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M. FAIZI AND ECOTHEOLOGY IN ACTION: THE FRAMING OF WASTE AT PESANTREN ANNUQAYAH, MADURA

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Abstract: *Studies of religious actors in Indonesia's environmental initiatives have mostly examined leadership and institutional achievement, while the construction of ecological meaning has received little systematic attention. This article analyzes the ecotheological thought and practice of M. Faizi, head (pengasuh) of the Al-Furqan Sabajarin unit of Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah, Sumenep, through Snow and Benford's theory of collective action framing. The data comprise his book, essays, and public statements, an interview with the Coordinator of the Cleanliness Bureau of Annuqayah, and direct observation; Faizi himself was not interviewed. Three findings emerge. First, Faizi diagnoses the ecological crisis as a consumerist fallacy that equates purchasing power with a license to waste. He names structural causes such as the privatization of water sources but places primary responsibility on the morality of consumption. His ecotheology rests on adab, the prohibition of israf, and tirakat, and is richer in moral psychology than in doctrinal or juristic elaboration. Second, he aligns this message with the worldview of santri by bridging scientific data with the dining etiquette of the kitab kuning, amplifying long-held values, extending the fiqh of water beyond ritual purity, and transforming the meaning of cleanliness from waste disposed of properly to waste not produced. Third, the frame is enacted through personal tirakat, pesantren rules, and the kompolan forums he leads. It is effectively enforced and modeled where his authority operates, but only thin traces appear beyond, because his structural diagnosis is not followed by structural prognosis or an organizational vehicle. The case is therefore better understood as a movement-like practice of personal piety than as an organized movement. Audience reception was not measured directly.*

Keywords: *Annuqayah; collective action framing; M. Faizi; pesantren ecotheology; waste.*

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***Abstrak**: Kajian tentang aktor keagamaan dalam gerakan lingkungan di Indonesia cenderung menyoroti kepemimpinan dan capaian kelembagaan, sedangkan cara aktor tersebut membangun makna ekologis jarang dianalisis secara sistematis. Artikel ini menganalisis pemikiran dan praktik ekoteologis M. Faizi, pengasuh unit Al-Furqan Sabajarin Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah, Sumenep, dengan teori collective action framing Snow dan Benford. Data berupa buku, esai, dan pernyataan publiknya, wawancara dengan Koordinator Biro Kebersihan Annuqayah, serta observasi langsung; Faizi sendiri tidak diwawancarai. Ada tiga temuan. Pertama, Faizi mendiagnosis krisis ekologis sebagai kekeliruan konsumeristik yang menyamakan daya beli dengan izin untuk memboroskan. Ia menyebut sebab struktural seperti privatisasi sumber air, tetapi menempatkan tanggung jawab utama pada moralitas konsumsi. Ekoteologinya bertumpu pada adab, larangan israf, dan tirakat, serta lebih kaya secara psikologi moral daripada elaborasi doktrinal atau fikih. Kedua, ia menyelaraskan pesan itu dengan pandangan dunia santri melalui penjembatanan data ilmiah dengan adab makan dalam kitab kuning, penguatan nilai lama, perluasan fikih air melampaui bersuci, dan transformasi makna kebersihan dari membuang sampah pada tempatnya menjadi tidak memproduksi sampah. Ketiga, bingkai itu dipraktikkan melalui tirakat pribadi, aturan pesantren, dan forum kompolan yang ia pimpin. Bingkai tersebut efektif ditegakkan dan diteladankan di ruang yang dijangkau otoritasnya, tetapi hanya meninggalkan jejak tipis di luarnya, karena diagnosis struktural tidak diikuti prognosis struktural maupun wahana organisasi. Kasus ini lebih tepat dipahami sebagai praktik menyerupai gerakan yang berbasis kesalehan pribadi daripada gerakan terorganisasi. Penerimaan khalayak belum diukur secara langsung.*

Kata Kunci: *Annuqayah; collective action framing; ekoteologi pesantren; M. Faizi; sampah.*

A. Introduction

Food waste and single-use plastic are the two environmental problems closest to the daily lives of Indonesians, and it is precisely this proximity that lets both slip from view, as though waste and plastic were simply part of the normal order of things. A study by the Ministry of National Development Planning (PPN/Bappenas), published in 2021, estimated that Indonesia's food loss and waste between 2000 and 2019 ranged from 23 to 48 million tonnes per year, equivalent to 115 to 184 kilograms per capita, with economic losses of roughly 4 to 5 percent of gross domestic product.[1] Figures of this magnitude do not originate in any single industry. They accumulate from millions of small decisions made in kitchens, in markets, and at feast tables. Damage rooted in habit of this kind calls for behavioral change on a broad scale, and in a religious society, behavioral change almost always requires a trusted authority to lend new meaning to old habits.

Indonesia has a fairly long history of involving religious figures in conservation work. In the study of religion and ecology, efforts and responses of this kind are referred to as

[1] Maria Elena, "Limbah Makanan di Indonesia Sebabkan Kerugian Ekonomi Rp551 Triliun per Tahun," Bisnis.com, June 10, 2021, https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20210610/9/1403752/limbah-makanan-di-indonesia-sebabkan-kerugian-ekonomi-rp551-triliun-per-tahun.

ecotheology.[2] Mangunjaya and McKay document a range of initiatives that have brought together religious leaders, eco-pesantren, international non-governmental organizations, and government policy at both national and regional levels.[3] A field trial in West Sumatra went as far as designing sermons on water conservation, delivered by trained religious leaders in mosques and pesantren during Ramadan, as a measurable intervention.[4] Enthusiasm for such faith-based approaches needs to be tempered with caution. A national survey by PPIM UIN Jakarta found a wide gap between Indonesian Muslims' knowledge of green Islam and their actual behavior.[5] Wijsen judges that the evidence linking religious belief to pro-environmental behavior is not yet strong enough to serve as a confident basis for policy.[6] It is this gap that makes two questions pressing: how a religious figure constructs his ecological message, and how far that message is able to reach its audience.

Madura offers a distinctive setting for both questions. Madurese society recognizes the order of *buppa', babbu', guru, rato* (father, mother, teacher, ruler), which places religious figures, in this case pesantren figures, in a position of honor, and obedience to the kiai and to the *lora*, the term for a kiai's son, often exceeds obedience to formal state officials.[7] El-Rumi and Muhith describe the *lora* as the biological regeneration of the kiai, frequently positioned as heir to pesantren leadership.[8] Such a position holds considerable reserves of trust. The question then shifts: to what end is that capital put, in what language, and with what results?

M. Faizi is one of the Madurese pesantren figures who has left a substantial mark in this domain. He is a *lora* who currently leads the Al-Furqan Sabajarin unit of Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah in Guluk-Guluk, Sumenep. Beyond his standing as a religious figure, he is widely known as a man of letters, and in recent years he has made plastic waste

[2] Celia Deane-Drummond, *A Primer in Ecotheology: Theology for a Fragile Earth*, 1st ed., Cascade Companions 37 (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2017), 9–10.

[3] Fachruddin Majeri Mangunjaya and Jeanne Elizabeth McKay, "Reviving an Islamic Approach for Environmental Conservation in Indonesia," *Worldviews* 16, no. 3 (2012): 286, https://doi.org/10.1163/15685357-01603006.

[4] Jeanne E. McKay et al., "Practise What You Preach: A Faith-Based Approach to Conservation in Indonesia," *Oryx* 48, no. 1 (2014): 23, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0030605313001087.

[5] Iim Halimatusa'diyah et al., *Dilema Environmentalisme: Seberapa "Hijau" Masyarakat Indonesia?*, 1st ed. (Ciputat, Tangerang, Banten: UIN Jakarta Press in collaboration with PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2024), 140–43.

[6] Frans Wijsen, "How Green Is Green Islam? Religious Environmentalism and Public Policy in Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 32, no. 3 (2025): 429, https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v32i3.46654.

[7] Ali Topan and Abdul Hakim, "The Role of Local Religious Figures (Kiai) in Strengthening Political Participation in Post-New Order Madura 1998-2019," *NAHNU: Journal of Nahdlatul Ulama and Contemporary Islamic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2023): 23, https://doi.org/10.63875/nahnu.v1i1.22.

[8] Umiarso El-Rumi and Abd. Muhith, "The Young Kyai (Lora) and Transformation of the Pesantren in Madura," *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies* 6, no. 2 (2020): 120, https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v6i2.3484.

and food waste a theme he continually writes about and puts into practice.[9] His book *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan* (Destroying the Earth from the Dining Table, 2020), together with essays scattered across basabasi.co, alif.id, NU Online, and his personal blog, forms a corpus rich enough to be read as a single intellectual project. Environmental media have also documented the strict rules on single-use packaging at his pesantren, along with his personal habit of refusing bottled drinking water.[10]

Faizi and his environmental work have in fact already been studied, albeit from angles different from the one proposed here. Hs, Zuhri, and Salik (2024) read Faizi through a phenomenology of leadership and conclude that the ecological piety of his santri is formed through direct example and the revitalization of religious teachings.[11] Basri (2022), drawing on extended ethnography at Annuqayah, situates Faizi within the historical trajectory of a green vision that earlier generations of the pesantren had already set in motion.[12] At the regional scale, Hasan et al. (2022) map the involvement of *lora* in the Tapal Kuda region onto a typology of *participant*, *proponent*, and *activator*, while noting that their movements remain poorly coordinated.[13] Umam (2022) examines how Madurese kiai and pesantren respond to environmental degradation through the lens of political ecology and finds that ecological literacy within pesantren remains weak.[14] Rahem et al. (2025) add that the waste-picking movement in Sumenep's pesantren is also driven by female santri, so it cannot be read as a movement of kiai alone.[15]

Building on this gap, the article addresses three questions. First, how does Faizi diagnose the ecological crisis and formulate its remedy? Second, what strategies does he use to align ecological ideas with the religious and cultural frameworks of his audience? Third, how is the frame realized in the practice of a movement, and how far does its resonance extend? Taken in sequence, these questions correspond to Faizi's thought, strategy, and movement.

To answer them, the article draws on the collective action framing perspective developed by Snow and Benford in the study of social movements. This perspective regards

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[9] Firdausi, "Begini Cara Masyayikh Annuqayah Sumenep Ciptakan Lingkungan Tanpa Plastik," NU Online, September 21, 2023, https://www.nu.or.id/daerah/begini-cara-masyayikh-annuqayah-sumenep-ciptakan-lingkungan-tanpa-plastik-oCvUi.

[10] Moh Tamimi, "Cerita Pondok Pesantren Anti Sampah Plastik di Sumenep," Environmental News, *Mongabay.co.id*, October 6, 2019, https://mongabay.co.id/2019/10/06/cerita-pondok-pesantren-anti-sampah-plastik-di-sumenep/.

[11] Dedi Eko Riyadi Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," *Journal of Pesantren and Diniyah Studies* 1, no. 2 (2024): 199, https://doi.org/10.63245/jpds.v1i2.26.

[12] Mohammad Hasan Basri, "'Green Islam' and 'Green Pesantren': An Ethnographic Study of Pesantren Annuqayah, Madura Island, Indonesia" (PhD diss., Western Sydney University, 2022), https://doi.org/10.26183/6XMD-XM10.

[13] Nor Hasan et al., "Environmental Activism in Indonesian Pesantren: The Role of Lora in Mainstreaming Islamic Eco-Theology in Tapal Kuda, East Java," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 2 (2022): 280, https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2022.12.2.280-306.

[14] Shohebul Umam, "Politik Ekologi: Respon Kiai dan Pesantren terhadap Degradasi Lingkungan di Madura," *Sustainable Jurnal Kajian Mutu Pendidikan* 5, no. 2 (2022): 364, https://doi.org/10.32923/kjmp.v5i2.2773.

[15] Zaitur Rahem et al., "Kerja Artikulatif Perempuan Pesantren di Sumenep Madura dalam Menjaga Bumi," *Ta'dibiya* 5, no. 1 (2025): 70, https://doi.org/10.61624/japi.v5i1.171.

movement actors as *signifying agents* actively engaged in producing and maintaining meaning for constituents, bystanders, and antagonists alike. A collective action frame is built through three core tasks. Diagnostic framing identifies a problem and attributes its cause or assigns blame. Prognostic framing articulates a solution along with the strategies for achieving it. Motivational framing supplies a rationale for action, including the vocabularies of motive that move people to act.[16]

B. Methods

This is a qualitative study employing a figure-study design and a theological-sociological approach. The theological approach is used to analyze Faizi's religious arguments in light of normative Islamic sources, while the sociological approach serves to understand how those arguments are operationalized as social action within the pesantren and its surrounding community.[17] As part of a broader research project on the role of *lora* in building ecological awareness among Madurese communities, this study treats Faizi as its principal case. The primary data comprise his book *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan* (2020); his essays in basabasi.co (2018–2019), alif.id (2019), and NU Online (2024); the piece "Hutan Kampus Universitas Annuqayah" (2024) on his personal blog; his Facebook profile; and his public statements as reported by Mongabay Indonesia (2019, 2020) and NU Online (2023). Supporting data were obtained through a semi-structured interview with Muhammad Khatibul Imam, Coordinator of the Cleanliness Bureau of Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah, on August 12, 2026, and through direct observation within the pesantren, while earlier scholarship served as secondary data.

The 2018–2024 corpus was used to trace the development of Faizi's framing before and after the publication of his book. A direct interview with Faizi was not used as a primary source, because his writings record his arguments as they were published in their original context, whereas a retrospective interview risks producing post hoc reconstruction. Statements in Madurese were read alongside the translations provided by the media, and quotations were checked against the original sources. The analysis employed qualitative content analysis[18] in two coding stages: deductive coding based on the categories of diagnosis, prognosis, motivation, bridging, amplification, extension, transformation, and resonance; and inductive coding to identify subthemes such as *tirakat*, dining etiquette, and the fiqh of water. Trustworthiness was maintained by triangulating Faizi's writings, his public statements, and institutional testimony, and by checking quantitative claims against official data. Media coverage was treated critically, as a selected record of public speech rather than a complete transcript. All translations from Indonesian and Madurese sources are the author's own.

[16] Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, no. 1 (2000): 615–18, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611.

[17] Peter Connolly, ed., *Approaches to The Study of Religion*, Reprinted (London: Continuum, 2002), 226–27.

[18] Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler, *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion*, Routledge Handbooks (London New York: Routledge, 2011), 109.

C. Result

1. The Diagnostic Frame

Faizi's diagnosis of the ecological crisis centers on a single idea that he repeats in many forms: destruction begins with a way of thinking. In *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan*, he writes that wastefulness *"generally stems from a fallacy, the belief that as long as we can pay for something, let alone when it is free, we are at liberty to use it, even to squander it."*[19] The sentence locates the root of the problem in a moral assumption that equates purchasing power with entitlement. He does not name inadequate waste-processing technology or weak regulation as the principal cause. At the launch of the book, he sharpened this diagnosis by linking money and recklessness directly: *"Once people have money, they are tempted to be careless."*[20] In the same forum, he described leftover food as waste that has in effect been planned from the outset, set it against the fact that part of the world's population still goes hungry, and pointed to the irony of Ramadan, when meals become less frequent yet consumption actually rises.[21]

The diagnosis also touches on a shift in values. Faizi asks why non-degradable waste could come to be regarded as more dignified than an environmentally friendly attitude, and then closes the question by turning the charge inward: is something wrong within ourselves?[22] This rhetorical question captures a phenomenon that journalists in Sumenep have also observed. Madurese households typically keep large stocks of glassware and crockery for communal feasts (*hajatan*), yet these glasses and cups are used less and less now that bottled water is considered more practical.[23] Single-use packaging, in other words, has acquired prestige as a marker of proper hospitality. Faizi reads this shift as a question of values, and that reading matters for the strategy he goes on to adopt.

The sharpest target of his diagnosis is ritual space. In the essay *Teladan Nabi dari Meja Makan* (The Prophet's Example at the Dining Table), Faizi observes the food waste strewn about at every communal iftar and every Maulid celebration, and concludes that *"we, religious as we are, are among the most barbaric nations when it comes to throwing food away."* He cites a figure of 9.3 million tonnes of food wasted each year.[24] The rhetorical force of the sentence lies in its inversion of identity. Piety, ordinarily a source of pride, is turned into a mirror of shame.

The figure he cites calls for scrutiny. In the passage quoted, Faizi does not identify the source of the 9.3 million tonnes. The number falls well below the Bappenas estimate of 23 to 48 million tonnes per year, and it also differs from the figure of roughly 13 million tonnes, attributed to the FAO, that a journalist cited when reporting on the launch of his

[19] M. Faizi, *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Cantrik Pustaka, 2020), 133.

[20] Tamimi, "Cerita Pondok Pesantren Anti Sampah Plastik di Sumenep."

[21] Moh Tamimi, "Buku Faizi Ulas Cara Makan Bisa Merusak Bumi," Environmental News, *Mongabay.co.id*, April 6, 2020, https://mongabay.co.id/2020/04/06/buku-faizi-ulas-cara-makan-bisa-merusak-bumi/.

[22] Faizi, *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan*, 26.

[23] Tamimi, "Cerita Pondok Pesantren Anti Sampah Plastik di Sumenep."

[24] M. Faizi, "Teladan Nabi dari Meja Makan," NU Online, September 11, 2024, https://nu.or.id/opini/teladan-nabi-dari-meja-makan-TIm9o.

book.[25] A similar problem arises in his remarks on marine plastic. In the 2023 talk show, invoking research findings, he stated that there is more plastic waste in the sea than there are fish.[26] This widely circulated claim in fact derives from a 2016 report by the World Economic Forum and the Ellen MacArthur Foundation, and in its original form it was a projection for 2050 under a business-as-usual scenario, calculated by weight.[27] Both of Faizi's claims point in the right direction, whereas their magnitudes are unstable.

This instability bears directly on the concept of empirical credibility. Benford and Snow explain that empirical credibility concerns the fit between a frame and events in the world as perceived by its audience, so what matters is whether a claim is believable to those who hear it, regardless of its scientific accuracy.[28] Before santri and *kompolan* congregants, the credibility of Faizi's frame rests on his moral authority, and numerical discrepancies carry almost no weight. The situation changes when the same frame is brought before policymakers or academics. In such settings, unsourced figures, or projections presented as present-day facts, can easily be used to cast doubt on the argument as a whole. The weakness is minor inside the pesantren and grows considerably outside it.

Plastic holds a special place in Faizi's diagnosis. He coined the term *animal plasticum* to describe modern human beings who can scarcely get through daily life without plastic, unaware that the habit is wounding the earth.[29] In the essay *Animal Plasticum dan Dosa-Dosa Lingkungan* (Animal Plasticum and Environmental Sins), dependence on plastic is read as a failure of self-restraint and a reluctance to take the more inconvenient path for the sake of the earth's preservation. The choice of the word "sins" in the title moves the issue out of the technical domain and into the moral-religious one. The same essay dismantles the claim that certain plastics decompose of their own accord. Faizi dismisses the *biodegradable* claim as a fabrication and a mere ploy, on the grounds that such plastic merely breaks down into ever smaller particles, which end up contaminating even tap water.[30] At the launch of his book, he cited findings from LIPI, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, on plastic content in water in support of the same argument.[31]

Faizi's literary skill is at its most evident here. In his book, he sets the eternal love of Majnun for Laila beside the styrofoam box holding a millennial couple's lunch, a box that will remain intact above ground long after the two lie buried beneath it.[32] In another forum, he put the useful life of a plastic shopping bag at about twenty-five seconds, from the moment the goods are wrapped to the moment the wrapping is removed and thrown

[25] Elena, "Limbah Makanan di Indonesia Sebabkan Kerugian Ekonomi Rp551 Triliun per Tahun"; Tamimi, "Buku Faizi Ulas Cara Makan Bisa Merusak Bumi."

[26] Firdausi, "Begini Cara Masyayikh Annuqayah Sumenep Ciptakan Lingkungan Tanpa Plastik."

[27] Fon Mathuros, "A New Plastics Economy for a Circular Future," World Economic Forum, January 19, 2016, https://www.weforum.org/media/more-plastic-than-fish-in-the-ocean-by-2050-report-offers-blueprint-for-change/.

[28] Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements," 620.

[29] Tamimi, "Buku Faizi Ulas Cara Makan Bisa Merusak Bumi."

[30] M. Faizi, "Animal Plasticum dan Dosa-Dosa Lingkungan," December 10, 2018, https://basabasi.co/animal-plasticum-dan-dosa-dosa-lingkungan/.

[31] Tamimi, "Buku Faizi Ulas Cara Makan Bisa Merusak Bumi."

[32] Tamimi, "Buku Faizi Ulas Cara Makan Bisa Merusak Bumi."

away.[33] Both images are built on the same logic: a contrast between an extremely brief use and an extremely long trace. Contrasts of this sort are more memorable than any statistic, and for that reason they are more resilient to the numerical weaknesses discussed above.

The third strand of the diagnosis concerns water, and it is here that Faizi comes closest to structural critique. In *Masjid, Fikih, dan Air* (Mosque, Fiqh, and Water), he observes that environmental concerns remain at a remove from discussions of ritual purity (*taharah*), and then identifies a series of drivers: the ease of obtaining permits to privatize water sources, bottled water, pollution at water sources, deforestation that reduces water discharge, and the destruction of karst hills that serve as natural reservoirs.[34] This list includes actors beyond the reach of individual behavior, namely the state as the issuer of permits and corporations as agents of extraction. In his 2023 remarks, he also referred to the practice of donating used computers from abroad, which in essence transfers electronic waste to Indonesia.[35]

Yet when this structural diagnosis is carried toward action, Faizi tends to hand it back to the consumer. In his essay on the film *Sexy Killers*, he answers his own question of why we should be frugal: *"Because production will increase if market demand increases too,"* and closes with the reminder that our children and grandchildren also have a right to the earth.[36] This logic connects individual choices to systemic production, and as an argument it is legitimate. At the same time, it shifts the burden from those who issue permits and those who own capital onto those who buy. Faizi's diagnostic attribution is therefore dual yet lopsided. He acknowledges structural causes, then chooses to place primary responsibility on the morality of consumption.

Benford and Snow note that the way a movement attributes causality constrains the range of solutions considered reasonable.[37] Faizi's consumer-oriented attribution makes his frame coherent and easy to act upon, because anyone can begin at their own dining table. The price of that coherence is a narrower field of action. Water permits and karst destruction appear in the diagnosis and then vanish from the prescription.

2. The Prognostic Frame

The remedies Faizi offers proceed from his diagnosis of a fallacy, and most of them therefore target habit. In *Animal Plasticum dan Dosa-Dosa Lingkungan*, he identifies the wisest step available so far as reducing and controlling consumption, for instance by deferring the use of plastic goods that will soon become waste.[38] The choice of the word "deferring" is apt. It does not demand that people abandon plastic altogether, a demand

[33] Firdausi, "Begini Cara Masyayikh Annuqayah Sumenep Ciptakan Lingkungan Tanpa Plastik."

[34] M. Faizi, "Masjid, Fikih, Dan Air," Alif.ID - Berkeislamanan Dalam Kebudayaan, April 18, 2019, https://alif.id/perjalanan/masjid-fikih-dan-air.

[35] Firdausi, "Begini Cara Masyayikh Annuqayah Sumenep Ciptakan Lingkungan Tanpa Plastik."

[36] M. Faizi, "Sexy Killers: Melayani Syahwat Pembunuh," April 18, 2019, https://basabasi.co/sexy-killers-melayani-syahwat-pembunuh/.

[37] Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements," 616.

[38] Faizi, "Animal Plasticum dan Dosa-Dosa Lingkungan."

almost impossible to meet in Madurese markets today. What it asks for is a pause, a small space in which to think before buying.

Faizi's most distinctive prognosis is his rejection of a slogan familiar to virtually every Indonesian schoolchild: dispose of waste in its proper place. A santri at Al-Furqan explained that the slogan does not hold at his pesantren, because it seems to permit people to produce waste as long as they throw it in the right place, when in fact throwing something away merely moves waste from one place to another.[39] Faizi conveyed the same doctrine in the 2023 talk show. Waste that goes into a bin is still waste. It simply passes from the visible to the invisible, and true wisdom lies in producing no waste at all. He summed this up in the language of the pesantren's spiritual hierarchy: *"Producing no waste at all, that is the level of the auliya,"* the friends of God. In the same forum, he recounted an illustration he had given his santri: moving a pile of waste from a temporary collection site in the hills to the final disposal site in Batuan District costs tens of millions of rupiah, and once it arrives there, the waste is still waste.[40]

This prognosis needs to be read against the internal diversity of Annuqayah. In the Lubangsa unit, santri are asked to keep their waste in their rooms for a week, sort it themselves every Friday, and then hand it over to the waste laboratory of UPT Jatian, where it is processed into paving blocks, fertilizer, and handicrafts. Faizi appreciates that initiative while insisting that the paradigm at Sabajarin is a different one.[41] Within a single pesantren federation, then, two prognostic models coexist. The Lubangsa model operates downstream, processing waste that already exists. The Sabajarin model targets the upstream end, preventing waste from coming into being. Neither negates the other, and this plurality is consistent with the federated character of Annuqayah, which gives each unit room to chart its own course.

Upstream prevention requires substitutes, and the substitutes Faizi proposes are almost all already present in Madurese material culture. He urges residents to serve drinks in glasses, to use plates and spoons at communal feasts, and to drink well water from a glass. For Maulid celebrations, he recommends serving local foods such as tubers and fruit, for a twofold reason: to reduce plastic and to support the harvests of local farmers.[42] He requires mothers, whom he regards as the key to waste control because the largest source of waste is the kitchen, to bring their own baskets when shopping at the market. He has also praised an instruction from the pesantren leadership requiring the canteen to provide plates, since even paper rice wrappers still contain a plastic lining.[43]

These remedies were then packaged into an activity format. Faizi introduced the Plastic-Waste-Free Activity (Kegiatan Tanpa Sampah Plastik, KTSP), practiced on several occasions, among them an event in Annuqayah's Asy-Syarqawi Hall: no refreshments in

[39] Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 207.

[40] Firdausi, "Begini Cara Masyayikh Annuqayah Sumenep Ciptakan Lingkungan Tanpa Plastik."

[41] Moh. Abqoriyin Amin et al., "Ekonomi Sirkular di Pesantren: Inovasi PP. Annuqayah Lubangsa dalam Pengelolaan Sampah," *Investama: Jurnal Ekonomi dan Bisnis* 11, no. 2 (2025): 138–39, https://doi.org/10.56997/investama.v11i02.2152.

[42] Tamimi, "Cerita Pondok Pesantren Anti Sampah Plastik di Sumenep."

[43] Firdausi, "Begini Cara Masyayikh Annuqayah Sumenep Ciptakan Lingkungan Tanpa Plastik"; Amin et al., "Ekonomi Sirkular di Pesantren," 143.

plastic packaging, local food, and drinking water from gallon dispensers, so that participants entered a clean venue and left it just as clean.[44] He also reported that a Maulid gathering attended by some eighty people had been held without plastic.[45] Faizi himself acknowledges that these measures keep waste under control without entirely freeing activities from plastic.[46] That admission in fact strengthens the credibility of his prescription, because it promises no unattainable purity.

The only one of Faizi's prognoses that reaches the level of doctrine is his proposal concerning the fiqh of water. He notes that leftover ablution water is usually wasted, and then writes: *"It is time for the fiqh of water to move beyond ritual purity and to take on an environmental outlook, for the sake of the continuity of life and the needs of the community at large."*[47] This proposal differs in kind from the remedies discussed above. It targets the way a pesantren discipline regards its object, so its impact could potentially reach every pesantren that teaches fiqh. For now, it remains an appeal made in a popular essay and has not been elaborated into a systematic juristic formulation.

Benford and Snow observe that prognostic frames usually correspond to their diagnostic counterparts.[48] In Faizi's case, the correspondence is tight at the individual and communal levels. The diagnosis of a consumerist fallacy is answered with deferring, refusing, and substituting. The diagnosis of wasteful ritual space is answered with KTSP and local refreshments. At the structural level, the correspondence breaks down. Water privatization, karst destruction, and imported electronic waste appear in the diagnosis without being followed, anywhere in the corpus examined, by policy demands, calls for permit reviews, or appeals for advocacy. The strength of Faizi's prognosis lies in its being inexpensive, immediately actionable, and reliant on objects already found in people's homes. Its limit lies in the absence of any prescription for problems that cannot be solved from the dining table.

Sound diagnosis and prognosis do not in themselves guarantee engagement. Messages about plastic and food waste have long circulated through schools, public service advertisements, and the campaigns of environmental organizations, yet their power to bring about change has been limited. Faizi's most distinctive contribution lies in the way he ties these messages to what his audience already believes and lives by. All four forms of frame alignment formulated by Snow et al. (1986) can be found in his corpus, though not with equal weight.[49]

The first form is bridging. Faizi connects two frames that are compatible yet seldom placed side by side: scientific discourse on microplastics and food waste on the one hand, and the dining ethics of the *kitab kuning*, the classical Islamic texts taught in pesantren, on

[44] Tamimi, "Buku Faizi Ulas Cara Makan Bisa Merusak Bumi."

[45] Firdausi, "Begini Cara Masyayikh Annuqayah Sumenep Ciptakan Lingkungan Tanpa Plastik."

[46] Tamimi, "Buku Faizi Ulas Cara Makan Bisa Merusak Bumi."

[47] M. Faizi, "Masjid Dan Toiletnya," Alif.ID - Berkeislamanan Dalam Kebudayaan, December 6, 2019, https://alif.id/liputan/masjid-dan-toiletnya.

[48] Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements," 616.

[49] David A. Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 4 (1986): 467, https://doi.org/10.2307/2095581.

the other. In *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan*, he draws on works including *Sirajut Thalibin*, *Maraqil 'Ubudiyah*, and *Risalatul Mu'awanah* to show how seriously earlier scholars treated the matter of eating. He cites a passage in *Sirajut Thalibin* that likens one's comportment while eating to one's comportment in prayer, expounds al-Haddad's explanation in *Risalatul Mu'awanah* that food is transformed into the blood, flesh, and body with which one worships, and points to the many supplications concerning eating and drinking in an-Nawawi's *al-Adzkar*.[50] The bridge he builds runs in both directions. Scientific data lend contemporary urgency to a dining etiquette long studied as devotional manners, while the *kitab kuning* lends religious authority to data that would otherwise feel foreign to santri.

The title of the essay *Teladan Nabi dari Meja Makan* reveals the same bridge from another direction.[51] Gade, in her study of the varieties of Muslim environmentalism, which draws heavily on fieldwork in Indonesia, finds that when a Muslim's environmental commitment is directed first and foremost toward religious ends, teachings that rarely feature in interfaith dialogue, such as the exemplary conduct of the Prophet Muhammad, come to occupy center stage.[52] Faizi does not open his argument with global concepts such as carbon footprints or the circular economy. He opens it with the way the Prophet ate. This choice of entry point determines who feels addressed.

The choice stands out more sharply when set against Gade's observations at agriculture-based pesantren in Java. There she found that sustainable farming practices were not presented as Islamic, because for those who practiced them, farming was simply farming.[53] Faizi takes the opposite path. He deliberately attaches a religious label to everyday actions that are technically neutral, such as choosing a glass tumbler over a plastic cup or carrying a basket to the market. This labeling has a double consequence. It raises the moral stakes of every small choice, so that simple acts come to feel like worship. At the same time, it makes failing to perform them feel like religious failure, and a burden of that kind may provoke quiet resistance from audiences who feel judged without being offered an easier path to change.

The second form is amplification, the invigoration of existing values.[54] Of the four strategies, this is the one Faizi uses most often. He recalls his grandmother's rebuke when, as a child, he let a grain of rice fall from his plate: the rice is crying. Only as an adult did he grasp what the rebuke meant, namely that a single grain of rice has traveled a long way, from seed to paddy field, mill, warehouse, and finally the kitchen, and that this journey is rendered futile when it ends in the trash.[55] He also remembers his grandmother scolding him for eating without his skullcap (*kopiah*), because food is God-given sustenance (*rezeki*) to be honored as an expression of gratitude.[56] Stories like these possess what Benford and

[50] Faizi, *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan*, 57.

[51] Faizi, "Teladan Nabi dari Meja Makan."

[52] Anna M. Gade, *Muslim Environmentalisms: Religious and Social Foundations* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2019), 30.

[53] Gade, *Muslim Environmentalisms*, 9.

[54] Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," 469.

[55] Faizi, *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan*, 14.

[56] Tamimi, "Buku Faizi Ulas Cara Makan Bisa Merusak Bumi."

Snow call narrative fidelity, a resonance with the cultural narratives an audience already lives by.[57] Nearly every child raised in a Madurese santri family has heard a similar rebuke. Faizi introduces no new value. He awakens an old and dormant one, and then turns it toward the problem of waste.

The same amplification is visible in the way he draws on daily devotional practice. He asks his santri what they do before going to sleep, and they answer that they recite *dhikr*. He then asks them to count how much waste they throw away in a day and to weigh whether that amount is commensurate with the good deeds they have accumulated.[58] The logic of *muhasabah*, the habit of self-reckoning embedded in the Sufi tradition of the pesantren, is thereby extended to encompass a person's material footprint. To residents at religious gatherings, he conveys a similar idea in the language of merit and sin: producing no waste is a good and meritorious act, whereas contributing to waste may incur sin.[59]

The third form is frame extension, the broadening of a frame's boundaries to encompass interests that previously lay outside it.[60] The clearest example is the fiqh of water. Discussions of water in fiqh have long centered on its purity for ritual cleansing. Faizi extends them to include the sustainability of water sources and the needs of the community at large.[61] A subtler extension takes place in the tradition of Maulid hospitality. The virtue of honoring guests is preserved, but its content is broadened: local refreshments bought from nearby farmers come to be understood as part of the goodness of hospitality itself.[62] Extensions of this kind attach an ecological agenda to practices already regarded as good, so residents are not asked to abandon tradition, only to carry it out in a slightly different way.

The fourth form is frame transformation, which, according to Snow and his colleagues, becomes necessary when the proposed frame runs counter to established lifestyles, rituals, or interpretive frameworks.[63] Faizi employs this strategy sparingly, and the restraint appears to be deliberate. Its main target is the meaning of cleanliness. The slogan of disposing of waste properly teaches that a clean environment is one in which waste cannot be seen. Faizi changes the measure: a clean environment is one in which waste is not produced. A second transformation targets the prestige of packaging. His challenge as to why non-degradable waste could be more dignified than an environmentally friendly attitude seeks to strip bottled water of the status it has long enjoyed in hospitality and to restore the dignity of glass tumblers and china cups.[64] Both transformations touch on habit rather than on core belief. Faizi never asks his audience to change their religious identity. He asks them to be more faithful to the identity they already hold.

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[57] Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements," 622.

[58] Firdausi, "Begini Cara Masyayikh Annuqayah Sumenep Ciptakan Lingkungan Tanpa Plastik."

[59] Tamimi, "Cerita Pondok Pesantren Anti Sampah Plastik di Sumenep."

[60] Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," 472–73.

[61] Faizi, "Masjid Dan Toiletnya."

[62] Tamimi, "Cerita Pondok Pesantren Anti Sampah Plastik di Sumenep."

[63] Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," 473–76.

[64] Faizi, *Merusak Bumi dari Meja Makan*, 26.

The pattern in which these four strategies are deployed explains why Faizi's frame meets with relatively ready acceptance in the pesantren milieu. Most of his alignment work takes the form of bridging and amplification, two strategies that provoke little resistance because they rest on values already acknowledged. Transformation is used sparingly and directed at specific habits. The approach is culturally astute. It also carries a consequence that will become apparent in the next section: a frame grounded in personal piety is most potent in spaces where that piety can be monitored and modeled directly.

3. The Motivasional Frame and the Shape of the Movement

The motivational frame supplies reasons to act. Benford and Snow, drawing on Benford's earlier work, identify four vocabularies of motive commonly employed by movement actors: the severity of the problem, its urgency, the efficacy of action, and the moral propriety of acting.[65] All four are present in Faizi's discourse. Severity is conveyed through the language of sin and the label of barbarism applied to believers who throw food away. Urgency is conveyed through the image of plastic outlasting the love of Majnun. Efficacy is conveyed through small remedies that anyone can carry out. Propriety is conveyed through the argument about the rights of future generations. In his piece on tree planting in the campus forest of Universitas Annuqayah, he likens the earth to a mother who is being *"slowly killed, collectively, by human beings, that is, by her own children."*[66] The maternal metaphor carries particular weight in a Madurese culture that ranks *babbu'*, the mother, second in its order of reverence.

Faizi is also candid about the tactics he uses to move his santri to action. He has instilled in them a saying in Madurese: whichever of his santri keep their surroundings clean, especially of plastic waste, will be acknowledged as his santri in the hereafter. According to Hs and his colleagues, the saying has taken such deep root that santri are genuinely anxious about not being recognized as Faizi's santri in the afterlife.[67] This tactic shows that he understands the motivational frame as something layered. Fear opens the door, and habit then takes over.

The most decisive element of Faizi's motivational frame is *tirakat*, a practice of ascetic self-discipline. Wherever he goes, he carries his own water bottle. When he forgets it and is offered bottled water, he looks for leftover water in other people's glasses, and if he finds none, he chooses not to drink.[68] Faizi has described this stance as an extreme decision he made personally, a commitment never to drink bottled water.[69] He states his reason in a few words: *"My intention is the intention of tirakat."*[70] Elsewhere, he explains the motive behind such conduct: he deliberately starts with himself so as not to be seen as someone who is merely good at talking. Since the birth of his first child in 2009, for example, he has chosen cloth diapers over disposable ones.[71]

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[65] Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements," 617.

[66] M. Faizi, "Hutan Kampus Universitas Annuqayah," December 28, 2024, https://sabajarin.wordpress.com/2024/12/28/hutan-kampus-universitas-annuqayah/.

[67] Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 203.

[68] Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 206.

[69] Basri, "'Green Islam' and 'Green Pesantren,'" 69.

[70] Tamimi, "Cerita Pondok Pesantren Anti Sampah Plastik di Sumenep."

[71] Basri, "'Green Islam' and 'Green Pesantren,'" 84–85.

This *tirakat* can be read from two directions, and both readings are equally valid. From the standpoint of religiosity, *tirakat* is an ascetic discipline rooted in the pesantren tradition, in which a teacher undertakes spiritual exercises for the good of his students. Faizi himself links his practice to the children and santri in his care: he declines donations of bottled water on the grounds that even the children at his pesantren do not drink it.[72] This reading accords with Bagir's caution that religion in environmental movements should be read as it is lived. From the standpoint of framing, *tirakat* is the strongest form of frame consistency, the congruence between professed beliefs and actual conduct, which Benford and Snow identify as one of the determinants of credibility.[73] Hs and his colleagues likewise found that direct example is the most effective pathway through which ecological piety takes shape among Faizi's santri.[74] At the point of *tirakat*, the fourth layer of speaker credibility, whose discussion was deferred at the outset, now comes into full view. A kiai who would rather go thirsty than drink bottled water offers a proof that no figure can refute.

The frame was subsequently translated into rules at the pesantren he leads. Residents of Al-Furqan are forbidden to use food or drink packaging, and anyone who has already used some must keep it and take it home. Rice bought outside must be carried in by hand and may not be wrapped in plastic. The pesantren provides designated drinking containers so that santri have no need to buy bottled water. Faizi tolerates santri who toss banana peels carelessly, since organic waste decomposes easily, but he does not tolerate plastic waste, not even a single straw. He himself concedes that this stance may be too extreme, yet he considers it necessary.[75] Observations by Hs and his colleagues in 2024 noted that waste bins were almost nowhere to be found at this pesantren, a finding consistent with the doctrine of upstream prevention[76] and confirmed by the author's own direct observation.

Outside the pesantren, Faizi's most structured arena is the *kompolan*, the regular religious study gathering of local residents. Hs and his colleagues record two *kompolan* that he regularly leads: Kompolan Manaqib, held monthly, and Kompolan Sarwa, held twice a month.[77] Faizi told Basri that he also carries the campaign against bottled water into these gatherings. When congregants still serve bottled water, he asks that it not be repeated at the next meeting. By his own account, the congregants eventually understood and switched to glasses, even though this meant they had to boil water for their daily drinking. Basri also notes that the *kompolan* Faizi leads, like those of most kiai, involve only men.[78] This small observation is significant. It marks the limits of the reach of Faizi's frame: mothers, whom he regards as the key to waste control because waste originates in the kitchen, are absent from this most structured of forums, or at the very least are not the primary audience of these *kompolan*. The practice has continued, at least up to the time of the author's

[72] Basri, "'Green Islam' and 'Green Pesantren,'" 69.

[73] Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements," 620.

[74] Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 206–7.

[75] Basri, "'Green Islam' and 'Green Pesantren,'" 69; Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 207.

[76] Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 208.

[77] Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 203.

[78] Basri, "'Green Islam' and 'Green Pesantren,'" 70.

observation. Whenever Faizi is invited to speak, particularly on the environment and waste, he invariably sets the same condition.

His tone is graduated as well. Within the pesantren, the author's observation found no santri using plastic products or utensils carelessly, a pattern of behavior that turns out to have a fairly long history. Toward his santri he is firm: anyone who drinks bottled water, even if all they leave behind is a single straw, will be reprimanded.[79] Toward *kompolan* congregants he presses, but allows time until the next meeting. Toward residents who come to donate cartons of bottled water, he declines with an apology and suggests that they donate something else instead. This gradation from reprimanding to pressing to apologizing constitutes an important body of data. It shows that Faizi himself gauges the strength of his authority differently in different spaces.

Faizi's frame also circulates within the wider institutional environment of Annuqayah, and the interview with Imam sheds light on that environment. Imam recounted that Annuqayah's final disposal site once piled up as high as a mountain, a situation made worse by waste from surrounding residents dumped at the same location. That crisis forced the recognition that waste management could not rely on disposal sites, and the recognition subsequently spread to the various units. At a more granular level, he mentioned a policy in one unit of supplying soap and shampoo in large gallon containers in order to curb sachet packaging.[80] Imam also set out the theological foundations by which the institution lives: Surah ar-Rum, verse 41, on the corruption that has appeared on land and sea because of what human hands have wrought; the concept of *khalifah fil ardh*, stewardship on earth, understood as a trust (*amanah*); a tawhid-based outlook that sees nature as a sign of God's majesty; the principle of *mizan*, or balance; the prohibition of *israf*, translated into the habit of using food, water, and electricity in moderation; and the proposal that *hifzh al-bi'ah*, the protection of the environment, be considered a sixth dimension of *maqashid al-syari'ah*.[81]

The closeness of vocabulary between Imam's account and Faizi's writings, particularly regarding the prohibition of *israf* and the notion of trust, invites the conclusion that it constitutes evidence of influence. No such conclusion can be drawn from the available data. Imam speaks on behalf of an institution whose green history is far older than Faizi's career, and he does not name Faizi as the source of that vocabulary.[82] The safer reading runs in the opposite direction. Faizi's frame resonates at Annuqayah because it rests on a theological repertoire already institutionalized there. In Benford and Snow's terms, the centrality of these values to the audience was in place before Faizi ever wrote them down.[83] Traces of Faizi's frame beyond the pesantren have so far been recorded only in very limited form. A santri at Al-Furqan from Dungkek District, who has lived at the pesantren since 2015, recounted that when he went home for the holidays he encouraged his family to

[79] Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 206.

[80] Imam, "Interview with the Coordinator of the Cleanliness Bureau of Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah."

[81] Imam, "Interview with the Coordinator of the Cleanliness Bureau of Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah"; Basri, "'Green Islam' and 'Green Pesantren,'" 65.

[82] Amin et al., "Ekonomi Sirkular di Pesantren," 135.

[83] Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements," 621.

minimize plastic or to reuse it many times over, following the spirit of his teacher.[84] This testimony points to the most natural pathway of diffusion for a pesantren, that of santri carrying the habits of the pesantren back home. It nonetheless remains a single testimony, and one testimony is not enough to gauge how widely that pathway operates.

D. The Limits of Resonance and the Challenges: A Discussion

The available data reveal a clear pattern in what can be observed, though not in what can be inferred. Faizi's frame is most visibly effective where he exercises direct control: the pesantren he leads, the kompolan he heads, and the events he organizes. In these spaces the frame is upheld by rules, supervision, and an example seen every day, so the observed conformity cannot be attributed to resonance alone. This study cannot say how much of it would survive the removal of supervision. Audience reception was not measured, and the evidence of internalization is limited to a handful of statements by santri and congregants as relayed in Faizi's own account and in secondary sources. What the data do show is that beyond these spaces Faizi can only ask gently, and that he himself acknowledges how slowly change comes.

The institutional interview reinforces this picture from the standpoint of resources. Imam stated that Annuqayah's environmental programs have so far emerged largely from the pesantren's own internal awareness, and that in general there has been no significant or dedicated support from the government or from external organizations. He also identified the difficulty of changing mindsets, together with limited funding, technology, and trained facilitators, as the principal challenges.[85] This pattern is consistent with Umam's finding that ecological movements in Madurese pesantren contend with weak ecological literacy and the pull of local political interests,[86] and with the observation of Hasan and his colleagues that *lora* activism remains uncoordinated despite its considerable potential.[87]

The gap between belief and behavior at the national scale gives further reason for caution. The PPIM survey shows that knowledge of green Islam does not translate proportionally into behavior,[88] and Faizi's frame is most effective when it can close that gap through direct supervision. Where supervision is absent, the frame must compete with everyday rationality: bottled water is cheap, convenient, and sold at every roadside stall, while the hosts of a feast bear the trouble of washing dozens of glasses on their own. At this point, the norm taught by a kiai comes up against what most neighbors actually do, and the latter often proves more decisive.

The most fundamental limit lies in the mismatch between diagnosis and mobilization. Faizi names water privatization, karst destruction, and imported electronic waste as part of the problem, yet the corpus examined contains no policy demands, calls for permit reviews,

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[84] Hs et al., "Ecological Leadership of Kiai M. Faizi," 207.

[85] Imam, "Interview with the Coordinator of the Cleanliness Bureau of Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah."

[86] Umam, "Politik Ekologi: Respon Kiai dan Pesantren terhadap Degradasi Lingkungan di Madura," 367–69.

[87] Hasan et al., "Environmental Activism in Indonesian Pesantren," 280.

[88] Halimatusa'diyah et al., *Dilema Environmentalisme: Seberapa "Hijau" Masyarakat Indonesia?*, 240–43.

or advocacy efforts led by him. Absence from the sources is not the same as absence from reality. Undocumented advocacy work may well exist, and this study did not interview Faizi to confirm it. As far as the evidence shows, Faizi's frame mobilizes individuals and small communities, while the structural problems he identifies are left without any vehicle for action. A comparison with the West Sumatra experience helps to clarify what is missing. There, water conservation messages were disseminated through a network of specially trained religious leaders working across a number of mosques and pesantren at once.[89] Faizi's frame is far richer culturally than standardized sermons of that kind, yet it lacks a comparable network of carriers. It travels only as far as Faizi's own body, pen, and forums can reach.

Annuqayah's plurality is double-edged in this respect. It gives Al-Furqan room to pursue a stringent model of prevention alongside Lubangsa's processing model. The same plurality also means that there is no mechanism for turning the Al-Furqan model into a shared standard, let alone for carrying it beyond the walls of Annuqayah to other pesantren or into district policy. The weakness in empirical credibility discussed under the diagnostic frame adds a further obstacle along this path, since in policy arenas unstable figures are readily used to dismiss an argument whose direction is in fact correct.

Faizi's position can also be read through the typology proposed by Hasan and his colleagues. Within the pesantren and the *kompolan* he leads, Faizi acts as an *activator*: he designs rules, sets an example, and moves others to follow them. In the wider public sphere, his role is closer to that of a *proponent*, an advocate who voices the message through writing and polite requests without holding the means to ensure that it is carried out. This shift suggests that such a typology is better understood as a set of positions determined by the space in which a *lora* acts. The same actor may be a full mobilizer in one arena and merely a supporter in another, depending on how far his authority is recognized and enforceable there. This reading also complements the findings of Hs and his colleagues on Faizi's ecological leadership. Exemplary conduct is indeed effective, but its reach is bound by the social distance between the exemplar and those who emulate him.

These findings do not diminish the significance of Faizi's work. They show that a frame of ecological piety, one that makes waste reduction a measure of piety, is highly effective for mobilization at the level of individuals and communities close to its articulator. Such a frame has not yet been designed for mobilization at the level of public policy. Expanding its mobilizing power requires at least three things that are not yet in place: an organizational vehicle to carry the frame beyond a single pesantren unit, an expansion of the prognosis to include policy demands commensurate with its structural diagnosis, and source discipline for every quantitative claim, so that the frame remains credible when it enters more skeptical arenas.

E. Conclusion

This article has shown that M. Faizi's ecological thought, strategies, and movement together form a coherent work of framing. At the level of thought, Faizi diagnoses the ecological crisis as the product of a fallacy that equates purchasing power with a license to waste. He acknowledges structural causes such as the privatization of water sources and the

[89] McKay et al., "Practise What You Preach: A Faith-Based Approach to Conservation in Indonesia," 23.

destruction of karst, yet places primary responsibility on the morality of consumption, so that the remedies he offers rest on habit: deferring the use of plastic, refusing to produce waste, and replacing single-use packaging with the household wares people already own. His strategy aligns ecological ideas with the santri worldview by bridging scientific data with the dining etiquette of the *kitab kuning*, amplifying long-held values such as the prohibition of *israf*, extending the fiqh of water and the practice of Maulid hospitality, and transforming the meaning of cleanliness. The frame is then realized through personal *tirakat*, the rules of the Al-Furqan Sabajarin pesantren, instructions to the *kompolan* he leads, and the Plastic-Waste-Free Activity. Its resonance is strong within the spaces his authority reaches and weakens beyond them, because his structural diagnosis is not followed by structural mobilization, no organizational vehicle carries it beyond a single pesantren unit, and his quantitative claims are unstable. Whether the observed conformity reflects internalization or the effect of supervision remains an open question.

These findings rest on texts and public statements, while audience reception has not been measured directly and the interview informant spoke on behalf of Annuqayah as an institution. Future research should reach *kompolan* congregants, Al-Furqan alumni, and residents outside the pesantren circle in order to test how far this frame has settled into behavior. It should also trace any advocacy work Faizi may have undertaken that has not yet been documented.

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