MAWADDAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam **p-ISSN 3031-5247**
DOI: https://doi.org/10.52496/mjhki.v3i2.119 **e-ISSN 3026-6076**

Islamic Family Law and Economic Thot Framework; A Study of The Curriculum Materials of Darul Muttaqin Islamic Boarding School In Bogor

***Sopiyan[a], Reksiana[b], Eneng Purwanti[a,c], Siti Asiah[a,d], Ghulam M. Nukhba[e]**
[a] Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia
[b] Institut Ilmu Al-Qur'an Jakarta, Indonesia
[c] Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, Indonesia
[d] Universitas Islam 45 Bekasi, Indonesia
[e] Kabul University, Afghanistan
[*]Corresponding author: sopiyan_24@mhs.uinjkt.ac.id

Submitted: 14-05-2025	Accepted: 30-12-2025	Published: 31-12-2025

Abstract

This study examines how Islamic family law materials in the curriculum of Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor contribute to the formation of santri's economic reasoning. The article responds to the tendency to treat Islamic family law in pesantren merely as a doctrinal field concerned with marriage, inheritance, and domestic obligations, while overlooking its economic implications. Using a qualitative intrinsic case study design, the research analyses curriculum materials, especially al-Fiqh al-Wadhih, Bulugh al-Maram, and fiqh al-mawarith, supported by document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and limited participant observation. The findings show that Islamic family law is taught as a layered body of knowledge that connects legal norms, moral responsibility, and socio-economic awareness. Themes such as mahr, nafaqah, family property, bequest, and inheritance introduce santri to concepts of ownership, financial obligation, women's economic rights, asset transfer, and distributive justice. The study also finds that the pesantren's integrative learning environment—through classroom instruction, dormitory discipline, organisational duties, and daily habituation—enables these concepts to be internalised as practical orientations toward responsibility, productivity, and economic accountability. Theoretically, this study contributes to pesantren studies, Islamic family law, and Islamic economics by arguing that family jurisprudence can function as a hidden economic curriculum. It shows that santri's economic consciousness may be shaped not only through entrepreneurship programs, but also through classical legal materials that frame family life as a domain of responsibility, property ethics, and distributive justice.

***Keywords**: Islamic Family Law, Pesantren Curriculum, Economic Reasoning, Integrative Curriculum, Darul Muttaqin Bogor.*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana materi hukum keluarga Islam dalam kurikulum Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor berkontribusi terhadap pembentukan nalar ekonomis santri. Artikel ini merespons kecenderungan kajian yang menempatkan hukum keluarga Islam di pesantren hanya sebagai bidang normatif-doktrinal yang berkaitan

dengan perkawinan, kewarisan, dan kewajiban domestik, sementara dimensi ekonominya belum banyak diperhatikan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus intrinsik. Data diperoleh melalui analisis dokumen kurikulum, khususnya materi *al-Fiqh al-Wadhih*, *Bulugh al-Maram*, dan *fiqh al-mawarith*, serta didukung oleh wawancara semi-terstruktur dan observasi partisipatif terbatas. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa hukum keluarga Islam diajarkan sebagai pengetahuan berlapis yang menghubungkan norma hukum, tanggung jawab moral, dan kesadaran sosial-ekonomi. Tema seperti *mahr*, *nafaqah*, harta keluarga, wasiat, dan kewarisan memperkenalkan santri pada konsep kepemilikan, kewajiban finansial, hak ekonomi perempuan, transfer aset, dan keadilan distributif. Lingkungan pembelajaran pesantren yang integratif, melalui pengajaran kelas, disiplin berasrama, tugas organisasi, dan pembiasaan harian, memungkinkan nilai-nilai tersebut diinternalisasi sebagai orientasi praktis terhadap tanggung jawab, produktivitas, dan akuntabilitas ekonomi. Secara teoretis, penelitian ini berkontribusi pada kajian pesantren, hukum keluarga Islam, dan ekonomi Islam dengan menunjukkan bahwa fikih keluarga dapat berfungsi sebagai kurikulum ekonomi tersembunyi. Nalar ekonomis santri tidak hanya dibentuk melalui program kewirausahaan, tetapi juga melalui materi hukum klasik yang memosisikan keluarga sebagai ruang tanggung jawab, etika kepemilikan, dan keadilan distribusi.

Kata Kunci: Hukum Keluarga Islam, Kurikulum Pesantren, Nalar Ekonomis, Kurikulum Integrative, Darul Muttaqin Bogor.

INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools, or pesantren, occupy a strategic position in Indonesian Islamic education because they function not only as institutions for transmitting religious knowledge, but also as social environments where students' moral discipline, legal awareness, and practical reasoning are continuously formed. The formal recognition of pesantren through Law Number 18 of 2019 confirms that pesantren carry educational, da'wah, and community-empowerment functions while preserving their distinctive learning traditions, including kitab kuning and dirasah Islamiah within the muallimin model.[1] This legal recognition is important because it shows that pesantren are not peripheral religious institutions, but part of Indonesia's broader educational and social-development system. In this context, the pesantren curriculum should not be understood merely as a list of subjects or classical texts, but as an integrated pedagogical system through which santri learn to interpret religion, family life, authority, property, obligation, and social responsibility. The tradition of kitab kuning remains one of the epistemic foundations of pesantren because it preserves Islamic scholarly authority

[1] Republic of Indonesia, "Law Number 18 of 2019 Concerning Pesantren" (Jakarta: State Secretariat, 2019).

while embedding religious values into everyday educational practice.[2]

Within this curricular structure, Islamic family law occupies a central place because it is commonly taught through jurisprudential texts, legal hadith, and inheritance-law materials. Themes such as marriage, mahr, nafaqah, marital rights and obligations, family property, bequest, and inheritance are often read as normative legal topics related to domestic life. However, these themes also contain strong economic dimensions because they regulate ownership, financial obligation, women's economic rights, asset transfer, and distributive justice within the family. Islamic legal scholarship has shown that family law cannot be separated from broader questions of property, authority, gender, and social order.[3] In the Indonesian context, this connection is also reflected in the Compilation of Islamic Law, which regulates marriage, inheritance, and waqf as interrelated domains of Islamic legal practice.[4] The Compilation defines inheritance law as a legal mechanism for transferring ownership rights over inherited property, identifying rightful heirs, and determining their respective shares. Therefore, Islamic family law is not only a doctrine of domestic morality, but also a framework for regulating economic responsibility and justice in family life.

Despite this conceptual connection, existing scholarship has not sufficiently explained how Islamic family law materials in pesantren contribute to the formation of santri's economic reasoning. Previous studies on pesantren generally focus on the authority of the kiai, the transmission of kitab kuning, learning methods such as bandongan and sorogan, and the continuity of pesantren as a traditional Islamic educational institution.[5] Other studies examine Islamic family law

[2] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (LP3ES, 2011); Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995).

[3] Hallaq. W. B, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunni Usul Al-Fiqh.*, Cambridge, 2009; J E Tucker, *Women, Family, and Gender in Islamic Law*, *Women, Family, and Gender in Islamic Law*, 2008, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511841316.

[4] Republic of Indonesia, "Presidential Instruction Number 1 of 1991 Concerning the Dissemination of the Compilation of Islamic Law" (Jakarta: State Secretariat, 1991).

[5] Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*; Ronald A Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*.

through the lenses of marriage, divorce, inheritance, women's rights, and the interaction between classical jurisprudence and Indonesian positive law.[6] A third group of studies discusses the economic dimension of pesantren by focusing on entrepreneurship education, institutional economic independence, cooperatives, business units, and santripreneur programs.[7] These studies are valuable, but they tend to treat pesantren curriculum, Islamic family law, and economic reasoning as separate fields of inquiry. As a result, limited attention has been given to how classical family-law materials themselves may function as a pedagogical medium for developing students' economic awareness.

This gap is significant because the economic formation of santri is often assumed to emerge mainly through explicit entrepreneurship programs, vocational training, or pesantren-based business activities. Such an assumption is incomplete. Economic reasoning may also be formed through non-economic religious subjects when those subjects introduce students to concepts of rights, obligations, ownership, distribution, productivity, and accountability. The discussion of mahr, for example, introduces the idea of women's legally recognised property rights within marriage; nafaqah links household leadership with productive capacity and financial responsibility; family property raises questions of ownership regimes and marital asset management; while inheritance law trains students to understand asset transfer, entitlement, and distributive justice. This argument is supported by Islamic legal scholarship showing that Muslim family law is not merely a private legal field, but a domain where gender, property, rights, and moral order intersect.[8]

---

[6] Mark Cammack, Lawrence Young, and Tim Heaton, "Legislating Social Change in an Islamic Society Indonesia's Marriage Law," *American Journal of Comparative Law* 44, no. 1 (1996): 45–73, https://doi.org/10.2307/840780.

[7] Ahmad Nur Falach, Muhammad Ridwan, and Muhammad Fiqh Zenrif, "Santripreneurship in Practice: A Model of Entrepreneurship Development at Sunan Drajat Islamic Boarding School, Lamongan," *Economica: Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 14, no. 2 (2023): 205–25, https://doi.org/10.21580/economica.2023.14.2.26006; M Fauzi and N Rohmah, "Entrepreneurship Education in Islamic Boarding School: A Strategy to Build Students' Economic Independence," *Ijtimaiyya: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam* 13, no. 1 (2020): 45–68; R Muttaqin, "Kemandirian Dan Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Berbasis Pesantren," *Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah Indonesia* 1, no. 2 (2011): 65–94.

[8] Wael B Hallaq, *Sharīʿa: Theory, Practice, Transformations* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Tucker, *Women, Family, and Gender in Islamic Law*.

Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor offers an important empirical site for examining this issue because its curriculum includes al-Fiqh al-Wadhih, Bulugh al-Maram, and fiqh al-mawarith or fara'id. Al-Fiqh al-Wadhih by Muhammad Bakr Ismail provides systematic explanations of Islamic jurisprudence based on the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the views of major Islamic legal schools.[9] Bulugh al-Maram by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani introduces students to legal hadith as a normative basis for Islamic jurisprudence, including issues related to transactions, marriage, divorce, and family law.[10] Meanwhile, fiqh al-mawarith introduces principles of inheritance distribution, the rights of heirs, the management of estates, and the settlement of family-property disputes. These three curricular materials show that the study of Islamic family law at Darul Muttaqin is not limited to doctrinal memorisation. It also provides students with categories for understanding ownership, maintenance, asset distribution, and economic responsibility in Muslim family life.

The main academic problem addressed in this study is the dominance of a normative-doctrinal reading of Islamic family law in pesantren studies. Such a reading tends to explain family law as a set of rules governing marriage validity, divorce, guardianship, spousal duties, or inheritance shares. While this perspective remains important, it does not fully explain how students interpret those rules as part of their future social and economic responsibilities. In a pesantren environment, legal knowledge is not transmitted in isolation. It is mediated through teacher explanation, institutional discipline, dormitory life, organisational responsibility, and daily habituation. Therefore, Islamic family law must be examined not only as textual knowledge, but also as lived curriculum. This perspective is consistent with integrative curriculum theory, which understands curriculum as a structured set of learning experiences that connects knowledge, values, practice, and character formation.[11] It also resonates with the sociology of knowledge, which explains that

[9] Muhammad Bakr Ismail, *Al-Fiqh Al-Wadhih Min Al-Kitab Wa Al-Sunnah 'ala Al-Madhahib Al-Arba'Ah* (Cairo: Dar al-Manar, 1972).

[10] Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, *Bulugh Al-Maram Min Adillat Al-Ahkam* (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2002).

[11] Hilda Taba, *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962); Ralph W Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

knowledge becomes socially meaningful through institutional transmission, interpretation, and internalisation.[12]

This study identifies three specific research gaps. First, at the conceptual level, there remains a lack of studies that connect Islamic family jurisprudence and Islamic economic reasoning within one analytical framework. Existing studies on family law usually emphasise legal normativity, while studies on pesantren economics tend to focus on entrepreneurship and institutional self-reliance. Second, at the methodological level, many studies separate textual curriculum analysis from students' lived learning experiences, although the meaning of curriculum in pesantren is produced through interaction among texts, teachers, institutional culture, and students' daily practices. Third, at the empirical level, there has been insufficient research on how students at Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor understand al-Fiqh al-Wadhih, Bulugh al-Maram, and fiqh al-mawarith as materials related to property ownership, financial obligation, women's economic rights, inheritance distribution, and productive responsibility. These gaps justify the need for a field-based study that combines curriculum analysis, interviews, and observation rather than relying only on theoretical description.

Based on these gaps, this study raises three research questions. First, how is Islamic family law structured within the curriculum of Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, particularly through al-Fiqh al-Wadhih, Bulugh al-Maram, and fiqh al-mawarith? Second, how are Islamic family-law materials conceptually connected to economic themes such as mahr, nafaqah, family property, inheritance, bequest, and the resolution of family-asset disputes? Third, how do students interpret these materials as a basis for developing responsibility, ownership awareness, independence, creativity, and economic productivity? These questions are designed to move the analysis beyond the issue of what legal materials are taught toward how those materials shape santri's practical reasoning about family and economic life.

The novelty of this article lies in its argument that Islamic family law in pesantren can function as a hidden economic curriculum. This concept refers to the pedagogical process through which legal materials that are formally classified as family jurisprudence also cultivate economic consciousness, including awareness of property rights, financial responsibility, livelihood preparation, and distributive justice.

[12] Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Anchor Books, 1966).

This article therefore shifts the focus from "Islamic family law as normative instruction" to "Islamic family law as legal-economic formation." Unlike studies that locate pesantren economic education mainly in entrepreneurship programs, this study shows that economic reasoning may also be cultivated through classical jurisprudential materials. In this sense, the article offers an integrative analytical framework that connects pesantren curriculum, Islamic family law, and Islamic economics.

The theoretical contribution of this study is twofold. First, it contributes to pesantren studies by showing that kitab-based learning can generate contemporary socio-economic relevance without abandoning its classical scholarly foundation. Second, it contributes to Islamic family-law scholarship by demonstrating that the educational effect of family jurisprudence extends beyond legal compliance and domestic morality. When taught within a residential pesantren environment, family law becomes a medium through which santri learn to imagine adulthood, livelihood, household responsibility, property ethics, and distributive justice. Methodologically, the study contributes by combining document analysis of curriculum materials with field-based data from interviews and observation, enabling a more grounded explanation of how legal knowledge is interpreted and internalised in pesantren life.

Accordingly, this study argues that the teaching of Islamic family law at Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor should be read as an integrated process of legal, moral, and economic formation. The discussion of mahr introduces students to property rights and gendered economic protection; nafaqah trains them to connect family leadership with productive responsibility; family property and bequest cultivate awareness of planning and entitlement; while inheritance law introduces regulated asset distribution and conflict prevention. Through this framework, Islamic family law is not merely a doctrinal field concerned with marriage and inheritance, but a pedagogical medium for shaping santri's economic reasoning grounded in religious values, social responsibility, and distributive justice.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employed a qualitative research method using an intrinsic case study approach to examine how Islamic family law is taught, interpreted, and internalised as a pedagogical foundation for shaping economic responsibility among santri at Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor. An intrinsic case study was selected because the

pesantren represents a bounded educational setting in which curriculum, classical Islamic texts, teacher interpretation, institutional culture, and students' lived experiences interact to construct legal consciousness and socio-economic values. The research site was purposively selected because its curriculum systematically incorporates al-Fiqh al-Wadhih, Bulugh al-Maram, and fiqh al-mawarith, which address marriage, mahr, nafaqah, family property, wills, inheritance, and distributive justice. The primary data consisted of semi-structured interviews and participant observation involving one pesantren leader, one curriculum administrator, four teachers responsible for Islamic family law, legal hadith, and inheritance studies, and six senior santri who had completed the relevant learning materials. Informants were selected through purposive sampling based on their direct involvement in curriculum implementation and learning processes, while limited snowball sampling was employed to identify additional participants possessing relevant institutional knowledge. Secondary data comprised curriculum documents, learning schedules, teaching materials, institutional regulations, and the principal classical texts used in instruction, whereas tertiary data included scholarly books, peer-reviewed journal articles, encyclopaedias, and other authoritative academic references supporting the conceptual and analytical framework of the study.[13]

Data were collected during a three-month fieldwork period in the 2023/2024 academic year through document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and limited participant observation. Document analysis examined curriculum documents and instructional materials to identify the integration of Islamic family law with economic concepts, including ownership, financial obligations, women's economic rights, inheritance distribution, and distributive justice. Semi-structured interviews explored participants' perspectives regarding the curriculum positioning of Islamic family law, pedagogical strategies, students' understanding of family responsibility, and the relationship between legal learning and economic reasoning. Participant observation was conducted in classroom instruction, dormitory activities, student organisations, leadership programmes, and daily institutional routines to capture the processes through which legal norms and economic values were internalised in everyday educational practices. Throughout the fieldwork, detailed field notes and documentary records were maintained

[13] Robert E Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995); Robert K Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications* (Sage Publications, 2018).

to ensure systematic documentation of empirical evidence.[14]

The data were analysed using thematic qualitative analysis through an iterative process consisting of data organisation, open coding, category development, theme construction, and interpretative synthesis. Initial codes emerging from interviews, observations, and documentary evidence were grouped into broader analytical themes, including family as an economic institution, Islamic family law as education for responsibility, mahr and nafaqah as mechanisms of economic protection, inheritance as distributive justice, and the hidden economic curriculum embedded within pesantren education. Analytical interpretation was conducted by integrating empirical findings with curriculum theory, the sociology of knowledge, and socio-economic perspectives in Islamic jurisprudence to explain the interaction between normative teachings and educational practice. To enhance the trustworthiness of the findings, the study employed source, method, and theoretical triangulation, member checking with selected participants, and a comprehensive audit trail documenting all stages of data collection and analysis. Ethical standards were maintained through institutional permission, informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality, and role-based anonymisation of all participants, thereby ensuring the credibility, dependability, and ethical integrity of the research.[15]

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Structure of Islamic Family Law Curriculum in the Learning Process of Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor

The structure of Islamic family law curriculum at Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor indicates that family jurisprudence is not taught as an isolated normative subject, but as a layered body of knowledge that connects textual mastery, legal reasoning, moral formation, and socio-economic awareness. The field data support this curricular reading. The curriculum administrator explained that the placement of al-Fiqh al-Wadhih, Bulugh al-Maram, and fiqh al-mawarith in the pesantren

[14] Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2015); Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77–101; Matthew B Miles, A Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Sage Publications, 2014).

[15] Yvonna S Lincoln and Egon G Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Sage Publications, 1985); Sharan B Merriam and Elizabeth J Tisdell, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, ed. 4 (Jossey-Bass, 2016).

curriculum is not merely intended to introduce students to legal rulings, but also to train them to understand responsibility in family and social life. According to the curriculum administrator, the study of family jurisprudence is expected to help students recognise that marriage, maintenance, and inheritance are not only ritual or legal matters, but also forms of moral and economic accountability.[16] This view was reinforced by one fiqh teacher, who stated that the teaching of mahr and nafaqah is usually connected with examples of future household responsibility, especially the obligation to work, provide, and protect family rights.[17]

This finding is reflected in the use of three major learning materials: *al-Fiqh al-Wadhih*, *Bulugh al-Maram*, and *fiqh al-mawarith*. Each text performs a different pedagogical function. *Al-Fiqh al-Wadhih* provides students with a systematic explanation of Islamic legal rulings related to marriage, dowry, maintenance, spousal rights and obligations, and family relations. *Bulugh al-Maram* strengthens this legal structure by introducing hadith-based argumentation as the normative foundation of Islamic family law. Meanwhile, *fiqh al-mawarith* expands the scope of family law from marital relations to the transfer of property, the rights of heirs, inheritance shares, and the settlement of family asset disputes. This curricular arrangement suggests that Islamic family law is not merely delivered as a set of rules, but as a framework through which students learn to understand family life as a field of legal, ethical, and economic responsibility. Such a pattern is consistent with studies of Islamic education which argue that pesantren learning is shaped by the interaction between classical texts, teacher authority, ritual discipline, and moral habituation.[18]

The findings further show that the curriculum operates through a gradual movement from normative understanding to practical social imagination. Observation of pesantren routines also shows that the meaning of responsibility is not transmitted only through classroom explanation. During daily activities, senior students were given

[16] Interview with Curriculum Administrator, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[17] Interview with Fiqh Teacher 1, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[18] Ronald A Lukens-Bull, "Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Islamic Education in Indonesia," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2001): 350–72; Robert W Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009); Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999).

organisational and disciplinary responsibilities, including supervising younger students, managing routine activities, and maintaining order in collective life. These practices indicate that legal concepts learned in fiqh classes are supported by institutional habituation, where students experience responsibility as a practical discipline rather than an abstract concept.[19] Thus, the curriculum operates through both textual learning and embodied practice.

Students first encounter the family as a legal institution through topics such as marriage contract, *mahr*, *nafaqah*, guardianship, and marital duties. They are then introduced to the family as an economic and distributive unit through inheritance law, bequests, and the management of property after death. This sequence is significant because it enables students to see that Islamic family law does not only regulate domestic morality, but also organises material obligations and property relations. Mastuhu's analysis of pesantren education is useful here because he explains that pesantren learning systems work through the integration of values, institutional culture, and educational interaction, rather than through classroom instruction alone.[20] In Darul Muttaqin, this integration appears in the way family-law materials are connected with daily discipline, senior-junior responsibility, organisational assignments, and the cultivation of leadership. The curriculum therefore functions not merely as a textual syllabus, but as a lived pedagogical system in which knowledge is continuously related to conduct.

This structure can be interpreted through Basil Bernstein's theory of *classification* and *framing*. Bernstein argues that curriculum is not only concerned with what knowledge is selected, but also with how boundaries between forms of knowledge are organised and how pedagogical control is exercised.[21] In the case of Darul Muttaqin, Islamic family law, legal hadith, and inheritance law appear as distinct areas of study, yet they are not separated by rigid epistemic boundaries. Their themes overlap around the same central concerns: responsibility, ownership, obligation, justice, and the moral regulation of family life. The *classification* is therefore relatively integrated, because the curriculum links family law with property relations and social duties. The *framing* is also shaped by the pesantren's pedagogical authority, in

[19] Field Observation, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[20] Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Suatu Kajian Tentang Unsur Dan Nilai Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994).

[21] Basil Bernstein, *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique*, Rev. ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

which teachers do not simply transmit legal information but interpret the texts through examples, advice, repetition, and moral discipline. This confirms that the meaning of curriculum in pesantren is produced not only by the content of the books, but also by the social relations through which the books are taught.

The finding also refines earlier scholarship on pesantren and Islamic education in Indonesia. Steenbrink's historical work shows that Islamic education in Indonesia has never been static; it has developed through continuous negotiation between pesantren, madrasah, and modern schooling.[22] Similarly, Azra argues that Islamic educational institutions in Southeast Asia have historically adapted to changing social and intellectual contexts while preserving religious authority.[23] The case of Darul Muttaqin supports this argument, but adds a more specific insight: adaptation does not always appear as institutional reform or curriculum modernisation in a formal sense. It can also occur through the reinterpretation of classical materials in relation to contemporary life. Although the texts studied by students are rooted in Islamic legal tradition, their pedagogical meaning expands when topics such as *nafaqah*, *mahr*, inheritance, and family property are connected to economic responsibility, livelihood, and future household management. In this sense, the pesantren curriculum preserves tradition while simultaneously producing new relevance for students' social and economic lives.

Critically, this finding challenges the tendency to treat Islamic family law in pesantren as a purely domestic or moral discipline. In many legal studies, family law is often discussed in relation to marriage validity, divorce, guardianship, gender relations, or inheritance rules. These issues are indeed central, but the Darul Muttaqin curriculum shows that family law also functions as an entry point into economic reasoning. The concept of *mahr*, for example, introduces students to the recognition of women's property rights within marriage. The concept of *nafaqah* connects marital obligation with work, productivity, and the capacity to provide. Inheritance law introduces principles of distribution, legal entitlement, and conflict prevention among family members. This finding resonates with Islamic legal scholarship which views the family as a juridical and economic unit in which rights, duties, property, and

[22] Karel A Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam Dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986).

[23] Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*.

moral order are interconnected.[24] It also supports Eisner's idea that curriculum always contains explicit and implicit messages: the explicit message here is Islamic family law, while the implicit message is the formation of responsibility toward property, livelihood, and distributive justice.[25]

The theoretical implication of this finding is that the curriculum of Islamic family law in pesantren should be read as an integrated field of legal-pedagogical formation. It does not merely transmit religious rulings, but also constructs a framework through which students understand the relationship between family, property, obligation, and social order. This supports curriculum theories that define curriculum as a structured educational experience rather than a mere list of instructional materials.[26] However, it also extends those theories by showing that, in the pesantren context, classical Islamic texts may operate as instruments for shaping economic imagination. The study therefore contributes to the literature by showing that the teaching of Islamic family law at Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor integrates legal knowledge, hadith-based reasoning, inheritance principles, and lived educational practice into one pedagogical structure. In short, the curriculum does not only teach students how Islamic family law is formulated, but also how family life should be imagined as a domain of responsibility, ownership, productivity, and justice.

Conceptual Relations between Islamic Family Law and Economic Reasoning

Islamic family law materials in the Darul Muttaqin Bogor curriculum reveal that the family is treated not merely as a moral institution, but as a legal-economic arena where ownership, obligation, gendered entitlement, asset transfer, and distributive justice are systematically introduced to students. A textual mapping of *al-Fiqh al-Wadhih*, *Bulugh al-Maram*, and *fiqh al-mawarith* shows that the themes of marriage, *mahr*, *nafaqah*, marital responsibility, bequest, and

[24] Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Marriage on Trial: Islamic Family Law in Iran and Morocco*, Rev. ed. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000); Kecia Ali, *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Amira El Azhary Sonbol, ed., *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

[25] Elliot W Eisner, *The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs* (New York: Macmillan, 1979).

[26] Eisner; William F Pinar, *What Is Curriculum Theory?*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012).

inheritance are consistently linked to questions of material capacity and property governance. The finding is important because these materials do not present family law as an abstract doctrine separated from daily economic life. Rather, marriage is framed as a contract with financial consequences; *mahr* is positioned as a woman's legal entitlement; *nafaqah* constructs the duty of economic provision; and inheritance introduces rules for transferring wealth across generations. This supports the argument that Islamic family law contains an embedded economic logic, although that logic is expressed through juridical, ethical, and pedagogical language rather than through modern economic terminology.

The strongest evidence of this relationship appears in the discussion of *mahr* and *nafaqah*. The interview data show that teachers explicitly relate mahr and nafaqah to economic responsibility. One fiqh teacher explained that mahr is introduced to students not simply as a formal requirement of marriage, but as a form of women's recognised economic right. The same informant also emphasised that nafaqah is taught as a legal obligation that requires readiness, productivity, and responsibility in managing future family life.[27] This explanation indicates that students are encouraged to understand family law as a field where piety, legal obligation, and economic accountability intersect.

In Islamic legal discourse, *mahr* is not a ceremonial gift but a property right attached to the marriage contract, while *nafaqah* represents the material obligation to sustain household welfare. Contemporary studies of Muslim family law have shown that marriage contracts in Islamic jurisprudence are structured around rights, duties, and economic expectations, including maintenance, deferred dower, and financial security for women.[28] This finding is relevant to the Darul Muttaqin curriculum because students encounter family law as a field where piety and economic responsibility are not separated. When *mahr* is taught as a legally recognised entitlement, students are introduced to the idea that women possess independent economic rights within marriage. When *nafaqah* is taught as an obligation, students are exposed to the expectation that family leadership requires productive capacity, work ethics, and responsible resource management. This refines the

[27] Interview with Fiqh Teacher 2, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[28] Lynn Welchman, *Women and Muslim Family Laws in Arab States: A Comparative Overview of Textual Development and Advocacy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007); Amira El Azhary Sonbol, *Gulf Women* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2008).

conventional view that pesantren-based family law learning is limited to moral obedience; it shows that the learning process also contains an implicit education in economic accountability.

The connection becomes more complex in the teaching of inheritance and bequest. A similar pattern appears in the teaching of inheritance law. The mawarith teacher explained that fara'id is not only taught as a mathematical calculation of shares, but also as a way to prevent conflict, protect heirs' rights, and ensure justice in the distribution of family assets. According to the teacher, students are trained to see inheritance as a regulated mechanism of wealth transfer, where property must be distributed based on legal entitlement rather than personal desire or family pressure.[29] This interview evidence strengthens the argument that inheritance learning contributes to students' distributive reasoning.

Fiqh al-mawarith does not only train students to calculate fractional shares; it habituates them to see wealth as something that must be transferred through rules, rights, and moral limits. Studies on Islamic inheritance have argued that inheritance law functions as a mechanism of family-based wealth distribution, protecting designated heirs while limiting arbitrary control over property after death.[30] In the pesantren context, this means that the study of inheritance provides students with a normative grammar of distribution. They learn that family assets are not to be monopolised by the strongest household member, but allocated through recognised entitlements. This is not merely a legal lesson; it is a lesson in economic order. The curriculum therefore introduces students to a form of distributive reasoning in which kinship, property, obligation, and justice are bound together. Such a finding challenges readings of *faraidh* as a purely technical subject and instead positions it as a pedagogical tool for forming economic discipline.

Analytically, this finding can be interpreted through the sociology of Islamic legal knowledge. Legal norms become socially meaningful when they are transmitted through institutions, explained by

[29] Interview with Mawarith Teacher, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[30] Lucy Carroll, "The Hanafi Law of Intestate Succession: A Simplified Approach," *Islamic Law and Society* 8, no. 1 (2001): 107–45; Annelies Moors, *Women, Property and Islam: Palestinian Experiences, 1920–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Aharon Layish, "The Transformation of the Sharīʿa from Jurists' Law to Statutory Law in the Contemporary Muslim World," *Die Welt Des Islams* 44, no. 1 (2004): 85–113.

authoritative teachers, repeated in learning routines, and connected to imagined future roles. In this sense, Darul Muttaqin's teaching of family law operates as a mechanism for producing what Eickelman and Piscatori call "Muslim public reasoning," namely the process through which religious knowledge shapes practical judgement in social life.[31] The santri's exposure to *mahr*, *nafaqah*, inheritance, and bequest does not merely enlarge their doctrinal literacy; it gives them categories for thinking about work, household readiness, women's rights, asset protection, and conflict prevention. This supports recent arguments that Islamic education should be understood not only as doctrinal reproduction but also as the cultivation of ethical agency within changing social and economic conditions.[32]

Critically, this finding also refines the literature on pesantren economic education. Many recent studies discuss pesantren economics through entrepreneurship, institutional business units, cooperatives, or *santripreneur* programmes. For instance, studies on pesantren entrepreneurship emphasise business training, institutional self-reliance, and the development of students' entrepreneurial character.[33] Those studies are valuable, but they often imply that economic reasoning enters pesantren mainly through explicit entrepreneurship curricula. The present finding suggests a different route: economic consciousness may also emerge from classical family-law materials. The economic imagination of santri is not shaped only when they manage a business unit or receive entrepreneurship training; it may also be formed when they study why a husband must provide maintenance, why a wife has property rights, why heirs receive fixed shares, and why wealth must be distributed in an orderly way. This does not reject entrepreneurship-based studies; it extends them by showing that pesantren economic formation is also embedded in legal-theological learning.

The theoretical implication is that Islamic family law should not be reduced to private law, because its curricular function reaches into the

[31] Armando Salvatore and Dale F Eickelman, *Public Islam and the Common Good* (Brill, 2004).

[32] Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*; Charlene Tan, *Islamic Education and Indoctrination: The Case in Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

[33] A F Hamzah, "Santripreneur: A Model of Islamic Economic Management through Pesantren-Based Entrepreneurship Education," *Al-Jadwa: Jurnal Studi Islam* 2, no. 1 (2026): 1–18; A Fauzi, "Islamic Boarding School Economic Independence and Entrepreneurship Education in Pesantren," *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change* 13, no. 3 (2020): 123–37.

formation of economic subjectivity. In the Darul Muttaqin case, family-law learning appears to connect legal normativity with economic imagination: *mahr* teaches entitlement, *nafaqah* teaches provision, bequest teaches planning, and inheritance teaches distribution. This supports contemporary Islamic legal scholarship that reads Muslim family law as a field where gender, property, authority, and social welfare are negotiated together.[34] At the same time, it challenges any narrow pedagogical theory that treats pesantren curriculum as merely textual or ritualistic. The subchapter therefore affirms that Islamic family law in the Darul Muttaqin curriculum functions as a conceptual bridge between religious normativity and economic reasoning, forming students' awareness of responsibility, ownership, provision, and distributive justice.

Students' Interpretation of Responsibility, Ownership, and Economic Productivity

Students' interpretation of Islamic family law at Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor indicates that fiqh learning operates not merely as doctrinal instruction, but as an early formation of moral-economic agency. The students' responses confirm that family-law learning shapes their understanding of responsibility beyond doctrinal knowledge. One senior santri explained that the discussion of nafaqah made him realise that building a family requires economic readiness and the ability to provide responsibly, not merely emotional or ritual readiness.[35] Another senior santri stated that the study of inheritance helped students understand that wealth in the family must be managed fairly and distributed according to rights, so that family conflict can be avoided.[36] These student interpretations show that Islamic family law learning contributes to the formation of practical economic awareness.

Curriculum mapping of *al-Fiqh al-Wadhih*, *Bulugh al-Maram*, and *fiqh al-mawarith* shows that the themes studied by the students *mahr*, *nafaqah*, marital responsibility, family property, bequests, and inheritance consistently introduce them to questions of obligation, ownership, distributive entitlement, and economic accountability. These materials do not present the family only as a private emotional unit, but as a legal and economic institution in which rights and duties must be

[34] Andrea Büchler, *Islamic Law in Europe? Legal Pluralism and Its Limits in European Family Laws* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Mirjam Künkler and Yüksel Sezgin, *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

[35] Interview with Senior Santri 1, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[36] Interview with Senior Santri 2, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

clearly recognized. This finding is important because recent scholarship on Islamic family law increasingly reads *mahr* and *nafaqah* not only as ritual-legal requirements, but also as mechanisms for women's financial security, marital justice, and the protection of economic rights.[37] Karimullah, for instance, argue that *nafaqah* remains central to the recognition of women's financial rights, although its implementation in Muslim societies may still fall short of gender justice and economic equality. [38]

The students' understanding of responsibility is therefore shaped through a double pedagogical process: textual comprehension and social habituation. In the classroom, the obligation of *nafaqah* teaches that family leadership cannot be separated from economic capacity, work ethic, and protection of dependents. Outside the classroom, pesantren life trains students through discipline, senior-junior responsibility, organisational tasks, communal routines, and moral supervision. This supports recent studies that describe pesantren education as an integrated moral formation system rather than a purely cognitive institution. Kartiko show that character education in pesantren is implemented through planning, learning activities, habituation, and evaluation, with honesty, responsibility, hard work, tolerance, and discipline as core values.[39] Irfana, Usman, and Herachwati similarly argue that pesantren education combines local wisdom, role modelling, self-regulated learning, religious knowledge, and social values in shaping students'

[37] Raihanah Abdullah et al., "Financial Support for Women under Islamic Family Law in Bangladesh and Malaysia," *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 21, no. 4 (2015): 363–83, https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2015.1106853; Abdul-Salam Ibrahim Arikewuyo, "Viability of Socio-Economic Insurance Provisions for a Woman in Islam: Focus on Mahr and Nafaqah," *Journal of Islamic Studies and Culture* 4, no. 1 (2016): 36–44, https://doi.org/10.15640/jisc.v4n1a5; Suud Sarim Karimullah et al., "The Concept of Nafaqah in Islamic Law and Women's Right to Financial Support," *El-Izdiwaj: Indonesian Journal of Civil and Islamic Family Law* 5, no. 2 (2024): 222–42, https://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/ElIzdiwaj/article/view/23534; H Ş Okumuş and M A Gümüş, "Revitalizing Mahr for Muslim Women's Empowerment within Türkiye's Secular Legal System," *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 11 (2025): 101644, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.101644.

[38] Karimullah et al., "The Concept of Nafaqah in Islamic Law and Women's Right to Financial Support."

[39] Ari Kartiko et al., "Character Education from the Perspective of Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren): An Implementative Study," *Fikroh: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam* 19, no. 1 (2026), https://doi.org/10.37812/fikroh.v19i1.1790.

character.[40] This study refines those arguments by showing that the habituation of responsibility in pesantren is not only ethical or spiritual; it also has an economic direction when connected to family-law materials.

The meaning of ownership that emerges from fiqh learning also challenges a narrow view of property as individual possession. The meaning of ownership was also reflected in students' interpretations of mahr and inheritance. One senior santri explained that mahr should not be understood as a symbolic gift only, because it represents a woman's right in marriage and teaches students to respect property ownership within the family.[41] Another student connected inheritance learning with the importance of fairness, stating that fara'id teaches students not to dominate family property but to recognise the rights of others.[42] These responses suggest that students internalise family-law materials as ethical guidance for ownership, entitlement, and economic justice.

Through *mahr*, students encounter property as a woman's recognized right within marriage; through *nafaqah*, they learn that income is tied to obligation; through inheritance, they see that assets must be distributed according to legal entitlement rather than personal desire. This pattern corresponds with contemporary discussions that reinterpret Islamic family-law instruments as forms of economic protection and financial inclusion. Okumuş and Gümüş, for example, argue that *mahr* can be revitalized as a financial asset for Muslim women's empowerment when it is legally formalized and connected to Islamic financial mechanisms.[43] Such literature helps clarify why the teaching of *mahr* at pesantren should not be reduced to a symbolic marriage requirement. In the Darul Muttaqin context, its pedagogical meaning lies in training students to see wealth as attached to rights, accountability, and social consequences.

This finding also dialogues critically with recent studies on pesantren entrepreneurship. Much of the contemporary literature explains economic formation in pesantren through business units, cooperative institutions, vocational training, or *santripreneur* programs.

---

[40] M S Irfana, I Usman, and N Herachwati, "The Integrated Pathway: A Novel Educational Model for Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia," *Migration Letters* 20, no. 5 (2023): 552–67, https://doi.org/10.59670/ml.v20i5.3999.

[41] Interview with Senior Santri 1, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[42] Interview with Senior Santri 4, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[43] Okumuş and Gümüş, "Revitalizing Mahr for Muslim Women's Empowerment within Türkiye's Secular Legal System."

Falach, Ridwan, and Zenrif, for instance, describe *santripreneurship* as a staged model that integrates Islamic values, business practice, performance discipline, and stakeholder collaboration.[44] Wisudawan, Khairullah, and Rosidi also identify entrepreneurship education, kiai leadership, institutional support, stakeholder collaboration, digital transformation, and local economic potential as key factors in santri economic empowerment.[45] This study does not reject that line of scholarship, but extends it. Economic productivity in pesantren should not be located only in explicit entrepreneurship programs. It may also be cultivated through jurisprudential imagination: the student begins to think economically because fiqh obliges him or her to imagine future household responsibility, lawful ownership, financial provision, and fair asset distribution.

Theoretically, this finding supports and refines the idea of pesantren as a holistic educational institution. Earlier contemporary scholarship has argued that pesantren survives because it combines religious authority, social discipline, community embeddedness, and adaptive educational practice.[46] However, the present analysis adds that the formation of economic consciousness may occur through family-law learning even before students enter formal entrepreneurship training. In this sense, Islamic family law functions as a hidden economic curriculum. It teaches students that adulthood is not measured only by marital readiness, but also by the capacity to provide, protect rights, administer property, and avoid injustice in family wealth relations. The implication is that the theory of pesantren education should include legal-economic socialization as one of its important dimensions.

Thus, the students' interpretation of responsibility, ownership, and

[44] Falach, Ridwan, and Zenrif, "Santripreneurship in Practice: A Model of Entrepreneurship Development at Sunan Drajat Islamic Boarding School, Lamongan."

[45] A K Wisudawan, Khairullah, and Rosidi, "Entrepreneurial Empowerment of Santri: A Systematic Literature Review on Economic Self-Reliance in Pesantren," *Ijtimaiyya: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam* 18, no. 2 (2025): 301–12, https://doi.org/10.24042/ijpmi.v18i2.23816.

[46] Irfana, Usman, and Herachwati, "The Integrated Pathway: A Novel Educational Model for Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia"; M I Usman, "Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam: Sejarah Lahir, Sistem Pendidikan, Dan Perkembangannya Masa Kini," *Jurnal Al-Hikmah* 14, no. 1 (2013): 101–19, https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/al_hikmah/article/view/418; Yanwar Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 51, no. 1 (2013): 1–32, https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32.

productivity shows that Islamic family-law materials in the pesantren curriculum can generate an ethical-economic orientation. The main contribution of this sub-finding is the argument that fiqh learning does not merely reproduce legal obedience; it also constructs a disciplined imagination of economic life grounded in responsibility, entitlement, work, and distributive justice.

Integrated Curriculum as the Basis for Shaping Santri's Economic Reasoning

The most significant finding of this section is that the integrative curriculum of Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor transforms Islamic family law from a doctrinal subject into a formative arena where santri learn to connect legal obligation, moral discipline, and economic responsibility. Field observation supports the finding that the pesantren curriculum operates integratively. The learning of Islamic family law in the classroom was accompanied by a broader culture of discipline, collective responsibility, and moral supervision in daily life. Students were not only taught legal concepts such as mahr, nafaqah, and inheritance, but were also habituated to organise time, carry out duties, respect authority, and take responsibility for communal order.[47] This observation indicates that the economic reasoning developed through family-law materials is strengthened by the pesantren's daily educational environment.

The curriculum does not present *al-Fiqh al-Wadhih*, *Bulugh al-Maram*, and *fiqh al-mawarith* as isolated textual materials; rather, these texts are positioned within a broader educational environment in which classroom instruction, dormitory life, organisational duties, and senior-junior leadership relations reinforce one another. The specific materials on *mahr*, *nafaqah*, marital rights, inheritance, bequest, and family property indicate that students are not only introduced to the legal grammar of Islamic family life, but also to the practical logic of ownership, livelihood, asset transfer, and distributive fairness. This finding is consistent with recent studies showing that pesantren curriculum is often formed through the interaction between formal subjects, *kitab kuning* traditions, institutional culture, and hidden curriculum rather than through written syllabi alone.[48] Recent studies on

[47] Classroom Observation, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[48] Ali Maksum, "Model Pendidikan Toleransi Di Pesantren Modern Dan Salaf," *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 3, no. 1 (2015): 81–108; Raihani, "Report on Multicultural Education in Pesantren," *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and*

pesantren curriculum integration also report that pesantren education frequently combines formal curriculum, religious textual learning, and hidden institutional practices to shape santri character and social competence.

This finding may be interpreted through the idea of curriculum as social formation. In Darul Muttaqin, the economic meaning of Islamic family law does not appear merely because the texts mention property, dowry, maintenance, or inheritance. It appears because these concepts are repeatedly taught within a disciplined environment where santri are trained to manage time, accept responsibility, lead peers, and live under shared norms. In this sense, the curriculum operates as a moral economy: it teaches that wealth is not an autonomous possession, but a trust connected to rights, obligations, and accountability. The discussion of *nafaqah* introduces economic responsibility as a legal-moral duty; the discussion of *mahr* positions women as rights-bearing subjects in marital exchange; and the discussion of inheritance introduces santri to regulated distribution rather than arbitrary family control. This supports Sahin's argument that Islamic education should be understood not merely as religious instruction, but as a pedagogical process that shapes ethical agency and practical judgement.[49] It also resonates with Memon and Zaman's view that Islamic educational traditions are concerned with the formation of persons who can relate knowledge to moral action in lived contexts.

The findings refine existing theories of integrated Islamic education by showing that integration in pesantren is not limited to the combination of religious and general subjects. Much of the literature on Islamic educational integration tends to frame the issue as a balance between religious knowledge and modern science, or between traditional pesantren learning and national curriculum standards.[50] The Darul

International Education 42, no. 4 (2012): 585–605; Charlene Tan, *Educative Tradition and Islamic Schools in Indonesia* (Springer, 2014).

[49] Abdullah Sahin, "Critical Issues in Islamic Education Studies: Rethinking Islamic and Western Liberal Secular Values of Education," *Religions* 9, no. 11 (2018): 335.

[50] Rosnani Hashim and Hasan Langgulung, "Islamic Religious Curriculum in Muslim Countries: The Experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia," *Bulletin of Education and Research* 40, no. 1 (2018): 1–19; M S Abdullah et al., "A Practical and Interactive Web-Based Software for Online Qur'anic Arabic Learning," in *Proceedings - 6th International Conference on Information and Communication Technology for the Muslim World, ICT4M 2016*, 2017, 76–81, https://doi.org/10.1109/ICT4M.2016.25; Tan, *Educative Tradition and Islamic Schools in Indonesia*.

Muttaqin case suggests a more internal form of integration: integration between legal text and economic imagination, between family jurisprudence and productive responsibility, and between classroom cognition and everyday habituation. This means that even when a pesantren does not explicitly label a subject as "Islamic economics" or "entrepreneurship," economic reasoning may still be cultivated through family-law materials. This challenges a narrow reading of economic education in pesantren that identifies it only with business units, cooperatives, vocational programs, or *santripreneur* initiatives. Recent studies on santri economic empowerment tend to emphasise entrepreneurship programs, pesantren business units, and institutional independence, but they rarely examine how non-economic religious subjects may produce economic dispositions.

The critical contribution of this finding lies in its dialogue with recent scholarship on pesantren transformation. The pesantren leader also emphasised that the aim of fiqh learning is not only to make students know legal rulings, but also to prepare them to live responsibly in society. In the leader's explanation, the discussion of family law is closely related to the formation of mature personality, because students are introduced to the consequences of marriage, livelihood, family rights, and social justice.[51] This statement strengthens the argument that Islamic family law functions as a hidden economic curriculum: it forms economic consciousness through legal, moral, and institutional education rather than through entrepreneurship training alone.

Several studies argue that pesantren are increasingly becoming sites of social mobility, civic formation, entrepreneurship, and community empowerment.[52] These studies are valuable because they move beyond the old stereotype of pesantren as conservative institutions

[51] Interview with Pesantren Leader, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024

[52] Ismail Suardi Wekke and Sanusi Hamid, "Technology on Language Teaching and Learning: A Research on Indonesian Pesantren," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 83 (2013): 585–89; Saipul Hamdi and Bianca J Smith, "Sisters, Militias and Islam in Conflict: Questioning 'Reconciliation' in Nahdlatul Wathan, Lombok, Indonesia," *Contemporary Islam* 6, no. 1 (2012): 29–43; Pam Nilan, "Youth Transitions to Urban, Middle-Class Marriage in Indonesia: Faith, Family and Finances," *Journal of Youth Studies* 15, no. 1 (2012): 65–82; Azyumardi Azra, Dina Afrianty, and Robert W Hefner, "Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia," in *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, ed. Robert W Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (Princeton University Press, 2010), 172–98.

detached from social change. However, this research adds a more specific point: pesantren's contribution to economic consciousness does not necessarily begin from modern entrepreneurship training, but may emerge from classical legal materials that regulate the family as an economic unit. In this regard, Islamic family law functions as a bridge between textual authority and social preparation. The santri learns that marriage requires material readiness, family leadership requires economic accountability, and inheritance requires legal literacy to prevent conflict. This finding therefore supports the broader thesis that pesantren are adaptive institutions, while refining it by showing the micro-curricular mechanism through which adaptation occurs.

Theoretically, this study contributes to curriculum theory by proposing that integrative curriculum in pesantren should be understood as a layered process involving textual content, institutional culture, embodied discipline, and future-oriented imagination. It also contributes to Islamic family law studies by shifting attention from legal doctrine alone to the educational effects of doctrine when taught in a residential learning community. Islamic family law is not merely a body of rules about marriage and inheritance; in the pesantren curriculum, it becomes a language through which santri are invited to imagine adulthood, livelihood, family responsibility, property ethics, and social justice. This finding also extends contemporary Islamic economics scholarship, because it shows that economic reasoning may be formed through juridical and ethical education before it appears as entrepreneurial behaviour or market participation. Studies on Islamic moral economy have emphasised that economic conduct is embedded in ethical norms, social obligations, and religious understandings of justice.[53] The Darul Muttaqin case provides a curricular example of that process: economic consciousness is cultivated before economic action is visible.

In conclusion, the integrative curriculum of Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor demonstrates that Islamic family law can function as a hidden yet powerful medium for shaping santri's economic reasoning. Its contribution is not merely in teaching what is lawful in marriage and inheritance, but in forming a disciplined imagination about responsibility, ownership, productivity, and distributive justice within Muslim family life.

[53] Charles Tripp, *Islam and the Moral Economy: The Challenge of Capitalism* (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Daromir Rudnyckyj, *Spiritual Economies: Islam, Globalization, and the Afterlife of Development* (Cornell University Press, 2010); Rodney Wilson, *Islam and Economic Policy* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that Islamic family law materials taught at Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor function not only as normative guidance governing family relations but also as an implicit pedagogical mechanism for cultivating santri's economic reasoning. The analysis reveals that classical texts such as *al-Fiqh al-Wadhih, Bulugh al-Maram*, and *fiqh al-mawarith* integrate legal norms with values of economic responsibility, ownership, productivity, and distributive justice through discussions of *mahr, nafaqah*, family property, wills, and inheritance. These findings indicate that Islamic family law constructs the family not merely as a legal and moral institution but also as an economic unit in which rights, obligations, and wealth management are systematically embedded. Consequently, the study proposes the concept of Islamic family law as a hidden economic curriculum, highlighting its role in shaping students' economic consciousness through classical jurisprudential education rather than through explicit entrepreneurship-oriented instruction.

The study contributes theoretically by extending scholarship in three interrelated fields. First, it enriches pesantren studies by demonstrating that kitab-based learning generates socio-economic reasoning while preserving its classical epistemological foundation. Second, it broadens Islamic family law scholarship by showing that family jurisprudence produces educational outcomes beyond legal compliance, fostering responsibility, economic accountability, and distributive ethics. Third, it contributes to Islamic economics by revealing that economic literacy can emerge from juridical and ethical education before manifesting in entrepreneurial behaviour or market participation. Practically, these findings suggest that pesantren curriculum development should more explicitly integrate the socio-economic dimensions of family-law instruction, enabling educators and policymakers to strengthen students' financial responsibility, family welfare awareness, women's economic rights, and ethical asset management without departing from the classical Islamic tradition.

Despite these contributions, the findings remain context-specific because the research was conducted in a single pesantren and focused on selected family-law texts using qualitative methods. Accordingly, the proposed concept requires further validation across diverse pesantren traditions, curricular models, and socio-cultural settings. Future research should therefore employ comparative and longitudinal designs, complemented by quantitative approaches, to examine the relationship

between Islamic family law learning, financial literacy, entrepreneurial orientation, and long-term economic behaviour among santri. Such investigations will provide stronger empirical evidence for the role of Islamic family law as a pedagogical foundation for economic reasoning and further advance interdisciplinary discussions at the intersection of Islamic education, family jurisprudence, and Islamic economic ethics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdullah, M S, M M H Rahman, A.-S.K. Pathan, and I F A Shaikhli. "A Practical and Interactive Web-Based Software for Online Qur'anic Arabic Learning." In *Proceedings - 6th International Conference on Information and Communication Technology for the Muslim World, ICT4M 2016*, 76–81, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1109/ICT4M.2016.25.

Abdullah, Raihanah, Taslima Monsoor, Fuadah Johari, and Wan Mohd Radzi. "Financial Support for Women under Islamic Family Law in Bangladesh and Malaysia." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 21, no. 4 (2015): 363–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2015.1106853.

al-'Asqalani, Ibn Hajar. *Bulugh Al-Maram Min Adillat Al-Ahkam*. Riyadh: Darussalam, 2002.

Ali, Kecia. *Marriage and Slavery in Early Islam*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Arikewuyo, Abdul-Salam Ibrahim. "Viability of Socio-Economic Insurance Provisions for a Woman in Islam: Focus on Mahr and Nafaqah." *Journal of Islamic Studies and Culture* 4, no. 1 (2016): 36–44. https://doi.org/10.15640/jisc.v4n1a5.

Azra, Azyumardi. *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*. Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999.

Azra, Azyumardi, Dina Afrianty, and Robert W Hefner. "Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia." In *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, edited by Robert W Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, 172–98. Princeton University Press, 2010.

B, Hallaq. W. *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunni Usul Al-Fiqh*. Cambridge., 2009.

Berger, Peter L, and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality*. Anchor Books, 1966.

Bernstein, Basil. *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory,*

Research, Critique. Rev. ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77–101.

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

Büchler, Andrea. *Islamic Law in Europe? Legal Pluralism and Its Limits in European Family Laws*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Cammack, Mark, Lawrence Young, and Tim Heaton. "Legislating Social Change in an Islamic Society—Indonesia's Marriage Law." *American Journal of Comparative Law* 44, no. 1 (1996): 45–73. https://doi.org/10.2307/840780.

Carroll, Lucy. "The Hanafi Law of Intestate Succession: A Simplified Approach." *Islamic Law and Society* 8, no. 1 (2001): 107–45.

Classroom Observation, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Dormitory Observation, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*. LP3ES, 2011.

Eisner, Elliot W. *The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs*. New York: Macmillan, 1979.

Field Observation, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Falach, Ahmad Nur, Muhammad Ridwan, and Muhammad Fiqh Zenrif. "Santripreneurship in Practice: A Model of Entrepreneurship Development at Sunan Drajat Islamic Boarding School, Lamongan." *Economica: Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 14, no. 2 (2023): 205–25. https://doi.org/10.21580/economica.2023.14.2.26006.

Fauzi, A. "Islamic Boarding School Economic Independence and Entrepreneurship Education in Pesantren." *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change* 13, no. 3 (2020): 123–37.

Fauzi, M, and N Rohmah. "Entrepreneurship Education in Islamic Boarding School: A Strategy to Build Students' Economic Independence." *Ijtimaiyya: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam* 13, no. 1 (2020): 45–68.

Hallaq, Wael B. *Sharīʿa: Theory, Practice, Transformations*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Hamdi, Saipul, and Bianca J Smith. "Sisters, Militias and Islam in

Conflict: Questioning 'Reconciliation' in Nahdlatul Wathan, Lombok, Indonesia." *Contemporary Islam* 6, no. 1 (2012): 29–43.

Hamzah, A F. "Santripreneur: A Model of Islamic Economic Management through Pesantren-Based Entrepreneurship Education." *Al-Jadwa: Jurnal Studi Islam* 2, no. 1 (2026): 1–18.

Hashim, Rosnani, and Hasan Langgulung. "Islamic Religious Curriculum in Muslim Countries: The Experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia." *Bulletin of Education and Research* 40, no. 1 (2018): 1–19.

Hefner, Robert W. *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

Indonesia, Republic of. "Law Number 18 of 2019 Concerning Pesantren." Jakarta: State Secretariat, 2019.

———. "Presidential Instruction Number 1 of 1991 Concerning the Dissemination of the Compilation of Islamic Law." Jakarta: State Secretariat, 1991.

Irfana, M S, I Usman, and N Herachwati. "The Integrated Pathway: A Novel Educational Model for Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia." *Migration Letters* 20, no. 5 (2023): 552–67. https://doi.org/10.59670/ml.v20i5.3999.

Ismail, Muhammad Bakr. *Al-Fiqh Al-Wadhih Min Al-Kitab Wa Al-Sunnah 'ala Al-Madhahib Al-Arba'Ah*. Cairo: Dar al-Manar, 1972.

Interview with Pesantren Leader, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Interview with Curriculum Administrator, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Interview with Fiqh Teacher 1, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Interview with Fiqh Teacher 2, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Interview with Hadith Teacher, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Interview with Mawarith Teacher, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Interview with Senior Santri 1, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Interview with Senior Santri 2, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.

Interview with Senior Santri 3, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor,

2023/2024 academic year.
Interview with Senior Santri 4, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.
Interview with Senior Santri 5, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.
Interview with Senior Santri 6, Pesantren Darul Muttaqin Bogor, 2023/2024 academic year.
Karimullah, Suud Sarim, N A Basuki, Arif Sugitanata, and Siti Aminah. "The Concept of Nafaqah in Islamic Law and Women's Right to Financial Support." *El-Izdiwaj: Indonesian Journal of Civil and Islamic Family Law* 5, no. 2 (2024): 222–42. https://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/ElIzdiwaj/article/view/23534.
Kartiko, Ari, M H Rofiq, Q Fahmi, and N.-A. T Samson. "Character Education from the Perspective of Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren): An Implementative Study." *Fikroh: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam* 19, no. 1 (2026). https://doi.org/10.37812/fikroh.v19i1.1790.
Künkler, Mirjam, and Yüksel Sezgin. *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
Layish, Aharon. "The Transformation of the Sharīʿa from Jurists' Law to Statutory Law in the Contemporary Muslim World." *Die Welt Des Islams* 44, no. 1 (2004): 85–113.
Lincoln, Yvonna S, and Egon G Guba. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications, 1985.
Lukens-Bull, Ronald A. *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
———. "Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Islamic Education in Indonesia." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2001): 350–72.
Maksum, Ali. "Model Pendidikan Toleransi Di Pesantren Modern Dan Salaf." *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 3, no. 1 (2015): 81–108.
Mastuhu. *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Suatu Kajian Tentang Unsur Dan Nilai Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren*. Jakarta: INIS, 1994.
Merriam, Sharan B, and Elizabeth J Tisdell. *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*. Edited by 4. Jossey-Bass, 2016.
Miles, Matthew B, A Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Sage Publications, 2014.

Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. *Marriage on Trial: Islamic Family Law in Iran and Morocco*. Rev. ed. London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.

Moors, Annelies. *Women, Property and Islam: Palestinian Experiences, 1920–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Muttaqin, R. "Kemandirian Dan Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Berbasis Pesantren." *Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah Indonesia* 1, no. 2 (2011): 65–94.

Nilan, Pam. "Youth Transitions to Urban, Middle-Class Marriage in Indonesia: Faith, Family and Finances." *Journal of Youth Studies* 15, no. 1 (2012): 65–82.

Okumuş, H Ş, and M A Gümüş. "Revitalizing Mahr for Muslim Women's Empowerment within Türkiye's Secular Legal System." *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 11 (2025): 101644. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2025.101644.

Patton, Michael Quinn. *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2015.

Pinar, William F. *What Is Curriculum Theory?* 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Pribadi, Yanwar. "Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture." *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 51, no. 1 (2013): 1–32. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32.

Raihani. "Report on Multicultural Education in Pesantren." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 42, no. 4 (2012): 585–605.

Rudnyckyj, Daromir. *Spiritual Economies: Islam, Globalization, and the Afterlife of Development*. Cornell University Press, 2010.

Sahin, Abdullah. "Critical Issues in Islamic Education Studies: Rethinking Islamic and Western Liberal Secular Values of Education." *Religions* 9, no. 11 (2018): 335.

Salvatore, Armando, and Dale F Eickelman. *Public Islam and the Common Good*. Brill, 2004.

Sonbol, Amira El Azhary. *Gulf Women*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2008.

———, ed. *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003.

Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995.

Steenbrink, Karel A. *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam*

Dalam Kurun Modern. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986.

Taba, Hilda. *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962.

Tan, Charlene. *Educative Tradition and Islamic Schools in Indonesia*. Springer, 2014.

———. *Islamic Education and Indoctrination: The Case in Indonesia*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Tripp, Charles. *Islam and the Moral Economy: The Challenge of Capitalism*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Tucker, J E. *Women, Family, and Gender in Islamic Law*. *Women, Family, and Gender in Islamic Law*, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511841316.

Tyler, Ralph W. *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.

Usman, M I. "Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam: Sejarah Lahir, Sistem Pendidikan, Dan Perkembangannya Masa Kini." *Jurnal Al-Hikmah* 14, no. 1 (2013): 101–19. https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/al_hikmah/article/view/418.

Wekke, Ismail Suardi, and Sanusi Hamid. "Technology on Language Teaching and Learning: A Research on Indonesian Pesantren." *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 83 (2013): 585–89.

Welchman, Lynn. *Women and Muslim Family Laws in Arab States: A Comparative Overview of Textual Development and Advocacy*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.

Wilson, Rodney. *Islam and Economic Policy*. Edinburgh University Press, 2014.

Wisudawan, A K, Khairullah, and Rosidi. "Entrepreneurial Empowerment of Santri: A Systematic Literature Review on Economic Self-Reliance in Pesantren." *Ijtimaiyya: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam* 18, no. 2 (2025): 301–12. https://doi.org/10.24042/ijpmi.v18i2.23816.

Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research and Applications*. Sage Publications, 2018.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.