

Market Islam in Qur'an Reading Methods in Indonesia: Tradition and the Dynamics of Emerging Diversity

Mubaidi Sulaeman^{1*} , Moch. Nur Ichwan²  and Ahmad Rafiq³ 

¹²³Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

¹Universitas Islam Tribakti Lirboyo Kediri, Indonesia

* Corresponding author: mubaidisulaeman@uit-lirboyo.ac.id

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This study examines Qur'anic reading methods in Indonesia, focusing on Kediri, through the framework of Market Islam to investigate how religious authority is reorganized within contemporary Islamic educational markets. Employing a qualitative case-study approach, the research analyzes three Qur'anic learning methods—Jamiati, Al-Faqih, and Yanbu'a—using in-depth interviews, participant observation, and institutional documentation. The findings demonstrate that the circulation of Qur'anic pedagogy depends not only on spiritual legitimacy but also on the interaction between supply-driven authority, embodied in *sanad*, charismatic religious leadership, and institutional credibility, and demand-driven mechanisms, including standardization, teacher certification, organizational networks, and socially differentiated educational demand. While Jamiati and Al-Faqih remain predominantly supply-driven initiatives developed to address internal pedagogical needs within pesantren, Yanbu'a represents a hybrid configuration that successfully translates *sanad*-based authority into scalable organizational forms through standardized curricula, formalized instructor training, and extensive inter-pesantren networks. Unlike the dominant Market Islam literature, which largely associates religious markets with urban Muslim middle-class consumerism, the Kediri case demonstrates that the demand for Qur'anic learning methods is also generated through traditional pesantren communities, where religious capital, institutional trust, and collective educational traditions shape pedagogical preferences. This study extends Market Islam scholarship by arguing that the commodification of Qur'anic pedagogy entails not the erosion of religious authority but its organizational reconfiguration through the interaction of charismatic legitimacy, religious capital, and market rationality within contemporary Muslim educational institutions.

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Public Interest Statement

This study intervenes in ongoing academic debates on the commodification of religion by demonstrating how Qur'an reading methods in Indonesia operate within the logic of Market Islam. Challenging pedagogical and normative approaches that treat Qur'anic education as insulated from political-economic forces, this research shows that legitimacy, authority, and pedagogical success are increasingly shaped by market mechanisms such as branding, standardization, and distribution. By comparing Jamiati, Al-Faqih, and Yanbu'a in Kediri, the study clarifies how Islamic knowledge production shifts from purely devotional transmission toward market-mediated religious practice, offering a critical perspective for scholars of Islamic studies, anthropology of religion, and education.

Introduction

This study begins with the argument that transformations in religious practice occur more rapidly when they follow market logic than when they are driven purely by faith-based motivations (Haenni 2009, 2015; Jones 2007, 2010; Kailani 2018; Pink 2020). Religious teachings are no longer merely spiritual expressions; they have become commodities produced and consumed within a capitalist ecosystem (Howell 2013). This phenomenon aligns with the



concept of Market Islam proposed by Daromir Rudnycky, which refers to a condition in which Islamic teachings and practices are designed, packaged, and competitively distributed according to market tastes and dynamics. Within this framework, Islamic values are not practiced solely on the basis of theological conviction but are reconstructed to align with the needs and preferences of religious consumers ([Rudnycky 2009a](#)).

Despite the expanding scholarship on Market Islam, which foregrounds the commodification of religion and its entanglement with market rationality ([Rudnycky 2009a](#); [Gauthier 2019](#); [Turner 2004](#)), the transformation of Qur'anic pedagogy within this framework remains underexplored. Existing studies on Qur'an learning methods in Indonesia tend to emphasize instructional effectiveness, historical development, and *sanad*-based legitimacy, while insufficiently engaging with the socio-economic forces shaping their production and circulation. Consequently, these methods are rarely conceptualized as both pedagogical practices and market-mediated religious products. This lacuna calls for an integrative analytical approach that situates Qur'an learning methods within the broader logic of Market Islam, particularly in local contexts such as Kediri, to elucidate the interplay between religious authority, identity formation, and market preferences in contemporary Qur'anic education.

In *Religion in the Market Era*, François Gauthier argues that religion—including Islam—now operates within a *global market regime*, in which it no longer functions primarily as a collective normative system anchored in the nation-state but instead becomes part of a broader system of value and identity production governed by market rationality. This shift represents a transition from the Nation-State era, characterized by the statization and nationalization of religion, to a global market era emphasizing flexibility, personalization, and the compatibility of religious values with consumer and efficiency ethics ([Gauthier 2019](#)). According to Gauthier, this dynamic illustrates how religion now functions as a *total social fact*, integrated holistically within social, economic, and cultural systems. Religion thus no longer exists solely in private or institutional (meso) domains but manifests on both micro (personal religiosity) and macro (the religious) levels, internalized within market morality ([Gauthier 2025](#)). Rudnycky further explains that within Market Islam, consumer preferences become the primary engine for producing religious meaning, compelling religious authorities to adapt to market expectations to remain relevant ([Rudnycky 2009b](#)). In other words, Islamic teachings are not only interpreted top-down by religious authorities but are also constructed bottom-up through the demands of the urban Muslim middle class, whose members generally possess higher educational attainment, stable economic resources, and greater purchasing power. For these consumers, religious products are expected to combine spiritual legitimacy with efficiency, standardization, and compatibility with contemporary lifestyles.

The combination of Gauthier's supply-driven and Rudnycky's ([2009b](#)) demand-driven perspectives reveals the dual dynamics of market Islam. On the one hand, religious institutions, spiritual motivators, and halal industry actors actively design and promote religious products to shape and cultivate market tastes. On the other hand, Muslim consumers with high purchasing power and strong identity awareness determine the form and content of religiosity they consider relevant and authentic. Products such as fashionable *syar'i* hijabs, work-based Islamic applications, and spiritual training modules for managers exemplify how Islam is not only commodified but also serves as a site of negotiation between sacred values and market rationality ([Ayyad 2022](#); [Gauthier 2016a, 2020](#); [Chaqoqo 2023](#)).

One of the most tangible reflections of religious dynamism in Indonesia is the proliferation of learning methods for reading the Qur'an, which continues to develop to this day ([Fanani and Sulaeman 2025](#); [Kusnadi et al., 2025](#)). Abubakar Aceh notes that in the past, Qur'an learning was conducted simply in *surau* or small *langgar* (local prayer houses) as part of the community's religious tradition ([Aceh 1958](#); [Hidayatullah et al., 2026](#)). Over time, various new learning methods have emerged, differing in approach yet sharing the same goal: to introduce the language of the Qur'an to Indonesian society, whose daily life is conducted in a non-Arabic linguistic context ([Gade 2004](#); [Rafiq 2014](#)). According to data from the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2022, at least 261 methods for learning to read the Qur'an are currently in circulation across the country. This diversity not only reflects creativity in the field of Islamic education but also illustrates how these methods have evolved by accommodating the diverse receptive needs of local communities, including their unique characteristics and cultural backgrounds, to facilitate the learning of Qur'an reading within the context of their everyday lives ([Effendi 2021](#); [Effendi and Fadlulloh 2026](#)).

Nurani et al. ([2022](#)) demonstrated that contemporary trends in Islamic education in Indonesia cannot be separated from the interrelated moral, social, and economic dynamics shaping society. They found that the growing moral panic among parents regarding modern lifestyles has driven Islamic educational institutions to respond by establishing entities such as Islamic boarding schools, *Rumah Tahfidz* (Qur'an memorization centers), and various Qur'an learning programs that turn the holy text into a marketable brand name. These institutions capitalize on parental anxiety as a market opportunity, transforming Qur'anic study from a purely spiritual activity into an educational commodity. Thus, the current landscape of competition among Qur'an learning methods does not merely arise from struggles over religious authority, as suggested by Chaqoqo ([2023](#)). This phenomenon is also part of the reality of *Market Islam*, in

which religious practices are turned into products that can be packaged, marketed, and contested. Within this framework, as Turner explains, the spiritual sphere becomes a new arena of competition where religious actors strive not only to maintain moral authority but also to capture shares of an already commodified religious market (Turner, 2004).

The emergence of various Qur'an reading learning methods in Indonesia can be understood as part of the logic of Market Islam. Amid symbolic and economic competition within the religious sphere, Qur'an learning methods are no longer positioned solely as tools for spiritual enhancement but also as religious products designed to reach specific market segments. Kediri, as one of the regions where many new methods have emerged, illustrates how the need for learning approaches aligned with the social and cultural characteristics of the community has generated innovative forms of religious instruction. Two methods developed by Ustadz Ahmad Fauzan Pujianto (2025), Jamiati and Al-Faqih, can be understood within this framework as responses to the demand for more structured and segmented learning systems suited to their social context. Rather than relying solely on claims of religious authority, these methods also embody elements of product differentiation within an Islamic landscape increasingly shaped by market dynamics and the preferences of religious consumers (Mardatillah et al. 2025; Mahmud et al. 2024).

The Jamiati method emerged as a strategic effort to enhance students' ability to read and write the Qur'an, given that they are projected to become teaching agents of Qur'anic literacy within broader society. The emergence of this method was not merely a response to the low level of Qur'anic literacy among students at the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Kediri but also served as a pedagogical instrument to ensure that they meet the qualification standards required to teach. Academic evaluations from 2016–2017 revealed that only 15% of students were classified as Grade A — those who had achieved full proficiency and were deemed fully qualified to teach. Meanwhile, 29% were in Grade B, meaning they were competent but still required further refinement. The remaining 56% did not meet the minimum standard, with the following breakdown: Grade C (33%) had moderate ability, Grade D (14%) demonstrated poor accuracy, and Grade E (9%) were nearly unable to read and write correctly (Anam, 2025). Meanwhile, the Al-Faqih method was developed specifically at the Tahfidzil Qur'an Darussalam Islamic Boarding School in Summersari, Pare, as an effort to establish a learning system that would serve as a symbol or brand for the institution. Its primary objective was to build an institutional identity and create a distinct market for its graduates as Qur'an instructors characterized by the pesantren's own methodological features, similar to those found in the Yanbu'a method (Pujianto, 2025).

However, another equally important method of analysis within this framework is the Yanbu'a Method. Unlike Jamiati and Al-Faqih, which remain local in scope, Yanbu'a has successfully developed a standardized religious business model, established a legitimate *sanad* authority, and achieved nationwide dissemination. Developed by KH. Muhammad Ulin Nuha Arwani in Kudus. This method emphasizes systematic order in teaching and includes specialized training for instructors. Yanbu'a has emerged as a dominant brand within the ecosystem of Market Islam, effectively integrating traditional values, such as *sanad* and *pesantren* tradition, with modern management and an established distribution strategy (Pujianto 2025). The presence of Yanbu'a demonstrates that Qur'an learning methods function not only as pedagogical tools but also as market-oriented (demand-driven) instruments for *da'wah*. Its success in capitalizing on traditional values while simultaneously reaching a broad market makes it an ideal model within the study of Islam Pasar. This stands in striking contrast to Jamiati and Al-Faqih, which have not yet been fully integrated into the logic of national distribution and standardization.

This phenomenon indicates that the practice of learning to read the Qur'an is not static but continually undergoes transformation in response to social, institutional, and economic changes. Therefore, this study does not aim to assess the technical effectiveness of a particular method —rather, it seeks to understand Qur'an learning methods as articulations of religiosity within the context of Market Islam. By focusing on the Jamiati, Al-Faqih, and Yanbu'a methods in Kediri, this research examines how forms of religious innovation emerge as responses to the increasingly diverse needs of Muslim communities and how religious actors differentiate the Qur'an learning method as a product to meet the evolving preferences and demands of the religious market. This approach is expected to provide a deeper understanding of Qur'an learning as a complex social process shaped by the interaction between religious values, local culture, and the demands of the times.

Literature Review

Market Islam Concept

The concept of Market Islam represents a major shift in the way religion functions amid the currents of global capitalism. In *Religion in the Market Era*, Gauthier describes this phenomenon as a transition from the Nation-State Regime to the Global-Market Regime, in which the regulatory power of the state is weakened and replaced by the

market as the primary governing force of the global society ([Gauthier, 2018](#)). Within this context, Islam is no longer structured within state religious institutions or political projects but is commodified as a source of values, identity, and spirituality that can be marketed and consumed ([Gauthier, 2019](#)). This transformation is closely associated with the rise of the urban Muslim middle class, whose expanding educational attainment, stable economic resources, and growing purchasing power create demand for religious products that are not only doctrinally legitimate but also practical, standardized, aesthetically appealing, and compatible with modern professional lifestyles ([Gökarksel and McLarney, 2010](#)). Consequently, religious authority is increasingly negotiated through market mechanisms in which Islamic knowledge, education, and spirituality are packaged as commodities that respond to the aspirations of this emerging social class.

Gauthier emphasizes that this process cannot be understood merely as a religious revival or a form of re-enchantment within a post-secular framework but rather as a fundamental transformation occurring simultaneously at the macro (religious), meso (religion), and micro (religiosity) levels ([Gauthier, 2016a](#)). Within the context of the market, Islam operates across all three dimensions: at the macro level, Islam provides a global moral framework that can be converted into a form of civil religion grounded in ethical capitalism—at the meso level, it is driven by new institutions such as sharia-based corporations, the halal industry, and spiritual motivation training programs—and at the micro level, religiosity becomes performative and flexible, adapting to the identity needs of individuals within the neoliberal marketplace ([Gauthier, 2016b](#)).

The concept of Market Islam refers to a contemporary configuration in which Islamic values are no longer formulated to reinforce the idea of an Islamic state or a sharia-based political system but are instead commodified to align with the logic of global capitalism ([Rudnyckyj, 2009b](#)). This phenomenon represents an epistemological shift from religion as a collective normative system to religion as a source of legitimacy for participation in the free market. Vali Nasr describes the rise of Islamic capitalism as a form of consolidation of the Muslim middle class, which is more interested in economic expansion than in pursuing the project of an Islamic state. Meanwhile, Peter Gran points out that this transformation is a consequence of the restructuring of social classes and systems of production in the postcolonial Muslim world ([Nasr, 2009](#)).

However, to understand how Islam is effectively commodified within the framework of global capitalism, it is important to integrate both supply-driven and demand-driven approaches to analyze the dynamics of Market Islam. In the supply-driven model, Islamic values are packaged and produced by religious institutions or actors who possess symbolic and spiritual authority to distribute religious products to the public ([Soyas, 2019](#)). This can be observed in the economic activities and dissemination of religious ideas by the Gülen Movement. In this context, the movement actively produces and distributes Islamic goods and services, including media, books, videos, and fashion, all of which are explicitly intended for mass consumption. The movement not only spreads its religious ideas through the market but also transforms Islam into a consumable product that aligns with the logic of global capitalism ([Hendrick, 2013](#)). Such products are not merely created in response to existing market demands but also serve to cultivate new desires for forms of piety that are compatible with modern self-management ([Dsouli et al., 2012](#); [Gökarksel and McLarney, 2010](#)).

Conversely, the demand-driven approach in Market Islam reflects how religious practices are developed in response to the needs and aspirations of the contemporary Muslim market, particularly among the urban middle class ([Nell, 1991](#)). In this context, Islam is not merely packaged from the top down by religious authorities but is also shaped from the bottom up through the demands of Muslim consumers who seek forms of religiosity that are practical, flexible, and compatible with economic productivity. Products such as stylish *syar'i* hijabs, prayer reminder applications synchronized with work calendars, and spiritual training programs for corporate employees represent concrete examples of the demand-driven approach, in which the market itself dictates the desired forms of piety, religious yet non-rigid, and spiritual yet economically competitive ([Rudnyckyj, 2009b](#)).

Daromir Rudnyckyj describes Market Islam as a spiritual sphere that internalizes market logic through the production of Muslim subjects who are rational, disciplined, and efficient. Within this framework, supply-driven Islam functions to provide spiritual tools and narratives, while demand-driven Islam works to adapt these products to the socio-economic contexts of their users, such as young professionals, private-sector employees, or Muslim entrepreneurs. Thus, Market Islam is not merely a form of the Islamization of the economy but also a form of the economization of religion. Daromir Rudnyckyj states:

"I refer to this as 'Market Islam' and compare it with what has been termed 'civil Islam'... Market Islam is not primarily concerned with aligning Islam and democracy. Rather, market Islam is designed to integrate Muslim religious practices with capitalist values. Thus, market Islam is less concerned with the state and the articulation of political and religious authority, and more focused on cultivating ethical dispositions conducive to economic liberalis ([Rudnyckyj, 2009a](#))."

Haenni interprets Market Islam as an expression of a conservative revolution within contemporary Islam that does not aim at the state or political struggle, but instead focuses on adapting Islamic ethics to the framework of global capitalism. *L'islam de marché* constitutes a form of moral renewal that underscores the individualization of piety within the context of the free market, without advocating an Islamic state or the formal implementation of sharia. In this view, Islam is not positioned in opposition to capitalism; rather, it is reconciled with it through the creation of Muslim subjects who are simultaneously devout and economically competitive (Haenni, 2015).

سلام السوق يهتم أقلّ بسلطة الدولة، والعلاقة بين السياسة والدين، وأكثر بإرساء الاستعدادات الأخلاقية التي تؤدي إلى الليبرالية الاقتصادية. وقد صُمِّم هذا الإسلام من أجل خلق شكل من أشكال التسيير الذاتي الفعال، من خلال «جعل الناس أفضل من الداخل» و«تحطيم الحواجز» التي تعوق التنمية، كالحواجز بين إندونيسيا وبقية العالم، وبين الأغنياء والفقراء، وبين النساء والرجال، وبين الأفكار والشركات التي يعملون بها.

Market Islam pays little attention to state authority or the relationship between politics and religion, focusing instead on cultivating ethical preparedness that aligns with economic liberalism. This form of Islam is designed to foster effective self-management by improving people from within and breaking down boundaries that hinder development, such as those between Indonesia and the outside world, between religion and work, and between individuals and the corporations they work for.

Although Daromir Rudnycky aligns with Haenni in viewing market Islam as part of an ethical transformation within the context of neoliberal economics, he pays greater attention to how this transformation is locally articulated in Indonesia, particularly through spiritual training programs such as ESQ. He emphasizes that market Islam does not aim to merge Islam with democracy, as seen in the notion of civil Islam, but rather to integrate Muslim religiosity into an efficient capitalist work ethic (Rudnycky, 2009b). In other words, while Haenni describes Market Islam as a conservative revolution that absorbs market logic to restructure piety, Rudnycky (2009b) highlights how Market Islam practically shapes neoliberal subjects through techniques of spiritual management. This perspective is supported by Hefner, who observes that actors within market Islam display openness toward Western management theories, popular psychology, and self-help literature because values such as discipline, work ethic, and entrepreneurship in these frameworks are seen not as contradictory but as compatible with Islamic teachings. This openness is further facilitated by the proliferation of popular management publications from the Western world that have been translated and widely consumed across the Muslim world, including in Indonesia (Hefner, 2012).

The concept of the religion of the market finds its most extreme expression in Bryan S. Turner's idea of low-intensity religion. Within this framework, Turner critiques the classical assumption of secularization theory, which predicted the decline of religion in the face of modernity. He argues that religion has not disappeared but has transformed into a commodified form. Religion no longer appears as a transformative force with strong ethical imperatives; instead, it emerges as a cultural commodity embedded within the system of consumption (Turner, 2004). Turner (2004) describes this phenomenon as low-intensity religion, a form of religiosity that is personal, comfortable, and functional, and no longer demanding radical social change. Practices such as buy-a-prayer schemes, the construction of mega-churches, the production of popular religious films, and rituals meant to attract good fortune exemplify this shift. Religion is no longer engaged with existential suffering (*Leid*), but instead is linked to the pursuit of success and happiness (*Glück*) (Brekke, 2016; Turner, 2010). In this context, Market Islam represents a gentle, non-confrontational, yet functional form of religion within the neoliberal system. Islamic products such as spiritual seminars, Islamic motivational literature, and premium hajj travel businesses reflect this form of low-intensity religiosity that continues to thrive because it is sustained by market demand (Einstein, 2007; Turner, 2004).

Although Gauthier (2016), Rudnycky (2009), Haenni (2015), and Turner (2004) all acknowledge the increasing entanglement between Islam and market rationality, they conceptualize Market Islam from different perspectives. Gauthier emphasizes the macro-level transformation of religion under the Global-Market Regime, while Rudnycky (2009) focuses on the formation of ethical neoliberal subjects through Islamic spirituality, Haenni (2015) highlights moral entrepreneurship and individualized piety, and Turner (2004) explains the commodification of religion through low-intensity religiosity. Despite these differences, their analyses converge in explaining Market Islam primarily through Islamic finance, halal industries, spiritual training, and urban Muslim consumer culture. Consequently, they pay relatively little attention to Qur'anic pedagogy as a field in which religious authority itself is reorganized through market mechanisms. This omission is significant because Qur'anic learning methods derive their legitimacy not merely from branding or consumer preferences but from *sanad*, scholarly genealogy, institutional credibility, and pedagogical authority.

The Kediri case extends this literature by demonstrating that the marketization of Qur'anic learning follows a different trajectory. While Yanbu'a has achieved broad circulation through traditional Nahdlatul Ulama pesantren networks, including Pondok Pesantren Sirojul Ulum Semanding Pare, PPTQ Lirboyo, Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah Ploso, and Pondok Pesantren Al-Ma'ruf —its expansion has been driven primarily by the institutional translation of *sanad*-based authority into standardized curricula, teacher certification, and inter-pesantren organizational networks rather than by

conventional commercial marketing. By contrast, Al-Faqih and Jamiati remain largely confined to the institutional settings in which they originated, reflecting localized organizational demand instead of broader educational diffusion. These findings demonstrate that Market Islam is shaped not only by urban Muslim consumerism but also by collective religious authority embedded within *pesantren* institutions. Following Bourdieu, educational choices are structured not only by economic and cultural capital but also by religious capital, embodied in *sanad*, institutional reputation, and scholarly genealogy. Accordingly, the Kediri experience broadens the concept of Market Islam by showing that the commodification of Qur'anic pedagogy entails not the erosion of traditional authority but its organizational reconfiguration through the interaction of religious legitimacy, institutional networks, and market rationality.

The Tradition of Learning to Read the Qur'an in Indonesia

The learning of the Qur'an within Indonesian society can be traced back to the *da'wah* activities of the Walisongo around the fifteenth century. The preaching of these revered saints, centered on the island of Java, indicates that they not only spread Islam but also taught the Qur'an to local communities (Sunyoto, 2016). In addition to Walisongo, numerous other scholars played significant roles in the dissemination and instruction of the Qur'an across the archipelago, including Sultan Hasanuddin of Banten, Prince Jambu Karang, Sunan Geseng, Sunan Tembayat, Sunan Ngundhung, Sunan Panggung, Shaykh Abdul Muji, and Sayyid Hussein al-Aidrus from Hadhramaut (Ma'arif, 2017).

According to Abu Bakar Aceh, learning the *primary text* of the Qur'an in its early stages was conducted orally, with Qur'anic study sessions typically held in homes, small prayer houses (*langgar*), or local suraus. In Aceh, such places are known as *meunasah*, a term believed to have originated from *madrasah* (Raya, 2021). The teaching method employed was *Kaidah Baghdadiyah*, beginning with the introduction of the Arabic alphabet (*huruf hijaiyah*), followed by the recitation of Surah Al-Fatihah, and then short surahs from Juz 'Ammah (Arta and Sugito, 2023). This learning process was individual in nature, allowing each student to progress at their own pace until they completed the recitation of the entire Qur'an. The final stage of this process was marked by a *kebataman* or *tamatan* ceremony, signifying that the student had successfully completed Qur'an learning.

The Baghdadiyah method is considered the oldest method for learning to read the Qur'an in the world. However, no existing literature definitively identifies who first introduced this method to the Indonesian archipelago (Effendi, 2022; Yugo et al., 2024). Some sources claim that it was developed by Abu Mansyur Hifdzul Fikri al-Baghdadi in 376 AH (1009 CE), or by Abu Mansur Abdul Qadir al-Baghdadi. Another opinion associates the method with Imam al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 463 AH), although there is no strong evidence in the list of his written works indicating that he authored this method (Slamet, 2025).

Qur'an learning at the primary text level refers to the basic stage of Qur'an reading education, which includes the introduction of hijaiyah letters, mastery of diacritical marks, and gradual reading exercises until fluency in reciting the sacred verses is achieved (Chaqoqo, 2023). In Indonesia, one of the earliest and most influential methods at this stage is the Baghdadiyah method. This method is not only known by the name Baghdadiyah but has also undergone various local adaptations in naming according to cultural context. According to reviews by Sofyan Effendi and Muhammad Ulin Nuha in the *Encyclopedia of Qur'an Reading Methods in Indonesia*, the Javanese community refers to it as *turutan*, meaning something followed or imitated (Effendi, 2022). In the Malay region, it is known as *Mengkadam*, *Menghadam*, or *Muqodam*, meaning preliminary or something done at the beginning. Additionally, among some communities in Java and Sumatra, it is also called *Alif-alifan*, referring to the first hijaiyah letter, Alif. However, the most commonly used term remains *Kaidah Baghdadiyah*, which refers to the city of Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate (Abror, 2022).

The Baghdadi method is packaged in the form of a textbook consisting of 17 Qur'an learning modules, organized systematically from the basic level to the ability to read a continuous sequence of letters. Its main characteristic is the *tabajji* or spelling system approach, which later became the foundation for various Qur'an reading and writing (BTQ) methods in Indonesia. As a final stage, the method provides worksheets for Juz 30 as practice material before students move on to reading the Qur'an in its entirety. Over time, Qur'an teaching has evolved to not only focus on reading skills but also to introduce the science of *tajwid* to ensure more accurate and proper recitation. At this phase, Qur'an reading becomes a prerequisite before a student delves into other Islamic sciences, such as the procedures for prayer, ablution, and supplications. Additionally, the tradition of memorizing the Qur'an is introduced as part of the learning process (Faridi et al., 2024).

The religious education model later evolved with the emergence of *pesantren* as more structured centers of Islamic learning. *Pesantren* not only taught how to read the Qur'an but also expanded the curriculum to include other Islamic sciences, such as *fiqh*, *ilmu kalam*, and *tasawuf*. Some *pesantren* even specialized in Qur'an instruction through *tahfiz*

programs or Qur'an memorization. This *pesantren* tradition has made a significant contribution to preserving and developing Qur'anic education in Nusantara ([Steenbrink, 1986](#)).

Outside the *pesantren* system, Qur'an education has also developed through the *madrasah* system introduced by Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. In this system, learning was more structured and used more modern teaching methods. Students were taught to read Arabic letters on the blackboard, trained in memorization, and introduced to proper recitation through a systematic approach ([Rohman, 2019](#)). This teaching model largely adopted Islamic educational systems from Egypt, which was a center for reform in Islamic education ([Gade, 2004](#)). Over time, Qur'an learning methods have evolved significantly to meet the needs of Muslim communities in understanding and reciting the Qur'an more effectively and efficiently ([Effendi, 2021](#)). This tradition, which initially relied heavily on the Baghdadiyah method, has now expanded with the emergence of various new methods tailored to the needs of learners from different age groups, including children, adolescents, and adults.

The Iqro' Method then emerged as one of the most influential innovations in Qur'an education in Indonesia. It originated from various experiments conducted by Kiai As'ad Humam in Kotagede, Yogyakarta ([Nakata, 2009](#); [Rachma, 2023](#)). The success of the Iqro' Method in accelerating the process of learning to read the Qur'an prompted the government to pay greater attention to this system. In 1988, the Iqro' Method received official recognition from the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, which subsequently accelerated its national distribution in 1992 ([Hardianti et al., 2022](#)).

One of the main factors accelerating the popularity of the Iqro' method was its support from various major Islamic organizations in Indonesia. It was not only implemented in mosque networks and educational institutions affiliated with Muhammadiyah but was also widely accepted and promoted by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Anna M. Gade, in her work *Perfection Makes Practice: Learning, Emotion, and the Recited Qur'an in Indonesia* (2004), emphasized that the role of these Islamic organizations was highly significant in disseminating the Iqro' method across different layers of society ([Gade, 2004](#)).

Between 2000 and 2022, the emergence of approximately 261 Qur'an learning methods in Indonesia reflects a dynamic response to the increasingly complex needs of society within the framework of Market Islam ([Effendi, 2021](#)). This diversity of methods is not merely the result of internal innovations in Islamic education but is also driven by market demands for learning models that are flexible, effective, and adaptable to students' varied backgrounds. Thus, the development of these methods represents a tangible reflection of the Muslim community's demand for access to primary text Qur'an learning that can be tailored to their abilities, age, and socio-economic conditions, while simultaneously forming part of a broader strategy to commodify Islamic education in response to globalization and spiritual capitalism.

Materials and Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach with a case study design to explore the development of Qur'an reading methods in Kediri within the theoretical framework of Market Islam ([Allan, 2020](#); [Aspers and Corte, 2019](#); [Bennett and Elman, 2006](#)). Kediri was selected as the research site because it is a significant center of Islamic education, where diverse Qur'anic learning methods —Jamiati, Al-Faqih, and Yanbu'a — have emerged and interacted within both institutional and market contexts. These three methods were purposively selected as cases based on their variation in institutional base, scale of dissemination, and degree of engagement with market dynamics. The data collection process involved a combination of fieldwork and document analysis ([Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003](#)). This study adopts a purposive and criterion-based sampling strategy, focusing on actors directly involved in the production, dissemination, and implementation of these methods. Primary data were obtained through 18 in-depth interviews with 18 key informants, consisting of four method developers, six institutional authorities (including *pesantren* leaders and university administrators), and eight Qur'an instructors from the Jamiati, Al-Faqih, and Yanbu'a networks. These participants were selected based on their epistemic authority, institutional roles, and active engagement in pedagogical and organizational processes.

Fieldwork was conducted over one year (January–November 2025) across multiple sites, including the State Islamic Institute Kediri, *Pesantren Tahfidzil Qur'an Darussalam Summersari* (Pare), and affiliated Qur'an learning centers. Data collection combined participant observation in teaching sessions, *halaqah* forums, *munaqasah* examinations, and instructor training with document analysis ([Smit and Onwuegbuzie, 2018](#)). In addition, 36 institutional documents — including curricula, syllabi, teaching modules, certification guidelines, institutional reports, promotional materials, and policy documents— were analyzed. All data were triangulated to examine how pedagogical, economic, and symbolic factors intersect in shaping the commodification of Qur'an learning. Secondary data were collected from institutional archives, syllabi, promotional materials, and policy documents related to Qur'an education. These data were

triangulated to reveal how pedagogical, economic, and symbolic factors intersect in shaping the commodification process of Qur'an learning.

The data analysis was conducted through three interpretive stages: reduction, categorization, and theoretical articulation. Thematic coding was used to identify patterns related to the commodification, standardization, and distribution of Qur'an learning methods (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003; Bogdan and Biklen, 1997). The analysis then integrated Pierre Bourdieu's (1973) theory of symbolic capital and Daromir Rudnycky's concept of Market Islam to interpret how religious authority and market logic interact in the construction of legitimacy and differentiation among the studied methods (Rudnycky 2009a, 2009b). Reflexivity was maintained throughout the research to ensure contextual sensitivity, particularly in distinguishing between the sacred dimension of Qur'an education and its socio-economic instrumentalization. Through this operational design, the study aims to produce a grounded understanding of how religious pedagogical practices are transformed into market-oriented products within the socio-religious landscape of contemporary Indonesia.

Discussion

The Dynamics of Market Islam in Qur'an Reading Methods in Kediri

The Market Islam framework provides a relevant analytical tool for understanding the proliferation of Qur'an reading methods in Indonesia. Data from the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2022 records more than 261 methods circulating in society (Effendi, 2022). This figure not only reflects pedagogical creativity but also illustrates the high intensity of production and competition within the religious market. Each method emerges as an entity with its own consumer segment, offering advantages in curriculum design, learning pace, teacher training systems, scholarly affiliation, and branding and distribution strategies (Lukman, 2022). This dynamic demonstrates that Qur'an reading education no longer functions solely as a *da'wah* project but also as a product competing within an open spiritual marketplace (Asutay et al. 2023; Nurani et al. 2022).

This phenomenon is reflected in the work of Ustadz Ahmad Fauzan Pujianto in Kediri. He functions not only as a Qur'an teacher and trainer but also as an innovator and actor in the religious market in Indonesia. He developed two learning methods, Jamiati and Al-Faqih, which targeted different segments. The Jamiati method emerged in response to low Qur'an literacy among university students, while Al-Faqih was designed to strengthen the pesantren's identity and build a teacher training system for teaching primary texts associated with Al-Faqih, the pesantren's founder. Interestingly, he also leads the Yanbu'a Method Institution in the Kediri region, which has achieved national recognition. These three methods—Jamiati, Al-Faqih, and Yanbu'a—function not only as pedagogical approaches but also as articulations of Market Islam logic in Qur'an education practice. The following is a statement from Ustadz Fauzan:

Initially, I was directly asked by the Vice Rector III of IAIN Kediri, Dr. Wahidul Anam, to develop a Qur'an learning method that could be used by students. The goal was to prepare them to become Qur'an teachers in the villages affiliated with the campus. The Jamiati method was developed from this. Subsequently, some time later, KH. Abi Musa Al-Asyari also asked me to create a special method for tafsiṣ teachers, one that was more distinctive and better suited to the pesantren's character. This is how I developed the Al-Faqih method. Yet, I come from Yanbu'a. I have been teaching the Yanbu'a method in Kediri for more than ten years, and I now lead the Yanbu'a Method Institution for the Kediri region and its surroundings. However, I saw that the needs on the ground were different, so I tried to respond with an approach that fit (Ustadz Ahmad Fauzan Pujianto, Kediri, 2025).

In this context, Qur'an reading instruction has transformed into a crossroads of *da'wah*, identity, and market mechanisms in Indonesia. It has become a space where spiritual aspirations intersect with the pragmatic demands of modern Muslim society. Concepts from Rudnycky (2009) and Haenni (2015) emphasize that the expansion of these learning methods is not merely a cultural expression or technical innovation, but part of a broader process: how Islam, in its most everyday forms, is commodified, segmented, and circulated in ways that can be marketed, replicated, and negotiated. Thus, the logic of Market Islam is present not only in halal lifestyle products or the Islamic finance industry, but also in foundational religious education, such as Qur'an reading instruction.

Ustadz Ahmad Fauzan Pujianto is an innovator and religious entrepreneur who responds to the specific needs of the local Islamic education market, particularly among students at the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Kediri. Based on an assessment of Qur'an literacy conducted in 2016–2017, it was found that only about 15% of students fell into Grade A, competent to teach primary text Qur'an reading. Most students demonstrated skills below the standard. This finding reflects a demand gap in the mastery of basic Qur'an literacy, which subsequently created space for the development of new learning models that are more contextual and structured to suit the conditions of IAIN Kediri's students.

Meanwhile, as shown in [Figure 1](#), 29% of students were recorded in Grade B (able to read and write well), but the majority showed significant limitations: 33% were in Grade C (adequate skills but not yet capable of teaching), 14% in Grade D (unable to read and write properly), and 9% in Grade E (almost unable to read and write correctly). These data indicate that more than half of the student population at the time (56%) did not meet the minimum standard required to credibly teach primary text Qur'an reading. Therefore, the Jamiati Method was developed as a pedagogical solution to address this competence crisis and build a strong foundation of Qur'an literacy among students ([Anam, 2025](#)).

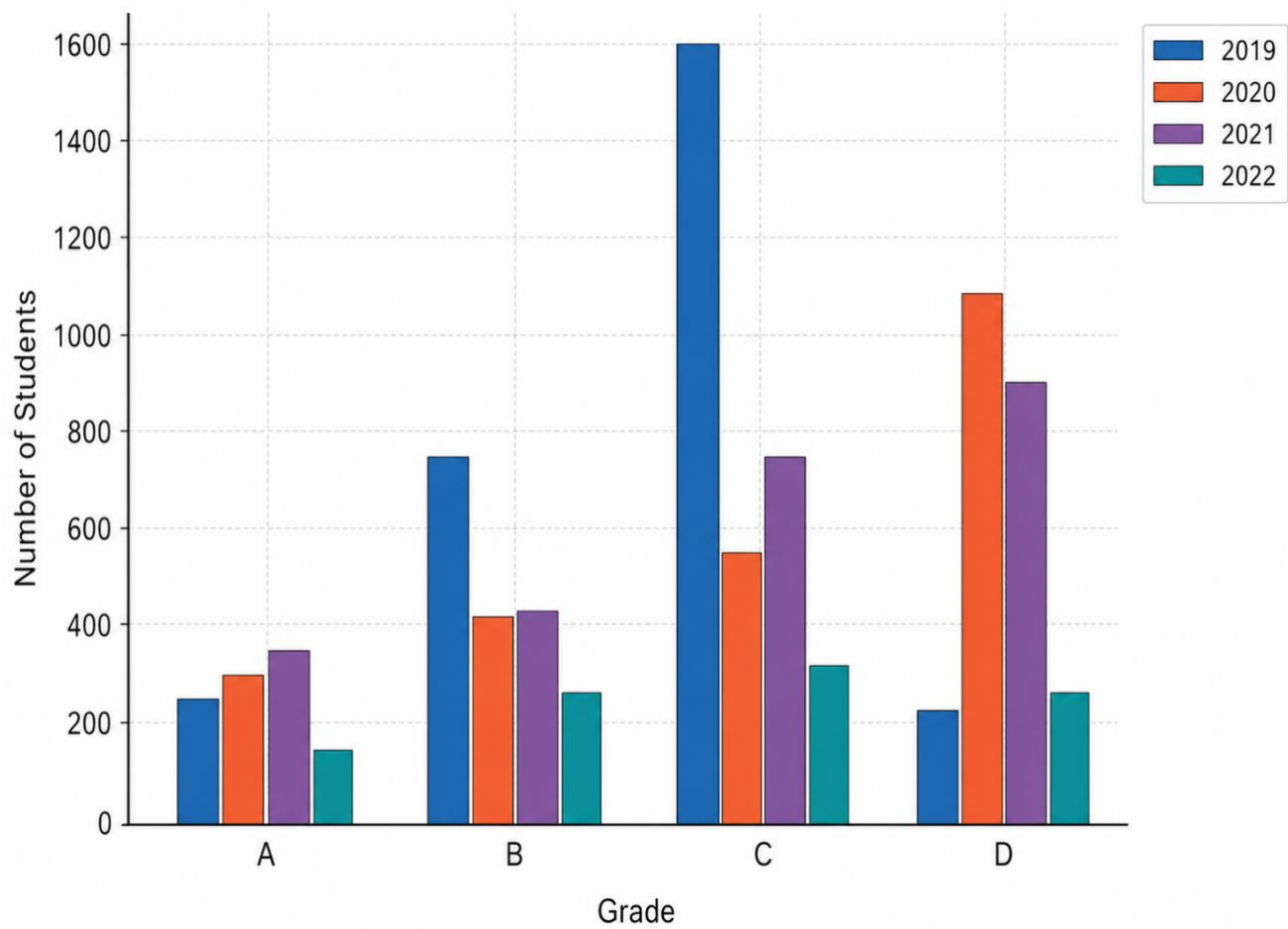


Figure 1. Score Distribution for the 2019–2022 Qur'an Reading and Writing Placement Test (BTQ)

The Jamiati and Al-Faqih methods are two Qur'an learning models, both organized into six volumes, but they differ significantly in duration and context of application. The Jamiati method is designed to be completed in six months or one academic semester and is deliberately structured as an intensive, systematic, and target-oriented program aimed at rapidly improving students' Qur'an reading and writing skills within the limited timeframe of higher education curricula (interview with Ahmad Fauzan Pujianto, Kediri, 2025; observation of Jamiati classes at State Islamic Institute Kediri, 2025). In contrast, the Al-Faqih method also consists of six volumes but is implemented over a longer period of one to two years, allowing students to internalize the material gradually through repetitive practice, sustained *talaqqi*, and prolonged teacher–student interaction in line with pesantren pedagogical rhythms (interview with Ahmad Fauzan Pujianto, Pare, 2025; observation at Pesantren Tahfidzil Qur'an Darussalam Summersari, 2025).

In the learning process of the Jamiati Method, a formal final evaluation system known as *munaqasab* functions as a central mechanism for assessment and standardization. This examination is designed to measure students' proficiency in reading and writing the Qur'an after completing one semester of study (documentation of Jamiati Evaluation Guidelines, 2024). Although the method is delivered intensively during the first semester for new students at the State Islamic Institute Kediri, the *munaqasab* continues as a recurring evaluative process from the second to the sixth semester, reinforcing sustained discipline and competence (observation of *munaqasab* sessions, Kediri, 2025). Beyond technical assessment, the exam operates as a selective filter to determine whether students are qualified to act as

instructors of primary Qur'anic learning within broader social contexts (interview with Jamiati instructors, Kediri, 2025).

Every month, approximately 400–500 students register for the *munaqasah*, reflecting the large-scale and institutionalized nature of Qur'an literacy governance within the university (documentation of monthly *munaqasah* participant records, 2023–2024). The exam results directly shape students' religious credibility, particularly because those who pass are expected to apply their skills during the Community Service Program (*Kuliah Kerja Nyata/KKN*), where Qur'an teaching becomes a central component of religious outreach in rural communities (interviews with KKN participants, Kediri and surrounding villages, 2024). In this sense, *munaqasah* functions not merely as an academic evaluation but as a form of symbolic certification that authorizes students to enter the public-religious sphere.

This learning process is managed by 25 instructors directly appointed by Ustadz Ahmad Fauzan Pujiyanto, the creator of the Jamiati Method, who oversees both pedagogical consistency and evaluative authority (Interview with Ahmad Fauzan Pujiyanto, 2025). These instructors accompany students throughout the learning process, from basic instruction to examination preparation, while the final assessment remains concentrated in the hands of two authoritative figures, Ustadz Ahmad Fauzan Pujiyanto and Ustadz Munjiat (observation of examination procedures 2025). On average, each cohort involves 2,000–2,400 students, demonstrating a highly centralized, scalable, and standardized model of Qur'an literacy production within an Islamic higher education setting (Institutional documentation, IAIN Kediri, 2024). Through this system, the Jamiati Method not only addresses previously identified gaps in basic Qur'an competence but also strategically prepares students to function as agents of Qur'an literacy in society, particularly through village-based religious education during KKN (interviews with faculty administrators and students, Kediri, 2024–2025).

Unlike Jamiati, which emerged from an academic concern over students' Qur'an literacy, the Al-Faqih Method was developed primarily as a pesantren-based strategy of differentiation rather than as a response to a clearly articulated pedagogical crisis. Its primary function is to establish institutional distinction and symbolic autonomy from external Qur'an learning methods rather than to introduce substantive methodological innovation (interview with KH. Musa Asyari, Pare, 2025). In practice, Al-Faqih does not differ significantly from the Yanbu'a method that inspired it, particularly in its reliance on *talaqqi*, flexible memorization pacing, and gradual tajwid instruction (comparative analysis of Al-Faqih and Yanbu'a modules; observation of *halaqah* sessions, 2025). The differentiation it offers is therefore largely symbolic and strategic, aimed at reinforcing pesantren identity rather than improving learning effectiveness.

This orientation is explicitly articulated by KH. Musa Asyari emphasized that the method was designed to ensure that the pesantren possessed its own product, even if it did not claim pedagogical superiority:

The Al-Faqih method was actually created not because of a methodological gap, but more because we wanted to have our own method at the pesantren, one that is different from those already existing outside, like Yanbu'a. This does not mean that this method is better or more effective; it is simply distinctive. What matters is that talaqqi, muraja'ah, and the teacher–student relationship are maintained (interview with KH. Musa Asyari, 2025).

Ustadz Ahmad Fauzan Pujiyanto played a central role in translating this institutional aspiration into a concrete pedagogical format for the school. Rather than pursuing innovation driven by efficiency or market expansion, he designed Al-Faqih as a flexible, personalized method aligned with the lived tempo of pesantren life (Interview with Ahmad Fauzan Pujiyanto, 2025). Consequently, Al-Faqih remains deeply rooted in embodied pedagogical practices—*talaqqi*, contextual *muraja'ah*, and gradual *tajwid* mastery—while resisting the formal standardization and scalability of Jamiati. As illustrated in [Figure 2a](#), the Al-Faqih method reflects a flexible and practice-based pedagogical orientation. As KH. Abi Musa Al-Asy'ari noted that the method emerged not from abstract planning but from everyday pedagogical experience within the pesantren itself (interview with KH. Abi Musa Al-Asy'ari, 2025).

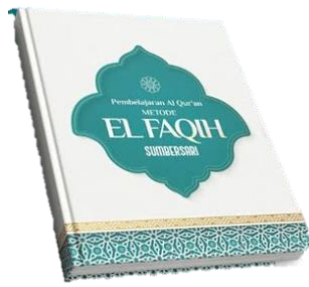


Figure 2a: The Al-Faqih Reading Method at the Darussalam Summersari Islamic Boarding School

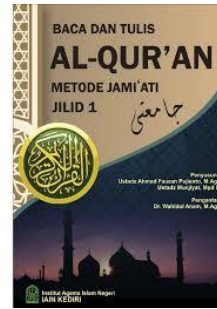


Figure 2b: The Jamiati Qur'an Reading and Writing Method at IAIN Kediri

Within the framework of Market Islam, the development of Qur'an learning methods, such as Jamiati and Al-Faqih, shows a tendency to remain vulnerable as commodities. They have not fully transformed into commodified products capable of competing broadly in the contemporary Islamic education market. Although both originated from the real needs of their respective internal communities, with Jamiati developed for students at IAIN Kediri and Al-Faqih for students at Pondok Pesantren Tahfidzil Qur'an Summersari, [Figures 2a](#) and [2b](#) illustrate how the two methods remain closely embedded in their respective institutional and pedagogical settings. Their overly narrow market segmentation limits their reach and makes it difficult for them to grow organically beyond their original communities. [Table 1](#) details the institutional and pedagogical profile of both methods.

Table 1. Institutional and Market Profile of the Jamiati and Al-Faqih Qur'an Reading Methods

Dimension	Jamiati (Fig. 2b)	Al-Faqih (Fig. 2a)
Full designation	Baca Tulis al-Qur'an (BTQ) Metode Jami'ati	Metode Al-Faqih (named after the pesantren founder, KH Imam Faqih Asy'ari); codified only recently
Developer	Ahmad Fauzan Pujianto & Munjizat	Attributed to A. F. Pujianto at the request of KH Abi Musa Al-Asy'ari (<i>from field data</i>)
Year & originating institution	2019; IAIN Kediri	PP Tahfidzil Qur'an / Darul Qur'an, Darussalam Summersari, Kepung, Kediri; tahfidz branch founded 1992 under KH Abi Musa Al-Asy'ari
Institutional footing	Required campus BTQ program for undergraduates (2019/2020 cohort onward); institution-internal standardization	Internal pesantren instrument; historically general tartil and standard tajwid texts (e.g., Hidayatul Mustafid) (<i>method specifics from field data</i>)
Instructional materials	Six graded volumes (Jilid 1–6), reading and writing	Volume structure <i>not publicly documented</i> (<i>from field data</i>)
Target users	IAIN Kediri undergraduates (institution-internal)	Tahfidz teachers and santri within the Summersari complex (700+ santri as of 2021)
Delivery system	Small halaqah groups with baca-simak rotation under an ustadz/ah; Mon–Sat, 32 sessions per semester, 50–60 minutes each	Pesantren-based tahfidz techniques (talaqqi, takrir/muraja'ah, sima'an, bi al-naẓar) (<i>method-specific procedure from field data</i>)
Scale & distribution	~1,200 students per cohort (40 male and 80 female groups on campus)	Confined to the Summersari pesantren complex

Dimension	Jamiati (Fig. 2b)	Al-Faqih (Fig. 2a)
Circulation model	Closed institutional program; not marketed off-campus	Internal pesantren instrument; not commercially distributed
Market position	Institutionally captive: high internal uptake, negligible external market	Community-embedded: narrowest reach, effectively non-commodified

Sources: Jamiati — Pujiyanto & Munjizat (2025); Nadzilah (2021); Lestari et al. (2024). Al-Faqih — Oktaviana & Wiwin (2021); internal materials of Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Sumbersari, unpublished.

This segmentation indicates that both methods are more supply-driven, originating from the internal needs of specific institutions rather than as a response to broader market demands. Consequently, although these methods may function effectively within their original environments, they lack the expansion capacity needed to compete with other methods that have undergone a more mature commodification process. In contrast, the Yanbu'a method not only offers a systematic Qur'an learning system but also successfully establishes its scholarly authority through the *sanad* of Kiai Arwani. This *sanad* is then commodified into product legitimacy, allowing Yanbu'a to develop into a nationally recognized Qur'an learning brand that extends even across institutions (Abror, 2022; Effendi, 2022).

Within the framework of *Market Islam*, as articulated by Rudnycky (2009) and Gauthier (2016), the Yanbu'a method represents a paradigmatic case of how Islamic pedagogy is reconfigured through the interaction between supply-driven religious authority and demand-driven market rationality. Empirical findings show that Yanbu'a did not emerge solely as an internal institutional response within pesantren networks but evolved into a standardized religious product capable of responding to the broader demands of Muslim communities for an authoritative, efficient, and easily replicable Qur'an learning system (interviews with Yanbu'a regional coordinators in Kediri and Blitar, 2024–2025; observation of Yanbu'a teacher-training sessions in Kudus and Kediri, 2025). In Rudnycky's terms (2009b), Yanbu'a exemplifies how Islamic practices are designed to cultivate ethical dispositions compatible with organizational discipline and scalability, whereas, in Gauthier's formulation (Gauthier, 2016b), it illustrates religion's transition from a nation-state-regulated pedagogical model toward a market-oriented regime of religious production.

From a supply-driven perspective, the circulation of Qur'anic learning methods depends fundamentally on the production of legitimate religious authority before educational demand can emerge (Finke, 1997; Jelen, 2003). Following Max Weber's concept of charismatic authority, such legitimacy derives from the collective recognition of extraordinary religious qualities embodied in particular individuals and subsequently institutionalized through organizational practices (Weber, 2019). In the case of Yanbu'a, this symbolic authority is rooted in the scholarly genealogy (*sanad*) and charismatic leadership of Kiai Muhammad Arwani Amin of Kudus, whose reputation functions as the primary source of pedagogical legitimacy. Rather than operating solely through personal charisma, however, Yanbu'a demonstrates how charismatic authority becomes routinized and organizationally reproduced through teacher certification, standardized textbooks, and instructor training. Fieldwork in Kediri indicates that pesantren adopting Yanbu'a—including PPTQ Lirboyo, Pondok Pesantren Sirojul Ulum Semanding Pare, Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah Ploso, and Pondok Pesantren Al-Ma'ruf—consistently regard *sanad* continuity and institutional recognition as the principal reasons for adopting the method (interviews with Yanbu'a instructors, 2025). In this respect, the Kediri case refines Rudnycky's notion of moral infrastructure and Gauthier's argument concerning the institutional production of religious value by demonstrating that the expansion of Qur'anic pedagogy is sustained not merely through market competition but through the organizational reconfiguration of charismatic religious authority within pesantren networks.

Yanbu' a's organizational expansion is inseparable from its capacity to translate *sanad*-based legitimacy into standardized educational practices. A senior trainer described this process as follows:

"People trust Yanbu'a because they know where the knowledge comes from. Books, teacher training, and certification are simply ways to ensure that the same sanad is maintained wherever Yanbu'a is taught." (Yanbu'a Master Trainer, Interview, Kudus, August 2025).

Rather than replacing traditional authority, standardization functions as an organizational mechanism through which charismatic authority is reproduced across geographically dispersed pesantren networks

Simultaneously, Yanbu'a demonstrates a strong demand-driven orientation by adapting its pedagogical format to the needs of diverse users: madrasah teachers, pesantren instructors, and parents seeking measurable outcomes in Qur'an literacy. The development of a nationally standardized seven-volume curriculum enables rapid adoption across institutional contexts with minimal local modification, reflecting what Gauthier identifies as the logic of flexibility and

personalization under market conditions (observation of Yanbu’a implementation in Islamic elementary schools in East Java, 2024; interviews with school principals, 2025). This adaptability confirms Rudnyckyj’s (2009a, 2009b) argument that Market Islam is less concerned with doctrinal innovation than with producing religious practices that are functional, efficient, and compatible with contemporary Muslim lifestyles.

The commodification of Yanbu’a unfolds through three interconnected stages —branding, standardization, and franchising, which together form a religious market ecosystem. Branding consolidates symbolic authority through the continuous invocation of the *sanad* and charismatic lineage. Standardization ensures product uniformity through fixed curricula, teacher certification, and quality benchmarks. Franchising, meanwhile, enables geographic expansion via alumni networks and regional coordinators who function as semi-autonomous distributors under centralized supervision (interviews with Yanbu’a regional administrators in Kediri, Nganjuk, and Tulungagung, 2024–2025). In Gauthier’s framework, these processes exemplify how religion becomes a total social fact integrated into economic, institutional, and cultural circuits, while for Rudnyckyj (2009a, 2009b), they reveal the economization of piety through organizational techniques (Gauthier, 2018).

In contrast, both Jamiati and Al-Faqih remain largely confined within a supply driven configuration and have yet to engage meaningfully with demand-driven dynamics. The Jamiati method, developed by lecturers at the State Islamic Institute Kediri as a response to an internal crisis of Qur’an literacy, represents what Rudnyckyj would classify as an inward-oriented ethical project designed to discipline a specific population rather than to circulate broadly in the religious market (interviews with Jamiati developers and faculty administrators, Kediri, 2025). Despite operating for five years (2019–2024) and involving thousands of students annually, Jamiati lacks mechanisms for external teacher training, curriculum portability, and network-based distribution, which limits its capacity to function as a scalable religious commodity (analysis of institutional reports; interviews with instructors, 2025).

Similarly, the Al-Faqih method reflects a supply-driven logic rooted in pesantren identity politics rather than market responsiveness. Its primary function is symbolic differentiation —asserting institutional autonomy from dominant methods such as Yanbu’a— rather than pedagogical expansion or efficiency (interviews with KH. Musa Asyari and pesantren instructors, Pare, 2025). Observations of *halaqah* sessions indicate that Al-Faqih prioritizes embodied transmission through *talaqqi*, relational authority, and flexible pacing, which, while reinforcing traditional legitimacy, resists the standardization and replicability demanded by a broader educational market (participant observation at Pesantren Summersari, 2025). In Gauthier’s terms, Al-Faqih remains anchored in a pre-market pedagogical regime, where religious value circulates within bounded communal spaces rather than through market-mediated exchange.

The comparative stagnation of Jamiati and Al-Faqih demonstrates a central insight of Market Islam theory: that religious authority alone is insufficient to ensure circulation and sustainability in a competitive spiritual economy. Without engagement with demand-side dynamics —such as user expectations, institutional compatibility, and distribution infrastructures— supply-driven religious products risk remaining locally authoritative yet structurally marginal (comparative interviews with Qur’an teachers and Islamic school managers in the Kediri region, 2024). Yanbu’a’s success, by contrast, illustrates how internal authority (*sanad*, discipline, quality control) and external market strategies (branding, expansion, network management) can be synergized to produce a stable and scalable form of Islamic pedagogy. Therefore, to move up a level within the Islamic Market ecosystem, methods such as Jamiati and Al-Faqih must selectively adopt demand-driven principles without abandoning their internal epistemic foundations. This would require curriculum standardization adaptable across institutions, large-scale instructor training, and communicative strategies that translate local pedagogical strengths into market-legible forms. Such a shift would mark not merely a technical adjustment but a deeper transformation in how Islamic knowledge is produced, circulated, and legitimized under contemporary conditions of cultural capitalism.

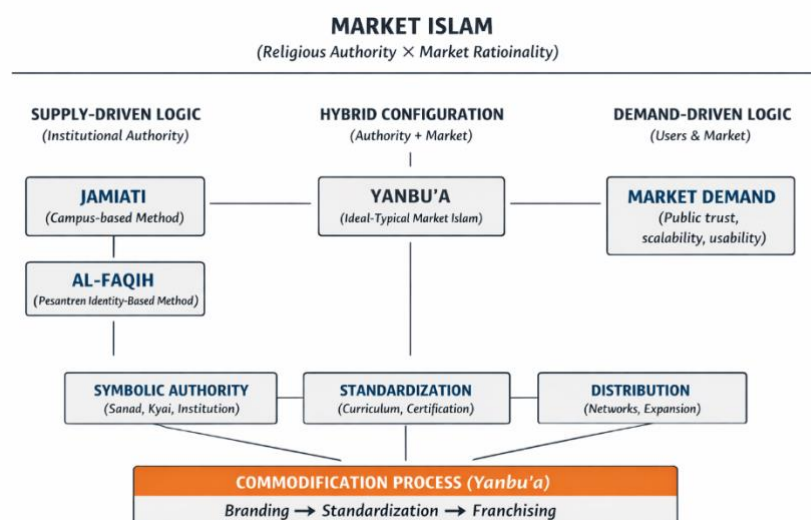


Figure 3. Market Islam Al-Qur'an Reading Methods

As shown in [Figure 3](#), this mapping demonstrates that Yanbu'a occupies a hybrid position within the Islamic market ecosystem, successfully combining supply-driven authority (*sanad*, kyai legitimacy, and tradition) with demand-driven mechanisms (standardization, scalability, and user responsiveness). In contrast, Jamiati and Al-Faqih remain largely confined within supply-driven logics, where legitimacy circulates internally but fails to translate into broader market acceptance. The table clarifies that success in contemporary Qur'an education is determined not by authority or pedagogy alone, but by the capacity to synchronize symbolic legitimacy with market-oriented infrastructures of distribution and trust.

Overall, this analysis demonstrates that Qur'an learning methods in Indonesia cannot be understood merely as pedagogical or scholarly enterprises but must be situated within the broader configuration of *Market Islam*, where religious authority increasingly interacts with market logic. The comparison between Yanbu'a, Jamiati, and Al-Faqih shows that the sustainability and circulation of a method depend on its ability to integrate symbolic legitimacy —such as *sanad*, charismatic leadership, and tradition— with demand-driven mechanisms, including standardization, institutional adaptability, and distribution infrastructure. Yanbu'a emerges as an ideal-typical case in which traditional authority is successfully converted into large-scale public trust, while Jamiati and Al-Faqih remain institutionally strong, yet socially and geographically limited. These findings suggest that the future of Qur'anic education will be shaped not only by the depth of tradition but also by institutional capacities to read and respond to transformations in contemporary Muslim socio-religious landscapes. [Table 2](#) summarizes the empirical differences between the supply- and demand-driven dynamics of Yanbu'a, Jamiati, and Al-Faqih across their institutional, pedagogical, and market dimensions.

Table 2. Empirical Mapping of Supply-Driven and Demand-Driven Dynamics in Qur'an Learning Methods

Analytical Dimension	Supply-Driven Orientation	Demand-Driven Orientation	Empirical Position of Yanbu'a	Empirical Position of Jamiati	Empirical Position of Al-Faqih
Origin of Method	Emerges from internal institutional needs and authority	Emerges from user needs and broader religious market demand	Originates from pesantren authority but expands in response to public demand	Developed to solve internal Qur'an literacy issues at State Islamic Institute Kediri	Developed as pesantren identity marker for Tahfidz Summersari

Source of Legitimacy	Symbolic authority (<i>sanad</i> , kyai, institution)	Public trust, usability, and acceptance	Strong <i>sanad</i> linked to Kiai Arwani Amin combined with public recognition	Academic authority of campus and instructors	Charismatic authority of pesantren leadership
Pedagogical Logic	Normative transmission, tradition-oriented	Efficiency, measurability, adaptability	Integrates <i>talaqqi</i> with standardized, graded volumes	Intensive, time-bound, exam-oriented	Flexible, slow-paced, tradition-centered
Curriculum Structure	Locally designed, non-portable	Standardized, replicable, scalable	Nationally standardized (7 volumes)	Limited to campus context	Limited to pesantren context
Instructor Formation	Informal or institution-bound	Formalized training and certification	Mandatory training, <i>sanad</i> -based certification	Appointed instructors without external training system	Pesantren-based authorization
Quality Control	Personal authority of teacher/kyai	Systematic evaluation and benchmarking	Monthly <i>darasan</i> , certification renewal	<i>Munaqasah</i> (internal, campus-bound)	Informal evaluation through teacher judgment
Distribution System	Closed, localized circulation	Network-based, expansive distribution	National alumni networks, regional coordinators	No external distribution network	No distribution beyond pesantren
Market Segmentation	Single institutional segment	Multiple user segments	Madrasahs, Islamic schools, pesantren, non-formal institutions	University students only	Pesantren students only
Commodification Level	Low-moderate (symbolic)	High (organizational and material)	High: branding, standardization, franchising	Moderate: standardization without expansion	Low: symbolic differentiation only
Market Outcome	Local relevance, limited growth	Wide circulation, sustainability	National reach and long-term sustainability	Stagnant beyond original institution	Stagnant beyond pesantren

This analysis reinforces Market Islam as a robust framework for understanding contemporary transformations in Islamic pedagogy, showing how authority, piety, and knowledge are increasingly mediated by market rationality rather than state regulation or purely devotional logics. Empirically, it demonstrates that the sustainability of Qur'an learning methods depends not on authority alone but on the ability to synchronize symbolic legitimacy with demand-driven infrastructures of distribution, standardization, and trust. Practically, the findings suggest that methods such as Jamiat and Al-Faqih must move beyond supply-driven insularity by selectively adopting market-responsive strategies without abandoning their epistemic foundations if they are to remain socially relevant within Indonesia's evolving religious economy. More broadly, this study implies that the future of Islamic education will be shaped less by debates over authenticity versus commodification and more by how religious actors negotiate authority, efficiency, and legitimacy within the conditions of contemporary cultural capitalism.

Market Demand and the Social Segmentation of Qur'anic Learning Methods

The Market Islam perspective assumes that religious commodities circulate through socially differentiated communities rather than a homogeneous Muslim public. As Pierre Bourdieu (1973) argued, educational choices are shaped not only by economic and cultural capital but also by symbolic capital embedded in institutions and social recognition. Consequently, the demand for Islamic educational products reflects broader social structures in which communities recognize particular forms of religious authority as legitimate. Existing Market Islam scholarship generally associates this demand with the emergence of the urban Muslim middle class, arguing that rising educational attainment, economic mobility, and aspirations for modern Islamic lifestyles generate demand for standardized and market-oriented religious products (Nasr; Haenni; Gauthier). While this perspective explains many contemporary Islamic commodities, it does not fully capture the dynamics of Qur'anic pedagogy, where institutional authority and scholarly genealogy remain central determinants of educational choice.

The Kediri case demonstrates a more differentiated demand structure. Rather than being driven primarily by urban middle-class consumers, the largest market for Yanbu'a consists of traditional Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) pesantren communities, including Pondok Pesantren Sirojul Ulum Semanding Pare, PPTQ Lirboyo, Pondok Pesantren Al-Falah Ploso, and Pondok Pesantren Al-Ma'ruf. Its consumers include Qur'anic teachers, *santri*, parents, and pesantren institutions whose socio-economic backgrounds range from lower-middle-income rural households to well-established pesantren families. Despite these differences, they share a common commitment to *sanad* continuity, scholarly genealogy and pesantren educational traditions. Interviews indicate that the adoption of Yanbu'a is motivated less by commercial branding than by institutional credibility, teacher certification, and collective trust generated through inter-pesantren networks. In contrast, Al-Faqih and Jamiati continue to circulate primarily within the institutions that developed them, reflecting localized organizational demands rather than broader educational diffusion.

Interviews with pesantren leaders in Kediri further demonstrate that institutional adoption is driven primarily by religious legitimacy rather than by commercial considerations. As one pesantren coordinator stated:

"We did not adopt Yanbu'a because it is popular, he said. We adopted it because its sanad is clear, the teachers are certified, and the quality of instruction is consistent across pesantrens." (Coordinator of Qur'anic Learning, PPTQ Lirboyo, Interview, September 2025).

This testimony indicates that the demand for Yanbu'a is collectively generated through institutional trust and religious authority instead of individual consumer preference. Beyond functioning as an assessment of reading proficiency, *munaqasah* serves as a symbolic certification that publicly confirms the legitimacy of one's pedagogical lineage. As one Yanbu'a instructor explained:

"Munaqasah is not merely an examination of reading ability. It certifies that a teacher has learned through a valid sanad and is therefore authorized to teach Yanbu'a to others. Without passing the munaqasah, someone may know the method, but they cannot legitimately transmit it." (Senior Yanbu'a Instructor, Interview, Kudus, July 2025).

This statement illustrates that *munaqasah* functions not only as a pedagogical assessment but also as a mechanism for reproducing the symbolic authority. Therefore, certification represents the institutionalization of *sanad* into an organizational procedure that preserves educational legitimacy while facilitating wider dissemination.

These findings suggest that social class influences demand without determining it exclusively. Economic resources undoubtedly affect access to educational institutions; however, the Kediri case demonstrates that the demand for Qur'anic learning methods is mediated primarily by religious capital. In Bourdieu's terms, *sanad*, scholarly genealogy, and institutional reputation function as symbolic capital that legitimizes educational choices and generates collective trust. Consequently, the demand for Qur'anic pedagogy is produced not merely through individual consumer preferences but through institutional affiliations and historically embedded structures of religious authority. Educational consumption, therefore, represents both a pedagogical decision and a reaffirmation of religious identity.

This evidence refines the arguments of Patrick Haenni, François Gauthier, and Asef Bayat. Their analyses rightly emphasize the growing influence of consumer culture and Muslim middle-class aspirations in shaping contemporary Islamic markets. However, the Kediri experience demonstrates that religious markets may also be sustained by traditional pesantren networks, where collective religious authority, rather than individual consumerism, generates stable educational demand. Accordingly, the marketization of Qur'anic pedagogy should be understood not simply as the commercialization of religion but as the organizational reconfiguration of religious authority, whereby *sanad*-based legitimacy is transformed into standardized curricula, teacher certification, and institutional networks capable of sustaining large-scale educational circulation. This finding extends the Market Islam framework by showing that the

demand side of Islamic educational markets is mediated not only by socio-economic class but also by religious capital, institutional trust, and collective pedagogical traditions rooted in pesantren.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the proliferation of Qur'anic reading methods in Indonesia cannot be understood solely as a pedagogical innovation or the transmission of religious knowledge. Rather, the Kediri case shows that Qur'anic pedagogy has become embedded within the dynamics of Market Islam, where religious authority, institutional organization, and market rationality interact to shape the production, circulation, and consumption of Islamic educational products. The comparison of Jamiati, Al-Faqih, and Yanbu'a reveals that the sustainability of Qur'anic learning methods depends not only on their theological legitimacy but also on their capacity to combine supply-driven sources of authority—including *sanad*, charismatic leadership, and institutional credibility—with demand-driven mechanisms such as standardization, teacher certification, organizational networks, and educational accessibility. While Jamiati and Al-Faqih remain largely localized because they primarily respond to internal institutional needs, Yanbu'a has successfully transformed traditional religious authority into an organizational system capable of supporting large-scale dissemination without abandoning its *sanad*-based legitimacy.

More importantly, this study extends the Market Islam literature by demonstrating that the demand side of Islamic educational markets cannot be explained exclusively through the consumption patterns of the urban Muslim middle class, as emphasized in much of the existing scholarship. The Kediri experience shows that demand is also generated collectively through traditional pesantren communities, where religious capital, institutional trust, scholarly genealogy, and pesantren networks play a decisive role in shaping pedagogical preferences. Consequently, the commodification of Qur'anic pedagogy should not be interpreted as a decline or commercialization of religious authority. Instead, it represents an organizational reconfiguration of religious authority, in which charismatic legitimacy is institutionalized through standardized curricula, teacher certification, and inter pesantren networks while preserving the epistemic continuity of *sanad*. This finding contributes to ongoing debates on the relationship between religion and the market by showing that contemporary Islamic educational markets may develop not only through consumer capitalism but also through the organizational consolidation of traditional religious institutions. Future studies could broaden this analytical framework by comparing Qur'anic learning methods across different regions of Indonesia or by examining how digital platforms and online religious education are reshaping the circulation of religious authority within the expanding ecosystem of Market Islam.

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