

defining pesan

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Submission date: 26-Apr-2023 09:03AM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 2075680597

File name: DEFINING_PESANTREN-BASED_ISLAMIC.docx (106.12K)

Word count: 8634

Character count: 51703

DEFINING PESANTREN-BASED ISLAMIC ECO-THEOLOGY IN INDONESIA

; Moderation of Environmentalism among *Tapal Kuda Lora*

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Abstract

Young Islamic kiais or so called lora at Tapal Kuda (horsehoe) area have shown emerging concern on a relatively new targetted aspect of pesantren's engagement, namely environmental issues. However, it happens scarvely and sprodically without any formal coordination and cooperation. This artide portrays the concern in both idea and movement to define the distinctive moderation form of their environmentalism. It seeks to identify triggering factors beyond the concern, categorize the lora in the account, and describe the impacts. Relying mainly on interview and observation, this article argues that lora show moderation in both propagating issues and empowering community to take care of the environment as the manifestation of their Islamic eco-theological ethic. The seven informants's concern come from both internal and external factors which then map them into three typology; participant, proponent, and activator. No matter they vary in specific terms, the concern has resulted impacts in the form of awareness, community establishment, cooperation with relevant institutions and supporting facilities. Nevertheless, there found both potential and challenges to develop the activism and ensure its sustainability.

Keywords: Pesantren-based, Islamic Eco-theology, Moderation of Environmentalism, *Tapal Kuda* area, *Lora*.

A. Introduction

For decades, *pesantren* was only knoww as the central for teaching-learning of Islamic creed and ritual as well as the backbone for Islamic character building. In recent years, however, *pesantren* expands its role to deal with problems outside its traditional roles such as empowering community in economy and environmental problems. The terms and concepts of *Green Pesantren* and *Eco-Pesantren* become familiar and are frequently being used and dicussed. It could be the result of a joint program named *Eco-Pesantren* between Religious Affairs Ministry and Environment Ministry since 2008.¹ Rewards have been received by *pesantren* and its figures in environmental issues. For example, in 2021, Zarkasyi Hasbi got Kalpataru Trophy,² 10 *pesantrens* in East Java have been

¹ Adam Diavano, "Program Eco  Pesantren Berbasis Kemitraan Sebagai Upaya Memasyarakatkan Isu-Isu Lingkungan  Jalui Pendidikan." *Jurnal Litbang Sukowati: Media Penelitian Dan Pengembangan* 5, no. 2 (2022): 122, <https://doi.org/10.32630/sukowati.v5i2.312>.

² Saiful Maarif, "Pesantren Dan Penghargaan Kalpataru," 2021, <https://kemenag.go.id/read/pesantren-dan-penghargaan-kalpataru-a9mnq>.

nominated and got reward as *Eco-Pesantren* by Khafifah Indar Parawansa, The East Java Governor,³ and a reward of *Eco-Pontren* was launched by regent of Bogor.⁴ Gilling is even dare to call Indonesia as the home of Islamic-eco due to so many *pesantrens* which implemented the principles values and concepts of *eco-Islamic*.⁵ This seems to make very much sense considering that among 17.000 *pesantrens* in Indonesia, 900 of them were believed have implemented a kind of friendly environmental management for the usage of water and energy, and waste treatment.⁶ All these endeavours demonstrated the expanding role of *pesantren* for environmental problems which have been appreciated and recognized as a good achievement.

Some *pesantren* figures have a high concern toward environmental issues. To mention some of them, Nurcholis Misbah from Al-Amanah, Krian, and Muhammad Asrofi from Banin-Banat Al-Mubtadi'en, Kediri, are known for their high concern for environmental.⁷ *Tuan Guru* Hasanain Junaini also received several awards due to his contribution and his role in environmental conservation.⁸ *Kiai* Sahal Mahfudh, meanwhile, in his book "Nuances of Social Islamic Jurisprudence" wrote a chapter about eco-religious education in *pesantren*. Environmental issues have become his concern both in discourse and social movement.⁹ The four mentioned *kiais* are classified as senior *kiais*. On the contrary, at several *pesantrens* in *Tapal Kuda* East Java, the environmental conservation movement is mainly initiated and led by young *kiais* or middle-aged *kiais* whom are commonly called *lora*.

East Java, includes *Tapal Kuda*, is not only the region with the third largest number of *pesantren* (after West Java and Banten Province),¹⁰ but also becomes the center of *pesantren* as the result of *Ulama Nusantara* network which, among others, stemmed from *Kiai* Holil Bangkalan as one of archipelago central figures of *kiai*. Other than that, the *Tapal Kuda* area was chosen because it is located in a strategic area and according to Pierre Bourdieu, locus is not only spatial and geographical boundaries, but also as a perspective. The majority of *Tapal Kuda* people are Madurese who have a common culture. This research, in some points, tries to reveal the views and movements of environmental conservation from an ethnical perspective. Migration to Java is a part of the history of the Madurese people until now. Most preferred migration of their destination

³ Nur Muharrom, "Selamat..! Ponpes Attanwir Dapat Penghargaan Eco Pesantren Dari Gubernur Jatim," 2021, <https://blokbojonegoro.com/2021/12/07/selamat-ponpes-attanwir-dapat-penghargaan-eco-pesantren-dari-gubernur-jatim/>.

⁴ Mayolus Fajar Dwiyanto, "Bupati Bogor Memberikan Penghargaan Ecology Pondok Pesantren," 2018, <https://megapolitan.antarane.ws.com/berita/45096/bupati-bogor-memberikan-penghargaan-ecology-pondok-pesantren>.

⁵ Arthur Sanio, "Muslims and Ecology: Fostering Islamic Environmental Ethics," *Contemporary Islam* 6, no. 2 (2012): 163, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-011-0173-8>.

⁶ Adianto P Simamora, "Muslim Countries to Lead on Green Issues," *The Jakarta Post*, 2010, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/04/12/muslim-countries-lead-green-issues.html>.

⁷ Akhmad Baiquni, "Kepemimpinan Kiai Dalam Mewujudkan Eco-Pesantren (Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Modern (PPM) Al-Amanah Krian Dan Pondok Pesantren Salaf Modern (PPSM) Banin Banat Al-Mubtadi-Ien Badal Ngadiluwih)," *Disertasi* (2019).

⁸ Habib Husnial Pardi, "Gerakan *Eco* da'wah Tuan Guru Hasanain Djuaini: Konservasi, Nilai Keagamaan Dan Promosi Kesadaran Lingkungan," *Jurnal Pemberdayaan Masyarakat: Media Pemikiran Dan Dakwah Pembangunan* 4, no. 1 (2020): 161–62, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpm.2020.041-07>.

⁹ Sholahudin Sholahudin, "Menguak Konsep Pendidikan Eko-Religius KH. MA. Sahal Mahfudh," *Satya Widya: Jurnal Studi Agama* 2, no. 1 (2019): 22–47, <https://doi.org/10.33363/swjsa.v2i1.55>.

¹⁰ Pangkalan Data Pondok Pesantren (PDPP), "Statistik Data Pondok Pesantren," 2021, <https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/pdpp/statistik?id=35>.

is *Tapal Kuda* area because there are already family members overthere.¹¹ The term *Tapal Kuda* does not appear from an administrative perspective, but more on the cultural-political side, due to the similarity of the backgrounds of the people living in it. It was identified with the eastern part of the East Java region stretching from the northeast side of Sumenep to the southeastern tip of Banyuwangi. If it drawn the line will form a line similar to *tapal* or *ladam* (horse shoe).¹²

Besides of the *pesantren* traditional heritage, young *kiai* or *lora* also absorbs progressive discourse and thought, including issues of natural sovereignty and environmental conservation. The National Front for Natural Resource Sovereignty (NFNRS-FNKSDA; *Front Nasional untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam*), one of the autonomous organs of Nahdlatul Ulama' (NU),¹³ for instance, consists of young people with *pesantren* backgrounds with a major concern in the field of environmental conservation and natural resource sovereignty.¹⁴ The activist members of NFNRS are *santri*, graduates of *pesantren*, and *lora* who respectively play an important role on this organization. To mention some, Mohammad Al-Fayyadl and Dardiri Zubairi¹⁵ are activist members of NFNRS as well as stakeholders who are responsible for the process of education in their *pesantren*. Eventhough Murtadho was pessimistic about the role of *kiai* in preventing the establishment or operation of the Cement Plant in Rembang, Central Java,¹⁶ in fact, the social capital of a *kiai* in the society is indisputable.

They are expert in religious disciplines and have traditional authority. Surprisingly, they generally do not have any educational background related with natural disciplines such as environmental engineering and its derivatives. However, they have a great opportunity to influence and direct discourse and various environmental movements within the scope of *pesantren* or communities around it. Unfortunately, the numbers of *lora* in *Tapal Kuda* who have involved in environmental issues are still small so that the seven *loras* in this study are not only representations of environmental activists from *pesantren*, but also as the first initiators or pioneers. Their environmental movements are almost carried out by themselves as early indicators of the magnitude of religious motives that are the basis of their ethical-normative actions.

Previous research on this topic from multiple perspectives can be catagorized into three; *First*, the studies of the concept of environmental conservation in Islam such as the thought of

¹¹ Muh Syamsuddin, "Agama, Migrasi Dan Orang Madura," *Aplikasia, Jurnal Aplikasi Ilmu-Ilmu Agama* VIII, no. 2 (2007): 150–82.

¹² Liyana Trisna I Gusti, "Radicalism in the Cultural Context of Adolescents in the Arek , Tapal Kuda and Mataraman Areas," *Journal of Law, Policy, and Globalization* 89 (2019): 4, <https://doi.org/10.7176/JLPG>. Compare to A Supriono, M Rondhi, and A Kusmiati, "Penggandaan Basis Di Dalam Lingkup Perekonomian Regional Wilayah Tapal Kudaalam Periode Sebelum maupun Setelah Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah ..." 5, no. 2 (2011): 13–23, [http://ura.unej.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/65809/SKKD No. 1289-FAPETA_20160922_0001.pdf?sequence=1](http://ura.unej.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/65809/SKKD_No_1289-FAPETA_20160922_0001.pdf?sequence=1).

¹³ Wahyu Saepudin, "The Role of the Front Nahdliyy to Support Sovereignty over Natural Resources: Hadith Reception on Ecology," *Jurnal Living Hadis* 6, no. 1 (2021): 1, <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadis.2021.2402>; Ali Murtadho, "Gerakan Lingkungan Kaum Muda NU (Studi Tentang Pemikiran Kedaulatan 32 nikiran Dan Aksi Gerakan Sosial Front Nahdliyyin Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam/ FNKSDA)" (Universits Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019).

¹⁴ Murtadho, "Gerakan Lingkungan Kaum Muda NU (Studi Tentang Pemikiran Kedaulatan Pemikiran Dan Aksi Gerakan Sosial Front Nahdliyyin Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam/ FNKSDA)," 29.

¹⁵ Murtadho, 55.

¹⁶ Roy Murtadho, "Agama Dan Krisis Ekologi: Ketidakmampuan Para Tokoh Dan Kiai Melawan Dosa Semen Di Rembang, Jawa Tengah," *Nizham* 7, no. 6 (2010): 237–52, <https://doi.org/10.1038/nmeth.1455>.

Seyyed Hussein Nasr,¹⁷ Saniotis,¹⁸ Setia,¹⁹ and Khitam.²⁰ *Second*, studies of various environmental conservation movements by the Muslim community, such as the Murtadho's²¹ and Saepudin's works.²² *Third*, studies that discuss specifically about *pesantren* and or figures in seeking the conservation of the environment such as the writings of Baiquni,²³ Mangunjaya,²⁴ Anwar (et al)²⁵, Qori'ah (et al),²⁶ Bakhtiar (et al),²⁷ Choiron,²⁸ Fahrurrazi,²⁹ Fawaid,³⁰ Khitam,³¹ and Tasidin (et al).³² Among the three, there has been no regional study that specifically targetted a specific area or focused on discussing the role of *kiai*, especially *lora*, in environmental conservation. Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gap by revealing the phenomenon of environmental activism of the *lora Tapal Kuda* which shows moderation in environmental conservation.

The design of this study is qualitative with data collected from interviews, observations, and literature studies related to ecological discourses in the perspective of Islam in general, as well as the thought and practices of *lora* in particular. Data was obtained directly from seven *loras* in different *pesantrens* in the *Tapal Kuda*. This momentum also allowed direct observation of facilities and the results of environmental movements in each *pesantren*. The data analysis step was carried out with an Islamic eco-theological approach while building concepts regarding moderation in the

¹⁷ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Religion and the Order of Nature*, Oxford University Press, vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Man and Nature: The Spiritual Crisis in Modern Man," 1990, 154; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrine: Conception of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwan Al-Safa', Al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina* (Thames and Hudson, 1978), <https://www.ptonline.com/articles/how-to-get-better-mfi-results>.

¹⁸ Saniotis, "Muslims and Ecology: Fostering Islamic Environmental Ethics."

¹⁹ Adi Setia, "The Inner Dimensions of Going Green: Articulating an Islamic Deep-Ecology," *Islam & Science* 5, no. 2 (2007): 117–50.

²⁰ Husnul Khitam, "Manifestasi Nilai Teologi Dalam Gerakan Ekologi," *Forum Ilmiah* 11 (2014): 210; Husnul Khitam, "Kontekstualisasi Teologi Sebagai Basis Gerakan Ekologi," *DINIKA: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 1, no. 2 (2016): 143, <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v1i2.62>.

²¹ Murtadho, "Gerakan Lingkungan Kaum Muda NU (Studi Tentang Pemikiran Kedaualatan Pemikiran Dan Aksi Gerakan Sosial Front Nahdliyin Kedaualatan Sumber Daya Alam/ FNKSDA)."

²² Saepudin, "The Role of the Front Nahdliyin to Support Sovereignty over Natural Resources: Hadith Reception on Ecology."

²³ Baiquni, "Kepemimpinan Kiai Dalam Mewujudkan Eco-Pesantren (Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Modern (PPM) Al-Amanah Krian Dan Pondok Pesantren Salaf Modern (PPSM) Banin Banat Al-Mubtadi-Ien Badal Ngadiluwih)."

²⁴ Fachruddin Majeri Mangunjaya, "Desain Ekopesantren Dalam Kerangka Pembangunan Berkelanjutan," *Sekolah Pascasarjana IPB* (Institut Pertanian Bogor, 2012).

²⁵ Saeful Anwar and Rifki Rosyad, "Pemikiran Dan Aplikasi Teologi Lingkungan Di Pesantren Cicalengka Kabupaten Bandung," *Jurnal Iman Dan Spiritualitas* 1, no. 2 (2021): 164–75, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jis.v1i2.11793>.

²⁶ Sityi Maesarotul Qori'ah, "PEREMPUAN SEBAGAI AGEN KEDAULATAN PANGAN DI PESANTREN EKOLOGI ATH-THAARIQ GARUT," *Yin Yang* 13, no. 2 (2013): 309–25.

²⁷ Reza Bakhtiar and Risdiana, "Green Islam: New-Theology and Implementation of Pesantren Al Qodir Negeri System," *Dialogia: Islamic Studies and Social Journal* 19, no. 1 (2021): 32–56, <https://jurnal.iainponorogo.ac.id/index.php/dialogia/article/view/2387>.

²⁸ Ah Chandra, "Budaya Organisasi Pesantren Dalam Membentuk Santri Putri Yang Peduli Konservasi Lingkungan," *Palastren: Studi Gender* 10, no. 2 (2017): 171–84.

²⁹ Fahrurrazi, "To Be Ecological Is to Become Pluralist: Inclusive Religious Education at the Eco-Pesantren Ath-Thaariq, West Java," *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue* 9, no. 1 (2019): 23–42, <https://doi.org/10.2143/SID.29.1.3286453>.

³⁰ Achmad Fawaid, "The Environmental Conservation: An Ecopedagogical Approach Practiced by Pesantren Annuqayah, Madura," *DINIKA: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 1, no. 2 (2016): 131, <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v1i2.119>.

³¹ Khitam, "Manifestasi Nilai Teologi Dalam Gerakan Ekologi."

³² Muhammad Safrizal Tasidin, "Pondok Pesantren Modern Dengan Konsep Green Building Di Kabupaten Gowa," *Journal of Economic, Business and Engineering* 02, no. 01 (2020): 195–205.

context of environmental activism. Eco-theology is a critique on the interpretation of monotheistic religions which are accused of being responsible for the destruction of nature.³³ The word of *Islam* is used as specific marker assuming that Islamic values do sustain the concept eco-theology. This concept is considered relevant for the subject of the current study since the environmental movements of the *lora* are strong indicators of their theological normative and ethical views. This is at least clear from their intention which is not for their personal material gain.

This article argues that the *loras* in *Tapal Kuda* have a great opportunity to mainstreaming discourses and environmental conservation movements. However, they have different roles with intensities that are also not the same each others according to their respective tendencies, concerns and expertises. The structure of *lora's* role is influenced by the situation and the concern of the *pesantren* towards environmental issues. It also affects their views and the scale of activism. This article will discuss the determinants factors setting up the concerns of the *loras* on environmental issues, typological mapping of their ecological conservation, and its impact. The results of this study are expected to highlight the contributions of *pesantren* which regard themselves not directly as the environmentally friendly *pesantren* but actually participate in implementing great ideals of environmental conservation. The government and private institutions can support the activism by issuing policies which guarantee for the sustainability of the program while intensifying the development of green *pesantren*.

B. Profile and Determinant Factors for Environmental Activism of *Lora Tapal Kuda*

The involvement of the seven *loras* in environmental movements is certainly not a coming out within a night. They have a wide range of access and traditional social capital. They also have the opportunity to freely actualize themselves while serving community in various fields according to their respective views, inclinations, and passions. Therefore, the choice to engage in environmental issues is something that deserves further discussion. This study took six *pesantrens* as the locus of research. They are *Pesantren Al Yasini*, Pasuruan; *Pesantren Nurul Jadid*, Paiton, Probolinggo; *Pesantren Al Falah*, Silo, Jember; *Pesantren Nurud Dhalam*, Arak-arak, Bondowoso; *Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah*, Sukorejo, Situbondo; and *Pesantren Annuqayah*, Guluk-guluk, Sumenep. Each of them is represented by one *lora*, with exception of Nurul Jadid which is represented by two *loras*, namely *lora Fahri* and *lora Fayyadl*. This is because both of them have the same concerns on environmental issues with different scales. The first has taken part on a regional scale while the second has penetrated on a national scale. This scheme is expected to represent the environmental movements of *lora Tapal Kuda* from various dimensions and scales.

The following table describes the determinant factors beyond *lora's* environmental activism by presenting their personal life and *pesantren* profiles. Generally, these determinant factors are divided into two, namely internal and external factors, while specific contexts are quite different from each other;

No	<i>Lora's</i> Name	Specific Context (Personal life and <i>Pesantren</i> Profile)	Determinant Factors
01	<i>Lora</i> Tsabit (Al-Yasini)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> His educational background was in <i>pesantren</i> and higher education concentrated in Islamic education/<i>Tarbiyah</i> of STAIN Malang He is one of the founders of <i>Mapala</i> (<i>Mahasiswa Pecinta Alam</i>; Students of Nature Lovers) Thursina at STAIN (now UIN) Malang. He collaborated with <i>Mapala</i> of UNISMA and UIN Surabaya to build a 	Internal dan external

³³ Abdulhaddus, "Ecotheology Islam: Teologi Konstruktif Atasi Krisis Lingkungan," *Ulumuna; Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 16, no. 2 (2012): 318–20, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v16i2.181>.

		<p>mosque and traditional Islamic elementary school (<i>Madrasah Diniyah</i>) in Ranupane, Semeru, Lumajang; and at the same time establishing this village as the locus of environmental conservation. By doing so, for a long time he has concerns, experiences, and connections to several related groups which have the same concern in environmental conservation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Now he has mandatory from his <i>pesantren</i> to take in charge of the public community service as the head of the Public Relations Division and Community Engagement. • The high volume of waste produced by <i>santri</i> and <i>pesantren</i> community forced him to solve the waste problem.³⁴ Al-Yasini, according to 2017 data, is inhabited by 2,898 <i>santri</i> from kindergarden until higher education level with 502 teachers and employees.³⁵ 	
02	Lora Aso (Salafiyah Syafi'iyah)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He has a higher education background at IAI Al-Ibrahimi with a concentration in Islamic Education. He serves as Dean of the Faculty of Social and Humaniora at Ibrahimi University • The <i>pesantren</i> was founded in 1914³⁶ with 17000s <i>santri</i> with various levels of education. This <i>pesantren</i> for a long time has implemented various environmental programs which were initiated by the board of <i>pesantren</i> administrators and controlled once a week by its care-takers. • The large volume of waste produced in <i>pesantren</i> make it collaborate with surrounding community, as it has been established for a long time in other aspects. Therefore, <i>pesantren</i> has experience and capability to solve the waste by constructing a final waste landfill.³⁷ 	External
03	Lora Muqit (Al-Falah)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He was graduated from <i>Pesantren Annuqayah</i>, Sumenep. He studied strata-1 (in Criminal Law). He was once a board member of BPM (Community Service Bureau) at Annuqayah with environmental conservation as one of its concern. • He served as vice regent of Jember at 2016-2021. This position gave him access to forestry and make him closed to forest rangers. Now he is the chairman of Al-Falah Foundation, Silo, Jember.³⁸ 	Internal

³⁴ 22 Juni, 2022. Wawancara di kediaman Lora Tsabit, Komplek Pengasuh Al-Yasini

³⁵ Admin, "Statistik," 2019, <https://alyasini.net/statistik/>.

³⁶ Syamsul A. Hasan, "Sejarah Berdirinya Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah," 2013, <https://sukorejo.com/2013/06/04/Sejarah-Berdirinya-Pondok-Pesantren-Salafiyah-Syafi'iyah.html>.

³⁷ 23 Juni, 2022. Wawancara di kediaman Lora Aso, Komplek Pengasuh Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah

³⁸ 23 Juni, 2022. Wawancara di kediaman Lora Muqit, Komplek Pengasuh Pesantren Al-Falah

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Al-Falah <i>Pesantren</i> is divided into six blocks and educate 652 <i>santris</i>.³⁹ This <i>pesantren</i> is close to forestry areas. 	
04	Lora Fahri (Nurul Jadid)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> He is a former member of Mapala at IAI Nurul Jadid, Probolinggo; he currently serves as the Head of Conservation and Environment Bureau (BKLH; <i>Badan Konservasi Lingkungan Hidup</i>) of Nurul Jadid. Nurul Jadid has 7000s of dwelling <i>santris</i>, 12000s of educators, non-educational staffs and non-dwelling <i>santri</i>, with no less than sixteen formal educational institutions which had initiated environmental conservation long before <i>lora</i> Fahri takes his part. The geographical condition of <i>pesantren</i> is lack of clean water and faces the threat of abrasion.⁴⁰ 	Internal and external
05	Lora Fayyadl (Nurul Jadid)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> He was graduated from <i>Pesantren</i> Annuqayah. He continued his higher education at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (Strata-1), and Universitas Paris VIII in Philosophy Concentration (Strata-2).⁴¹ He was a member of the national committee of the FNSKSDA and actively advocated in agrarian conflicts.⁴² He currently serves as <i>Mudir</i> (director) of Ma'had Aly (Higher Islamic School), Nurul Jadid.⁴³ He is a prolific writer⁴⁴ as well as a speaker in discussion forums, and he has been frequently interviewed for the concerned problems.⁴⁵ His main concept emphasizes that environmental conservation is a part of <i>fiqh siyasah</i> (political Islamic jurisprudence).⁴⁶ The occurrence of agrarian conflicts in various regions following the construction of infrastructures such as the new airport in Yogyakarta, the Cement 	Internal dan external

³⁹ Admin, "Data Santri; Jumlah Santri Periode 2020-2021 Berdasarkan Database Integrasi Data Pesantren Per Tanggal 20 Januari 2021," accessed January 19, 2023, <https://al-falah.id/data-santri/#>.

⁴⁰ 23 Juni, 2022. Wawancara di kediaman *Lora* Fahri, Komplek Pengasuh Pesantren Nurul Jadid

⁴¹ W Dicko, "Muhammad Al-Fayyadl: Kepahlawanan Bukan Milik Kau, ²⁶ Tua, Tapi Milik Generasi," 2019, <https://timesindonesia.co.id/peristiwa-daerah/238632/muhammad-alfayyadl-kepahlawanan-bukan-milik-kaum-tua-tapi-milik-generasi>.

⁴² Zainul Rifan, "Muhammad Al Fayadl: Dosen Yang Produktif Menulis, Tak Canggung Terlibat Dalam Konflik Agraria," 2020, <https://tadatoday.com/detail/muhammad-al-fayadl-dosen-yang-produktif-menulis-tak-canggung-terlibat-dalam-konflik-agraria>. Admin, "PT. RUM Sukoharjo Terus Melakukan ⁷ Pencemaran, Warga Sekitar Pabrik Gelar Istighosah Dan Doa Bersama," 2019, <https://fnksda.or.id/pt-rum-sukoharjo-terus-melakukan-pencemaran-warga-sekitar-pabrik-gelar-istighosah-dan-doa-bersama/>.

⁴³ Humas, "Selamat! Ma'had Aly Nurul Jadid Sukses Wisuda Puluhan Kader Ahli Fiqh Ke-VIII," accessed January 17, 2022, <https://www.nuruljadid.net/12810/selamat-mahad-aly-nurul-jadid-sukses-wisuda-puluhan-kader-ahli-fiqh-ke-viii>.

⁴⁴ "Muhammad Al-Fayyadl; Google Scholars," accessed January 17, 2023, <https://scholar.google.co.id/citations?user=T2taypAAAAAJ&hl=id>; "Muhammad Al-Fayyadl; Redaktur Islam Bergerak," accessed January 17, 2023, <https://islambergerak.com/author/alfayyadl/>.

⁴⁵ Alfin Haidar Ali, "Tawaran Gus Fayyadl Untuk PBNU Dalam Halaqah Fiqh Peradaban," 2022, <https://alif.id/read/ahal/tawaran-gus-fayyadl-untuk-pbnu-dalam-halaqah-fiqh-peradaban-b245873p/>; Admin, "Urgensi Merumuskan Fiqh Siyasah Bagi Tatanan Dunia Baru," 2022, <https://fnksda.or.id/urgensi-merumuskan-fiqh-siyasah-bagi-tatanan-dunia-baru/>.

⁴⁶ 23 Juni, 2022. Wawancara di kediaman *Lora* Fayyadl, Komplek Pengasuh Nurul Jadid. Bandingkan dengan Ali, "Tawaran Gus Fayyadl Untuk PBNU Dalam Halaqah Fiqh Peradaban."

		Plant in Rembang, and the toll road in Probolinggo, triggered him to do advocacy.	
06	Lora Faizi (Annuqayah)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He has strong personal awareness regarding waste production, waste treatment, and environmental sustainability, especially in <i>pesantren</i>.⁴⁷ • He is a prolific writer⁴⁸ of some best selling books, one of which is about environmental issue. • According to him, the environmental problem in <i>pesantren</i> Annuqayah resulted from a large volume of waste and the lack of literacy related to recycling, sorting, and waste management.⁴⁹ • Annuqayah educates about 8000s <i>santri</i> who are also students in a variety of educational levels spreaded at some blocks based on care takers' residents. Lora Faizi himself lives in Sawajarin area (<i>Madaris</i> 3) which at least manages 3 blocks and 4 educational levels. 	Internal dan external
07	Lora Musholli (Nurud Dhalam)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He is an academic, doctor of Qur'anic studies, lecturer, <i>pesantren</i> care-taker, director of <i>Ma'bad Ahy</i>, expert team member of DPRD (House of Representative), NU administrator, RMI (<i>Rabithah Ma'bad Islamiy</i>, Islamic Boarding School Federation) administrator, and engaging in various social activities. • The need of local communities of the presence of a <i>lora</i> who can provide them with practical religious guidance and forging their spirituality led him to establish a learning forum (<i>pengajian</i>) called <i>Tanbih Al-Ghafilin</i> which is regularly broadcasted or streamed online.⁵⁰ • Nurud Dhalam lies in the forestry and hills. Managing 5 educational levels, it educates around 300s <i>santris</i> both dwelling and non-dwelling one. Personally, he initiates to maintain the forest conservation by continuing to take care of <i>pesantren</i>. 	Internal dan external

Table 1: Context of Determinant Factors of *Lora Tapal Kuda's* Environmental Activism

⁴⁷ Redaksi, "Kiai M. Faizi Ingin Pesantren Bebas Sampah Plastik," (2019), <https://hidayatuna.com/kiai-m-faizi-inginkan-pesantren-terbebas-dari-sampah-plastik/>. Bandingkan dengan Moh Tamimi, "Kiai M. Faizi, Penggagas Pesantren Tanpa Sampah Plastik," accessed January 18, 2023, <https://islamindonesia.id/siapa-dia/kiai-m-faizi-penggagas-pesantren-tanpa-sampah-plastik.htm>. Lihat Eko Wawan Yulianto, "Dinul Hijau; Islam, Makan Dan Lingkungan," 2020, <https://www.terakota.id/dinul-hijau-makan-islam-lingkungan/>.

⁴⁸ Ibnu Abbas, "Memperbaiki Bumi Dari Meja Makan," 2020, <https://pcnusunenep.or.id/resensi/memperbaiki-bumi-dari-meja-makan/>. "Merusak Bumi Dari Meja Makan," accessed January 18, 2022, <https://cantrikpustaka.com/product/merusak-bumi-dari-meja-makan/>.

⁴⁹ 20 Agustus, 2022. Wawancara di kediaman Lora Faizi, Komplek Pengasuh Annuqayah

⁵⁰ 24 June, 2022. Interview in Lora Musholli's house, Nurud Dhalam care taker residential area of Nurud Dholam, Arak-Arak, Bondowoso.

Table 1 above shows that environmental views and activism of *lora Tapal Kuda* emerge and are widely driven by internal and external factors with their respective contexts or backgrounds. Internal factors include personal background coming out from the community that he has or had been engaged in, mindset of *lora* (reading books, circle of friends, affiliated organizations) or their main tasks and roles in *pesantren* organizational structure. Meanwhile, external factors are related to the level of literacy of *pesantren* community regarding environmental issues, waste management, waste volume, and geographical factors. It is found that not all *lora* have both of internal and external determinant factors. There are some who are only motivated by one factor, such as *lora* Aso who continued his predecessors' environmental programs in form of waste management. *Lora* Muqit, meanwhile, has been demanded to deal with environmental issues in his district when serving as the vice regent. Eventhough they two have different motives, both have contributed to back up the sustainability of environmental conservation programs which are characterized by the values of *pesantren*.

The formal educational background, affiliated organization, circle of friends and associations of *lora* turned out to be very influential in creating and strengthening their paradigm and activism in environmental conservation. Some of their specific positions allowed them to initiate various programs in environmental conservation. It is not surprising to find the fact that, for instance, *lora* Tsabit and *lora* Fahri's environmental activism closely relates to their experience as activists of the *Mapala* members during their study periods. They keep continuing their concern in environmental conservation when they come back to their respective *pesantren*. Personal insights, literacy and networks of *lora* in various circles in general and specifically in the field of environmental conservation in particular also make it easier for them to initiate and maintain their activism in the environmental conservation, like *lora* Fayyadl who, although not as intens as before, is still quite well known for his ideas and movements on issues of natural resource sovereignty in a national scale. These three *lora* represent that the determinant factors which trigger their concerns are strongly influenced by the backgrounds i.e the circle of friendship and the networks built during their education period before coming back to their *pesantren*. As a matter of fact, the backgrounds of *lora* are different from one to another. They have different educational background and they involve in different activities and networks. They also associate with different communities. However, all of these activities have nothing to do with *loras*' social capital which they got it traditionally and give them power to push *santri* and the community in initiating or maintaining the sustainability of environmental conservation programs.

Furthermore, they also manifest a moderate stance by not creating any radical and fundamental activism which can be considered as the break of traditional politeness. The spirit of moderation in the environmental activism of *lora Tapal Kuda* was instead evident from the way they make a balance between worldly and unworldly orientation. The worldly orientation, for example, is clear from waste management such as maggots breeding on organic waste and recycling plastic waste which brings economic benefits especially for surrounding comminty with the privilege access for it. Meanwhile, the unworldly orientation, although not conveyed explicitly, is very visible from the way they direct the *pesantren* communities to have environmental piety while inserting it as a part of religious values. Seemingly, *loras* want to show that the religiosity of *pesantren* community must also cover the environmental aspect in their religious orientation in order to harmonize the relation with God and humans. These two orientations, which are both pursued through various environmental activisms, have helped them to strengthen the characteristics and style of *lora Tapal Kuda*'s moderation in environmental conservation movement. This, for example,

can be seen from *lora* Musholli's strategy who keeps taking care of the *pesantren* in forestry area as well as at the same time to participate in protecting the forest. The figure who is commonly called as *kiai butan* (forestry Islamic scholar) even said "at least if there is a *pesantren* here, people are reluctant to cut trees carelessly and illegally".⁵¹

In addition to internal factors, the situation of *pesantren* and surrounding environment also triggered the rise and development of their environmentalism aspect. *Pesantren* with large volumes of waste (such as Al-Yasini, Salafiyah Syaf'iyah and Annuqayah) must have literacy and management capability to minimize the problem of waste and so do those located in areas prone to ecological threats. This happens, for instance, to Nurul Jadid located close to the beach and fragile to the abrasion and was experiencing a clean water crisis as well as lies not far from the toll road procurement project that displaces land of residents. This external factor, although not always the dominant one, still contributes to the emergence and development of *pesantren*'s environmental programs as well as directing its character as problem solving strategies. This condition is in accordance with *Kiai Sahal*'s 'prediction' that *pesantren* can be a support, complement, motivator, dynamicator or facilitator for environmental development programs.⁵² These various choices closely relate to the condition of each *pesantren*, such as its community's literacy, its geographical location, availability of natural and human resources, and so forth.

C. *Lora*'s Typology in Environmental Activism

Having the similar mission and purpose, the seven informants of this research turned out to have different perspectives and technical strategies, although not contradictory. This divides them into three typologies, namely sympathizer, proponent and activist. The first type is the one who, compared to others, make the most passive action because environmentalism agendas did not come from his idea or initiative. Nor do they become the main actor in the implementation. However, his role is not less important because without his support, any environmental program or strategies would not have run smoothly, for instance because it has been scheduled at the same time with another running agenda which has been previously and routinely implemented. Meanwhile, the proponent's role is one step higher because they actively engaged in building *pesantren* community's awareness both in environmental idea and action. The last type, activist, is the one who actively and practically engaged in the activism. The three types are well described in the following table along with the format and strategies of each of their activists;

No	<i>Lora</i> 's Name	Types	Role in Environmental Conservation
01	<i>Lora</i> Tsabit	Proponent -Activist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing facilities of type-based-dustbins spreading across the <i>pesantren</i> • Initiating collaboration with <i>Social Forestry</i> in allocating special space for <i>pesantren</i> waste treatment and final landfill. • Making waste treatment through the scheme of maggot (BSF; <i>Black Soldier Fly</i>) breeding based on calculation that one kilogram of maggot can consume one ton of organic waste.

⁵¹ 24 June, 2022. Interview in *Lora* Musholli's house.

⁵² Sahal Mahfudh, Nuances of Social Islamic Jurisprudence [Yogyakarta:LKiS,2012], 395

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowering the existence and function of final waste landfill in which surrounding people can take a benefit of it (plastic and anorganic type) for recycle purpose.⁵³
02	Lora Aso	Sympatisan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Along with other <i>pesantren</i> care-takers, he monitors the facility of waste train to move waste from any part of <i>pesantren</i> to the final waste landfill in which surrounding community can take a benefit of it for recycle use. • Also along with them, he routinely does the inspection once a week (every Friday morning) directly and personally to clean the waste during <i>santri</i> holiday period.⁵⁴
03	Lora Muqit	Proponent – Activist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiating cooperation with <i>Perbutani (Perusahaan Umum Kebutanan Negara Indonesia; State General Company of Indonesian Forestry)</i> to plant trees together with surrounding community and <i>santri</i> while collaborating with Forest Ranger to prevent and minimize illegal logging.⁵⁵ • Inviting <i>santri</i> to love gardening and encouraging them to plant the trees as much as possible based on calculation that one single tree can save 75 litres of water.⁵⁶
04	Lora Fahri	Activist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuing the initiative of Nurul Jadid older who, since 1990s, promoted the planting of mangrove trees along with surrounding community to prevent abbration and guaranting clean water access. He is also co-initiator of <i>balal</i> tourism at the mangrove-coastal area.⁵⁷ • Heading a bureau called BKLH which mainly concerns on waste treatment due to the daily 8 tons of waste from the whole area of <i>pesantren</i>. The bureau has now been equipped with waste treatment site. The bureau also promotes for plastic waste diet, such as by replacing bottled water into water gallon.
05	Lora Fayyadl	Proponent -Activist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Routinely writing or promoting environmental conservation (<i>hifdzul bi'ah</i>) as a part of <i>fiqh siyasah</i> (political Islamic jurisprudence), including about agrarian crisis.⁵⁸
06	Lora Faizi	Proponen-Activist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having concern on the issue of environment since 2008, particularly on the waste sorting and treatment,

⁵³Interview, 23 June, 2022, in Lora Tsabit's house, Al-Yasini care taker residential area of Kraton, Pasuruan.

⁵⁴Interview, 24 June, 2022, in Lora Aso's house, Salafiyah Syafi'iyah care taker residential area of Sukorejo, Situbondo.

⁵⁵Admin, "Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah," accessed January 19, 2023, <https://al-falah.id/sejarah-pesantren-alfalah/>.

⁵⁶Interview 23 June, 2022, in Lora Muqits's house, Al-Falah care taker residential area of Silo, Jember.

⁵⁷Interview, 23 June, 2022, in Lora Fahri's house, Nurul Jadid care taker residential area of Paiton, Probolinggo.

⁵⁸Interview, 23 June, 2022, in Lora Fayyad's house, Nurul Jadid care taker residential area of Paiton, Probolinggo.

			<p>making organic fertilizer (compos), and empowering dry areas around <i>pesantren</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Writing a book called “<i>Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan</i>/Destroying the earth from dining table.” • Beginning environmental conservation program from his own block of residential area through empowering cleaning service team serving to collect <i>pesantren</i>’s waste. One of his breakthrough is buying them t-shirts writing; ”deviant <i>santri</i> throw the waste randomly, common <i>santri</i> throw the waste to the dustbin, while the wise <i>santri</i> do not randomly produce the waste.” • Applying regulation to minimize waste production and making habit of putting the waste according to its type while giving self-best practice by not consuming bottled mineral water.⁵⁹
07	Lora Musholli	Sympatisan - Proponent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building awareness among the community/targetted audiences on the urgency of environmental conservation as a part of religious obligation while avoiding any natural disasters. • Succeeding to lead a mass congregation forum with surrounding people living in the forestry area, taking care of <i>pesantren</i> in the same are while keeping’ the forest safe from any illegal logging and other threatening environmental-unfriendly action.⁶⁰

Table 2: Environmental activism and role of *Tapal Kuda Lora*

The above table shows that *lora* choose different strategies to implement environmental mission. Some of them choose to serve one role, while others hold two. In addition to the relation with private background and main mission assigned in *pesantren*’s structural management, *pesantren*’s situation also plays a role in determining the typology. The mapping, therefore, instead of displaying intensity scale and rank, in fact shows that the system in each *pesantren* is really unique and distinctive so that the diversity in environmental activism is inevitable. The typology also implies that when a ‘*lora*’ only becomes an activist, for instance, there has been a support system that secure and support him and play the role as *sympatisan* and *proponent*. This is, for example, happens to *Lora Fahri* who enjoys privilege and legacy of older generation so that he could continue the mission because the mainsteraming process and awareness creation among *pesantren* community have been fulfilled. The remaining role, for instance, is played by *Lora Fayyadl* who is famous for his productivity in advocacy through writing and scientific seminar although recently, he had decreased intensity of physical advocacy. The paradigm and activism of *lora*, in diverse scales, also show the diversity of their concern on the environment, ranging from targetted aspect, strategy, and the beneficiary.

Practically, environmental activism of *Tapal Kuda lora* was implemented through cooperation with instutions having relevant concern on the environment—particularly outside *pesantren*—as well as empowerment of *santri*, *pesantren*’s community and surrounding neighbours.

⁵⁹ Interview, 20 August, 2022, in *Lora Faizi*’s house, Annuqayah care taker residential area of Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep.

⁶⁰ Interview, 22 June 2022, in *Lora Musholli*’s house.

An example is waste bank program at the Salafiyah Syaffiyah which engaged surrounding community by giving them access to recycle the waste. It enables *pesantren* to decrease the waste volume for being sorted and treated into recycling step which is beneficial for the whole parties. This sort of community engagement makes the activism leads to social, cultural, to structural capitals that enable the program's sustainability. The cooperation with external institutions, such as *Perhutani*, Forest Ranger, Social Forestry, and others, shows the large external network that the the *loras* have at the sector they concern with. Meanwhile, the engagement of *pesantren's* community and neighbour indicate more about *loras'* prestige which is still strong and influential in mobilizing people in a big number and a long run. This combination seems to be main thing that makes their environmentalism activism gives real impact for both *pesantren* and general community.

Other than that, the diverse strategies partly show how the environmental activism stemmed from response on the contemporary development which is internalized in the *pesantren* context with the whole characteristic and distinction. One of which is the privilege of *lora* to find cooperation from *pesantren's* community or neighbours upon their initiative or any program they promote. Therefore, it makes very much sense to find the fact that *Lora* Faizi doesn't hesitate to engage cleaning service staffs, such as *Lora* Tsabit who assigned some of his *santri* to handle with maggot breeding or *Lora* Muqit who invited *santri* to make more intensive reboitation so that they can guarantee the sustainability of a program without doing it by themselves directly. They three, meanwhile, focus more to supervise, monitor, and evaluate the working performance of *santri*. Instead of making any hands-off effort, this strategy enables them to innovate more while guaranteeing the sustainability of the program they initiate.

This sort of *santri* or surrounding community engagement is also the thing that strengthens characteristic of Islamic eco-theological moderation. *Lora's* activism reflects their personal awareness that the issue of *pesantren's* waste is not only about insight or knowledge of its community, but also on how the waste is treated. Therefore, they don't only suffice on supporting facilities, but also build awareness and literacy among *pesantren* community, like what *Lora* Faizi does through his best selling book or what *Lora* Fayyadl delivers in both his writing and speech. This is the real combined thought from the insight of deep ecology and shallow ecology. The former assumes that natural damage is caused by technical treatment or behavior of humankind—instead of how they perceive their position *vis a vis* nature while the later considers that both nature and humankind are complementary each other in the holistic way so that humankind needs awareness and insight about how they should treat the nature.⁶¹ In another word, the positive sides from these two insights are combined then applied in the distinctive context and situation of *pesantren*. Those strategies and roles clearly show how they enlive the concept of vicegrent in the context of natural conservation, although they usually do not deliver it verbally and directly. In fact, instead of giving verbal suggestion, they prefer to give a best and actual example (*lisan al bal*). This series of step is literally a part of awareness and character building of religiosity from the environmental aspect which is still rarely propagated in *pesantrens'* formal forum, at least compared to other more common themesx.

Along with that, they neither make any nature exploitation nor sacralization in a complete way. Although *Lora* Faizi has been in long time not consuming mineral bottled water, for instance, he does not demand *santri* or other *pesantren's* community to do the same abruptly. Instead, he

mainstreams more environmentally-friendly food essence and food package from organic materials, like snack made from organic materials packaged by banana leaves. This indicates that natural sacralization is still concerned with the best way to decrease the exploitation scale, instead of totally not using natural resource relying on nativism. The same thing is obvious from the waste treatment in some *pesantren* which does not only aim for natural conservation, but also support for surrounding community's income. The environmental activism of *lora*, therefore, is not totally free of economic motive, yet the execution is well managed so that it does not, to the very best extent, make the natural damage worse. This is in line with the balanced mission of Islam between worldly and unworldly orientation so that in this context, moderation means balanced.

D. Impact of Environment Activism among *Lora Tapal Kuda*

Some efforts of discourse mainstreaming as well as environmental activism of *lora*, in their different strategies and scales, give impact on each *pesantren* and community. The impact ranges from non-physical one—such as awareness, new insight, or literacy on environmental issues or network and cooperation with relevant parties while establishing a new system of waste management and community concerning with environmental issues—to physical ones such as procurement of supporting facilities. Those evident impacts are not only diverse, but also supported by some parties' involvement, such as *pesantren* community, neighbours, or outsiders with relevant concern. Additionally, the impacts also imply both potential (sustainability and development) as well as challenges related to each characteristic, concern, and private network of each *lora* as well as distinctive situation in each *pesantren*. The impact along with the three variants are clear at the following table;

<i>Lora's Name</i>	Impact		
	Impact Evidence	Enganging Parties	Potential and Challenges
<i>Lora Tsabit</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of waste bank and maggot breeding area • Establishment of synergy in recycling the plastic waste • Availability of waste type based dustbin across <i>pesantren</i> area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Santri</i> and other <i>pesantren</i> community members • <i>Pesantren's</i> neighbour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having high potential to support neighbour's economic income and make the waste treatment smoother • Absence of strategic and sustainable technique for recycling the plastic waste • Urgency to observe any possibility of side effect from the maggot breeding
<i>Lora Aso</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Availability of waste train which loads and carries 10s tons of waste each day from <i>pesantren</i> area to the waste bank • Availability of access for surrounding community to take a 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Pesantren</i> community, particularly the cleaning service staffs who collect the waste from the whole <i>pesantren</i> area. • Surrounding community who have been accustomed to cooperate with <i>pesantren</i> in various aspects. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential economic income and tighter social relationship between <i>pesantren</i> and surrounding society • Principles of environmental conservation has not been included at the school curricula

	benefit from the plastic waste in the waste bank		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of a settled community to maintain sustainability of the environmental based program/initiative.
<i>Lora Muqit</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperation with <i>Perbutani</i> in the procurement of trees seed which will be spreaded and planted by both <i>santri</i> and surrounding community. • Collaboration with forest ranger to keep the forest safe from any illegal logging and such action • Much more awareness among <i>santri</i> about the urgency of reboization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Perbutani</i> • Surrounding community • <i>Santri</i> • Forest Ranger 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geographical location nearby the forest enables <i>santri</i> to make environmental activism • There has not yet been any system or community which promote the sustainability of program/initiative which has been begun. • Principles of environmental preservation has not been included at the school curricula
<i>Lora Fachri</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuation of mangrove plantation and care in a vulnerable areas of abrasion • Continuation of daily organic waste treatment to create compost • Implementation of plastic waste decrease use, such as replacement of plastic bag to reusable environmentally-friendly one and plastic bottled water to water gallon. • The establishment of TPST (<i>Tempat Pengelolaan Sampah Terpadu</i>; Integrated Waste Management Site) through BKLH 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Santri</i> • Surrounding community • BKLH Nurul Jadid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Best practice, legacy, and mandate from the <i>pesantren</i> founder to plant a tree once another felled down. • Initiative began from the <i>pesantren</i> supervisor from previous generation. • There has not been any solution to cope with mangrove trees which are prone to be eaten by goats • Principles of environmental preservation has not been included at the school curricula • The need to expand final waste landfill area
<i>Lora Fayyadl</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The rise and development of awareness and insight of agrarian sovereignty • The rise and development of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Santri</i> • Agrarian sovereignty activists • Readers of environmentalism issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High reputation and famous name among readers and national environmental activists. • Principles of environmental preservation has not been

	awareness and insight of <i>fiqh bi'ab</i> among <i>santri</i> as a part of <i>fiqh siyasah</i>		included at the school curricula •
<i>Lora Faizi</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The spreaded awareness and literacy among <i>santri</i> to reduce waste production • The rule enforcement on the waste type sorting with relevant sanction (unloading the unsorted waste) • Support and empowerment of cleaning service staffs who load the waste from the whole area to one final waste landfill • Shift of <i>santri</i> and students' insight and lifestyle to prefer reusable water bottle when going to school, paper use back and forth, waste recycling, to choose traditional organic material made snack with friendly environmental package. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Santri</i> and students in the segmented area, namely <i>Madaris 3 Annuqayah</i> • Cleaning service staff (waste collectors) • Readers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of community or system to safeguard continuation of natural conservataion program • Limited initiative and environmental activism in other block(es) of <i>pesantren</i> that it seems to be still sectoral
<i>Lora Musholli</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuation of a mass congregation and <i>pesantren</i> with one of big mission to keep the forest safe • Growing literacy and awareness among <i>santri</i> and mass congregation that natural preservation is a part of Islamic mission • Utilization of forest for long term agenda on the environmental conservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Pesantren</i> community • The members of mass congregation • Surrounding community • Online audiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental activism has not ye become the main agenda and priority • There has not yeen been strategic plans from <i>pesantren</i> on the enviromental activism • Big social capital for <i>pesantren</i> to mobilize people, including in preventing and minimizing illegal logging.

Table 3: Impact of *Lora's* Environmental Insight and Activism

The third table above clearly shows that the impact of *lora's* environmental activism has been obvious in diverse scales. Interestingly, it impacts on both *pesantren's* environment (in the whole or some parts) and surrounding community. This impact can be seen from the existence of

environmental conservation based community, availability of supporting facilities, to the change of mindset on the environmental issues and treatment on the waste. Meanwhile, the impact on the surrounding community is clear on the easier access for them to do waste recycle in both Al-Yasini and Salafiyah Syafi'iyah. There also found another broader impact although it is quite hard to measure its effectiveness, such as *Lora* Faizi who wrote a book about waste from dining table or *Lora* Fayyadl which was once active in advocating environmental issues, particularly agrarian sovereignty. Although it is almost impossible to measure the impact, both show that in addition to *pesantren* and surrounding community, *lora's* environmental insight and activism also impact on the broader scale either regionally or nationally.

In the *pesantren* scope, the initiative and activism have given a significant long impact, like the establishment of community concerning with environmental issue (LKBH in Nurul Jadid and *Pemulung Sampah Gaul*—cool scavenger—in Annuqayah) and the availability of supporting facilities, such as waste-type based dustbin or final waste landfill. The facilities closely relate to the mindset or insight because they both support each others. Other than that, some *lora* also make a use of media that the *santri* are friendly about, like an appeal attached at the dustbin of Al-Yasini (to sort the waste before throwing it) or the same suggestion printed in the t-shirt of Annuqayah cleaning service staffs.

Meanwhile, in the broader scale, the impact of *lora's* environmental activism does not only target at economic improvement through non-organic waste recycle process among surrounding community, but also cooperation which can strenghtnes emotinal bond between two parties. This is actually a mutualism symbiosis because surrounding community gets alternative income while *pesantren* can loose its burden to treat the high volume of daily waste. Different from the pattern, Annuqayah also empowers its *santri* and students to do recycle process so that their awareness and literacy are combined with the practical skills to maximize the impact. This skill really gives impacts on both *santri* and community because the final waste landfill becomes learning laboratory for students, *santri* and community apart of serving its main role.

Another thing accentuated in the table is about the potential of sustainability as well as challenge beyond the *lora's* environmental activism. Into some extent, they are carrying out the mandate or continuing the legacy of either *pesantren's* founders or older generation, like the founder of Nurul Jadid who obliged his *santri* to plant a tree once they cut off another one or the senior *kiai* at Annuqayah who has long been made forestry conservation at the area of Prancak, Pasongosongan, Sumenep. In another word, the younger *lora* are actually imitating the best practice that the predecessor left them behind using different way and strategies. Environmental awareness, therefore, is not a new thing in *pesantren*. However, following the most recent development and cadre regeneration, the spirit rejuvenation and adjustment of shape, strategy, as well as the scale of activism need to always be updated.

This is mainly because apart of the potential and supporting factors, *lora* turn out to deal with some challenges in accomplishing the mission, ranging from *pesantren's* cultural managment which is still top-down, *santri's* age segmentation which influences on how they treat the waste, to assumption on sectoral policy because some *pesantren* do have various blocks with each autonomy right. One *lora*, for example, said that the hierarchy in *pesantren* does not allow him to carry out knowledge induction, awareness building, let alone advocacy to a more *senior* *kiai* and in fact is an older uncle or relative with different view. Another informant even recounted that later, he understood that advocacy should not only be done frontally. This explains how the concept of traditional politeness and manners (*cangkolang* in Madurese/ *ewuh pakewuh* in Javanese) are another

consideration for carrying out the mandate and mission of environmental programs. The gradual strategy in making big change related with environmental issues, obviously, demonstrated another feature of moderation in the activism of *lora Tapal Kuda*. Additionally, the diverse aspects that *pesantren* manage also become another challenge that require *lora* to always pay attention on the priority scale in their policy and breakthrough relating to the environmental issues.

The impact of *lora's* activism, in one hand, seems limited in an inner circle of *pesantren*. Compared to those with the same concern outside *pesantren*, the scale of impact may not be that broad considering that environmental issues is only one of *pesantren's* concerns. However, potential from the impact might be broader and much influential through traditional and cultural way. Once a *santri* comes home, either temporarily or permanently, literacy, insight, or skill in environmental conservation will likely be well maintained and disseminated to his/her surrounding ranging from family members, relatives, neighbour, to broader society. Social and cultural capital of *lora* are also of big potential to give significant effect, let alone obedience and sustainability, to this second circle. This such a plot requires the enrichment of environmental literacy among *santri* along with materials on how to disseminate awareness to others. Moreover, the existence of potential sustainability as well as the challenge require regeneration in both *lora* and *santri* to always promote environmental issues to the broader scale while maintaining and developing the running initiative.

Another thing that makes *lora's* environmental activism has potential to give a big impact is because in the process of internalization and habituation among *santri* or surrounding community, they do not forget to use *pesantren* or Islamic based values. Meaning to say, the activism is sustained by ethical-normative base which is sometimes verbally articulated through wording (like what *Lora Musholli* does) or through the real example (like what *Lora Faizi* does) so that the environmental campaign is easily acceptable. In some of her writings, *Lora Fayyadl*, for instance, likes to describe how the prophet Muhammad gave the best practice in conserving the nature. *Lora Faizi* even said that Islam does has any basic to conserve the environment, although the relevant proposition—such as at the Prophet's hadith—is less popular than the famous one so that it was non-Moslem who turn the teaching into action.⁶² The same thing was told by *Lora Muqit* that in addition to become a former vice-regent, he is a Moslem so that the program of forest care did not only aim for a bureaucratic purpose with exclusive access and privilege, but also as a Moslem who are obliged to conserve the environment.⁶³ Such expression indicates that in a part of a direct or implied statement, in the context of awareness building among *santri* and surrounding community, environmental activism of *lora* does not come in short time, but is relied on ethic-normative consideration, namely Islamic eco-theology in diverse form, scale, and intensity.

E. Concluding Remarks

It turns out that both social and cultural capital of *lora* don't certainly guarantee that the whole initiative and activism run as smooth as planned. Apart from each determinant factors which are not only diverse but also unique then mapping them into three typology, the resulted impact differs each others ranging from the real evident, involved parties, to potential and challenges ahead. This closely relates to the cultural and structural situation in *pesantren*, environmental literacy of its community, as well as availability of supporting resource. The relatively young age of *lora* also becomes cultural consideration to formulate any fundamental breakthrough in, for instance,

⁶²Interview, August 20, 2022, in *Lora Faizi's* house.

⁶³ Interview, 23 June, 2022, in *Lora Muqits's* house.

waste treatment in *pesantren*. This much errands do not totally mean ignorance on the real contribution and success of *lora* in environmental activism in both inner and outer circle of *pesantren*. Moreover, the rise of initiative in the new concern among older concerns of *pesantren* is actually more than enough as capital or beginning for further and more advanced development.

In some extents, this current study confirms some previous research (es)' finding about *pesantren's* role in mainstreaming environmental issues. *Pesantrens* without the term environment in their name or tagline turn out to have awareness and care for environmental issues. Some are even old *pesantrens* established long before the environmentalism issues had been much discussed. This current research also portrays unprecedented targetted segment, namely the figure of *lora*, the young *keiai* with the whole potential as well as challenge to succeed the big vision in disseminating literacy on environmentalism issues while tranforming it to action and activism. Determinant factors, typology, and impacts of the role are certainly open findings for any correction and improvement, such as, using more representative samples or more diverse even different perspectives.

Apart of its academic contribution, this current research does have limitation, ranging from the number of samples to the perspective of moderation in the enviromental issues stemmed from synthesis between two ideologies, namely deep ecology and shallow ecology so that it needs theoretical examination using more diverse samplse and cases. The role of *lora* also deserves to be balanced with the exploration of *ning* or *ibu nya'*s contribution with different segment of *dakwah* target. Otherwise, it could be seen from the perspective of eco-feminism in the context of *pesantren*. Further studies which accommodate more variant cases, therefore, are needed to get deeper and more comprehensive insight as the policy bases to make it more appropriate and right on the target. Practically, this sporadic movement demands an institutionalized program which guarantee that the goal will be acieheved gradually and the cultural awareness will be absorbed more deeply.

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