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UNCOVERING ISLAMIC ECONOMIC SYSTEMS IN PESANTREN: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW ACROSS INDONESIA, THAILAND, AND BANGLADESH

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ABSTRACT: This study departs from the tendency to view pesantren solely as an educational institution, while its economic dimension is rarely understood as an inherent system. The research aims to identify and synthesize repeated economic patterns in pesantren studies through Systematic Literature Review in three contexts: Indonesia, Thailand, and Bangladesh. The key question is whether the economic practice shows consistent characteristics so that it can be understood as an Islamic economic system inherent in the structure of Islamic boarding schools. The SLR method follows the PRISMA flow by examining 41 selected articles. The results showed consistent patterns: maqāṣid foundations, spiritual leadership, experiential entrepreneurial pedagogy, formal business institutions, Islamic social finance financing, community empowerment orientation, and institutional adaptive capacity. This cross-context consistency emphasizes that the economy is not an additional element, but rather the structural foundation of the Islamic boarding school. The study's main contribution is the ontological redefinition of pesantren as an Islamic value-based economic system, while offering a new analytical framework



for the study of pesantren studies, Islamic economics, and community-based education.

Keywords: Islamic Economic System; Pesantren; Islamic Social Finance; Community Empowerment

ABSTRAK: *Kajian ini berangkat dari kecenderungan memandang pesantren semata sebagai lembaga pendidikan, sementara dimensi ekonominya jarang dipahami sebagai sistem inheren. Penelitian bertujuan mengidentifikasi dan menyintesis pola ekonomi berulang dalam studi pesantren melalui Systematic Literature Review pada tiga konteks: Indonesia, Thailand, dan Bangladesh. Pertanyaan kunci adalah apakah praktik ekonomi tersebut menunjukkan karakteristik konsisten sehingga dapat dipahami sebagai sistem ekonomi Islam yang melekat dalam struktur pesantren. Metode SLR mengikuti alur PRISMA dengan menelaah 41 artikel terpilih. Hasil menunjukkan pola yang konsisten: fondasi maqāṣid, kepemimpinan spiritual, pedagogi kewirausahaan berbasis pengalaman, kelembagaan usaha formal, pembiayaan keuangan sosial Islam, orientasi pemberdayaan komunitas, serta kapasitas adaptif kelembagaan. Konsistensi lintas konteks ini menegaskan bahwa ekonomi bukan elemen tambahan, melainkan fondasi struktural pesantren. Kontribusi utama studi ini adalah redefinisi ontologis pesantren sebagai Islamic value-based economic system, sekaligus menawarkan kerangka analitis baru bagi kajian pesantren, ekonomi Islam, dan pendidikan berbasis komunitas.*

Kata kunci: Sistem Ekonomi Islam; Pesantren; Keuangan Sosial Islam; Pemberdayaan Komunitas

INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) have predominantly been examined as institutions for the transmission of religious knowledge,¹ moral cultivation,² and the formation of distinctive religious communities.³ Academic scholarship has largely concentrated on curriculum structures,⁴ the authority of the *kiai*,⁵ intellectual

¹ Amri Mahbub Alfathon, "Writing the Pesantren Library: A Conceptual and Framework Proposition," *Open Information Science* 9, no. 1 (August 19, 2025), <https://doi.org/10.1515/opis-2025-0022>.

² Lelly Lailiyah Novianti et al., "THE PESANTREN WAY IN CREATING LEADERS," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 19, no. 2 (December 3, 2025): 363, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2025.19.2.363-388>.

³ Eko Prasajo et al., "Infusing Indigenous Islamic Values into Western-Style Public Administration in Indonesia: The Role of Pesantren Institutions," in *Islamic Public Value* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2025), 308–34, <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781035333646.00026>.

⁴ Muhammad Najib, Maskuri Maskuri, and M. Mas'ud Sa'id, "Curriculum Management and Power Relations: Strategies for Multicultural Character Development of Santri in Traditional Pesantren," *Munaddhomah: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (January 25, 2026): 109–24, <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v7i1.2261>.

⁵ Nadhif Muhammad Mumtaz, Evi Muafiah Alghani, and Doli Witro, "Educational Policy Analysis: Examining Pesantren Policies and Their Implications on the Independence of Kyai and Pesantren in



traditions,⁶ and the socio-religious roles of pesantren within broader society.⁷ Behind this sustained attention, however, lies a dimension that has consistently existed yet remains insufficiently scrutinized: the economic practices embedded within pesantren life, including agriculture,⁸ cooperatives,⁹ small-scale trade,¹⁰ and various forms of community-based productive enterprises. These activities are commonly regarded merely as financial support mechanisms to ensure institutional sustainability. Such an interpretation, however, raises a fundamental question: what if the economic dimension is not simply auxiliary, but instead constitutes an integral component of the pesantren's internal logic – one that enables it to function and endure as a coherent social system?

A number of classical and contemporary studies on *pesantren* have, in fact, acknowledged the presence of economic activities within these institutions, although not as the primary focus of analysis. Clifford Geertz in *The Religion of Java*¹¹ and Zamakhsyari Dhofier¹² in *Tradisi Pesantren* emphasize cultural dimensions, the authority of the *kiai*, and patterns of knowledge transmission, while economic aspects appear only as part of the broader social background. Subsequent works by Martin van Bruinessen,¹³ Azyumardi Azra,¹⁴ and socio-religious reflections by Abdurrahman Wahid¹⁵ begin to note the role of pesantren self-reliance through agriculture, cooperatives, and community enterprises. Nevertheless, these discussions remain framed as case descriptions, local ethnographies, or narratives of institutional independence. While these studies provide important documentation of pesantren economic practices, they have not been directed toward identifying recurring patterns through comparative analysis across cultural and geographical contexts. As a result, pesantren economic practices are more often

the Contemporary Era," *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 21, no. 2 (December 31, 2024): 287–306, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v21i2.9612>.

⁶ Sembodo Ardi Widodo et al., "Reproducing Islamic Knowledge in Indonesian Pesantren: Turāt , Textual Tradition, and Epistemic Continuity," *British Journal of Religious Education*, April 15, 2026, 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2026.2659837>.

⁷ Novianti et al., "THE PESANTREN WAY IN CREATING LEADERS."

⁸ Sarwenda et al., "Development of Digital Entrepreneurship Programs in Pesantren in Indonesia," in *Religion, Education, Science and Technology towards a More Inclusive and Sustainable Future* (London: Routledge, 2024), 273–78, <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781003322054-46>.

⁹ Irham Zaki et al., "Designing Strategy of Pesantren Unit Business Virtual Market in Indonesia," *Quality - Access to Success* 26, no. 207 (2025): 297 – 302, <https://doi.org/10.47750/QAS/26.207.31>.

¹⁰ Ariani Dwi Wulandari and Apol Pribadi Subriadi, "The Impact of the Ecosystem on the Digitization Process of Pesantren Tebuireng's Startup," 2023, 100006, <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0117673>.

¹¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (London: University of Chicago press, 1976).

¹² Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia (Edisi Revisi)*, LP3ES (Jakarta, 2011).

¹³ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*, Mizan (Bandung, 1995).

¹⁴ Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Di Tengah Tantangan Milenium III* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2019).

¹⁵ K H Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi; Esai-Esai Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: Lkis Pelangi Aksara, 2001).



understood as fragmented local variations¹⁶ rather than as manifestations of a consistent systemic pattern. In other words, existing literature has yet to conceptualize the economic dimension of pesantren as an inherent system embedded within its social and educational structure.

This gap constitutes the point of departure for this article. It calls for an interpretive shift that no longer views *pesantren* as educational institutions that merely host economic activities, but rather as socio-religious entities that ontologically operate through an internal economic system. This perspective enables a new understanding that the continuity of pesantren's educational functions is made possible by an economic structure generated from within the community itself, grounded in Islamic communal ethics such as mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), trustworthiness (*amanah*), self-reliance, and solidarity.

Based on this gap, the study aims to identify and synthesize recurring economic patterns in existing pesantren studies through a systematic review approach across three national contexts: Indonesia, Thailand, and Bangladesh. The central question addressed is whether pesantren economic practices in these different settings exhibit consistent characteristics that allow them to be understood as an embedded Islamic economic system inherent to the pesantren structure.

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to a conceptual redefinition of pesantren. By demonstrating that the economic dimension is not an auxiliary element but a structural foundation, this article opens new directions for the study of pesantren, Islamic economics, and community-based education. This redefinition not only enriches theoretical discourse but also provides a new analytical framework for understanding the self-reliance and sustainability of Islamic educational institutions across diverse social contexts.

METHOD

The research method employed in this study is a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) with a cross-national comparative systematic review design. This approach is conducted in a systematic, planned, and structured manner to identify, evaluate, and synthesize relevant findings from previous studies. The methodological orientation goes beyond mapping the development of knowledge or identifying research gaps; it is directed toward building a theoretical synthesis that enables a reinterpretation of *pesantren* through the lens of an Islamic economic system. The selection of this method aligns with the study's title and focus, namely to uncover patterns of internal economic practices within pesantren in Indonesia, Thailand, and Bangladesh, and to address the central research question: whether pesantren economic practices across these contexts exhibit consistent characteristics that allow them to be understood as an embedded Islamic economic system inherent in the pesantren structure. Through a comparative synthesis of existing scholarly findings, this study seeks to produce an ontological redefinition of pesantren as a

¹⁶ Prasojo et al., "Infusing Indigenous Islamic Values into Western-Style Public Administration in Indonesia: The Role of Pesantren Institutions."



socio-economic Islamic entity, rather than merely a religious educational institution.

In this study, the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) model is used as the primary guideline for conducting the Systematic Literature Review. The PRISMA approach comprises four core stages – identification, screening, eligibility, and inclusion,¹⁷ which structures the literature selection process sequentially from the initial search to the determination of the final corpus relevant to the study's focus. The application of PRISMA in this study is tailored to the research objective: to uncover patterns of internal economic practices within *pesantren* in Indonesia, Thailand, and Bangladesh, and to assess their consistency as an embedded Islamic economic system within the *pesantren* structure. Through this framework, the processes of literature tracing, filtering, and reporting are conducted in a transparent, measurable, and replicable manner in accordance with international standards of scientific reporting, thereby supporting the theoretical synthesis that constitutes the core of this study.

Identification. The initial stage was conducted by searching for articles in the Scopus database using the latest version of Publish or Perish (PoP), which enables systematic retrieval of bibliometric data. The search employed combinations of the following keywords and phrases: "Islamic boarding school economy"; "Pesantren economy"; "Pondok pesantren economic development"; "Islamic education entrepreneurship"; "Islamic self-reliance"; "Economic independence in Islamic boarding schools"; "Islamic economic empowerment"; and "Islamic microfinance in education institutions."

Results of Identification. The initial identification process yielded 410 articles potentially relevant to the research topic. This number included various types of scholarly publications, such as journal articles, conference proceedings, theses, dissertations, and book chapters. All search results were then exported in *.ris* format to facilitate subsequent analysis and filtering.

Screening (Initial Filtering). The screening stage applied inclusion–exclusion criteria to ensure publication suitability: journal articles published between 2000–2026, written in English or Indonesian, available in full text, and relevant to Islamic economics, *pesantren*, or religious community empowerment. Excluded were non-journal publications, conceptual articles without empirical data, and duplicates. This stage resulted in 261 peer-reviewed articles eligible for further analysis.

Eligibility. The abstracts of the 261 articles were examined based on the object of study, methodological approach, and conceptual outcomes, with a specific focus on "pesantren economy." Articles that did not directly address *pesantren*, Islamic economics, or faith-based economic self-reliance were eliminated, leaving 82 articles. A further selection based on the alignment with the research problem and thematic relevance produced 46 articles.

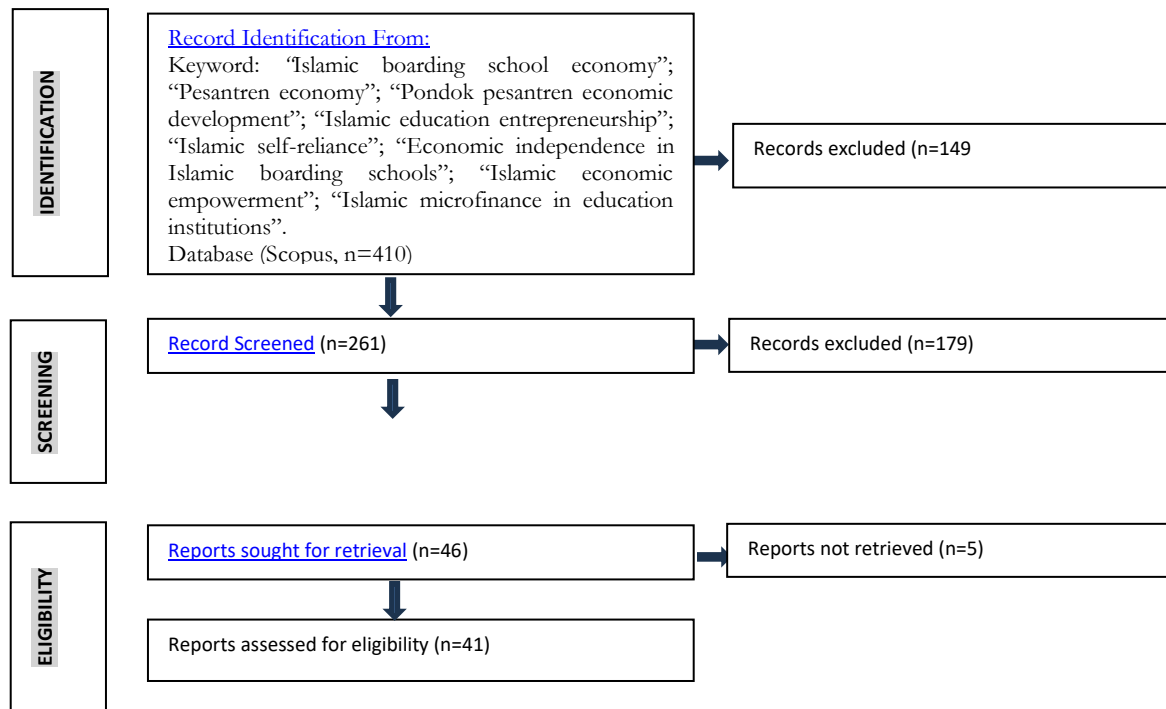
Inclusion (Final Selection). The 46 articles underwent full-text review to

¹⁷ Matthew J Page et al., "The PRISMA 2020 Statement: An Updated Guideline for Reporting Systematic Reviews," *BMJ*, March 29, 2021, n71, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71>.



ensure their capacity to address the research questions. The final corpus comprised 41 articles, as illustrated in the PRISMA flow diagram.

Figure 1: Article identification process using the PRISMA flow diagram.



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A systematic synthesis based on the PRISMA flow was conducted on 41 articles across Indonesia, Thailand, and Bangladesh. Studies by F. A. Hudaefi,¹⁸ S. Al-Hakim,¹⁹ I. Mustofa,²⁰ and Keiko Sakurai²¹ indicate that economic practices in *pesantren* are rooted in normative–theological dimensions. Activities of production, distribution, and financing are understood as derivatives of *maqāṣid al-sharīʿah*, articulations of *fiqh al-ḥadārah* (civilizational jurisprudence), and expressions of the moral economy of Islamic education. Economic rationality, therefore, is framed as an ethical–religious mandate rather than merely a strategy to meet institutional

¹⁸ Fahmi Ali Hudaefi and Neni Heryani, “The Practice of Local Economic Development and Maqāṣid Al-Sharīʿah: Evidence from a Pesantren in West Java, Indonesia,” *International Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Finance and Management* 12, no. 5 (2019): 625 – 642, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IMEFM-08-2018-0279>.

¹⁹ Sofian Fi An Al-Hakim et al., “Contextualising Shariʿah Economic Law: The Role of Pesantren in Indonesia’s Socio-Legal Landscape,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Mizani* 12, no. 2 (2025): 479–96, <https://doi.org/10.29300/mzn.v12i2.7926>.

²⁰ Azzam Musoffa et al., “The Dynamics Of Acceptance And Resistance To Productive Waqf: A Case Study of Mathali’ul Anwar and Al-Ishlah in Lamongan,” *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 48, no. 2 (2024): 188–205, <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v48i2.1271>.

²¹ K Sakurai and F Adelkhah, *The Moral Economy of the Madrasa: Islam and Education Today, The Moral Economy of the Madrasa: Islam and Education Today*, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203840788>.



financial needs.

Theoretically, this pattern aligns with the concept of moral economy,²² which positions collective norms as guiding economic action, as well as Karl Polanyi's idea of embeddedness, where the economy is situated within socio-cultural value structures.²³ The *maqāsid* perspective provides a teleological foundation, protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property, as criteria for evaluating economic activities.²⁴ Meanwhile, *fiqh al-ḥadārah* broadens the legal horizon from normative compliance toward the construction of a civilized social order.²⁵

Within this framework, pesantren practice the economy as a pedagogy of values: economic action becomes a medium for internalizing ethics, character formation, and strengthening social responsibility. These findings affirm that the economic orientation of pesantren functions as a theological praxis institutionalized within educational life.

Findings by A. Karim,²⁶ S. Samsu,²⁷ and M. Yusuf²⁸ show that the spiritual leadership of the *kyai/nyai* functions as the primary driver of economic activities within *pesantren*. Moral authority, religious exemplarity, and charismatic legitimacy form an effective coordination mechanism that directs students' entrepreneurship while simultaneously structuring community empowerment in the surrounding society.²⁹

Theoretically, this pattern aligns with Max Weber's concept of charismatic authority, in which leadership legitimacy derives from recognized spiritual values rather than merely formal positions.³⁰ The Spiritual Leadership perspective articulated by Louis W. Fry explains how transcendent vision and religious

²² E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy Of The English Crowd In The Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 50, no. 1 (1971): 76–136, <https://doi.org/10.1093/past/50.1.76>.

²³ K Polanyi, K. (1944). *The Great Transformation*, 1–317. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944).

²⁴ Necmeddin Güney, "Maqāsid Al-Sharī'a in Islamic Finance: A Critical Analysis of Modern Discourses," *Religions* 15, no. 1 (January 16, 2024): 114, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15010114>.

²⁵ M Solikhudin et al., "National Fiqh and Maqasid Based Ijtihad: Reassessing Ahmad Hasyim Muzadi through Jamal Al-Din 'Atiyyah," *Mawaddah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 3, no. 2 (2025): 383–405, <https://doi.org/10.52496/mjhki.v3i2.38>.

²⁶ Abdul Karim et al., "Islamic Spiritual Leadership of Kyai in Fostering Santris' Entrepreneurial Spirit and Independence in Boarding School," *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 12 (2025): 101817, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.101817>.

²⁷ Samsu Samsu et al., "Community Empowerment in Leading Pesantren: A Research of Nyai's Leadership," *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education* 10, no. 4 (2021): 1237–44, <https://doi.org/10.11591/IJERE.V10I4.21833>.

²⁸ Muhamad Yusuf et al., "The Role of Islamic Boarding Schools in Student Empowerment: Study of Anak Jalanan At-Tamur Islamic Boarding School in Bandung Regency," *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences* 45, no. 3 (2024): 779–90, <https://doi.org/10.34044/j.kjss.2024.45.3.09>.

²⁹ Paul Sanchez-Ruiz et al., "Moral Boundaries: How Sacred Values and Cultural Tightness Influence Entrepreneurial Action," *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, February 25, 2026, 1–25, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08985626.2026.2634963>.

³⁰ MAX WEBER, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2012).



meaning generate collective commitment that strengthens economic action.³¹ At the same time, social capital theory helps interpret the trust, networks, and shared norms cultivated by the *kyai/nyai* as coordinative capital that reduces transaction costs and facilitates business collaboration.³²

Within the framework of Bernard M. Bass's transformational leadership, this form of leadership transforms individual orientations from personal interests toward value-based collective goals.³³ As a result, economic practices do not operate through administrative instruction but through the internalization of an ethical vision embodied by the leader. Spiritual leadership in *pesantren*, therefore, functions as a cultural infrastructure that integrates values, motivation, and economic action.

Studies by A. Abubakar,³⁴ A. Bashith,³⁵ A. Wibowo,³⁶ Baidi,³⁷ D. Mariyono,³⁸ R. Sulistyowati,³⁹ S. Al Idrus,⁴⁰ and N. Hashim⁴¹ indicate that entrepreneurship in *pesantren* is internalized through daily pedagogical practices based on learning by doing, rather than being taught as a separate cognitive subject. This pattern is consistent with David A. Kolb's experiential learning theory, where knowledge is

³¹ Louis W Fry, "Toward a Theory of Spiritual Leadership," *The Leadership Quarterly* 14, no. 6 (December 2003): 693-727, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2003.09.001>.

³² Robert D Putnam, Raffaella Y Nanetti, and Robert Leonardi, "Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy," 1994.

³³ Bernard M Bass and M Bass Bernard, *Leadership and Performance beyond Expectations*, vol. 25 (Free press New York, 1985).

³⁴ Abubakar Abubakar et al., "Integrating Entrepreneurial Values into Faith-Based Education: A Study of Traditional Pesantren in Aceh," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 13, no. 2 (May 30, 2025): 1421-46, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i2.1934>.

³⁵ Abdul Bashith et al., "Nexus of Economic Teaching in Religious Education: A Case Study of Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia," *Cogent Education* 12, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2025.2486633>.

³⁶ Agus Wibowo et al., "The Role of Entrepreneurial Education and Islamic Values Matter," *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education* 11, no. 3 (2022): 1607 - 1616, <https://doi.org/10.11591/ijere.v11i3.22264>.

³⁷ Baidi and Suyatno, "Effect of Entrepreneurship Education, Self Efficacy and Need for Achievement toward Students' Entrepreneurship Intention: Case Study in FEBI, Iain Surakarta, Indonesia," *Journal of Entrepreneurship Education* 21, no. 2 (2018), <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85046552818&partnerID=40&md5=de550e97fa683ba47f184be453bc31a3>.

³⁸ Dwi Mariyono, "Forming Multicultural Entrepreneurs Attitudes (MEA): Insights from Islamic Boarding School," *The Bottom Line*, August 21, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1108/BL-03-2024-0030>.

³⁹ Raya Sulistyowati et al., "Ecosystems and Entrepreneurial Intention among Students: The Mediating Role of Islamic Values," *Perspektif Nauti i Obrazovania* 69, no. 3 (2024): 113 - 129, <https://doi.org/10.32744/pse.2024.3.7>.

⁴⁰ S Al Idrus, M Djakfar, and A Abdussakir, "Contribution of Entrepreneurship Learning on Self-Employment Intention among Students: A Case Study at State Higher Education of Islamic Religion in East Java," *Academy of Entrepreneurship Journal* 25, no. 1 (2019), <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85068864059&partnerID=40&md5=aa312901ad16d0b0f40428675911e5ae>.

⁴¹ Norashidah Hashim et al., "Islamic Entrepreneurship Education Model for Higher Education Institution," *Journal of Advanced Research in Dynamical and Control Systems* 11, no. 5 Special Issue (2019): 511 - 526, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85071975275&partnerID=40&md5=ac1474c5bb7baf1939e7c34cb490c1b0>.



formed through concrete experience that is reflected upon and tested through action.⁴² At the same time, the dynamics can be explained through Albert Bandura's social cognitive theory:⁴³ students' involvement in real enterprises, the exemplarity of *kyai/ustadz*, and the Islamic value ecosystem collectively build self-efficacy and entrepreneurial intention. Within the framework of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's situated learning, this process unfolds as a community of practice that enables students to move from peripheral participation toward full participation in collective economic activities.⁴⁴ Islamic values function as mediators that connect entrepreneurship education with ethical-religious motivation. Consequently, pesantren entrepreneurship operates as a pedagogical mechanism that instills economic self-reliance through experience, exemplarity, and structured social participation.

Findings by M. Wardi,⁴⁵ R. A. S. Siregar,⁴⁶ and I. Zaki⁴⁷ show that pesantren economic activities are institutionalized in the form of cooperatives, business units, and virtual marketplaces that function as formal and sustainable organizational structures. This phenomenon can be explained through institutional theory as articulated by W. Richard Scott, where economic practices gain legitimacy because they are embedded in institutional rules, norms, and routines.⁴⁸ From the perspective of Karl Polanyi's embeddedness, these activities do not stand as autonomous market entities but are integrated into the socio-religious relations of the pesantren. In terms of governance, this pattern reflects a hybrid organization that combines educational, social, and economic missions within a single entity, while the adoption of virtual marketplaces signals adaptation to the logic of the digital economy without abandoning its value-based foundation. Thus, the institutionalization of internal enterprises in pesantren represents a structured, legitimate, and socially embedded economic system within the organizational architecture of Islamic education.

⁴² David A Kolb, "Experiential Learning: Experience as The Source of Learning and Development," *Prentice Hall, Inc.*, no. 1984 (1984): 20-38, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-7506-7223-8.50017-4>.

⁴³ Colleen J Heffernan, "Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory, Albert Bandura Englewood Cliffs," in *Behaviour Change*, 2014/10/06, vol. 5 (New Jersey: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 37-38, <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/S0813483900008238>.

⁴⁴ Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1991), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815355>.

⁴⁵ Moh Wardi et al., "Entrepreneurship and Financing in Islamic Educational Institution of Darul Ulum Banyuanyar Pamekasan," *Academy of Entrepreneurship Journal* 25, no. Special Issue 2 (2019): 1-14, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85081218873&partnerID=40&md5=52831107e63a70df7ff2c3fdcd20cb9>.

⁴⁶ Resi Atna Sari Siregar et al., "Islamic Boarding School Cooperatives as an Instrument for Empowering the Community's Economy: Analysis of Islamic Economic Law," *Nurani* 25, no. 1 (2025): 323 - 343, <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v25i1.27698>.

⁴⁷ Zaki et al., "Designing Strategy of Pesantren Unit Business Virtual Market in Indonesia."

⁴⁸ W Scott, *Institutional Theory: Contributing to a Theoretical Research Program* (Oxford UK: University Press., 2005).



Findings by A. Alhifni,⁴⁹ A. Musoffa,⁵⁰ M. Z. Anwar,⁵¹ A. Soemitra,⁵² A. S. Rusydiana,⁵³ T. Widiastuti,⁵⁴ M. Huda,⁵⁵ R. Sukmana,⁵⁶ and R. Hadi⁵⁷ demonstrate that *waqf*, *zakat*, and the Bank Wakaf Mikro function as a distinctive capital architecture within the pesantren economic ecosystem. This pattern can be understood through the framework of the Islamic moral economy, where resource distribution is oriented toward social justice and public welfare rather than capital accumulation.⁵⁸ From the perspective of institutional economics, these instruments create stable financing mechanisms because they are legitimized by sharia norms and well-established philanthropic practices.⁵⁹ Sociologically, this reflects Karl Polanyi's notion of embedded finance, as capital flows are rooted in religious-communal relations. The reformulation of productive *waqf*, asset-based financing models, women's empowerment initiatives, and the digitalization of *zakat* illustrate how classical instruments are transformed into adaptive contemporary financial

⁴⁹ Anas Alhifni et al., "WAQF an Instrument of Community Empowerment in Islamic Boarding School Daarut Tauhiid in Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic Economics, Banking and Finance* 13, no. 2 (2017): 76-88, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85034626930&partnerID=40&md5=b17a803d302ab17a5580b7cbc266ba48>.

⁵⁰ Musoffa et al., "The Dynamics Of Acceptance And Resistance To Productive Waqf: A Case Study of Mathali'ul Anwar and Al-Ishlah in Lamongan."

⁵¹ Mokhammad Zainal Anwar et al., "TRANSFORMATION OF ECONOMIC THEOLOGY FOR COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT A Case Study on Pesantren-Based Bank Wakaf Mikro," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 17, no. 1 (2023): 76 - 99, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2023.17.1.76-99>.

⁵² Andri Soemitra, null Kusmilawaty, and Tri Inda Fadhlila Rahma, "The Role of Micro Waqf Bank in Women's Micro-Business Empowerment through Islamic Social Finance: Mixed-Method Evidence from Mawaridussalam Indonesia," *Economies* 10, no. 7 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.3390/economies10070157>.

⁵³ Aam Slamet Rusydiana et al., "Unveiling the Effects of Zakat toward Socioeconomic Empowerment in OIC Countries," *International Journal of Ethics and Systems*, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJOES-10-2024-0331>.

⁵⁴ Tika Widiastuti et al., "Strategic Solutions for Women's Empowerment through Islamic Social Finance in Light of Maqāṣid Syarī'ah: A Delphi-ANP Approach," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 20, no. 1 (2025): 28-62, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v20i1.16831>.

⁵⁵ Miftahul Huda, Aditya Prastian Supriyadi, and Ramadhita Ramadhita, "Productive Waqf Law Reform: A Solution to Support Indonesian Local Economy amid Contemporary Global Recession," *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 4, no. 1 (2025): 319-59, <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v4i2.10210>.

⁵⁶ Raditya Sukmana et al., "Designing Waqf-Based Financing Model for Livestock Project: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia," *International Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Finance and Management* 17, no. 3 (2024): 599 - 617, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IMEFM-06-2023-0211>.

⁵⁷ Rahmini Hadi, null Sochimim, and Abdul Basit, "Sharia Strategic Economic Model on Digital Zakat Technology in Indonesia; Стратегічна Економічна Модель Шариату Щодо Цифрової Технології Закята в Індонезії; Стратегическая Экономическая Модель Шариата Относительно Цифровой Технологии Закята в Индонезии," *Economic Annals-XXI* 187, no. 1-2 (2021): 82-89, <https://doi.org/10.21003/EA.V187-08>.

⁵⁸ Mehmet Asutay, "Islamic Moral Economy as the Foundation of Islamic Finance," in *Islamic Finance in Europe* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781002513.00014>.

⁵⁹ Burhan Uluyol, Adil Azizoglu, and Ibrahim Güren Yumuşak, "Financing Infrastructure Development in Emerging Markets: Bonds or Sukuk?," 2026, 13-30, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-032-07224-5_2.



tools. Thus, Islamic social finance in pesantren is not merely an alternative funding source but a structured financing system integrated with educational mandates and social empowerment.

Findings by A. M. H. Ali⁶⁰ and Sabarudin⁶¹ indicate that pesantren economic activities are directed toward strengthening the self-reliance of surrounding communities through partnerships, local networks, and social harmonization, including in Muslim minority contexts. This pattern aligns with community-based economic development theory, which emphasizes the mobilization of local assets, citizen participation, and cross-actor collaboration as the foundation of sustainable economic development.⁶² From the perspective of Robert D. Putnam's social capital, the trust relations, norms of reciprocity, and social networks cultivated by pesantren become prerequisites for effective collective economic action.⁶³ Sociologically, these practices reflect Karl Polanyi's notion of embeddedness, where economic transactions are inseparable from socio-religious relationships rather than functioning as autonomous market mechanisms. At the same time, the minority context highlighted by Sabarudin shows the role of pesantren as a mediating institution that maintains social cohesion while fostering economic self-reliance. Therefore, community empowerment is not a secondary effect but an inherent objective of pesantren economic practices.

Studies by A. Asror⁶⁴ and M. A. S. Malisi⁶⁵ show that *pesantren* manage change through adaptive managerial capacities that remain rooted in traditional values. This pattern is consistent with organizational ambidexterity theory, which requires the simultaneous ability to exploit core values while exploring institutional innovation.⁶⁶ Institutionally, these findings can be interpreted through W. Richard Scott's institutional theory, where the normative pillar (religious values), the

⁶⁰ A M Hasan Ali, "Community-Based Economic Development and Partnership Cooperation: The Economics Strategy for Prosperity of the Ummah," *Samarah* 8, no. 2 (2024): 1280 - 1300, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i2.22925>.

⁶¹ null Sabarudin et al., "Navigating Existence And Community Harmony: A Case Study Of Pondok Pesantren In Muslim Minority Ende, Nusa Tenggara Timur," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 12, no. 3 (2024): 1335-56, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v12i3.1152>.

⁶² Ifeolu David et al., "Neighborhood Leadership Development: An Exploration of Features of Successful Community-Based Participatory Leadership Programs," *Journal of Community Practice* 34, no. 1 (January 2, 2026): 23-43, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2026.2644398>.

⁶³ Robert D Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1995): 65-78, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1995.0002>.

⁶⁴ Ahidul Asror, "Transformative Propagation1 of Islamic Boarding School in Response to Contemporary Challenges," *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 25, no. August (2017): 187 - 194, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85051414966&partnerID=40&md5=732bcd3a84842bd2c8bb4e169fe64ee6>.

⁶⁵ M. Ali Sibram Malisi, Sulasman Sulasman, and Abd Hakim Mohad, "Institutionalizing Educational Reform: Balancing Tradition And Modernity At Pesantren," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 10, no. 2 (December 10, 2024): 363-74, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v10i2.24636>.

⁶⁶ Andrés Felipe Guarín-García and Odette Chams-Anturi, "Organizational Ambidexterity in Emerging Markets: A Bibliometric Analysis," *Journal of Innovation Management* 13, no. 4 (March 25, 2026): 60-89, https://doi.org/10.24840/2183-0606_013.004_0003.



regulative pillar (governance structures), and the cultural-cognitive pillar (learning traditions) interact in reform processes without disrupting institutional identity.⁶⁷ From the perspective of Kurt Lewin's organizational change model, pesantren demonstrate the stages of unfreezing–changing–refreezing, occurring gradually through adjustments in curriculum, management, and institutional strategies.⁶⁸ Thus, adaptation in pesantren does not represent modernization that severs tradition, but rather a process of re-institutionalizing core values into managerial formats that are relevant to contemporary contexts.

Findings by A. Lateh,⁶⁹ Salleh,⁷⁰ M. A. Huq, Khan,⁷¹ and Assalihee⁷² reveal an institutional pattern that interlinks religious values, educational practices, and economic activities within a single organizational design. This pattern corresponds with institutional isomorphism as formulated by Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, in which institutions across different contexts develop similar configurations due to shared normative–religious pressures and comparable functional needs.⁷³ This integration can also be interpreted through Karl Polanyi's lens of embeddedness: economic activities (for example, cash *waqf* in Bangladesh) are embedded within socio-educational structures rather than operating as separate domains.⁷⁴

From a pedagogical–managerial perspective, the implementation of guidelines from Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor (PMDG) and the use of lesson study reflect organizational learning theory as developed by Chris Argyris and Donald Schön—namely, the institutional capacity to renew practices without displacing core value frameworks.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the management of private Islamic

⁶⁷ W Scott, *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas and Interests*, 2008.

⁶⁸ Kurt Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science; Social Equilibria and Social," *Human Relations* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 1947): 5–41, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872674700100103>.

⁶⁹ A Lateh et al., "Exploring Management Strategies for Private Islamic Schools in the Deep South of Thailand Using the PMDG Guidelines: An Application of Fuzzy Delphi Method," *Edelweiss Applied Science and Technology* 8, no. 5 (2024): 1050–61, <https://doi.org/10.55214/25768484.v8i5.1805>.

⁷⁰ M J Salleh, J Kornkasem, and A A Rashid, "Management System of Islamic Private Secondary Schools in Bangkok, Thailand," *Islamic Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2011): 21–38, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-84880948022&partnerID=40&md5=f8e757c90236b5c35c594e1ea2d9d495>.

⁷¹ M Azizul Huq and Foyasal Khan, "The Role of Cash Waqf in the Development of Islamic Higher Education in Bangladesh," *Journal of Islamic Economics, Banking and Finance* 13, no. 4 (2017): 45 – 65, <https://doi.org/10.12816/0051001>.

⁷² M Assalihee et al., "Transforming Islamic Education through Lesson Study (LS): A Classroom-Based Approach to Professional Development in Southern Thailand," *Education Sciences* 14, no. 9 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci14091029>.

⁷³ Paul J. Dimaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *The New Economic Sociology: A Reader*, no. May (2021): 111–34, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095101>.

⁷⁴ Polanyi, K. (1944). *The Great Transformation*, 1–317. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*.

⁷⁵ Ch. Argyris and D. A. Schön, "Organizational Learning: A Theory of Action Perspective," *Reis*, no. 77/78 (1997): 345, <https://doi.org/10.2307/40183951>.



schools in Thailand demonstrates value-based management that combines modern governance with religious legitimacy as a source of authority.⁷⁶ Thus, these cross-national similarities are not coincidental contextual parallels but manifestations of an institutional typology of Islamic education that integrates norms, learning processes, and economic functions within a single systemic architecture.

Studies by P. Janmaimool,⁷⁷ Kitanant,⁷⁸ Wongkumchai,⁷⁹ Lertthanakulvat,⁸⁰ Romprasert,⁸¹ and Phoochinda⁸² show that community economies in Thailand rely on value-based trust, social networks, and self-reliance grounded in local resources. These findings resonate with the conception of a value-based community economic system, in which production, distribution, and consumption are governed by collective norms rather than purely by market calculation.⁸³ Theoretically, this pattern aligns with Karl Polanyi's notion of embeddedness, where economic practices are rooted in social relations and community trust.

The Sufficiency Economy Philosophy (SEP), referenced in several of these studies, emphasizes moderation, rationality, and moral resilience as foundations of sustainability, paralleling the ethical-religious orientation found in pesantren economic practices.⁸⁴ From the perspective of social capital theory as developed by

⁷⁶ Afifi Lateh et al., "Proposed Management Model and Policies Inspired by PMDG Administration for Private Islamic Schools in the Deep South of Thailand," *Pakistan Journal of Life and Social Sciences (PJLSS)* 22, no. 2 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.57239/PJLSS-2024-22.2.00519>.

⁷⁷ P Janmaimool and C Denpaiboon, "Rural Villagers' Quality of Life Improvement by Economic Self-Reliance Practices and Trust in the Philosophy of Sufficiency Economy," *Societies* 6, no. 3 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc6030026>.

⁷⁸ T Kitanant et al., "The Development of Strategies Managements for the Community Enterprises in the Nakhon Chai Burin Province Cluster, Thailand," *Quality - Access to Success* 26, no. 205 (2025): 34-48, <https://doi.org/10.47750/QAS/26.205.04>.

⁷⁹ T Wongkumchai and S Kiattisin, "Information Analysis and Evaluation Model (IAEM) of Thai Economy Sustainability Based on SEP and SDGs," *Heliyon* 7, no. 6 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e07305>.

⁸⁰ S Lertthanakulvat and R Sonsuphap, "Self-Sufficiency Communities For Economic Development: Urban Perspectives In An Emerging Country," *Journal of Governance and Regulation* 13, no. 2 (2024): 68-75, <https://doi.org/10.22495/jgrv13i2art6>.

⁸¹ S Romprasert, T Romprasert, and D Tanamee, "Economic Development Mechanisms: Community Resources," in *Communications in Computer and Information Science*, vol. 2562 CCIS, 2025, 155-77, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-95898-4_12.

⁸² W Phoochinda, "Development of Community Network for Sustainable Tourism Based on the Green Economy Concept," *Journal of Environmental Management and Tourism* 9, no. 6 (2018): 1236-43, [https://doi.org/10.14505/jemt.v9.6\(30\).13](https://doi.org/10.14505/jemt.v9.6(30).13).

⁸³ Christina Plank, Robert Hafner, and Rike Stotten, "Analyzing Values-Based Modes of Production and Consumption: Community-Supported Agriculture in the Austrian Third Food Regime," *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Soziologie* 45, no. 1 (March 22, 2020): 49-68, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11614-020-00393-1>.

⁸⁴ Otto Federico von Feigenblatt, Malcolm Cooper, and Phillip Pardo, "Sufficiency Economy Philosophy (SEP): Thailand's Emic Approach to Governance and Development as Evidence of an Asian Value-Oriented Inclusive Leadership Management Philosophy," *Strategic Analysis* 46, no. 4 (July 4, 2022): 430-40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2022.2111765>.



Robert D. Putnam⁸⁵ and James S. Coleman,⁸⁶ trust and networks function as coordinative capital that reduce transaction costs and strengthen collaborative enterprises. Meanwhile, the development of community enterprises, green tourism networks, and the utilization of local resources can be interpreted through community-based development and green economy frameworks, which integrate ecological sustainability into economic rationality.⁸⁷ This Thai comparison therefore reinforces the interpretation of pesantren as a value-based community economic system: the economy functions as an instrument of social cohesion, environmental sustainability, and collective moral reinforcement, rather than merely capital accumulation.

From a theoretical synthesis, all reviewed articles display consistent characteristics: (1) a normative-theological foundation, (2) spiritual leadership as the driver of economic action, (3) integration of entrepreneurship into pedagogy, (4) formal institutionalization of business units, (5) financing based on Islamic social finance, (6) a community empowerment orientation, and (7) institutional adaptive capacity. This cross-contextual consistency provides a strong basis for understanding that pesantren economic practices are not sporadic phenomena but representations of an Islamic economic system inherent in the pesantren structure.

Accordingly, the conceptual novelty produced by this study is an ontological redefinition of pesantren: not merely as religious educational institutions, but as Islamic value-based economic systems institutionalized within their social, pedagogical, and organizational structures. This finding broadens the perspective on pesantren from educational institutions to value-based socio-economic entities with a systemic architecture that is consistent across geographical contexts.

CONCLUSION

A systematic review across Indonesia, Thailand, and Bangladesh reveals a consistent pattern: pesantren economic practices are grounded in *maqāṣid*, driven by spiritual leadership, internalized through experiential entrepreneurship pedagogy, institutionalized in formal business units, supported by Islamic social finance, oriented toward community empowerment, and managed adaptively without severing tradition. Interpreted through the lenses of moral economy and embeddedness by Karl Polanyi, charismatic authority by Max Weber, institutional theory by W. Richard Scott, and experiential learning by David A. Kolb, this consistency confirms that economic activity is not peripheral but embedded within the pesantren's institutional architecture. These findings address the research

⁸⁵ Putnam, Nanetti, and Leonardi, "Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy."

⁸⁶ James S Coleman and B T - American Journal of Sociology, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988): S95-120, <http://www.jstor.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/stable/2780243>.

⁸⁷ A J Strydom, D Mangope, and U S Henama, "Lessons Learned from Successful Community-Based Tourism Case Studies from the Global South," *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 7, no. 5 (2018), <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85058119595&partnerID=40&md5=0ebebe042a8e38ee76e8d231461f6f98>.



question and yield a conceptual novelty: an ontological redefinition of pesantren as an Islamic value-based economic system.

Develop operational indicators of the pesantren economic system, test them across regions, and integrate Islamic social finance, entrepreneurship pedagogy, and community development into Islamic education policy.

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