ISSN: 2503-4235 (p); 2503-4243 (e)



Shirkah

Journal of Economics and Business

Shirkah

Journal of Economics and Business Vol. 4, No. 2, May-August 2019 ISSN: 2503-4235 (p); 2503-4243 (e)

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Shirkah Journal of Economics and Business is a peer-reviewed journal published three times a year (January-April, May-August and September-December) by Faculty of Islamic Economics and Business, Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Surakarta Central Java, Indonesia. The main objective of Shirkah is to offer an academic space of exchange ideas and initiate the increase number of qualified article produced by postgraduate students, practitioners and academicians.

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Journal of Economics and Business Vol. 4, No. 2, May-August 2019 ISSN: 2503-4235 (p); 2503-4243 (e)

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Shirkah



Journal of Economics and Business ISSN: 2503-4235 (p); 2503-4243 (e)

Santripreneurship and Local Wisdom Economic Creative of Pesantren Miftahul Ulum

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Abstract

Madura is well-known as an island which has been identical to the values of religion. One of the values is the important role of religious institutions, such as *pesantren*. The role of *pesantren* as a traditional Islamic institution is not limited to religious areas only, but to other social aspects only, including in economic development. This study examines the economic development of *pesantren* through analyzing *santripreneur* based on local wisdom in Pamekasan, Madura, East Java, Indonesia. This study outlines descriptive-narrative explanations regarding the value of Madurese local wisdom, and creative economic *santripreneur* activities in the *pesantren*, such as batik crafts, *pesantren* supermarket, and sharia-based *pesantren* (*ikhtisab*) as an economic development strategy in the *pesantren* of Miftahul Ulum, Pamekasan. Moreover, it offers the idea of *pesantren* economic development in Madura, especially in the context of strengthening the economic independency and sustainability.

Keywords: Madura, santri, entrepreneurship, local wisdom

Introduction

The economic development has been one of the social issues that attract the attention of academicians, both at the theoretical and practical level. At the theoretical level, such discourses on the development provides momentum when the direction of world development faces a new 'kiblat' (direction), namely sustainable development. Whereas at the practical level, the issues of the development have been discussed as

matters of threatening the stability of global communities, such as poverty, social inequality, and environmental pollution (Budi, 2010: 34). Various ideas for the development have emerged, which aims to solve the social problems, one of the ideas is developing local wisdom. Furthermore, the development of local wisdom is expected to be a solution, not only on reducing poverty and social inequality, but also in terms of sustainable nature.

Theoretically, the development of local wisdom has a dual vision. On one hand, building regions based on the potentials, on the other hand, it invites the participative involvement of local communities collectively (Aulia and Dharmawan, 2014: 346). For Indonesia context, the development of local wisdom contains strategic values, especially to balance certain regions that have special social typologies, such as Madura islands. The social typology of the Madurese community is identical to religious symbols and institutions (Hidayati, 2009: 66), *pesantren* can be a strategic value to be used as instruments to develop local region.

For the government, the idea of strengthening economy through the creative economy of *pesantren* is a fairly logic consideration. This is due to the fact that the number of *pesantren* in Indonesia (for an example in 2019) reaching 27,290 institutions, with 3.65 million *santris* (Ministry of Industry, 2015). Presumably, several regions that have been known as the basic existence of *pesantrens*, such as Madura, can cover strategic value as a role model for regional economic development. The strategic value lies in the *pesantren*'s identity has a strong traditional value and a broader social network (Bawono, 2018: 39). This fact can be a plus value for the existence and economic sustainability of *pesantren*, strengthening not the local economy only, but also on a larger national scale.

Much have been written on *pesantren* and creative economy, known as *santripreneur*, which attempts to trace the dynamics of

santripreneur of pesantren. Such research is Siti Afidah (2018), who analyzes on santripreneurship of pesantren Tegalrejo in Magelang (2018). Afidah discovers the fact that the economy in the pesantren in Tegalrejo run its management independently through the santripreneurship strategy. In its implementation, santripreneurship in the pesantren has been implemented in three (3) steps, namely observation, monitoring, and workshops. These three steps are fully implemented to the santri community, whose aims to foster the spirit of santripreneurship so that in the end they have personal skills (Afidah, 2018: 147). Another study come from Maksum and Wajdi who (2018: 226) find the fact that the independence of pesantren in the economic sector lies in their learning instruments which are attached to santripreneur. Santripreneur education here has been formed through pesantren learning activities which oriented to holding economic independence, raising creativity, and strengthening religious character.

This study examines the economic development of sustainable pesantrens through engaging santripreneur based on local wisdom. There are three main problems that discussed here, namely; the concept of santripreneur, referring to creative economic actors in the pesantren community, such as santri, kyai, and communities in the pesantren; and the concept of local wisdom, denoting to all natural-social potential that characterizes the local area. What does it mean by the concept of local wisdom? How does the concept of developing local wisdom-based santripreneur run in the Miftahul Ulum? How does the development of santripreneur play a strategic role in strengthening the economy of the pesantren? The data of this research has been gathered through doing interview and observation in the pesantren of Miftahul Ulum. This study contributes to enrich the field of contemporary socio-economics and especially offering the practical example of pesantren values to develop sustainable economics in Madura.

Defining Local Wisdom

In social scientific discourse, the term "local wisdom value" is not a new term. This term often appears within the discourse of development and locality. It is situated as a cultural, sociological, political, educational or economic sphere. This concept has been increasingly popular after many countries introduce it as marketing strategy for regional development. In terms of terminology, the value of local wisdom refers to various natural-social wealth growing in a community that is recognized as important elements to strengthening social cohesion among the community (Abdullah, 2008: 7). This definition implies that the value of local wisdom has developed from the creativity of the community, which has been internalized in their daily awareness, thoughts, attitudes, and behavior. The concept of social cohesion requires the function and strategic role of local wisdom as a form of community which lead to integrity and unity.

The term local wisdom comes from a system of knowledge which empowers local values, traditions, and customs (Aulia and Dharmawan, 2014: 346). The concept of local wisdom can be understood as knowledge of culture that being exists in certain social systems and structures of society which includes a series of cultural knowledge consisting of a cultural knowledge, as well as procedures for management, empowerment, and sustainable use of natural-social resources (Arafah, 2002: 231). Wisdom contains an overview of the opinions of the people concerned about matters relating to the structure of the environment, environmental functions, natural reactions to human actions, and relationships that should be created between humans (society) and their natural environment (Aulia and Dharmawan, 2014: 346).

The value of local wisdom has been defined as knowledge, ideas, values, skills, experiences, behaviors, and customary habits carried out by communities in certain regions (Hayati, 2016: 40). Therefore, local

wisdom is part of the reality of the community that has a complexity of values, within certain constraints, functioning as a strategy and a view of life to answer various problems in an effort to meet the needs of the local community. Regarding the function of the value of local local wisdom above, Sartini (2004) states that local wisdom consisting of culture, tradition, knowledge, creation, and a set of other local values which has a function as conservation and preservation of regional natural-social resources, development of human resources, development of culture and science, and preservation of beliefs, literature and taboos (Sartini, 2004: 127).

Local Wisdom and Pesantren

Such local wisdom in Pamekasan represents the social reality of Madurese people, since it refers to every knowledge, idea, value, skill, experience and habits that carried out by communities in certain regions. The value of local wisdom in this sub-discussion is not merely about the form of Pamekasan culture but also concerning the potential of the social reality. Culture as a tangible manifestation of the value of local wisdom covers a very broad aspect. Culture is not merely about manifestation of creativity, art, work, tradition, or custom. More than that, culture also includes the paradigm of thinking, science, social systems, and governance of people's lives. Therefore, talking about Madurese culture, it will directly lead us to a discussion about the life of the Madurese community. The value of local wisdom and culture is an inseparable unit.

The local wisdom of the Madurese community may actually be divided into three major groups. First, socio-cultural aspect of local wisdom, which has been living within systems of culture such as sapeh sonok, sapeh kerrap, tari pecut, rokat tase', remoh, tanian lanjheng and solidarity (Jafar, 2017: 119). Second, social economic aspect of Madurese local wisdom's

value which rests on natural-social resources, such as salt farming, fish ponds, and tobacco. Economic potentials such as Madura batik are also one of the values of local wisdom that has boasted local economics. Third, social religious capital which has generally existed in Madurese daily life (Susanto, 2007: 97). Religiosity is the construction of local values which presupposes respect, recognition, and symbols. Religious symbols such as the existence of *pesantren* become a local social structure that plays a strategic role in the overall social aspects, including within the economic sector of the Madurese community in general.

In general, it can be ascertained that the portrait of the socioreligious structure of the Pamekasan area are generally almost the same as
the culture of other Madurese communities, such as Sumenep, Bangkalan,
and Sampang. Social religious values as a distinctive Madurese identity are
embedded in many Pamekasan cultural products. Moreover, as is known,
Pamekasan itself is an area that has a strong nuance of religiosity, which
has a big influence on the social construction of the local community.
Sociologically, the community's religiosity is clearly illustrated by their
attitudes and admiration for religious symbols. In this connection, religious
symbols such as the religious organization Nahdhatul Ulama '(NU), kyai,
and pesantren have been social structures that are not only influential, but
also have strategic roles and functions.

Regarding the existence of *pesantren*, it must be admitted that its existence has become one of the most important social institutions in the social structure of the local community. It is due to the fact that *pesantren* are traditional social-religious institutions that have a large role in social sustainability in all life spheres. *Pesantren* are not merely institutions that have a function as a place for the teaching and learning process. More than that, *pesantren* has been a collection of systems, values, norms, and social institutions in which there has been a variety of life views that are used as

guidelines for many communities. The ability of pesantren to accommodate people is a proof, that this institution has strong social capital to mobilize the community in forming and maintaining certain social realities. For this reason, in the context of the social life of Pamekasan society, *pesantrens* play an important role in transforming Islamic values and shape cultural and social values. This condition is in turn by many social academics, pesantren has functioned as a cultural broker (Farid, 2007: 238).

The strong influence of pesantrens in Pamekasan society has been equivalent by the number of pesantrens in Pamekasan Regency. Quantitatively, it is assured that the existence of pesantrens is widespread throughout the sub-district of Pamekasan without exception. Starting from the city sub-district, especially at the district level which has a village, suburban and inland typology. In regard to numbers as well as maps of the spread of *pesantrens* in Pamekasan, it can be seen in the following table:

Table 1. Number of *Pesantrens* at Pamekasan District Regency 2018

No	Kecamatan	Number of Pesantren	Number of Santri
1	Tlanakan	11	2,109
2	Pademawu	5	688
3	Galis	2	93
4	Larangan	19	3,625
5	Pamekasan	11	4,394
6	Proppo	10	5,54
7	Palengaan	29	25,012
8	Pegantenan	24	2,422
9	Kadur	20	5,585
10	Pakong	11	3,481
11	Waru	8	2,353
12	Batu Marmar	19	3,274
13	Pasean	16	1,233
		185	59,323

Source: Office of the Department of Religion of Pamekasan Regency

In general, the number of *pesantren* above can be divided into two major groups, namely *pesantrens* with *salaf* systems, and *pesantren* with *khalaf* systems (Abdullah, 2007: 15). *Salaf pesantren* refers to a characteristic of *pesantrens* that have implemented traditional systems of learning. The traditional concept here denotes to the whole system of education and teaching that has been applied in the *pesantren*. It also signifies to the *pesantrens* which hold strong religious rites of classical Islam. On the contrary, the *khalaf pesantren* is a characteristic of *pesantren* that open to the modern educational system, or at least to combine both, between modern and traditional. Regarding to the *pesantren*'s roles and functions in Pamekasan, it outlines as narrated by KH Misbah (2019), the leader of the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren*.

First, similar to *pesantren* in general, religious function has been the main role of the existence of *pesantren* in Pamekasan. This is the *pesantren* identity which has been attached in its teachings and learning. In most *pesantrens* in Pamekasan, such matters concerning religion have become very principle. Relating to the religious function of the *pesantren*, it is said, "Oh, yes, religion is learning. The main mission of each *pesantren* is *da'wa*, learning about Islam. Then so that the community understands what religion is, it needs to be socialized, what earth is it halal is haram, not by simply saying halal haram." However, although most *pesantren* in Pamekasan emphasize in religion lesson, it does not nullify formal education curriculum learning. Some *pesantrens* have been able to take innovative steps, combining religious teaching material and formal ones. Along with this approach, *pesantren* strives to implement the education emancipation agenda, and leaves the tradition of educational dichotomy as it did in the past.

Second, the function of education is arguably a vital function in the *pesantren*. This fact is based on the role of the *pesantren* which in practice is

more engaged in teaching activities than other social activities. In general, the function of *pesantren* education is carried out in various forms and variations. Starting from formal education activities, informal activities, and non-formal activities. At the level of formal education, pesantren hold tiered teaching and learning activities as well as formal education institutions in general. While at the level of non-formal education, pesantren organizes traditional learning systems focusing on the study of kitab kuning. In some salafi pesantrens, non-formal learning activities are carried out in the form of soroghan. As for the informal level, pesantren education activities are generally carried out collectively involving the entire *pesantren* community, both from the kyai, santri, and the community around the pesantren. Whereas for the khalaf pesantren, they have implemented a modern system, for an example of the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren, the education system has been implemented by accommodating two different education systems, between formal and non-formal education. To be able to answer the complex social changes, pesantren are required to be able to accommodate the educational needs of the community in all forms of cross-scientific matters.

Third, the function of culture presupposes all forms of religious ritual activities that shows characteristic of pesantrens, such as tahlilan, shalawatan, hadarah, banjari, and so forth. Interestingly, the function of the pesantren culture is not merely aimed at the meaning of culture, but also as a religious representation that reflects the values of religiosity. Consequently, the majority of *pesantrens* have inclusive attitudes and behaviors towards all forms of local culture in the vicinity, without losing their identities as religious institutions. At the level of practice, the pesantren's cultural function is manifested in the form of values, where religious moral messages are not only represented by taught, but also transformed in the form of religious ritual activities that are in direct contact with local community

values and creativity, such as traditions, customs, and arts. To sum up, the function of culture in the Pamekasan *Pesantren*, especially at the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren*, are in the form of *koloman*, and *hadrah*.

Fourth, economic function has been one of the functions that rarely known. In general, most people consider the role and social function of pesantrenis limited to strengthening and developing religious matters and education. In fact, pesantrens, as one of the traditional religious institutions that coexist directly with grassroots communities, have great potential to advance and develop surrounding life activities; not only in the field of education, but also in the most substantial aspects that are in direct contact with the economy and welfare of the umma. In this aspect, pesantren through their ability to adapt to local communities, can play a strategic role as the economic wheel of the umma. This strategic role can be carried out in the form of economic activities that are oriented to strengthening of the value of local wisdom, the establishment of cooperatives, the provision of sharia-based savings and loan services, and the development of popular businesses in the form of creative economics. One of them is through creating santripreneur activities. This economic activity was a concern in several pesantrens in Pamekasan, one of which is in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren, as clearly illustrated by KH. Misbah (2019), "... on the second generation, under the leadership of KH. H. Mu'afa, pesantren are not only involved in social problems, but are also involved in pioneering and advancing the economy of the pesantren."

Relating to the creative economic function happened in surrounding *pesantren* in Pamekasan, the model of economic development in *Pesantrens* has been designed in the form of commerce and provision of savings and loan services. In terms of commerce, the economic role of *pesantren* has mostly been built in term of retail economies such as shops and supermarkets. As for savings and loan services, it has been popular

as sharia cooperation called Baitul Wat Tamwill (BMT), which is in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren called Al-Iktisab, a large four-unit supermarket that is widespread in four different villages. BMT al-Iktisab, a savings and loan service as well as investment, amounted to six (6) branches that were widespread in five different sub-districts. In addition to these two economic activities, the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* has practiced the creativity of santri such as batik crafts, cooking, gambus music and albanjari. These last two, although only in the form of art, but have proven to help drive the economy of the *pesantren*.

Santripreneur of the Miftahul Ulum

Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* is located right in Kacok Village, Palengaan District, Pamekasan Regency. It was established in 1978, while now has passed three generations of leadership, namely KH. Asy'ari (1978-1991), KH. Muafa Asy'ari (1991-2012), and KH. Misbahul Munir Asy'ari (2012-present). Similar to other *pesantrens* in general, the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren has unique character, especially regarding the social orientation of pesantren education which focuses on religious education (Islam). The pesantren has functioned to create, maintain and develop Islamic values in Pamekasan Regency and in the community of Palengaan District in particular.

However, although Miftahul Ulum has prioritized religion, it does not make itself indifferent to social change. In this context, Miftahul Ulum has a principle that *pesantren* must be able to answer the current global challenges. Pesantren as a central education institution in Pamekasan are expected not only to answer religious issues. Pesantren must be a problemsolver to the challenges and social problems that arise in today's global era. Therefore, for the Miftahul Ulum, pesantren must now revolutionize themselves like a "super market", which philosophically implies that *pesantren* must be able to provide solutions to the overall problem of society, especially concerning their stability and sustainability. This includes concerns about economic problems and people's welfare.

In order to achieve those goals, Miftahul Ulum in turn has applied a universal *pesantren* education model, which does not only focus towards religious issues, but also in the economic sectors. The economic management of Miftahul Ulum has been developed in many approaches. Broadly speaking, there are at least five main economic activities in the Miftahul Ulum, namely sharia-based investment activities in the form of Baitul Wat Tamwil (BMT) Al-Iktisab, a supermarket in the form of *pesantren* cooperation (kopontren) Al- Iktisab, a creative economy in the form of batik crafts, Alik studio photo, and finally the Alik Motor automotive workshop. In general, the five economic activities of the *pesantren* run on the principles of the *santri* by the *santri* and for the *santri*. In other words, all economic activities in the Miftahul Ulum are absolutely based on the existence of *santri*, whether for the economic capital, the management and the marketing. *Santri* is the main pillar of sustainability and the goal of *pesantren* developing economy.

Baitul wat Tamwil (BMT) Al-Iktisab. Institutionally, KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab Miftahul Ulum has been established in 2014. It obtained a legal entity in the same year, through legal provisions 04/ BH/ XVI.19/ 2016. Two years later, in 2016, the KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab Miftahul Ulum was changed with a number; 34 / PAD / BH / XVI.19 / 16, issued directly by the Pamekasan Regency Cooperative Office. For the five-year establishment, KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab Miftahul Ulum has been noted to have 486 members, of which all members were divided into two large sections, namely ordinary members and extraordinary members. KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab Miftahul has had six (6) branches spread in four sub-districts of Pamekasan Regency, namely Palengaan District, Kec. Pagentenan, Kec.

Pakong, and Kec. Tlanakan. In the economic development sector, KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab is arguably being the economic anchor of the *pesantren*. In 2017, KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab Miftahul was recorded as successful in helping the economic development of Pesantrens, by donating maslahah funds in the amount of Rp. 200,274,334. In 2018, the amount of funds maslahah from KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab Miftahul experienced a significant increase, reaching to Rp. 475. 678,356.

Growth No Information **Total Number Total Number** Percentage Office 6 2 1.3% 2 Employee 39 8 1.3% Member 3 486 27 1.1% 4 Depositor 4.773 227 1.1% 5 Borrower

Table 2. BMT al-Ikhtisab in 2018

Source: Head of the al-Ikhtisab Cooperative Miftahul Ulum Pamekasan

Besides being able to donate funds to the pesantren, the BMT KSPPS al-Iktisab Miftahul has also played a major role in absorbing workers, especially for the local *pesantren* community. Of the six branches, KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab Miftahul has recorded as many as 39 employees, all of whom have a background as part of the *pesantren* community, such as santri, pesantren alumni, and communities in the pesantren. Based on the recognition of students who work as employees at KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab, their income can be sufficient to help meet family needs. The nominal salary they can vary from the lowest nominal Rp. 750,000 to the highest salary nominal Rp. 1,250,000 (interview with Mulyadi, 2019).

Al-Iktisab Kopontren supermarket, commonly referred by santri and surrounding community under the name Koperasi Pondhuk (read: Pesantren Cooperation), can be regarded as the most powerful pillar and

the main support for *pesantren* economy. Even though it is in the form of a supermarket, the economic building of the Kopontren Al-Iktisab Supermarket is anchored in other sectors, even compared to the KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab though. If the role and function of KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab is only on the aspect of physical development of *pesantren* alone, then it is different with the Kopontren Al-Iktisab Supermarket, where its existence is the backbone of the entire *pesantren* needs. Both the physical development aspects of the *pesantren*, and the overall funding of the *pesantren* education which is related to the continuity of teaching and learning activities, such as the provision of school facilities, as well as intensive or salary of teaching staff. Based on the information from the informant, for the teacher's monthly salary alone, Al-Iktisab Kopontren Supermarket paid no less than Rp. 24,000,000. The funds are disbursed to cover teachers' salary needs at all levels of education, both formal and informal education (interview with Salam, 2019).

Since 2009, Al-Iktisab Kopontren Supermarket has been growing rapidly. In terms of quantity, Al-Iktisab Kopontren Supermarket has seven branches spread over four sub-districts, namely in Pelangaan District, Kec. Pakong, Kec. Karampenang, and Kec. Pagentenan. This number has increased from previous years, which in 2018 still has five branches. Broadly speaking, the whole seven of these branches can be grouped into two, namely central *kopontren* and branch. Central *kopontren* supermarkets located right at the Miftahul Ulum, which is also being a center for selling products, such as batik and others.

Since being established in 2009, Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* Supermarket has accommodated a large number of workers. There were recorded as 93 employees works there. Interestingly, the majority of employees are dominated by the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* community, both from the *santri*, alumni, and people living around the *pesantren*. In

connection with this, based on the data in the field, Kopontren Supermarkets claimed to deliberately prioritize the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren community itself. This is based on family considerations and ties as alumni. Those who are registered as *santri* or alumni are more likely to have strong loyalty than those outside the Miftahul Ulum pesantren community themselves.

Crafts; if the Miftahul Pesantren Kopontren Supermarkets and KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab are considered as two major pillars of the pesantren's economy, the creative economy of batik can be regarded as a complement to the *pesantren*'s economy. In its management, the creative economy as a whole has been driven by students. Those who are engaged in the handicraft sector in *pesantren* communities are women. To maintain the sustainability of the batik creative economy in the Miftahul Ulum, the *pesantren* held a special activity unit synergized with school activities. Although the development is not as big as other sectors, until now, the creative economy of batik crafts in the Miftahul Ulum has survived. In terms of marketing, the overall results of batik craft at the Miftahul Ulum are marketed through *pesantrens* spread across many regions. Based on the informant's explanation, batik craft here is the inheritance of the founders of the *pesantren* which has been going on for generations. Therefore, even though the existence of batik crafts in the Miftahul Ulum did not develop rapidly, even running statically, the pesantren continued to maintain it, because it was the inheritance of the previous pesantren founders, namely Nyai Nur Awaliyah (interview with Ustadzah Halimah, 2019).

Alik Studio; one of the creative economics of the Miftahul Ulum which until now has become one of the places where the creativity of the santri is photo and film studies. Alik Studio has been established since 2016. The name Al-ik studio is an acronym for the word Al-Iktisab. This means that it can be said that Alik Studio is a subsidiary of the Al-Iktisab Kopontren Supermarket, where the capital funds are directly injected by the finance of the Al-Iktisab Kopontren (interview with Idris).

In the beginning, Alik Studio was established only to provide *santri* who needed photo setting or printing services. As the time flies, the *pesantren* in turn has expanded the photo study business into film studies. Nowadays, Alik Studio has grown rapidly, it has even become one of the famous photo and film studios in Pamekasan. Alik Study photo has been led by Ust. Mulyadi Wijaya, senior *pesantren* administrator. Overall, Alik Studi photo accommodates five employees. Every week, Alik Studi never missed covering, even at certain moments, such as the wedding months, they were overwhelmed to serve requests (interview with Idris, 2019).

Alik Motor; the last creative economic sector that has been operating in the Miftahul Ulum is an automotive workshop. Similar to Alik Studio, Alik Motor stands for Al-Iktisab, which suggests that Alik Motor itself is a manifestation of the economic expansion of Al-Iktisab Kopontren Supermarket, especially in the automotive sector. Alik Motor itself was only established in 2017, and in the two years of its establishment, Alik Motor itself has now developed into two branches, spread in two subdistricts, namely Kec. Palengaan and Kec. Pagentenan. The management of Alik Motor is also driven by the Miftahul Ulum boarding community. There are six employees working at Alik Motor, where all of them have a background as students and alumni of the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren*.

Santripreneur Creative Strategy

The Miftahul Ulum has been classified as an attractive *Pesantren*. At the very least, there are two reason why Miftahul Ulum has an interesting side; first, based on the number of students, the Miftahul Ulum was recorded as a relatively small *pesantren* with a minimal number of students compared to other *pesantren*, the Banyuanyar *Pesantren* or the *Pesantren Bato*, for example. Data in 2019 shows that the number of Miftahul Ulum *Pesantrens* is 976 students. 327 consisted of male students, and

the remaining 649 are female students. Second, although Miftahul Ulum Pesantren has a small number of santri, they have a very significant level of economic progress. Even their supermarkets, Kopontren Al-Iktisab, known as the biggest pesantren supermarket in Pamekasan, can even compete with supermarkets outside the *pesantren*.

The success of the santripreneur program in the Miftahul Ulum is actually inseparable from the *pesantren*'s economic development strategy which emphasizes the strengthening and utilization of human resources, in this case the pesantren community, such as santri, alumni, and the community in the *pesantren*. In terms of human resource development, the Miftahul Ulum applies an integral education system, integrates science and technology such as information technology, and masters the value faith and piety (Imtagl Iman Tagwa) at the same time. Therefore, every student who studies in the Miftahul Ulum does not only become a person who is careful with Mecca, but also a student who is personal to German brain skills. The mastery of science and technology and Imtag leads to four characters of santri, STAF, namely shiddig (honest), amanah (trusted), tabligh (transparent), and fatonah (professional). These four characters become the strategy of developing santripreneur in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren, which deals with values and leadership.

In relation to the development of santripreneur in Miftahul Ulum, it applies several programs or activities which are grouped into two, namely theoretical and practical. In the theoretical sector, santri is equipped with a scientific system and learning that is of a universal technical nature, not only focusing on the religious field, but also provided with special insight into science and technology. To support capabilities in this field, the pesantren applies a formal education system in the form of tiered public schools. One of them is the level of vocational school education (SMK). Through the existence of this vocational school (SMK), the santri enterpreneur program in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren found its space.

As for the practice area, *santripreneur* in the Miftahul Ulum run through *pesantren* activities oriented to the development of skills. At this stage, every *santri* has the opportunity to be directly involved in the economic activities of *pesantren* in the form of service (read: internship). This service lasted for two years, in which every *santri* has been placed in various sectors of the *pesantren*'s economic activities, either at Kopontren Al-Iktisab, KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab, Alik Motor, or Alik Studio. In addition to internships, *santri* also received special training, holding creative economic workshops. On several occasions, the *pesantren* also conducted comparative studies on the economic governance of *pesantren*, especially with various other more advanced and developing *pesantren*, such as the Sidogiri *Pesantren*, Pasuruan.

Until this year, the economic development management committee of Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* has conducted two (2) comparative studies, namely in 2016 and 2018. The instrument for the development of BMP al-Iktisab KSPPS in Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* has been modified from BMT Sidogiri. BMT Sidogiri and KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab often involved in cooperation, such as training and skill development of employees. According to Ali Wafa (2019), as senior management and supervisor of KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab, the relationship between Miftahul Ulum and Sidogiri was driven by the strong desire of *pesantren* careers who wanted to become the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* as a miniature Sidogiri on Madura Island, both in terms of the development of education and the economy of *pesantren*.

Networks and Development

Talking about the *pesantren*'s economic network will certainly not be complete if it does not discuss the existence of the *pesantren* community

itself, namely the *pesantren* leaders, *santri*, and *pesantren* alumni. *Pesantren* leaders refer to the kyai of the pesantren, the santri are those who study at the pesantren, whether they are settled or not, and the alumni refer to the people who studied at the local pesantren. These three elements are important elements that have a strategic role and function in shaping pesantren economic networks. As mentioned earlier, economic activity in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren is based on the principle of "santri by santri and for santri". That every pesantren's economic activities absolutely rely on the existence of santri. Santri as the spearhead, santri as managers, and their usefulness also lead to santri. Broadly speaking, the roles and functions of strategic students in the economic network of the Miftahul Ulum can be seen in capital and managers.

In terms of capital, the economic commission of the Miftahul Ulum provides a special space for santri and alumni who want to invest their shares in the development of pesantren, which in this case form KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab. For students who still live in Pesantrens, every santri is obliged to have a BMT al-Iktisab savings book, where they have the obligation to save once a week, at least Rp. 5,000. As for alumni, they are not required to open savings, but the *pesantren* come to each alumnus to join and take advantage of the existence of KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab. Both as members, savers, or borrowers. For the management, economic activities in the Miftahul Ulum rely entirely on the presence of santri and alumni. In general, those whom still in the status of santri have been joined the internship program. As for the alumni, they are appointed as permanent employees. With such a governance system, pesantren directly has helped society in creating jobs, especially for santri, alumni, and community in pesantren.

Economic networks in the context of developing santripreneur in the Miftahul Ulum run systematically and structurally, both theoretically and practically, both from the central level and the branch level in the field, for example, there are alumni organizations in the IASBA (Alumni Association of the New *Santri* Alumni Association). This organization is the main media for the gathering of the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* alumni, both from the central, regional, and branch levels. This organization has a strong influence in shaping and maintaining the *pesantren*'s economic network, conditioning alumni through meeting activities at all levels. In each year, the *pesantren* hold a grand rally event, an event where alumni gather in all regions. In addition to this annual event, there are also monthly to weekly events, carried out by alumni associations at the branch and branch levels through established management.

A Critical Analysis

Genealogically, the word santripreneur is basically an acronym of two (2) words, namely santri and entrepreneur. Santri refers to the existence of a community of students in *pesantrens*, while entrepreneurs have meaning as entrepreneurs (Ministry of Industry, 2015). Thus, based on its etymological understanding, santripreneur is a santri who has two abilities at once, namely the ability of religion on the one hand, and entrepreneurial spirit on the other. In terms of terminology, santripreneur is an economic development idea in order to develop small and medium industries (SMIs) in *pesantren* aimed at building a national-regional industrial independence based on sharia economics. Through santripreneur activities, pesantrens which have been regarded as traditional religious institutions which are merely engaged in religion and teaching, at certain limits can be increased in level and its role in a more central stage and position, so that it is possible to answer all forms of problems social economy and the challenges of the global economy, especially regarding the agenda of sustainable economic development.

The concept of *santripreneur* as a student having an entrepreneurial spirit actually has a strong relevance to the reality of pesantren in Pamekasan, in this case the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren. Although the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren has a big vision in terms of religion, which is to carry out the Islamic learning and dawa agenda, in certain parts they also pay considerable attention to social reinforcement concerning the welfare of society in general. The magnitude of the *pesantren*'s attention to the socio-economic aspects of the community is clearly reflected in the overall daily activities and programs of the *pesantren*, which not only focus on scientific aspects, but also the development and strengthening of the economic sector (interview with KH. Misbah, 2019).

At the theoretical level, the santripreneur agenda in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren is carried out through teaching activities, courses and coaching. At this stage, students are provided with a variety of theoretical knowledge about the business world. Material and learning about the world of entrepreneurship, such as the introduction of commodities, production systems, product branding, and marketing strategies, are all theoretical learning that has been run by the pesantren. To optimize this activity, the Miftahul Ulum is based on applying cross-departmental vocational education (SMK) levels. This aims to support the skills, abilities, and skills of the santri, so that students are expected to be not only competent in scientific matters (religion), but also have skills and skills. To anticipate that vocational services are offered to be relevant to environmental needs, vocational formulations are directed at strengthening local values, such as vocational cooking, fashion, and computer science. If it is associated with the regional development strategy, the development of the santripreneur creative economy through the theoretical path of the education sector is actually a necessity. Due to one of the absolute requirements for the success of marketing and regional development must absolutely be balanced by the availability of talents, which in this case is closely related to human resources (Leksono, 2014: 2).

While at the practical level, the *santripreneur* agenda in the Miftahul Ulum is carried out in various forms of economic activities, especially those that come in direct contact with the world of entrepreneurship and business. Based on the results of researchers' data searches in the field, there are at least five types of entrepreneurship which have been the main wheels of *pesantren*'s economy, namely large supermarkets, Alik Studio, Alik Motor, and most recently the sharia cooperative, BMT al-Ikhtisab, and savings and loan services. Through three economic activities, the *santripreneur* program is carried out, where every *santri* will have the opportunity to sharpen and explore skills to become business people and entrepreneurs in the *pesantren* environment that are ready to use. In addition to the three business units and businesses mentioned above, the *santripreneur* agenda in the practical dimension is also carried out through creative economic efforts in the form of batik and cooking.

Interestingly, both the creative economy of the batik and the culinary system were compared specifically by carrying out or highlighting the local creativity. In terms of batik, the motif that is highlighted is the typical Pamekasan batik motif that has bright color patterns, such as wood fiber batik and stone fiber batik. While in terms of cooking, creative economic products are in the form of traditional snacks and cakes which are the hallmark of Pamekasan food, such as kue *bangkit*, *krupuk singkong*, *kurup pisang*, and many others. In the perspective of development, utilization and strengthening of the local economy through batik, fashion, and cooking, as applied in the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren*, the realization of the strategy of development and sustainable regional economic strengthening through the wisdom of the local community.

Regarding regional development strategy that has been discussed, Richard Florida (1957) mentions three (3) important points that need

to be considered, their relation to regional development, two of which are the availability of talents and technology. Talent aspect requires that a regional economic development will succeed and will be balanced by the availability of human resource assets that are not only good, but also competitive. In the large Indonesian dictionary, talents have a sense of meaning with talent which means the basis of intelligence and abilities that are taken from birth. As for terminology, Lucy (2009) provides an explanation that talent is a potential that must be stimulated first so that it can be seen as a skill, knowledge and special abilities that can make individuals skilled and competitive. The relation to santripreneur in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren refers to the attention of the pesantren to the existence of human resources, especially among santri. In this connection, pesantren try to stimulate and encourage the creativity of santri through the provision of universal education. At the level of practice, the formation and strengthening of talents for santri in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren are carried out in the form of activities that are in direct contact with commercial activities, crafts, skills, arts, coaching and training. Some of them are holding creative economic workshops, conducting comparative studies, and so on.

In addition to talent aspects, another thing according to Florida that needs to be considered is the technology aspect. In the context of regional economic development, technological aspects indicate that to create economic development that is competitive and sustainable, it is necessary to have the availability of supporting facilities. Especially the use of appropriate contemporary technology that is oriented to regional needs and interests. In regard to this study, technological aspects refer to the availability and use of technology as a medium to accelerate the course of creative economic activities within the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren. At the practical level, the technological aspects here are clearly illustrated in

the agenda of modernizing *pesantren* economic activities, all of which are centered on the use and ability of computerized devices, such as those applied in the KSPPS BMT al-Iktisab economic sector and Al-Iktisab Kopontren supermarket.

If all findings above being analyzed deeply, especially from point of view economic development, we will find an interesting proposition, that has been applied by the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* community. It is related to the model of local *pesantren* economic development. embodiment of contemporary economic development which underlies the local artifical approach. This is based on the definition, that local wisdom is the whole value of creation or view that contains elements of wisdom and civilization that take place, exist, or apply in a particular.

There are two main reasons that can justify the above proposition; First, definitively, local wisdom has been understood as a road map for economic activities that focuses on local community participation. One of the main principles of local wisdom is the participation of local people in the process of economic development, so that with such participation there is a great opportunity to raise the economic level of the community. At its peak, community participation can be an instrument to realize the welfare of the community, in this case the pesantren community such as santri, and of course the people who live in the pesantren environment. The fact that the overall economic activities of santripreneur in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren, which have significantly helped empower the surrounding community, especially among the santri and pesantren alumni, are representations of the implementation of the local wisdom economy. This is directly proportional to the function of the value of local local wisdom, where one of them is the development of local human resources (Sartini, 2004: 127).

Second, economic development with local wisdom includes the principles of conservation or local natural-social empowerment (Sartini, 2004: 127). This principle requires that economic development with local wisdom not only has the aim of strengthening the economy, but also being oriented towards the utilization and empowerment of the region's natural social values. In the context of santripreneur economic activities in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren, efforts to empower and utilize the natural social values of the region are clearly reflected in the *pesantren*'s economic instruments or approaches which tend to prioritize the values of the pesantren. As we know, pesantren has so far been known as educational institutions that are thick with Islamic scents. The use of a sharia-based economic system, as applied in the KSTPS BMT al-Iktisab sector, is a concrete manifestation of *pesantren* to consistently empower the *pesantren*'s unique values, namely as a center of learning and Islamic teachings.

Conclusion

The economic development of pesantren through santriprenuer activities based on local wisdom in the Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren*, is basically a model of economic activity that focuses on developing and managing local wisdom values. The concept of local wisdom in the development of santriprenuer in the Miftahul Ulum requires two things; first, referring to all natural-social potential in the *pesantren* environment, both the potential in the form of culture, self-creativity, and all other forms of social values that grow rooted in *pesantren*'s identity and culture; second, local wisdom requires the pattern of economic activity in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren not only aims at strengthening the economy, but also on environmental empowerment, direct community participation, especially for the local pesantren community.

The establishment and development of economic activities in pesantren through santriprenuer creative in the Miftahul Ulum, are generally carried out through two approaches; first, theoretical approach, this approach presupposes cognitive reinforcement and development efforts. In this case, the *pesantren* provide knowledge, training, and guidance to santri about various matters relating to the creative economy, such as batik craft training. They offer the students the opportunity trough internship in cooperatives and *pesantren*, creative economy workshops, and comparative studies of economic governance creative to various pesantren. In order to maximize this effort, Miftahul Ulum *Pesantren* applies a cross-departmental vocational learning system. Some of them are majoring in fashion, culinary, and informatics engineering. Second, practical approach, the santripreneur agenda in the Miftahul Ulum Pesantren is carried out in various forms of economic activities that come in direct contact with the world of entrepreneurship and business. In general, the practical approach here relies on economic activities such as the Al-Iktisab kopontren supermarket, and the sharia cooperative, BMT al-Ikhtisab which provides savings and loan services and sharia-based investment.

Seeing the large potential of the role and strategic functions of the *pesantren*'s creative economy, especially in the development sector and sustainable economic development based on local wisdom, it is necessary for *pesantren* to continue to strengthen themselves, maximize their natural-social potential to build a strong local economy and independent. The most important thing of all is the involvement of all parties and stakeholders to continue to encourage and pay considerable attention to the existence of *pesantren*. That the creative economic activities of *pesantren* in the future need to be balanced and supported by an economic political policy that truly establishes harmony with the strengthening and development of *pesantren* economic development going forward.

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