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ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISM IN INDONESIAN PESANTREN: The Role of *Lora* in Mainstreaming Islamic Eco-theology in Tapal Kuda, East Java

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Abstract: Young *kiai*s (also known as *lora* in Madura culture) at Tapal Kuda, East Java have become increasingly involved in environmental issues, yet not in a fully coordinated or organized manner. This article attempts to give a brief portrayal of this fledgling movement and its moderate form of religious environmentalism. This study seeks to identify the factors responsible for this new environmentalist movement, the individuals behind it, and its impact in East Java. Through interviews and observations it is argued that the *lora* show moderation in propagating their concerns and empowering the community to take care of the environment as a manifestation of their Islamic eco-theological ethics. The informants responded to internal and external factors described in terms of their typology; participant, proponent, and activator. The movement has a measurable impact in terms of awareness, community establishment, cooperation with relevant institutions and supporting facilities and shows significant potential to develop further and establish itself in the region, while overcoming several challenges that slow its activism. The results of this study are expected to highlight the contributions of what so-called the Islamic eco-theology in Indonesian pesantren that participate in the current efforts to protect and preserve the natural environment.

Keywords: Islamic Eco-theology, Moderate Environmentalism, Pesantren, *Lora*.

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Introduction

Until recently, the Islamic boarding school or pesantren has been known as a central institution for teaching and learning Islamic sciences as well as the backbone for Islamic character building in Indonesia. In recent years, however, the pesantren has expanded its traditional role and actively engages in problems outside its accustomed sphere, such as supporting the economic development of the wider community and protecting the environment. New terms such as 'green pesantren' and 'eco-pesantren' are increasingly used and raised in discussion. This trend can be the result of the joint ecopesantren program organized by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kementerian Agama) and the environment ministry inaugurated in 2008.1 Certain *pesantren* institutions and leading figures have received awards for their engagement in environmental issues. For example, in 2021, Zarkasyi Hasbi received the Kalpataru Award, ² 10 pesantren in East Java have been selected as Eco-Pesantren by Khofifah Indar Parawansa, the governor of East Java,³ and a similar award is given by the regent of Bogor. 4 This recent development prompted Gelling, the senior editor of Insider and former Indonesian New York Times

¹ Adam Diavano, "Program Eco-Pesantren Berbasis Kemitraan sebagai Upaya Memasyarakatkan Isu-isu Lingkungan Melalui 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.

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.antaranews.com/berita/45096/bupati-bogor-memberikan-penghargaan-ecology-pondok-pesantren.

correspondent based in Jakarta, to call Indonesia the home of Islamiceco environmentalism, in recognition of the rising number of pesantren which have subscribed to eco-Islamic values and concepts.⁵ Gilling's term seems to be justified considering that 900 out of the 17,000 pesantren in Indonesia have reportedly implemented a form of ecofriendly water and energy management as well as waste treatment.⁶ These initiatives demonstrated the expanding role of *pesantren* in ecoactivism which is increasingly recognized in Indonesian society.

Some pesantren figures have demonstrated a high concern toward environmental issues, the most noteworthy being Nurcholis Misbah from al-Amanah, Krian and Muhammad Asrofi from Banin-Banat sl-Mubtadi'en, Kediri. Tuan Guru Hasanain Junaini has also received several awards for his contributions in environmental conservation.8 Kiai Sahal Mahfudh wrote about eco-religious education in the Indonesian pesantren in his recent work on social Islamic jurisprudence where he highlighted the role of environmental issues as a subject of scholarly discourse and social activism.9 The four mentioned kiais are classified as senior kiais. On the contrary, at several pesantren in Tapal Kuda¹⁰ in East Java, the eco movement is led by the younger generation of kiais commonly referred to as lora.

⁵ Arthur Saniotis, "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-countrieslead-green-issues.html.

⁷ Akhmad Baiquni, "Kepemipinan 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 Ecoda'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, "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 Tapal Kuda is an area in Indonesia's East Java Province. Its territory includes Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang, Jember, Situbondo, Bondowoso, and Banyuwangi. This area is so densely populated with Madurese culture on the island of Java that the Javanese refer to it as the Pendalungan Madura Culture, and it is located at the easternmost tip of Java Island, directly bordering the Bali Strait to the east.

East Java is home to the third largest number of *pesantren* after West Java and Banten Province¹¹ and has grown into a central pesantren area as the result of the Ulama Nusantara network through the figure of Kiai Kholil Bangkalan. The Tapal Kuda area is located in a highly strategic area, both in terms of its spatial and geographical and its cultural locus. The majority of Tapal Kuda residents are Madurese and share a common culture. This research attempts to explore the local eco movements from an ethnical perspective. Migration to Java is part of the history of the Madurese people, their preferred destination being Tapal Kuda where most new arrivals already have a family.¹² Thus, the name Tapal Kuda refers not only to a specific geographical location but a socio-political unit due to the similar backgrounds of its residents. Tapal Kuda is located in the eastern part of East Java stretching from the northeast side of Sumenep to the south-eastern tip of Banyuwangi. If a line is drawn from one side of the area to the other, it resembles the shape of a horseshoe (tapal). 13

Besides the traditional Islamic teachings disseminated in the *pesantren*, the young disciples or *lora* are also exposed to progressive discourse and thought, including issues of natural sovereignty and environmental conservation. The National Front for Natural Resource Sovereignty (NFNRS) or Front Nasional untuk Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam (FNKSDA) is such an autonomous organ of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).¹⁴ NFNRS members are former *pesantren* students (*santri*) who engage in eco-activism¹⁵ and are led by *lora* who play an important role in this organization. For instance, Mohammad

¹¹ Pangkalan Data Pondok Pesantren (PDPP), "Statistik Data Pondok Pesantren," 2021, https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/pdpp/statistik?id=35.

¹² Muh Syamsuddin, "Agama, Migrasi dan Orang Madura," *Aplikasia: Jurnal Aplikasi Ilmu-ilmu Agama* VIII, no. 2 (2007): 150–82.

¹³ Liyana Trisna Hutari, "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.

¹⁴ Wahyu Saepudin, "The Role of the Front Nahdliyin 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 Pemikiran dan Aksi Gerakan Sosial Front Nahdliyin Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam/FNKSDA)" (Universits Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019).

¹⁵ Murtadho, "Gerakan Lingkungan Kaum Muda NU (Studi tentang Pemikira Kedaulatan Pemikiran dan Aksi Gerakan Sosial Front Nahdliyin Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam/ FNKSDA)," 29.

al-Fayyadl and Dardiri Zubairi are NFNRS activists as well as leading educators. Although Murtadho blames kiai for ignoring this issue and mentions that some even prefer to become a part of it for pragmatic and opportunistic purposes, their social standing in Javanese society is indisputable. According to Murtadho, the local kiai were not the key players in the campaign to prevent the building of a cement plant in Rembang, Central Java;¹⁶ however, the social standing of the *kiai* in Javanese society is indisputable.

The kiai eco-activists are respected Islamic scholars with religious authority in their community but no experts in environmental engineering. However, given their social status, they are able to influence public opinion and lift the profile of local activist groups by showing their support and joining their cause. Unfortunately, only seven lora in Tapal Kuda are known to be ecoactivists and, therefore, do not represent the general population of pesantren eco-activists in East Java. Most of their eco-activities are carried out by their own initiative as a reflection of their dedication to moral values and principles.

Previous research on this topic was drawn from multiple perspectives. First, there is the category of studies on the concept of environmental conservation in Islam, such as the works of Seyyed Hussein Nasr,¹⁷ Saniotis,¹⁸ Supian,¹⁹ Setia,²⁰ Umam,²¹ and Khitam.²² Second, there are the studies on environmental conservation

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.

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).

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

¹⁹ Supian, "Eco-Philosophy sebagai Cetak Biru Filsafat Ramah Lingkungan", Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam 4, no. 2 (2014).

²⁰ Adi Setia, "The Inner Dimensions of Going Green: Articulating an Islamic Deep-Ecology," Islam & Science 5, no. 2 (2007): 117–50.

²¹ Muchammad Helmi Umam, "Kosmoteologi Islam Indonesia", Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam 2, no. 2 (2012).

²² 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.

movements in the Muslim community, such as the Murtadho²³ and Saepudin.²⁴ Third, some studies focussed on the *pesantren* culture and figures such as Baiquni, 25 Mangunjaya, 26 Anwar et al., 27 Qori'ah et al., 28 Bakhtiar et al.,²⁹ Choiron,³⁰ Fahrurrazi,³¹ Mahzumi et al.,³² Fawaid,³³ Khitam,³⁴ and Tasidin et al.³⁵ However, there has not yet been a regional study that discusses the role of the kiai in environmental conservation. Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gap by examining the environmental activism of the lora of Tapal Kuda.

The qualitative design of this study entails that the data were collected from interviews, observations, and literature studies related

²³ Murtadho, "Gerakan Lingkungan Kaum Muda NU (Studi tentang Pemikiran Kedaulatan Pemikiran dan Aksi Gerakan Sosial Front Nahdliyin Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Alam/FNKSDA)."

²⁴ Saepudin, "The Role of the Front Nahdlivin to Support Sovereignty over Natural Resources: Hadith Reception on Ecology."

²⁵ Baiguni, "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)."

²⁶ Fachruddin Majeri Mangunjaya, "Desain Ekopesantren dalam Kerangka Pembangunan Berkelanjutan," Sekolah Pascasarjana IPB (Institut Pertanian Bogor, 2012).

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ Sityi Maesarotul Qori'ah, "Perempuan sebagai Agen Kedaulatan Pangan di Pesantren Ekologi Ath-Thaariq Garut," Yin Yang 13, no. 2 (2013): 309–25.

²⁹ Reza Bakhtiar and Aris Risdiana, "Green Islam: New-Theology and Implementation of Pesantren Al Qodir Managerial System," Dialogia: Islamic Studies and Social Journal 19, no. 1 (2021): 32-56.

³⁰ Ah Choiron, "Budaya Organisasi Pesantren dalam Membentuk Santri Putri yang Peduli Konservasi Lingkungan," Palastren: Studi Gender 10, no. 2 (2017): 171–84.

³¹ 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.

³² Fikri Mahzumi, Suhermanto, and Iffah, "The Forest Warrior of Walisongo Islamic Boarding School Tuban: Supporting Students as Ecotheology Based Forest Conservator", Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam 20, no. 1 (2019).

³³ 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.

³⁴ Khitam, "Manifestasi Nilai Teologi dalam Gerakan Ekologi."

³⁵ Muhammad Safrizal Tasidin, "Pondok Pesantren Modern dengan Konsep Green Building di Kabupaten Gowa," Journal of Economic, Business and Engineering 2, no. 1 (2020): 195–205.

to the ecological discourse from the Islamic perspective in line with the practices described by seven *lora* from different *pesantren* in Tapal Kuda. This approach allowed the researcher to observe the activities of each facility directly. The data analysis was carried out within the scope of Islamic eco-theology to determine the moderation level of the built concepts. Eco-theology is a critique of the traditional approach to religion in the area, which does not protect the natural environment from destruction,³⁶ while *Islam* is used as a specific marker indicating that Islamic values are upheld to support the concept. The term 'Islamic eco-theology' is considered relevant for the subject of this study because the eco-activism of the *lora* is a strong indicator of their theological normative and ethical views.

This study argues that the *loras* in Tapal Kuda, East Java have the opportunity to initiate public discourses on environmental conservation. However, the activism of each *lora* reflects his own tendency, concern, and expertise, and his role is influenced by his immediate environment and the challenges it brings. This article will discuss the determining factors responsible for the eco concerns of the *lora* and provide a typological mapping of their ecological conservation effort and impact. The results of this study are expected to highlight the contributions of the eco-friendly *pesantren* that participate in the current efforts to protect and preserve the natural environment. The Indonesian government and private institutions in the area can support the *pesantren* initiatives by issuing policies to support the development of green *pesantren*.

Profile and Determinant Factors for the Eco Activism of the Lora in Tapal Kuda

The involvement of the seven *lora* in local eco movements is largely due to their social status and higher level of access. They are able to retain their individual view and follow their personal inclinations while serving their community. Therefore, these individuals' choice to engage in environmental issues deserves further discussion. This study employed six *pesantren* in Tapal Kuda, East Java as the locus of research: Al Yasini, Pasuruan; Nurul Jadid, Paiton, Probolinggo; Al Falah, Silo, Jember; Nurud Dhalam, Arak-Arak,

³⁶ Abdul Quddus, "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.

Syafi'iyah, Sukorejo, Situbondo; Bondowoso: Salafiyah Annuqayah, Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep. Each pesantren is represented by one lora, with the exception of Pesantren Nurul Jadid that is represented by Lora Fahri and Lora Fayyadl, at the regional and the national level, respectively. This scheme is expected to represent the environmental movements of the lora in Tapal Kuda from various dimensions and scales.

The following are the lora's determinant variables for ecoactivism as evidenced in their personal and professional profiles. In general, these determinant elements are classified as internal or external factors.

First, Lora Tsabit from Pesantren al-Yasini, Pasuruan. In his personal life and pesantren profile, Lora Tsabit graduated from a pesantren and pursued his higher education in Islamic education (Tarbiyah) in STAIN Malang. He is one of the founders of Mapala (Mahasiswa Pecinta Alam or Students of Nature Lovers) Thursina at STAIN (now UIN) Malang. He collaborated with Mapala of Universitas Islam Malang (Unisma) and UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya to build a mosque and traditional Islamic elementary school (Madrasah Diniyah) in Ranupane, Semeru, Lumajang while developing the village as a center of environmental conservation. He followed his own concerns, formed his own experiences, and made connections with similar groups. His *pesantren* authorizes Lora Tsabit to organize public community service as the head of the Public Relations Division and Community Engagement. The high volume of waste produced in his pesantren forced him to tackle this problem.³⁷ Pesantren al-Yasini is inhabited by 2,898 santri from kindergarten to higher education level, with a total of 502 teachers and employees.³⁸ Observing from the horizon that influenced Lora Tsabit, there are internal factors from himself and the *pesantren* he manages as well as external factors outside the pesantren he has lived in mainstreaming this environmental activism.

Second Lora Aso from Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyyah, Situbondo. Lora Aso has a higher education background from Institut Agama Islam al-Ibrahimy in Islamic education and serves as dean of the Faculty of Social and Humaniora at Ibrahimy University. The

³⁷ Interview with Lora Tsabit, June 22, 2022.

³⁸ Admin, "Statisik," 2019, https://alyasini.net/statistik/.

pesantren was founded in 191439 with 17,000 santri at various levels of education. This *pesantren* has implemented various environmental programs initiated by the board of pesantren administrators and monitored by its caretakers. The large volume of waste produced in the pesantren prompted it to seek a solution in collaboration with the local residents. It succeeded in solving the waste by constructing a waste landfill.40 The horizon influencing environmental activism is based on external aspects as a determinant factor.

Third Lora Mugit from Pesantren al-Falah, Jember. He graduated from Pesantren Annuqayah, Sumenep. He studied strata-1 (criminal law) and was a board member of the Community Service Bureau in Annugavah concerned with environmental conservation. He served as vice-regent of Jember 2016-2021. This position allowed him to establish ties with the local forest rangers. Now he is the chairman of al-Falah Foundation, Silo, Jember. 41 Pesantren al-Falah is divided into six blocks surrounded by forest and houses 652 santri. Lora Muqit's environmental engagement was internalized as a result of his internal circumstances and *pesantren* activities.

Forth Lora Fahri from Pesantren Nurul Jadid, Probolinggo. He is a former member of Mapala at IAI Nurul Jadid, Probolinggo and currently serves as the head of the Conservation and Environment Bureau (BKLH or Badan Konservasi Lingkungan Hidup) of Nurul Jadid. Pesantren Nurul Jadid houses 7,000s santris and 12,000s of educators, non-educational staff, and non-dwelling santri. It cooperates with 16 formal educational institutions pioneering in environmental conservation programs. The pesantren has a lack of access to clean water and faces the threat of abrasion.⁴² Observing from the horizon that affected Lora Fahmi, there are internal reasons from himself and the pesantren he administers, as well as external ones beyond the pesantren he has lived in, that have contributed to the mainstreaming of this environmental activism.

Fifth Lora Fayyadl from Pesantren Nurul Jadid, Probolinggo. He graduated from Pesantren Annuqayah and pursued his higher education at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (Strata-1) and Universite

³⁹ Syamsul A. Hasan, "Sejarah Berdirinya Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah," 2013, https://sukorejo.com/2013/06/04/Sejarah-Berdirinya-Pondok-Pesantren-Salafiyah-Syafiiyah.html.

⁴⁰ Interview with Lora Aso, June 24, 2022.

⁴¹ Interview with Lora Muqit, June 23, 2022.

⁴² Interview with Lora Fahri, June 23, 2022.

Paris VIII in Philosophy Concentration (Strata-2).⁴³ He was a member of the national committee of FNKSDA and actively advocated agrarian conflicts. He currently serves as a director (mudir) of Ma'had Aly (Higher Islamic School), Nurul Jadid. 44 Lora Fayyadl is a prolific writer45 and speaker in discussion forums and participated in interviews on eco-problems.46 His main idea is that environmental conservation is a part of political Islamic jurisprudence (figh alsiyāsah).47 The increasing occurrence of agrarian conflicts due to added infrastructure, such as the new airport in Yogyakarta, the cement plant in Rembang, and the toll road in Probolinggo, prompted Lora Fayyadl to become involved in advocacy. As viewed from Lora Fayyadl's viewpoint, both internal and external factors—outside of the pesantren he leads and within which he has lived—have contributed to the mainstreaming of this environmental advocacy.

Sixth Lora Faizi from Pesantren Annuqayah, Sumenep Madura. He has strong personal awareness regarding waste production, waste treatment, and environmental sustainability, especially in pesantren.⁴⁸

⁴³ W. Dicko, "Muhammad Al-Fayyadl: Kepahlawanan Bukan Milik Kaum Tua, Tapi 2019, https://timesindonesia.co.id/peristiwa-Generasi," daerah/238632/muhammad-alfayyadl-kepahlawanan-bukan-milik-kaum-tua-tapimilik-generasi.

⁴⁴ Humas, "Selamat! Ma'had Aly Nurul Jadid Sukses Wisuda Puluhan Kader Ahli Ke-VIII," accessed January https://www.nuruljadid.net/12810/selamat-mahad-aly-nurul-jadid-sukses-wisudapuluhan-kader-ahli-fiqh-ke-viii.

⁴⁵ "Muhammad Al-Fayyadl; Redaktur Islam Bergerak," accessed January 17, 2022, https://islambergerak.com/author/alfayyadl/.

⁴⁶ Alfin Haidar Ali, "Tawaran Gus Fayyadl Untuk PBNU dalam Halaqah Fiqh 2022, https://alif.id/read/ahal/tawaran-gus-fayyadl-untuk-pbnudalam-halaqah-fikih-peradaban-b245873p/; Admin, "Urgensi Merumuskan Fiqh Tatanan Dunia Baru," 2022, https://fnksda.or.id/urgensi-Bagi merumuskan-fiqh-siyasah-bagi-tatanan-dunia-baru/.

⁴⁷ Interview with Lora Fayyadl, June 23, 2022. See also Ali, "Tawaran Gus Fayyadl Untuk PBNU dalam Halaqah Fiqh Peradaban."

⁴⁸ Redaksi, "Kiai M. Faizi Inginkan Pesantren Terbebas dari Sampah Plastik," https://hidavatuna.com/kiai-m-faizi-inginkan-pesantren-terbebas-darisampah-plastik/. See also Moh Tamimi, "Kiai M. Faizi, Penggagas Pesantren Tanpa Sampah Plastik," accessed January 18, 2022, https://islamindonesia.id/siapadia/kiai-m-faizi-penggagas-pesantren-tanpa-sampah-plastik.htm. See Eko Wawan "Dinul Hijau; Islam, Makan Dan Lingkungan," 2020, https://www.terakota.id/dinul-hijau-makan-islam-lingkungan/.

He is a prolific writer,⁴⁹ and one of his best-selling books is about environmental issues. In Lora Faizi's view, the environmental problems in Pesantren Annuqayah have resulted from a large volume of waste and the lack of literacy related to recycling, sorting, and waste management.⁵⁰ The pesantren houses about 8,000 santri at different education levels. Lora Faizi lives in Sawajarin (Madaris 3) which manages three blocks and four education levels. There are internal and external factors—besides the pesantren led by Lora Faizi and the context in which he lives—which cause him to mainstream this environmental movement.

Seventh Lora Musholli from Pesantren Nurud Dhalam Sumenep Madura. He has a Ph.D. in Qur'anic studies and is a lecturer, pesantren caretaker, director of Ma'had Aly, expert team member of DPRD (House of Representatives), NU administrator, RMI (Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah, Islamic Boarding School Federation) administrator, and actively engages in various social activities. The need of the local community for a lora who can provide them with practical religious and spiritual guidance led Lora Musholli to establish a learning forum (pengajian) called Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn which is regularly broadcasted or streamed online. Nurud Dhalam lies in a hilly jungle area and offers five education levels for around 300 santri, both residents and non-residents. Personally, he is involved in maintaining forest conservation in his role as caretaker. There are internal and external horizons—besides the pesantren led by Lora Musholli and the context in which he lives—which cause him to mainstream this environmental movement.

The aforementioned explanation shows that the environmental views and activism of the lora in Tapal Kuda, are driven by internal and external factors, with their respective contexts or backgrounds. Internal factors include personal background (e.g., the community), mindset (e.g., circle of friends, affiliated organizations) and main tasks and roles in the *pesantren* organizational structure. Meanwhile, external factors are related to the level of literacy of the pesantren community regarding environmental issues, waste volume, and geographical factors. It was found that not all lora were influenced by both internal

Abbas, "Memperbaiki Bumi dari Meja 2020, https://pcnusumenep.or.id/resensi/memperbaiki-bumi-dari-meja-makan/.

Dari Meja Makan," accessed "Merusak Bumi January 2022. https://cantrikpustaka.com/product/merusak-bumi-dari-meja-makan/.

⁵⁰ Interview with Lora Faizi, May 20, 2022.

and external determinant factors. Also, some were only motivated by one factor, such as Lora Aso who continued his predecessors' environmental program of waste management, and Lora Muqit who was asked to deal with environmental issues in his district when serving as the vice-regent. Even though the *lora* had different motives, both contributed to supporting environmental conservation programs by applying the values of their *pesantren*.

The formal educational background, affiliated organization, circle of friends, and associations of lora proved to be very influential in determining their level of eco-activism. Often, their position allowed them to initiate various programs in environmental conservation. For instance, Lora Tsabit and Lora Fahri's eco-activism is closely related to their experience as Mapala members. Personal insights, literacy, and lora networks made it easier for them to maintain their eco-activism like Lora Fayyadl who was well known for his ideas and movements on issues of natural resource sovereignty in a national scale. In these three cases, the determinant factors that triggered their eco concerns were strongly influenced by their respective backgrounds and networks. Although they had different educational backgrounds, involved in different activities, had different networks, and associated with different communities, they enjoyed the same social standing which allowed them to engage their santri and the wider community in their environmental conservation programs.

Furthermore, the *lora* showed a moderate stance in their understanding of eco-activism by not engaging in any radical or extreme eco-activism, as that would have been considered as breaking with traditional politeness. The spirit of moderation in the eco-activism of the *lora* in Tapal Kuda was evident from the way the balance they achieved between worldly and unworldly orientation. The worldly orientation, for example, is clear from their waste management such as maggots breeding on organic waste and recycling plastic waste, which brought economic benefits for the whole community. Meanwhile, the unworldly orientation, although not conveyed explicitly, is visible in the way they directed their *pesantren* community to develop a form of environmental piety through religious values. Thus, they expected the religious piety of the *pesantren* community to be reflected in the way they treated their natural environment. These two simultaneous orientations resulted in

a moderate and balanced eco-activism. For example, Lora Musholli acted as the caretaker of a pesantren situated in a jungle area, which allowed him to participate in protecting the jungle flora and fauna. Also called kiai hutan (Islamic jungle scholar), he said, "At least, if there is a *pesantren* here, people are reluctant to cut the trees carelessly and illegally."51

In addition to internal factors, the situation of the pesantren often gave rise to immediate eco concerns. The larger pesantren produce large volumes of waste and are forced to develop literacy and management capability to minimize the problem of waste, as do those located in areas prone to ecological threats. For instance, Nurul Jadid's pesantren was located close to the beach and exposed to abrasion and was experiencing a clean water crisis, while lying not far from the toll road procurement project that was displacing the residents' land. Thus, external factors like these contributed to the emergence of local environmental protection programs as immediate problem-solving strategies. According to Kiai Sahal, the pesantren can act as a support, complement, motivator, and facilitator of environmental development programs.⁵² These choices depend on the condition of each pesantren, such as its community literacy, geographical location, and availability of resources.

Typology of *Lora*'s Eco-activism

Given their similar mission and purpose, the seven lora informants proved to have different perspectives and technical strategies, albeit not contradictory ones. They, lora, acted either as sympathizers, proponents, or activists. The first type of sympathizer is rather passive and does not set the eco-activism agenda himself or becomes the main actor in its implementation; rather, the environmental program runs smoothly with his support and is scheduled at a different time from another running agenda that is routinely implemented. Meanwhile, the proponent type is actively engaged in building pesantren community's awareness, while the lora activist is actively involved and practically engaged in eco-activism and initiates eco-activism programs. These three types of eco-activism are described in the table below, along with the format and strategies of each.

⁵¹ Interview with Lora Musholli, June 24, 2022.

⁵² Sahal Mahfudh, Nuansa Figh Sosial (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2012), 395.

Table 1: Environmental activism and role of the *lora* in Tapal Kuda

No	Name	Type	Role in Environmental Conservation	
1	Lora	Proponent	Providing separate waste collection facilities	
	Tsabit	Activist	across the <i>pesantren</i>	
			Initiating collaboration with Social Forestry	
			in allocating special space waste treatment	
			and final landfill facilities.	
			Waste treatment through maggot breeding	
			(BSF; Black Soldier Fly); one kilogram of	
			maggots can consume one ton of organic	
			waste.	
			Final waste landfill for the disposal of	
			plastic and inorganic waste for recycling for	
			the wider community. ⁵³	
2	Lora	Sympathiz	Monitoring the waste train facility with	
	Aso	er	other caretakers to move the waste from	
			any part of <i>pesantren</i> to the final waste	
			landfill for recycling.	
			Regular inspection with other caretakers to	
			dispose of the waste during the school break 54	
3	T	D	Cooperating with Perhutani (Perusahaan	
3	Lora	Proponent Activist	1 0	
	Muqit	ACTIVIST	Umum Kehutanan Negara Indonesia; State	
			General Company of Indonesian Forestry) and the wider local community to plant	
			trees while collaborating with the forest	
			ranger to prevent and minimize cases of	
			illegal logging. ⁵⁵	
			Inviting the <i>santri</i> in gardening activities,	
			tree planting; one tree can save 75 liters of	
			water. ⁵⁶	
4	Lora	Activist	Continuing the initiative of Nurul Jadid	
	Fahri		who started planting mangrove trees in the	
			199os to prevent abrasion and provide	
			clean water access. He is also a co-initiator	
			of <i>halal</i> tourism in the coastal area. ⁵⁷	

⁵³ Interview with Lora Tsabit, June 23, 2022.

⁵⁴ Interview with Lora Aso, June 24, 2022.

⁵⁵ Admin, "Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah," accessed January 19, 2022, https://alfalah.id/sejarah-pesantren-alfalah/.

⁵⁶ Interview with Lora Muqit, June 23, 2022.

⁵⁷ Interview with Lora Fahri, June 23, 2022.

5	Lora Fayyad l	Proponent -Activist	Heading BKLH, a bureau for the treatment of 8 tons of waste produced daily by the pesantren through a waste treatment site; promoting alternatives to plastic water bottles (plastic waste diet). Routinely writing or promoting environmental conservation (hifz al-bi'ah) as a part of political jurisprudence (fiqh al-siyāsah) and the agriculture crisis. ⁵⁸
6	Lora Faizi	Proponent Activist	Focusing on waste sorting and waste treatment since 2008. Using organic fertilizers (compost) and supporting dry areas around the pesantren. Author of Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan (Destroying the Earth from the Dining Table). Initiating a conservation program in his residential area by organizing a waste collection team for the pesantren. Student T-shirts with the slogan "Deviant santri throw the waste randomly, common santri throw waste in the bin, while wise santri do not produce waste." to raise awareness. Minimizing waste production through regulation and sorting waste; no use of bottled water. 59
7	Lora Musho lli	Sympathiz er Proponent	Building awareness regarding the urgency of environmental conservation as a part of the religious obligation to avoid an ecological crisis. Leading a mass congregation forum for the local residents to promote jungle diversity. Heading a jungle <i>pesantren</i> and preventing illegal logging and other abuses. ⁶⁰

The above table shows that the lora in Tapal Kuda choose different strategies to implement their environmental mission; some choose to serve one role, while others hold two roles. In addition to their personal background and their official role in the pesantren, the

⁵⁸ Interview with Lora Fayyad, June 23, 2022.

⁵⁹ Interview with Lora Faizi, May 20, 2022.

⁶⁰ Interview with Lora Musholli, June 22, 2022.

institution's situation also plays a role in determining the type of ecoactivism. Mapping showed that each pesantren is unique and distinctive, which leads to equally diverse and distinctive responses. The typology also implied that the *lora*' activists had support systems available to support their additional roles as sympathizers and proponents. For example, Lora Fahri could build on the achievements of the older generation of his predecessors to continue their mission after creating awareness among the *pesantren* community. Meanwhile, Lora Fayyadl focused on advocacy through writing and speaking in scientific seminars. Thus, the eco-activism of the lora manifested in diverse ways and seemed to grow naturally out of their concern for the environment and their respective professional roles.

Practically, the environmental activism of the *lora* in Tapal Kuda was implemented through cooperation with other institutions well as empowerment of their students and the wider community and the surrounding area. An example for this is the waste landfill project organized by the Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah, which benefitted the whole community and encouraged them to recycle their waste, while the students learned to avoid producing unnecessary waste. This sort of community engagement results in increased social, cultural, and structural capital to ensure the program's sustainability. Further, cooperation with external institutions, such as Perhutani, Forest Ranger, and Social Forestry shows the sizeable external network of the lora. Meanwhile, the engagement of the wider pesantren community indicates the prestige that the lora enjoy in the community, which enables them to mobilize the public and ensure their cooperation and commitment to the cause

Other than that, the diverse strategies used by the lora also showed that most eco-activism is a direct response to challenges. For instance, Lora Faizi did not hesitate to engage cleaning service staff, Lora Tsabit assigned the task of maggot breeding to some of his santri, and Lora Muqit invited his santri to help with planting trees. This left the lora free to focus on supervision, monitoring, and coordination. This strategy enabled them to focus on innovation and ensure the sustainability of their programs.

This sort of community involvement strengthens the aspect of Islamic eco-theological moderation. The eco-activism of the lora reflects their understanding that issues like waste production and waste treatment are the responsibility of the whole community. Therefore, not only supporting facilities need to be provided, but also awareness literacy are required. For example, Lora Faizi authors bestselling books on environmental issues, and Lora Fayyadl published articles and delivers public lectures. This standing is the combination of deep and shallow ecology. Deep ecology assumes that natural damage is caused by technical treatment or human activity, while shallow ecology considers that human needs awareness and insight about how they should treat nature. 61 Those strategies and roles reflect the lora's attempt to realize the Islamic concept of man's viceregency on Earth in the context of natural conservation, although they do not openly discuss this and prefer to lead by practical example (lisān al-hāl) as part of character building and personal piety to complement the formal religious education at the *pesantren*.

Lora Faizi does not consume bottled mineral water; however, he does not expect his santri to do the same, and they are not forbidden to do so. Instead, he has introduced more environmentallyfriendly foods and food packaging at the pesantren and is thus slowly changing the students' consumer habits. His understanding is that nature is sacred and must be treated respectfully. Rather than 'going native' and completely rejecting all modern forms of exploiting natural resources, eco-activists like the lora in Tapal Kuda have responded by decreasing the scale of natural exploitation and waste production. In addition, the eco-friendly pesantren also supports the local community economically through their recycling programs. This is in line with the balanced mission of Islam between worldly and unworldly orientation and achieves a moderate and balanced view.

Impact of Eco-activism among the *Lora* in Tapal Kuda

Lora's effort of discourse mainstreaming and achievement of community consensus to protect the environment apply different strategies but have a measurable impact on the pesantren and the wider community. This impact can be immaterial, such as increased awareness, literacy on environmental issues, and cooperation with relevant parties while establishing a new system of waste management, or material, such as procurement of supporting facilities. Those evident results are not only diverse but also supported by third-party involvement, such as by the pesantren

⁶¹ Edra Satmaidi, "Konsep Deep Ecology dalam Pengaturan Hukum Lingkungan," Jurnal Penelitian Hukum Supremiasi Hukum 24, no. 2 (2015).

community, neighbors, and outsiders. Additionally, they imply potential in the form of sustainability and development as well as challenges related to the characteristics, concerns, and limitations of each pesantren. The impact along with the three variants are summarized in the table below:

> Table 2: Impact of Lora's Environmental Insight and Activism

	Impact Impact			
Name	Impact Evidence	Involved Party	Potential and Challenge	
Lora Tsabit	Waste bank and maggot breeding area. Synergy in recycling plastic waste. Waste separation in the pesantren area.	Santri and other pesantren community members. Neighbors, wider Community.	High potential to support neighbors' economy and smoothen the waste treatment process. Absence of strategic and sustainable techniques for recycling plastic waste. The urgency to observe possible side effects of maggot breeding.	
Lora Aso	Waste train to carry 10 tons of waste each day from the <i>pesantren</i> area to the waste bank. Accessed by the wider community to collect and recycle plastic waste.	Pesantren community; cleaning service staff to collect waste in the whole area Cooperation of the wider community.	Added income and closer social ties with the wider community. Principles of environmental conservation are not included in the school curriculum Absence of a settled community to maintain the sustainability of the eco-programs	

T	C' '.1	D	C
Lora	Cooperation with	Perhutani	Geographical
Muqit	Perhutani to	Wider	proximity to jungle
	procure seeds	community	areas facilitates eco-
	and plant trees	Santri	activism among the
	by the <i>santri</i> and	Jungle rangers	santri.
	other community		Lack of a formal
	members.		system to ensure the
	Collaboration		sustainability of
	with jungle		ongoing programs.
	rangers to		Principles of
	prevent illegal		environmental
	logging and other		preservation are not
	harmful activity.		included in the
	More awareness		school curriculum.
	among the santri		
	about the		
	urgency of		
	reforestation.		
Lora	Continuation of	Santri	Best practice and
Fachri	mangrove	Wider	mandate from the
	plantation	community	pesantren founder to
	project and	BKLH Nurul	replace every felled
	protecting areas	Jadid.	tree.
	vulnerable to		Previous initiatives
	abrasion.		started by the
	Continuation of		pesantren supervisor
	daily organic		are continued by
	waste treatment		their successors.
	to create		Mangrove trees are
	compost.		prone to be
	Reduction of		damaged by goats
	plastic waste by		Principles of
	replacing plastic		environmental
	bags/bottles with		preservation are not
	organic materials		included in the
	TPST (Tempat		school curriculum.
	Pengelolaan		Need to expand the
	Sampah Terpadu;		final waste landfill
	Integrated Waste		area.
	Management		arca.
	\cup		
	Site) through		
	BKLH.		

Lora Fayyadl	Awareness of agrarian sovereignty. Awareness of figh al-bī'ah as part of figh al-siyāsah.	Santri Agrarian sovereignty activists. Individuals interested in environmental issues.	Recognition by national environmental activists. Principles of environmental preservation are not included in the school curriculum.
Lora Faizi	Awareness and literacy among santri to reduce waste production. Enforced and monitored waste separation. Cleaning service staff to collect pesantren waste and transport it to waste landfill Eco-friendly practices of santri use reusable packaging, recycling, and traditional organic material.	Santri and students in the segmented area (Madaris 3 Annuqayah) Cleaning service staff. Readers.	Effective system to safeguard continuation of natural conservation program. Limited initiative and environmental activism in other blocks of the pesantren
Lora Musholli	Pesantren and community activities to protect the jungle Growing literacy and awareness among santri and the wider community to view natural preservation as part of the Islamic mission Jungle projects	Pesantren community. Wider community. Online audience.	Eco-activism has not yet become a priority in the main agenda. Lack of strategic plans for eco-activism by the pesantren. Social capital of the pesantren to mobilize the public and prevent illegal logging.

for long-term	
environmental	
conservation.	

The third table above shows that the impact of lora's ecoactivism varied in each case and affected the immediate environment of the *pesantren* as well as the wider community. The community surrounding the institution turned into an environmentally friendly community equipped with supporting facilities to sort the waste for recycling, as in the case of Pesantren al-Yasini and Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyyah. At another level, there is a broader impact through publication, such as in the case of Lora Faizi who published a book on waste production and supports agrarian sovereignty; thus, his influence was on a broader scale, albeit indirectly.

The pesantren initiatives have a long-term impact through establishing environmentalist organizations (LKBH in Nurul Jadid and Cool Scavenger (Pemulung Sampah Gaul) in Annuqayah) and the creation of supporting facilities for waste sorting and the waste landfill. Some *lora* also make use of slogans to create awareness among the santri, such as attaching labels to waste bins of al-Yasini ("Sort the waste before throwing it") or printed t-shirts for the Annugayah cleaning service staff.

Meanwhile, on a broader scale, the impact of the *pesantren* ecoactivism is felt in the form of added income for the surrounding community through recycling and increased interaction between the pesantren and the local residents. Thus, a symbiotic relationship evolved between both parties, to their mutual benefit. Pesantren Annuqayah also empowers its students to participate in the recycling process to increase their eco-literacy and gain practical skills to maximize the impact. In this way, the final waste landfill becomes a learning laboratory for the students, the staff, and the local community.

Further, the table highlights the potential of sustainability as well as the encountered challenges. In some cases, the lora continued the legacy of the founder or their predecessors. For example, the founder of Pesantren Nurul Jadid taught his santri to plant a new tree for every felled tree in the area or the senior kiai at Annugayah who started jungle conservation projects in the area of Prancak, Pasongosongan, and Sumenep which are continued by the younger generation. Environmental awareness and engagement, therefore, are not new to the *pesantren*.

Apart from this, the *lora* were forced to deal with certain challenges ranging from the *pesantren*'s traditional top-down management style, the attitudes of the *santri*, and the division of the *pesantren* into autonomous blocks. One *lora* explained that the hierarchical structure of the *pesantren* did not allow him to carry out knowledge induction, awareness building, and advocacy among the more senior *kiais*. Another informant added that advocacy could not always be done directly and in a confrontational manner; it had to be done in accordance with traditional politeness and manners (*cangkolang* in Madurese/*ewuh pakewuh* in Javanese). Thus, change had to occur gradually, as reflected in the moderation of the eco-activism of the *lora* in Tapal Kuda and had to be included in the list of their many other tasks and priorities.

The impact of the *lora*'s eco-activism seemed limited to the inner circles of the *pesantren*; however, every *santri* will eventually leave the school and return to their own community where they can share their newfound knowledge and skills in environmental conservation with their family members, relatives, and neighbors and pass it on to the younger generation. The social standing of the *lora* has also significant potential.

Once the *santri* internalized and habitation among *santri* or surrounding community occurred, *lora* do not forget to use *pesantren* or Islamic formed strong mental and practical habits—which are both eco-friendly as well as Islamic—so that this ethical normative base can be sustained in the long term. It can be verbally articulated following the example of Lora Musholli or modeled in practice as done by Lora Faizi who intentionally emulates the example given by the Prophet. Lora Muqit agreed that as a Muslim he had the duty to preserve the jungle and protect nature. Such and similar statements indicate that the eco-activism of the *lora* is not a new trend and stems from ethic-normative considerations founded upon their understanding of Islamic eco-theology on different scales of intensity.

Concluding Remarks

The study suggested that the social and cultural capital of the *lora* did not guarantee that their eco initiatives would be successful and affect real change. The determinant factors of varying strength

⁶² Interview with Lora Faizi, May 20, 2022.

⁶³ Interview with Lora Mugit, June 23, 2022.

and scope were mapped into three types, each having their own impact, potential, and challenges. This closely related to the cultural and structural situation in the *pesantren*, the environmental literacy of its community, as well as availability of supporting resources. The relatively young age of the *lora* affected their ability to formulate their strategy when introducing their waste treatment plans. It transpired that the emergence of environmental conservation initiatives has always been a concern among the older generation of *pesantren* leaders. However, this eco-movement can benefit from an institutionalized program to guarantee sustainability by embedding the concept of Islamic eco-theology deeply into the local culture.

To some extent, this study confirmed the findings of previous research on the role of the pesantren role in mainstreaming environmental issues. Although the Indonesian pesantren are primarily traditional Islamic education institutions, they have become the new centers of environmentalism and eco-activism. A brief portraval of the figure of the *lora* as the young *kiai* was given to illustrate their role in bringing about change and patiently educating their students and the wider community in their responsibility for the environment.

Apart from its academic contribution, this current research was limited by the number of case studies and the perspective of moderation, as it argued that lora's strategy was derived from the synthesis between deep ecology and shallow ecology. Therefore, a thorough theoretical examination is needed. The role of lora also deserves to be examined against the contribution of ning or ibu nyai (women Islamic scholars, the spouse of *lora* or the daughter of *kiai*), with a different target segment, or from the perspective of ecofeminism in the context of pesantren. Further studies are needed to gain a deeper and more comprehensive insight into the phenomenon of eco-activism based on eco-Islamic theology.

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