

Spiritual Rationality and Social Actions of Pesantren Leaders in the BUMPes Incubation Assistance Program: A Narrative Hermeneutic Study in Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the social actions of pesantren leaders in managing the Incubation Program of Pesantren-Owned Enterprises (BUMPes) and to explain the construction of spiritual rationality underlying decision-making and Islamic social entrepreneurship. A qualitative approach employing a narrative-hermeneutic method based on Max Weber's social action theory was adopted. The research was conducted at Al-Muttaqin Islamic Boarding School, Munggun, Pulung, Ponorogo, East Java. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, focus group discussions, and document analysis. The data were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis model combined with Riessman's narrative interpretation. The findings reveal that pesantren leaders perceive BUMPes not merely as an economic initiative but as an instrument of dakwah, social worship, and community empowerment. Their social actions integrate instrumental, value-oriented, affective, traditional, and spiritual rationalities, forming the Spiritual Rationality of Pesantren (SRP) model. Ethical values such as sincerity (ikhlas), trustworthiness (amanah), cooperation (ta'awun), responsibility, and blessing (barakah) serve as the foundation of institutional governance. The study concludes that spiritual rationality constitutes an essential dimension of Islamic social entrepreneurship and introduces the concept of Spiritual Capital as a theoretical extension of Weber's rationality framework within the context of Islamic institutions.

Keywords

Social Action; Spiritual Rationality; Pesantren; Bumpes; Spiritual Capital; Islamic Social Entrepreneurship

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1. INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) are the oldest and most enduring Islamic institutions in Indonesia, deeply embedded within the nation's socio religious and cultural fabric. Originating as early as the 18th century, pesantren have historically served as centers of Islamic scholarship, moral education, and community empowerment (Abidin et al., 2024; Hafidz, 2021; Prasetyo, 2022). Beyond their educational function (ta'lim), pesantren also operate as loci of spiritual cultivation (tarbiyah) and



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social service (khidmah), positioning them as dynamic agents of moral formation and social transformation (Rawanitas et al., n.d.; Suryadi & Al-Shreifeen, 2024). In sociological terms, pesantren can be conceptualized as faith-based social systems institutions that reproduce religious knowledge while simultaneously shaping social ethics, economic behavior, and cultural identity in Muslim communities (Wardi et al., 2024). Their moral authority and integrative role have made pesantren a crucial component of Indonesia's civil society, particularly in rural contexts where they serve as nodes of trust, solidarity, and local development.

However, the advent of modernization, globalization, and market capitalism has transformed the landscape of religious institutions. As neoliberal economic policies and digital economies reshape societal structures, pesantren face new demands to adapt and participate in the national economy without eroding their spiritual integrity (Alhasbi et al., 2024; Amin, 2024; Muzakki & Nisa, 2020). The tension between tradition and modernity between fiqh-based values and managerial pragmatism has become increasingly evident. Contemporary scholars describe this process as a religious rearticulation of modernity (Fadel, 2024), in which religious institutions reinterpret modern economic systems through moral and theological frameworks. Within this dynamic, pesantren are re-emerging as faith-based incubators of social entrepreneurship, institutions capable of integrating spiritual capital with socio-economic innovation (Acharjee, 2024; Muzakki & Nisa, 2020; ODESANMI et al., 2024; Oino, n.d.)

Recognizing this transformative potential, the Indonesian government launched the Pesantren-Owned Enterprises Incubation Program (BUMPes) in 2021, jointly initiated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs. This initiative represents a novel faith-based incubation model that seeks to integrate Islamic spirituality with modern business practices (Siregar, 2024; Widyaningsih et al., 2021). The strategic vision of BUMPes is to strengthen pesantren as economic epicenters of the ummah, producing not only devout scholars but also socially responsible entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, empirical realities demonstrate that the outcomes of BUMPes implementation vary widely across institutions. Some pesantren have successfully developed sustainable enterprises, while others remain stagnant due to managerial incapacity, limited human capital, or insufficient entrepreneurial vision (Anam, 2025).

This empirical divergence raises a fundamental sociological question: what explains the differential responses of pesantren leaders (kiai) toward the same policy framework? Why do some perceive BUMPes as an economic instrument, while others interpret it as a religious mandate (amanah dakwah)? Addressing this question requires a theoretical framework capable of capturing the subjective meaning underlying religiously motivated economic behavior. Max Weber's Theory of Social Action offers a valuable foundation, positing that human behavior is meaningful insofar as it is guided by subjective interpretation and oriented toward others. Weber classified social action into four rationalities: instrumental (zweckrational), value-oriented (wertrational), affective, and traditional (Ismail et al., 2026). Yet, Weber's typology, rooted in Western secular rationalism, fails to account for the transcendental motivations that characterize faith-based societies.

In religious contexts such as pesantren, economic and social actions are not merely pragmatic or value-based; they are fundamentally spiritualized. The kiai's decision to engage in entrepreneurial or developmental programs is often grounded in theological principles that frame economic activity as a form of worship through action (ibadah bil amal) and social piety (taqwa ijtimai'iyah). Within this worldview, economic endeavors are conceptualized not as mechanisms for profit accumulation but as instruments for achieving barakah (divine blessing) and fulfilling moral obligations toward communal welfare (Faihaa, 2024).

To capture this dimension, the present study introduces Spiritual Rationality (SR) as an analytical extension of Weber's framework. Spiritual rationality is defined as a form of social action rooted in iman (faith-based consciousness) that harmonizes moral intention, emotional devotion, and transcendental awareness in everyday practice. It acknowledges that, in faith-oriented contexts, rationality is not

merely calculative but teleological directed toward achieving divine pleasure (*ridha* Allah). This theoretical innovation contributes to bridging the gap between classical sociological rationalism and the sociology of religion, offering a more holistic framework for analyzing social action in Muslim societies (Hidayatullah, 2024)

Within this framework, pesantren leaders act as moral entrepreneurs (Singh et al., 2024; Syamsuri et al., 2023) who reinterpret state economic initiatives through theological hermeneutics, transforming technocratic programs into spiritual practices of *dakwah bil hal* (preaching through action). The integration of faith and enterprise gives rise to what this study terms Pesantrenpreneurshipa model of faith-based entrepreneurship that combines economic rationality with Islamic ethics, emphasizing sincerity (*ikhlas*), trust (*amanah*), cooperation (*ta'awun*), and social responsibility (*mas'uliyah*) as key operational values (Sa'adah & Rahman, 2024). This framework reflects a process of "spiritualizing modernity," in which religious actors domesticate modern economic practices through spiritual and moral reasoning rather than rejecting them outright (CHANDRASARI et al., 2025; Ghofur & Hasan, n.d.; Syamsuri et al., 2023)

Empirically, this study situates itself within the broader discourse of Islamic economics, faith-based development, and the sociology of religion. It critically engages with divergent perspectives: some scholars argue that religious institutions should secularize to ensure economic efficiency (Pyrzcz et al., 2025), while others emphasize that spirituality enhances social capital and institutional trust, leading to more sustainable forms of development (Francioni et al., 2024). By examining the narrative actions of pesantren leaders, this study offers an interpretive and context-sensitive understanding of how faith-based rationalities influence institutional behavior.

Therefore, the objectives of this research are threefold: (1) To analyze the forms of social action employed by pesantren leaders in managing the BUMPes program; (2) To interpret the spiritual meanings underlying these actions as expressions of *dakwah*, worship, and moral responsibility; and (3) To formulate a conceptual model of faith-based entrepreneurship that integrates Islamic values with socioeconomic praxis.

The principal conclusion emerging from this study is that pesantren's engagement with economic programs cannot be explained solely through material or institutional logic. Instead, their actions are guided by a distinct form of spiritual rationality a synthesis of faith, morality, and pragmatic reasoning which redefines economic activity as an extension of religious devotion. Theoretically, this study contributes to extending Weber's social action theory by incorporating the transcendental dimension of faith into sociological analysis. Practically, it offers a faith-informed model of economic empowerment Pesantrenpreneurship that can inform more inclusive and culturally grounded approaches to Islamic economic development in Indonesia and beyond.

2. METHODS

This study employed a qualitative narrative-hermeneutic approach to explore the meaning of pesantren leaders' social actions within the Pesantren-Owned Enterprises Incubation Program (BUMPes). The approach was chosen to interpret the subjective experiences of pesantren caregivers in a contextual and philosophical manner. The narrative method was used to collect and analyze life stories and social experiences reflecting spiritual values in pesantren economic practices, while the hermeneutic approach was applied to interpret the symbolic meanings and theological dimensions of these narratives (Suparjo et al., 2026).

The research was conducted at Pondok Pesantren Al-Muttaqin, Munggun Village, Pulung District, Ponorogo Regency, East Java selected purposively for its active implementation of the BUMPes program. The participants included the pesantren leader (Kiai Jalal), BUMPes managers, students (*santri*), alumni, and local community members involved in pesantren economic activities.

Data were gathered using four complementary techniques: (1) in depth interviews with pesantren leaders and BUMPes managers; (2) participant observation of social and economic activities; (3) focus group discussions (FGDs) to validate interpretations; and (4) document analysis of archives, reports, and policy documents. Data were analyzed using the Miles and Huberman interactive model, consisting of data reduction, display, and conclusion drawing. To ensure validity, triangulation of sources, methods, and time was conducted. Researcher reflexivity and the criteria of credibility and confirmability (Agilan, 2026; Topan et al., 2026) were applied to maintain interpretive rigor and ensure that findings authentically represent the pesantren's social reality (Mansyuriadi & Sapriadi, 2026; Rofiqi et al., 2026).

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the research findings based on the narrative–hermeneutic analysis of the *Pesantren-Owned Enterprises Incubation Program* (BUMPes) implementation at Pondok Pesantren Al-Muttaqin, Ponorogo. The results address the main research objective stated in the introduction: to understand the forms and meanings of pesantren leaders' social actions as expressions of spiritual rationality in managing faith-based economic initiatives. The findings are supported by empirical data from interviews, observations, FGDs, and document analyses, followed by interpretive discussion linking them to Weber's social action theory and contemporary Islamic thought.

The BUMPes Incubation Program as a Mandate of Dakwah

The analysis of field data reveals that the pesantren leadership interprets the BUMPes program not as a technocratic, state-driven economic project but as an “amanah dakwah” (religious mandate) a sacred duty aimed at promoting the welfare of the *ummah*. The theological perspective held by the pesantren leaders rests on the principle that economic work is an integral part of *ibadah sosial* (social worship). During an interview, *Kiai Jalal* emphasized:

“The pesantren's business is not about pursuing profit but about spreading benefit to the students and the community because that is part of our social worship.”

This qualitative evidence demonstrates that pesantren economic actions are guided by value-oriented rationality (*wertrational*) rather than purely instrumental motives (Thalib et al., 2026; Weber, 1949). The motivation stems from moral and spiritual values particularly sincerity (*ikhlas*) and social responsibility (*mas'uliyah*). The leaders perceive BUMPes participation as *ta'abbud* (spiritual devotion) expressed through economic and social engagement.

These findings answer the first research question by showing that spiritual rationality transforms economic participation into an act of worship, indicating a fusion between economic modernity and religious ethics. The process represents a *dialectic between state rationality and pesantren religiosity*. This phenomenon termed “spiritualization of the pesantren economy” reflects a paradigm shift from *profit orientation* to *barakah orientation*. It supports the hypothesis that pesantren economic action is fundamentally faith oriented, aligning with Qardhawi and Madjid, who describe Islamic economics as the pursuit of blessing and social good rather than profit maximization (Kurniadi, 2025).

Economy as Social Worship and the Ethics of Blessing (Barakah)

Ethnographic and hermeneutic analyses demonstrate that the economic practices of *Pondok Pesantren Al-Muttaqin* are deeply rooted in the principle of *mu'amalah 'ibādiyyah* the theological understanding that economic activities constitute integral components of social worship. This orientation represents a profound synthesis between faith and economic rationality, in which material undertakings are not pursued for self-interest but are interpreted as *acts of devotion* (*'ibādah bil-'amal*) aimed at attaining divine approval (*ridha Allah*). Such a worldview resonates with the Islamic economic paradigm advanced by Chapra and Naqvi, who assert that economic behavior in Islam must be

anchored in spiritual and ethical values to realize both *falah* (human well-being) and *barakah* (divine blessing) (Choudhury, n.d.; Fadillah et al., 2024)

Empirical evidence from in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentary analysis reveals that pesantren-based economic activities including agricultural production, cooperative retail, and livestock enterprises are regarded by leaders and stakeholders as vehicles of worship and collective responsibility. As one BUMPes manager explained:

“We do not work to become rich; we work so that this business brings benefit and blessing to everyone.”

This perspective reflects a distinct moral-economic consciousness that redefines the notion of success. Rather than measuring achievement through financial profit or growth, pesantren communities adopt *barakah* as an epistemic and ethical criterion—a manifestation of divine favor that ensures justice, sustainability, and social harmony. This ethical reorientation parallels Weber’s idea of transforming religious ethics into economic energy but diverges sharply in its teleological foundation. While Weber’s *Protestant Ethic* conceptualizes work as a vocation serving rational capitalism, the Islamic Ethic of Blessing (*Akhlaq al-Barakah*) positions work as an expression of *‘ubudiyyah* (servitude to God) directed toward moral and spiritual fulfillment (Rika Widianita, 2023; Sunardi et al., 2025). This orientation is operationalized through an ethical framework composed of four interrelated principles *ikhlas* (sincerity), *amanah* (trust), *ta’awun* (cooperation), and *tanggung jawab* (responsibility) which together form the moral foundation of what this study conceptualizes as *Akhlaq al-Barakah*, or the Ethics of Blessing.

Table 1. Ethical Principles, Philosophical Meanings, and Socioeconomic Functions in BUMPes Governance

Ethical Principle	Philosophical Meaning	Socioeconomic Function	Representative Sources
Ikhlas (Sincerity)	Acting purely for the sake of Allah (<i>lillāh</i>), rejecting self-interest; <i>niyyah</i> sanctifies economic action.	Establishes the moral foundation of entrepreneurship by purifying motives, transforming labor into worship, and reinforcing long-term community engagement.	(Mustafa, 2026) (Aljahsh & Alhelbawy, 2026) (Mahmood, 2025)
Amanah (Trust)	Moral honesty and accountability before God and society; leadership as custodianship (<i>amānah</i>).	Enhances transparency, fiduciary integrity, and institutional legitimacy, thereby strengthening community trust and donor confidence.	(Elizabeth & Mikaere, 2025) (Haugh et al., 2025) (Ringson, 2026)
Ta’awun (Cooperation)	Mutual solidarity and assistance as a divine command (<i>amr ilāhī</i>) in Islam.	Promotes participatory governance, redistributive justice, and social cohesion through collective economic initiatives.	(Mustafa, 2026) (Hanapi & Husnul, 2026) (Hanapi & Husnul, 2026)
Tanggung jawab (Responsibility)	Leadership as moral stewardship (<i>khilāfah</i>), emphasizing social and spiritual accountability.	Ensures ethical governance, transparency, and <i>maslahah</i> (public welfare) through exemplary leadership (<i>uswah hasanah</i>).	(Ruhullah & Ushama, 2025) (Arif, 2025) (Awan et al., n.d.)

The integration of *ikhlas*, *amanah*, *ta’awun*, and *tanggung jawab* establishes a comprehensive moral system that transforms Weber’s *ethics of vocation* into an Islamic Ethics of Blessing—where economic practice is redefined as a sacred duty rather than a secular pursuit. These principles institutionalize spirituality within organizational governance, aligning managerial efficiency with divine accountability. Consequently, pesantren function as both religious and socio-economic institutions,

exemplifying what recent scholarship terms a moral economy of faith (Hakim et al., 2022; Mei Ie et al., 2025; Nadzir, 2015).

This ethical foundation also underpins the study's proposed model of Pesantrenpreneurship a framework of *faith-based entrepreneurship* that merges Islamic spirituality, moral economics, and participatory development. The model corresponds with Asutay's concept of *Islamic moral economy*, wherein economic behavior is driven by spiritual intentionality, ethical interdependence, and social responsibility (Yilmaz, 2024).

Pesantrenpreneurship thus represents a practical manifestation of spiritual rationality a mode of social action grounded in *iman* (faith) and *niyyah* (divine intention). Extending Weber's fourfold typology of social action instrumental, value-oriented, affective, and traditional this study introduces a fifth dimension: spiritual rationality, where faith serves as the ultimate rational motivator harmonizing material logic with transcendent ethics (Adair-toteff, n.d.; Weber, 1978). This theoretical extension aligns with later sociological reinterpretations of Weberian thought, which recognize spirituality as a legitimate and rational framework for action in non-Western societies (Turner, 2012).

Hermeneutic interpretation further reveals that pesantren economic rationality operates through a dialectical synthesis of transcendence and immanence. Economic practices are not detached from theology but become vehicles of *dakwah bil hal* (preaching through action), transforming entrepreneurship into social preaching (Ghofur & Hasan, n.d.; Halimatusa'diyah et al., 2025). The study also shows that *barakah* functions as a motivational and regulatory logic, sustaining long-term institutional trust and cohesion paralleling *social capital* (Ummah, 2019) but transcending it through the development of spiritual capital (Vasconcelos, 2025).

From an interpretive perspective, the Ethics of Blessing operates both as a normative system and a performative practice, legitimizing economic action as a path toward *tazkiyah al-nafs* (moral purification) and *maslahah 'ammah* (collective welfare). This framework challenges the reductionism of capitalist rationality and articulates a model of faith-compatible modernity (Khusnah & Hosna, 2024), in which markets are embedded within moral, social, and spiritual accountability.

In conclusion, the concept of *economy as social worship* within pesantren practice constitutes a synthesis of Weberian sociology and Islamic moral theology, wherein spiritual intentionality serves as both the epistemological foundation and ethical regulator of economic behavior. The findings affirm the central hypothesis: pesantren social actions are guided by spiritual rationality, a distinct form of rationality in which faith harmonizes material pragmatism with transcendental purpose. This convergence of ethics and economics situates pesantren as laboratories of Islamic moral economy, demonstrating that authentic and sustainable development can only emerge when infused with divine consciousness, social ethics, and collective moral responsibility.

Ethical Foundations in BUMPes Governance

Ethnographic findings demonstrate that spiritual values are not peripheral but deeply institutionalized within the management system of pesantren, shaping how decisions are made, how leadership is exercised, and how accountability is defined. At *Pondok Pesantren Al-Muttaqin*, ethical behavior is internalized as a form of *ibadah* (worship), transforming managerial and economic activities into expressions of faith and devotion. Organizational culture is therefore guided by *uswah hasanah* (moral exemplarity), where leaders are expected to embody sincerity, humility, and integrity rather than authority or status.

Three key practices embody this institutionalization of spirituality. First, transparency is treated as both an administrative and spiritual imperative — financial decisions are made openly, reflecting *amanah* (trust) as accountability to both the community and to God. Second, collective participation is operationalized through *ta'awun* (mutual cooperation), involving *santri* (students), alumni, and the surrounding community in pesantren's economic ventures. Third, ethical leadership is expressed

through *uswah hasanah*, ensuring that the moral character of the leader becomes the primary source of legitimacy and organizational discipline.

This governance model reflects not only the operational rationality of pesantren enterprises but also their theological foundations. It creates a moral framework that unites the transcendent (divine command) and immanent (social practice) aspects of economic life. The integration of spiritual values into institutional management at BUMPes produces a model of governance that Weber termed the *ethics of vocation* a moral calling embedded in professional life. However, in the pesantren context, this vocational ethic is theocentric centered not on secular professionalism but on devotion to Allah as the ultimate source of accountability (Weber, 1978, 2012).

Empirical observations reveal that *Pondok Pesantren Al-Muttaqin* manages its BUMPes under a framework of ethical values that combine moral, social, and theological dimensions. These are summarized in Table 2, which shows how philosophical principles are translated into practical applications within pesantren economic governance.

Table 2. Ethical Values in BUMPes Management

Ethical Value	Philosophical Meaning	Practical Application
Ikhlas (Sincerity)	Working purely for Allah, not for personal gain	Voluntary and selfless service in pesantren enterprises
Amanah (Trust)	Moral honesty, reliability, and accountability	Transparent financial management and collective oversight
Ta'awun (Cooperation)	Mutual assistance and social solidarity	Collaborative work among <i>santri</i> , alumni, and the local community
Tanggung jawab (Responsibility)	Ethical and spiritual accountability to God and society	Leadership through example (<i>uswah hasanah</i>) and moral discipline
Barakah (Blessing)	Success measured by social benefit rather than profit	Sustainable business models aimed at community welfare and moral growth

As reflected in Table 2, the ethical system of pesantren management represents a *moral economy* grounded in the pursuit of *barakah* (divine blessing) and *maslahah* (social welfare). Economic success is therefore defined not by financial accumulation but by the extent to which activities generate collective benefit and moral value. As one BUMPes manager stated, "Our responsibility is not just to manage finances, but to manage trust every transaction must bring benefit and blessing to others."

This statement exemplifies how pesantren leadership perceives economic practice as dual accountability *horizontal* (to society) and *vertical* (to God). The management of BUMPes is thus structured around an ethics of blessing, where financial sustainability and spiritual accountability coexist in harmony. Within this paradigm, economic rationality becomes sacralized; efficiency and profit-seeking are reinterpreted as instruments of worship and social good.

Such an approach redefines entrepreneurship as *dakwah ekonomi* (economic propagation of faith), positioning the pesantren as both a moral and economic institution. The BUMPes at Al-Muttaqin exemplifies a spiritualized model of economic governance, where spirituality is not a symbolic supplement but the organizational backbone of management. This model transforms Weber's *ethics of vocation* into an *Islamic ethics of blessing* a paradigm in which work, enterprise, and leadership are motivated by devotion, sustained by integrity, and evaluated by the extent to which they generate *barakah* for the community (Adair-toteff, n.d.; Eprilianto et al., 2024; Sica, 2017).

In conclusion, the institutionalization of spiritual ethics in BUMPes management demonstrates how pesantren rationality bridges religion and economy, transforming modern management into a theological practice. By embedding spirituality within organizational systems, pesantren ensure that

economic modernity does not lead to secularization but to the spiritualization of management, reinforcing their role as agents of moral-economic transformation in contemporary Indonesia.

The Model of Pesantren Spiritual Rationality (RSP)

From the hermeneutic analysis of the empirical narratives, the study formulates the Pesantren Spiritual Rationality (RSP) Model, a conceptual framework that illustrates how pesantren leaders integrate multiple layers of human reasoning into a unified system of faith-guided social action. The model identifies five interconnected dimensions of rationality instrumental, value-oriented, affective, traditional, and spiritual that operate simultaneously in shaping the decision-making and economic practices within the pesantren ecosystem. Among these, the spiritual dimension functions as the epistemic and ontological core, harmonizing the other four rationalities into a coherent worldview grounded in Islamic faith (iman) and divine consciousness (taqwa).

At the center of the model lies Spiritual Rationality, symbolizing the axis of integration where all actions derive meaning from their alignment with theological purpose and moral intent. Surrounding it are the four complementary rationalities:

- Instrumental Rationality, representing strategic and managerial logic, enabling pesantren to engage with modern economic mechanisms while maintaining ethical integrity;
- Value Rationality, emphasizing moral commitment and the pursuit of divinely ordained goodness (al-khayr);
- Affective Rationality, expressing emotional devotion, empathy, and compassion as motivational forces behind social and economic initiatives; and
- Traditional Rationality, embodying inherited wisdom, customs, and religious practices that root pesantren in historical continuity and communal identity.

These four layers orbit the spiritual core, reflecting a dynamic equilibrium where modern managerial rationality is continuously reinterpreted through the lens of spiritual ethics. The integration of these rationalities produces a holistic rational system, in which economic and managerial decisions are both strategically sound and spiritually accountable.

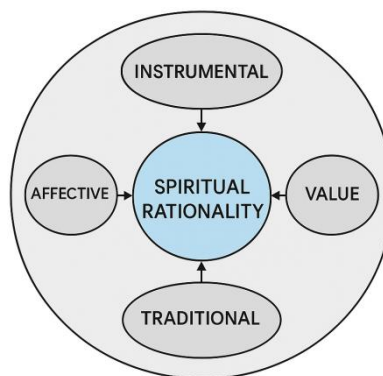


Figure 1. Model of Pesantren Spiritual Rationality (RSP)

- The central circle represents spiritual rationality as the integrative core that unifies all other dimensions.
- The surrounding dimensions instrumental, value, affective, and traditional are harmonized under faith-based motivation, ensuring coherence between religious values and pragmatic actions.

Figure 1 demonstrates that the pesantren's rational framework serves as a mediating bridge between religion and economy, and between tradition and modernity. It captures the dialectical process through which pesantren leaders reinterpret modern economic logic within a theological framework,

transforming secular rationality into sacralized rationality. In this sense, the RSP Model not only illustrates a sociological pattern but also represents an epistemological paradigm a form of spiritual modernity where economic rationality becomes an instrument of religious devotion and social welfare.

The model supports the study's central hypothesis that spiritual rationality enables pesantren to modernize economically without losing their religious authenticity. It provides a theoretical lens to understand how pesantren sustain equilibrium between the sacred and the pragmatic, reconciling divine obligation with human creativity. Through this synthesis, the RSP Model positions pesantren as transformative agents of Islamic socio-economic thought, capable of embodying both tradition and innovation, spirituality and progress, faith and reason in a single, integrated framework of action.

Spiritual Capital and Pesantrenpreneurship

The study identifies spiritual capital as a unique form of resource that underpins and sustains the entrepreneurial ecosystem within *pesantren*. This concept emerges as an essential theoretical contribution that extends beyond the conventional frameworks of *social capital* proposed by Bourdieu and Putnam (Styabudi, 2024). While social capital emphasizes networks, reciprocity, and trust as the foundations of collective productivity, spiritual capital integrates these sociological dimensions with a theological and transcendental orientation, rooted in faith (*iman*), sincerity (*ikhlas*), and collective moral consciousness (*akhlaq jama'i*).

In the pesantren context, *spiritual capital* functions as a moral energy that not only mobilizes human and social resources but also infuses economic activities with religious purpose. It transforms entrepreneurship from a purely utilitarian endeavor into an act of *ibadah* (worship) and *dakwah bil hal* (preaching through action). This corresponds with Zohar and Marshall's notion of *spiritual capital* as "the wealth we can live by" an ethical resource that gives economic life a sense of meaning and direction. However, the pesantren variant differs from Western formulations by grounding spiritual capital not in secular spirituality or human potential but in *theocentric intentionality* the conviction that all economic actions are accountable to Allah and oriented toward *barakah* (divine blessing) (Tarigan & Mawaddah, 2026).

Empirical evidence shows that at Pondok Pesantren Al-Muttaqin, the presence of *spiritual capital* manifests in three interrelated domains:

- Faith-based motivation—economic activities are initiated with *niyyah lillāh* (intention for God), making spiritual merit the principal measure of success.
- Collective sincerity and moral solidarity entrepreneurial decisions are collectively deliberated through *musyawarah* (consultation), ensuring communal ownership and shared ethical responsibility.
- Barakah-oriented accountability profit and performance are evaluated not only through material metrics but also through moral-spiritual outcomes, such as increased welfare, reduced inequality, and strengthened community trust.

These dimensions illustrate that *spiritual capital* operates both as an internalized belief system and as a socially embedded structure of moral expectations, shaping the economic rationality of pesantren enterprises. It guides behavior, legitimizes economic authority, and regulates relations between leaders, students, and community stakeholders.

Table 3. Comparison between Social Capital and Spiritual Capital

Aspect	Social Capital (Bourdieu/Putnam)	Spiritual Capital (This Study)
Foundation	Social trust and networks	Faith (<i>iman</i>) and sincerity (<i>ikhlas</i>)

Aspect	Social Capital (Bourdieu/Putnam)	Spiritual Capital (This Study)
Motivation	Reciprocity and cooperation	Worship (<i>'ibadah</i>) and devotion to Allah
Orientation	Social solidarity	Blessing (<i>barakah</i>) and salvation (<i>falah</i>)
Goal	Social cohesion	Moral and spiritual resilience
Example	Community participation	Work as social worship (<i>'amal ibadah</i>)

As reflected in Table 3, spiritual capital represents a paradigm shift from a sociological to a theological understanding of human cooperation. While *social capital* emphasizes trust and reciprocity within horizontal networks, *spiritual capital* embeds vertical accountability *the relationship between humans and God (habl min Allah)* into the matrix of social interactions (*habl min al-nas*). This dual accountability framework produces what can be called a moral economy of faith, where productivity is inseparable from piety, and wealth creation is subordinated to ethical and spiritual ends.

This model of capital formation directly informs the concept of Pesantrenpreneurship, a hybrid framework of Islamic entrepreneurship that integrates *faith, ethics, and economic sustainability*. Drawing from Asutay's *Islamic moral economy*, Pesantrenpreneurship situates entrepreneurship within a broader mission of *social justice (adl)*, *welfare (maslahah)*, and *spiritual transcendence (tazkiyah)*. The pesantren, therefore, acts not only as an incubator of business innovation but also as a spiritual-ethical institution, where the primary currency is trust, sincerity, and moral credibility rather than capital accumulation.

Empirical data show that pesantren-based enterprises prioritize long-term *sustainability* and *social welfare* over short-term profitability. Decision-making processes emphasize *collective consultation* and *ethical review*, reflecting the Islamic principle of *shura*. Accountability mechanisms are embedded within ritual practices such as *doa (prayer)* before business activities and *syukuran (gratitude gatherings)* after financial milestones which reaffirm the transcendental orientation of economic life.

The presence of spiritual capital thus provides a theoretical explanation for the pesantren's resilience in balancing economic modernity with religious authenticity. Unlike conventional enterprises driven by instrumental rationality, pesantren entrepreneurship operates through spiritual rationality, where moral purpose governs strategic logic. This finding validates the study's core hypothesis that faith-based motivation functions as a catalyst for moral-economic transformation, enabling pesantren to thrive as hybrid institutions of religious devotion and socioeconomic innovation.

In broader sociological terms, *spiritual capital* contributes to what Turner describes as "the moral reconstruction of modernity" the reembedding of faith and ethics into systems dominated by instrumental rationality (Turner, 2012). The pesantren case illustrates how Islamic institutions can generate an alternative form of capitalism "capitalism with barakah" that reconciles moral virtue with material progress. Consequently, *Pesantrenpreneurship* emerges as a living embodiment of Weber's *ethics of vocation* reframed through Islamic theology: labor and entrepreneurship are not secular callings but sacred mandates (*amanah ilahiyyah*). In this system, the entrepreneur is simultaneously a believer (*mu'min*), servant (*'abd*), and trustee (*khalifah*), whose moral task is to ensure that every productive act contributes to both worldly prosperity and eternal salvation (Weber, 1978).

Hermeneutic Discussion: The Dialectic of Faith and Rationality

Hermeneutic interpretation of the empirical data reveals that pesantren economic practices represent a fusion of horizons (Horizontverschmelzung) Gadamer, a dialogical synthesis between the horizon of modern rationality and that of traditional spirituality. In this fusion, the pesantren neither passively adopts modern economic rationalism nor resists it through isolationist traditionalism. Instead, it performs an active reinterpretation (ta'wil) of modernity through a theological lens, thereby

generating what this study conceptualizes as the process of “spiritualizing modernity.”

The BUMPes program, as a state-driven modern economic initiative, brings with it the assumptions of efficiency, profitability, and growth typical of capitalist logic (Attarwiyah et al., 2025). However, within the pesantren context, these principles undergo hermeneutic reconstruction: they are translated and re-signified according to Islamic theological categories such as *niyyah* (intention), *amanah* (trust), and *barakah* (divine blessing). This hermeneutic encounter between state rationality and pesantren spirituality demonstrates what Gadamer calls “the historical mediation of understanding,” where meaning emerges through a dialogic engagement of traditions rather than their opposition.

Rather than rejecting modernization, pesantren engage in a negotiated synthesis, infusing faith (*iman*), ethics (*akhlak*), and spirituality into the operational logic of modern entrepreneurship (Nuryazidi, 2024). This synthesis aligns with the views of Hidayat and Khalika, who argue that Indonesian pesantren practice a form of reflexive modernity a dynamic adaptation of global rational structures through local theological consciousness. The result is an indigenous epistemology of modernity that remains rooted in Islamic cosmology (Ritonga & Saputra, 2025).

This finding confirms the study’s central hypothesis: pesantren act as transformative agents capable of reconciling modern rationality with Islamic spirituality. Through hermeneutic reinterpretation, the economic domain is no longer secularized but becomes a sphere of *dakwah sosial* (social preaching). Economic participation is thus understood as an extension of religious responsibility, uniting faith (*iman*), reason (*‘aql*), and welfare (*maslahah*) into a coherent moral economy. As a pesantren leader expressed during fieldwork: “When we manage business, we are not chasing profit; we are practicing *dakwah* showing that Islam guides every step, even in the marketplace.”

This expression encapsulates the hermeneutic shift in meaning: economic rationality is not rejected but subordinated to spiritual rationality, where modern mechanisms are retained but their objectives are reoriented toward divine purpose. The pesantren therefore demonstrate what Turner calls “the re-enchantment of modernity” the reintroduction of sacred meaning into rationalized social systems. (Erlinawati et al., 2025)

From a sociological-theoretical standpoint, this process represents a Weberian inversion. While Weber described the “disenchantment of the world” (*Entzauberung der Welt*) as the hallmark of modern rationality, the pesantren case illustrates a re-enchanted rationality, one that integrates instrumental efficiency with spiritual intentionality (Adair-toteff, n.d.; Weber, 1978). The pesantren thus transform the ethics of vocation into what may be called the ethics of blessing, where moral and religious obligations govern economic reasoning.

Moreover, the dialectic between faith and rationality in pesantren economics can be understood as a theological rationality a mode of reasoning that synthesizes revelation (*wahyu*) and reason (*‘aql*) as complementary sources of knowledge (Kusumawati & Nurfuadi, 2024; Waruwu, 2024). In this framework, economic activity is situated within a divinely ordered universe, where all actions are directed toward achieving *al-falah* (ultimate success) and *al-tanmiyah al-insaniyyah* (human flourishing). This theological rationality rejects the dualism between sacred and secular, reasserting a holistic epistemology where ethics, economics, and spirituality coexist as an integrated moral system.

Consequently, the findings demonstrate that the BUMPes program at Pondok Pesantren Al-Muttaqin is understood, managed, and practiced as a spiritual-economic mission. It is not perceived as a state-imposed economic project but as an *amanah dakwah* a divine trust to promote community welfare through ethical entrepreneurship. The integration of spiritual rationality, ethical governance, and spiritual capital forms the foundational triad of Pesantrenpreneurship, a model that harmonizes Islamic values with managerial modernity.

In this model, Pesantrenpreneurship serves as both an economic and moral institution, embodying what Asutay and Chapra describe as the Islamic moral economy an economy that transcends the

material realm by embedding ethics, justice (adl), and compassion (rahmah) into its operational structure. The pesantren's success lies not in profit maximization but in its ability to maintain equilibrium between spiritual authenticity and economic viability.

Ultimately, this hermeneutic discussion substantiates the research hypothesis outlined in the introduction: faith-based institutions such as pesantren generate moral economies that balance material progress with spiritual well-being. The pesantren's praxis demonstrates that economic rationality, when mediated through spirituality, becomes not an agent of secularization but a medium of sacralization—a mechanism for transforming modernity into a vehicle of divine purpose. This insight enriches the broader field of the sociology of religion and the political economy of Islam by revealing that spiritual rationality is not a premodern residue but a living, adaptive framework for constructing ethical modernities in the Global South.

4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study affirms that the social actions of pesantren leaders in managing the Pesantren-Owned Enterprises Incubation Program (BUMPes) are grounded in a distinct form of spiritual rationality that integrates faith, ethics, and modern economic reasoning into a unified moral framework. This rationality transforms economic activity into an act of worship and social responsibility, positioning pesantren as agents of ethical development and spiritual empowerment. By extending Weber's theory of social action with a transcendental dimension, the study contributes theoretically to the sociology of religion, demonstrating that rationality in Islamic contexts is inseparable from spiritual intentionality. Practically, it proposes the model of Pesantrenpreneurship, a paradigm of faith-based entrepreneurship sustained by spiritual capital—the collective energy of sincerity, trust, cooperation, and divine consciousness—that fosters economic justice and sustainability. This research underscores the potential of pesantren as centers of Islamic moral economy, capable of reconciling modern rationality with divine ethics to produce a spiritually grounded model of socioeconomic transformation, and invites future studies to explore the scalability and comparative dynamics of this model across different religious and cultural settings.

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