollution affects the quality and color of seawater, which in turn impacts marine life such as tuna, skipjack, and coral reefs (Astuti & Utomo, 2025). Furthermore, environmental impacts are also evident in Greenpeace's findings, including deforestation on Gag Island and indications of mercury contamination resulting from smelter processing, which pose risks to public health (A. Rompas, personal communication, 2025).

Greenpeace's Transnational Advocacy Strategies in Raja Ampat

Greenpeace's transnational advocacy strategies in opposing mining activities in Raja Ampat can be understood within the framework of the role of NGOs in global environmental governance. Greenpeace functions as a transnational actor that not only operates at the local level but also leverages global networks to exert pressure on governments and corporations. This aligns with the perspective of Betsill and Corell (2007), who emphasize that NGOs possess the capacity to influence international negotiation agendas through strategies of diplomacy, advocacy, and the mobilization of public opinion. Greenpeace subsequently employed several key advocacy strategies that represent manifestations of multi-track diplomacy (Track 2).

In implementing its strategies, Greenpeace divides them into several mechanisms. *First*, the construction of legitimacy and the creation of facts through investigation. This strategy focuses on collecting credible data to substantiate the harms occurring in Raja Ampat. Data can be found in Greenpeace's report entitled "*Surga Yang Hilang*" (Lost Paradise). The report provides a detailed account of the threats posed by nickel mining in Raja Ampat, an area recognized by UNESCO as a Global Geopark (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2025b). The existence of this report serves as a form of ammunition aimed at reframing the issue from a mere local conflict into one of global violation.

Second, transnational advocacy, which is supported by a comprehensive investigation. Greenpeace initiated this by collecting factual field data to compile a comprehensive report on the geological and ecological damage caused by mining activities in Raja Ampat. This report subsequently became the primary instrument for building momentum in public campaigns by utilizing digital platforms, including websites, Facebook, Twitter, TikTok, and YouTube. The campaign reached its peak through the hashtag *#SaveRajaAmpat*, which was created to mobilize public opinion

and transnational alliances. In an interview, Rompas (personal communication, 2025) stated that the strategy was carried out through two main techniques, namely:

1. The Train Momentum Technique, which functions to build a consistent movement and sustained pressure in order to focus public and media attention on the mining issue in Raja Ampat.
2. Non-Violent Direct Action (NVDA) Strategy, which focuses on direct objectives aimed at attracting media attention and pressuring policymakers without employing any form of violence.

The combination of these techniques and strategies succeeded in creating an "Impersonal Critical Mineral," through which messages concerning environmental degradation were delivered with precision and elicited responses from key stakeholders, namely corporate owners and the government. The clarity of these messages regarding environmental degradation triggered public reactions that further amplified campaigns addressing ecological destruction in Raja Ampat. Supported by Greenpeace's investigative report grounded in rigorous scientific data, viral social media campaigns, and powerful visual imagery—such as striking underwater photographs juxtaposed with the destructive impacts of mining—Greenpeace effectively shaped public perception and opinion. Meanwhile, the *#SaveRajaAmpat* campaign transformed a complex conflict into a moral narrative that was easily understood: environmental protection versus corporate greed. Consequently, this mobilization of global public opinion generated substantial reputational risk for mining companies, the Indonesian government, and local authorities.

Third, as noted by Yanuar (2025), was the protest action carried out by four Greenpeace activists against nickel mining activities. These Greenpeace activists called for the protection of Raja Ampat during the Critical Minerals Conference and Expo 2025, held at the Pullman Hotel, Jakarta, on June 3, 2025. They delivered speeches and displayed posters. The speeches were voiced with the narrative "*Save Raja Ampat!*

Papua bukan tanah kosong!" (*Papua is not an empty land!*). In addition, posters bearing protest slogans such as *"What's the True Cost of Your Nickel?"*, *"Nickel Mines Destroy Lives"*, and *"Save Raja Ampat from Nickel Mining"* were displayed during the speech of the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Arif Havas Oegroseno, at the conference (Maulana, 2025).

Fourth, a peace-oriented approach through a long march conducted by local communities and environmental activists. This march proceeded toward the Regional House of Representatives building in Raja Ampat. The action was joined by the *Aliansi Jaga Alam Raja Ampat* (Raja Ampat Nature Guard Alliance), tourism communities, indigenous peoples, and international tourists who expressed solidarity with the threats faced by this world-class marine conservation and tourism area (Suripatty, 2025). The utilization of collaboration and networks with indigenous communities and the *Aliansi Jaga Alam Raja Ampat* further strengthened the resistance movement against mining activities in Raja Ampat.

Fifth, according to Rompas (personal communication, 2025), pressure on international media through direct messages to various INGOs, such as the World Resources Institute (WRI), which is concerned with issues of deforestation and the environment, and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). These direct messages to WRI and WWF were carried out to build synergy and collaboration in support of the campaign opposing mining activities in Raja Ampat.

The Impact of Greenpeace's Transnational Advocacy on the Rejection of Mining Activities in Raja Ampat

Greenpeace's transnational advocacy in the context of Raja Ampat serves as a crucial instrument in addressing the threats posed by mining activities that have the potential to damage marine ecosystems. Raja Ampat is recognized as the global center of marine biodiversity. Therefore, the issue of mining in this region is perceived not

merely as a local concern but also as a global issue that implicates shared ecological interests (Travel The World, 2025).

The presence of Greenpeace, through advocacy mechanisms as part of multi-track diplomacy, has had a significant impact on how the Raja Ampat environmental issue is positioned within both domestic and international political arenas. Greenpeace's actions succeeded in drawing the attention of the domestic government, in this case, the Government of Indonesia, which resulted in a shift in the context of negotiations, with the primary outcome being the strengthening of ecological discourse. Greenpeace effectively advanced the narrative that mining in Raja Ampat constitutes a serious threat to the sustainability of global marine ecosystems and UNESCO heritage. Internationally, Greenpeace leveraged Raja Ampat's status as "The Heart of the Coral Triangle" and as a UNESCO Global Geopark to mobilize international legitimacy. The report produced by Greenpeace targeted international organizations such as UNESCO and emphasized the dimension of global legitimacy. This was undertaken due to the linkage between UNESCO and Raja Ampat, as Raja Ampat is recognized as a UNESCO Global Geopark. Greenpeace employed this status as evidence that mining activities violate UNESCO's covenant and undermine a newly recognized world heritage site.

The status granted by UNESCO to Raja Ampat has become a tool of transnational advocacy, whereby Greenpeace's investigative report was directed at demonstrating to the international community that Indonesia has failed to protect a newly designated world heritage. This, in turn, generated political pressure that compelled the Indonesian government to take action in order to avoid criticism and the potential loss of UNESCO recognition. Consequently, the issue in Raja Ampat is not merely a domestic matter but also a diplomatic one that binds Indonesia to global commitments under the auspices of UNESCO. This was evidenced by the government's political decision to revoke four nickel mining permits operating in the

Raja Ampat region on the grounds of environmental violations. The four companies were PT Anugerah Surya Pratama, PT Mulia Raymond Perkasa, PT Kawei Sejahtera Mining, and PT Nurham (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2025a; Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, 2025).

Challenges Faced by Greenpeace

In its efforts to oppose mining activities in Raja Ampat, Greenpeace has encountered a number of complex challenges. These challenges arise not only from domestic factors within Indonesia but also from global dynamics that influence the relationship between economic development and environmental protection. The challenges faced are diverse. *First*, conflicts of interest. As noted by Rompas (personal communication, 2025), "Greenpeace is, of course, not exempt from legal claims." As an organization that operates as a risk-taking entity, Greenpeace's campaigns inevitably generate implications for individuals with vested interests, both economic and political.

Second, the issue of security for Greenpeace activists. As an environmental advocacy organization, Greenpeace's actions—whether in campaigns, advocacy, or the release of research findings—frequently encounter threats or hostile behavior. Such responses generally arise as negative reactions from business actors or other stakeholders. Consequently, Greenpeace is not immune to attacks directed against it. Behind every activity undertaken, there are always parties seeking legal loopholes to undermine Greenpeace. Evidence of this includes the detention of four Greenpeace members, the seizure of its social media accounts by unidentified actors, and the apathetic stance of security authorities (A. Rompas, personal communication, 2025).

Third, the lack of support from the local government in voicing opposition to mining activities in Raja Ampat. Moreover, the central government, through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, appears to downplay the environmental

impacts of mining activities occurring beyond the immediate mining sites. In reality, mining operations generate sedimentation that directly affects upstream areas, resulting in coral reef degradation. Furthermore, the processing of nickel extracted from Raja Ampat is planned to take place at the smelter of PT Indonesia Weda Bay Industrial Park in Halmahera. The presence of this smelter has already produced adverse effects on local communities, as evidenced by the detection of mercury and arsenic in the blood of residents living around Weda Bay village (A. Rompas, personal communication, 2025).

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that Greenpeace, as an NGO, plays a pivotal role in transnational advocacy opposing nickel mining projects in Raja Ampat. The transnational advocacy strategies employed by Greenpeace include media campaigns and global advocacy, alliances with indigenous communities and local NGOs, exerting pressure through international channels, and mobilizing public opinion based on ecological symbols and narratives. This approach successfully generated significant public pressure on the government, resulting in the reassessment of mining permits and the temporary suspension of mining production activities in Raja Ampat. In implementing these transnational advocacy strategies, Greenpeace has faced various challenges, including legal pressures and attacks against its members, as a consequence of its advocacy efforts. Overall, Greenpeace's transnational advocacy has proven effective in advancing environmental protection and the rights of indigenous peoples in Raja Ampat.

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