

Nyadran Rituals and Economic Resilience in Moderate Muslim Communities of Kendal

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Abstract

This article examines how Nyadran rituals underpin economic resilience in moderate Muslim communities in Gebangan Village, Pageruyung District, Kendal, Central Java. The study conceptualizes Nyadran as a religious and socio-economic institution that generates bonding and bridging social capital, sustains norms of mutual help, and supports income-smoothing strategies. A convergent mixed-methods design combines a household and microenterprise survey with in-depth interviews with religious leaders and Nyadran organizers, alongside participant observation of key ritual stages. Quantitative data are analyzed using multivariate regression to estimate the association between Nyadran participation, indicators of religious moderation, and a composite household economic resilience index. Qualitative findings elucidate mechanisms such as shared provisioning, reciprocal gifting, and informal safety nets that reduce vulnerability to shocks and shorten recovery time. Results show that higher involvement in Nyadran is positively associated with economic resilience, mediated by strengthened trust, civic engagement, and inclusive interpretations of Islam. The article contributes to international debates on religious moderation and resilience by demonstrating how a localized Islamic ritual operates as everyday civic infrastructure that supports community-based economic stability in peripheral Indonesian settings.

Keywords: Nyadran rituals, Economic resilience, Religious moderation, Social capital

A. Theoretical Background

Religious rituals function not only as expressions of faith but also as institutional arenas where social norms, trust, and cooperation are produced and reproduced. Debates on community resilience increasingly highlight how local religious practices generate social capital that sustains livelihoods under conditions of uncertainty, especially in rural and peri-urban settings of the Global South (Carmen et al., 2022; Carrasco et al., 2024; Panahi & Moayerian, 2025). Nyadran, a Javanese graveyard-visit ritual involving communal meals, offerings, and collective prayer (Prihantoro, 2025; Rosydiana, 2023; Saputri et al., 2021), has been shown to strengthen religio-cultural identity, intergenerational moral transmission, and social cohesion in plural communities. Indonesian scholarship further positions Nyadran as a form of local wisdom that preserves solidarity and supports cooperative behavior among villagers, particularly where state welfare provision remains limited (Asikin, 2021; Mazid et al., 2024).

Indonesia officially elevated “religious moderation” (moderasi beragama) as a national policy framework through the

Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2019 (Hidayah et al., 2024), later reinforced by national regulations that emphasize commitment to the nation-state, tolerance, anti-violence, and accommodation of local culture. Policy documents and academic analyses converge on the view that religious moderation rests on everyday practices of inclusiveness and negotiated pluralism rather than on abstract theological statements alone (Harahap et al., 2025; RI, 2021). Nyadran has emerged as a paradigmatic example of how Islamic teachings, Javanese customs, and civic values intertwine in village life, offering a lived embodiment of moderate Islam that privileges peaceful coexistence, shared memory, and mutual respect, including across internal Muslim differences and, in some places, across religious boundaries (Mazid et al., 2024; Prihantoro, 2025; Qudsya et al., 2023).

Economic resilience represents another key strand of contemporary scholarship that focuses on the capacity of households and communities to withstand, adapt to, and recover from shocks, while sustaining or reconfiguring livelihoods (Bekee & Valdivia, 2023; Capoani et al., 2025; Carr, 2020; De Siano et al., 2020). Conceptual work on

community and household economic resilience emphasizes diversified income strategies (De Siano et al., 2020; Do, 2023; Li et al., 2022), flexible networks of support (Karman, 2020; McKenna et al., 2022; Sutton et al., 2023), and locally grounded institutions that channel resources during crises (Béné, 2020; DiBella et al., 2023; Ghasemzadeh et al., 2021; McAreavey, 2022). Empirical studies in Indonesia increasingly demonstrate that religiously infused social capital (Abbas et al., 2024; Sumi et al., 2025; Suryadi et al., 2023), including Islamic notions of *ukhuwah* and solidaristic financial practices (Mohammad et al., 2025; Wahyuni et al., 2025), strengthens economic independence and business resilience among community groups, pesantren, and traditional market actors (Gunawan et al., 2025; Tantowi et al., 2025). Yet, systematic analysis that explicitly connects Nyadran as a ritual institution with measurable economic resilience at the household level remains scarce, especially in peripheral Muslim communities distant from metropolitan centers.

Gebangan Village in Pageruyung District, Kendal Regency, Central Java, offers a strategic empirical setting to interrogate these interconnections. The village represents a moderate Muslim community where Nyadran continues to structure social interaction, collective memory, and seasonal redistribution of resources, while households confront economic pressures associated with rural underemployment, price volatility, and limited access to formal safety nets. Existing Nyadran research has mostly concentrated on symbolic meaning, cultural preservation, or interfaith harmony, without fully integrating resilience frameworks or robust quantitative indicators of economic outcomes. Fewer studies adopt mixed-methods designs that can identify not only perceived benefits but also statistical associations between ritual participation, religious moderation, and composite indices of economic resilience.

This article addresses these gaps by examining how Nyadran rituals underpin economic resilience in moderate Muslim communities of Gebangan. A convergent

mixed-methods design combines household and microenterprise surveys with in-depth interviews of religious leaders and Nyadran organizers, supported by participant observation of key ritual stages. Quantitative analysis estimates the association between Nyadran participation, indicators of religious moderation, dimensions of social capital, and a composite household economic resilience index. Qualitative analysis traces mechanisms such as shared provisioning, reciprocal gifting, and informal safety nets through which Nyadran generates economic buffers and shortens recovery time after shocks. The article contributes to international debates on religious moderation, Islamic social capital, and resilience by demonstrating how a localized Islamic ritual functions as everyday civic infrastructure that supports community-based economic stability in a peripheral Indonesian setting.

B. Method

Research Design

The study employed a convergent mixed-methods design in which quantitative and qualitative strands were implemented during the same phase of the research process, analyzed separately, and then integrated to generate meta-inferences (Hatta et al., 2020; Younas et al., 2023). A convergent design suits research questions that require simultaneous examination of measurable outcomes and underlying social mechanisms, particularly in community and resilience studies where both structural patterns and lived meanings are central. Quantitative data provided estimates of the association between Nyadran participation, religious moderation, social capital, and household economic resilience, while qualitative data illuminated the everyday practices, interpretations, and narratives through which these relationships are enacted in village life. Integration occurred at the interpretation and discussion stages through joint display matrices that juxtaposed statistical results with thematic patterns, enabling confirmation, expansion, or apparent divergence between strands.

Research Site and Participants

The research was conducted in Gebangan Village, Pageruyung District, Kendal Regency, Central Java, a predominantly Muslim locality where Nyadran remains a central ritual in the religious and social calendar. The village exhibits characteristics of peripheral rural-peri-urban settings, including significant reliance on agriculture and informal sector activities, limited access to formal social protection, and strong reliance on kinship and neighborhood networks. The quantitative sample consisted of 250 households selected through stratified systematic sampling based on neighborhood units, with strata defined by distance to the main mosque and primary graveyard complex used for Nyadran. One adult household member (aged 18 years or older) responsible for financial decisions was invited to complete the survey. The qualitative sample included 20 participants purposively selected for maximum variation, comprising religious leaders, Nyadran organizers, women's group representatives, youth leaders, and micro-entrepreneurs whose livelihoods are directly linked to ritual cycles and related markets.

Measures and Instruments

The household survey instrument comprised four main blocks of variables. The first block captured Nyadran participation through indicators such as frequency of attendance in key ritual stages over the last three years, monetary and in-kind contributions, and involvement in organizational tasks before, during, and after the ritual. The second block measured religious moderation using an adapted scale that covers commitment to the nation-state, tolerance toward differing religious practices, rejection of violence in the name of religion, and openness to local cultural expressions, operationalized on Likert-type items. The third block assessed social capital using indices of bonding and bridging ties, including perceived trust in neighbors, density of reciprocal help, participation in community organizations, and cross-group interactions.

The fourth block operationalized household economic resilience via a composite index reflecting income diversification, access to informal and formal support, perceived capacity to cover unexpected expenses, ability to maintain essential consumption during shocks, and speed of recovery after recent adverse events. Socio-demographic covariates included age, gender, education, household size, main livelihood, and land ownership. All scales underwent translation, back-translation, and pilot testing in a neighboring village to ensure conceptual and linguistic equivalence.

Qualitative Data Collection

Qualitative data collection combined semi-structured interviews and participant observation (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021; Flick, 2018). Interview guides were structured around three domains, namely personal and collective meanings of Nyadran, perceived links between ritual participation and economic life, and understandings of religious moderation in everyday interactions. Interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese, audio-recorded with consent, and later transcribed and translated into Bahasa Indonesia for analysis. Participant observation was carried out across the full Nyadran cycle, including preparatory meetings, grave-cleaning activities, communal cooking and food sharing, collective prayers, and post-ritual redistribution or exchange practices. Field notes documented spatial arrangements, flows of goods and money, patterns of participation by gender and age, and spontaneous narratives that emerged during interactions. Observational and interview data were treated as complementary sources for reconstructing the microprocesses through which Nyadran shapes social relations and economic strategies.

Data Analysis

Quantitative analysis proceeded in several steps. Descriptive statistics were used to summarize key variables and inspect distributions (Gunawan, 2015), followed by reliability assessment of multi-item scales using Cronbach's alpha and exploratory factor

analysis (Gunawan et al., 2022). A composite household economic resilience index was constructed through standardized scores and internal consistency checks (Ngouhou & Nchofoung, 2022; Pontarollo & Serpieri, 2020; Song et al., 2020). Multiple regression models estimated the association between Nyadran participation and economic resilience, controlling for socio-demographic variables, with religious moderation and social capital entered as potential mediating or intervening constructs. Robust standard errors addressed heteroskedasticity, while multicollinearity diagnostics ensured stability of estimates. Sensitivity analyses tested alternative specifications of the resilience index and participation measures. Qualitative data were analyzed using thematic analysis supported by iterative coding. An initial coding frame combined theory-driven categories, such as bonding and bridging social capital, civic virtue, and informal safety nets, with inductive codes derived from field notes and interview transcripts. Codes were then clustered into higher-order themes that described pathways linking Nyadran to economic resilience, including collective provisioning, reciprocal obligations, reputational incentives, and boundary management between insiders and outsiders. Integration of quantitative and qualitative findings used joint displays to align model coefficients with illustrative narratives and event sequences, enabling identification of converging, complementary, or tension-laden patterns.

Ethical Considerations

The study adhered to established ethical standards for social research involving human participants. Informed consent was obtained from all respondents after clear

explanation of research objectives, voluntary participation, confidentiality procedures, and the right to withdraw at any time without negative consequences. Identifying information was removed from datasets, and pseudonyms were used in all qualitative excerpts. Community leaders in Gebangan were consulted during the design phase regarding appropriate timing of data collection so that research activities did not interfere with religious obligations or ritual preparations. Feedback sessions were organized with local stakeholders to present aggregated findings and invite discussion on potential implications for community-based initiatives that seek to strengthen both religious moderation and economic resilience.

C. Result and Discussion

Result

Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics in Table 1 indicate that household participation in Nyadran rituals lies in the medium-to-high range. Mean attendance frequency reaches 3.02 on a 0–6 scale, while in-kind contributions average 2.98 on a 0–5 scale, suggesting that households typically engage more than occasionally and often contribute material resources to the ritual cycle. Organisational involvement shows a mean of 1.95 (SD = 0.84) on a 0–3 scale, which points to a substantial subset of households taking active roles in preparation and coordination alongside a smaller group of more passive participants. Median values clustered around 3 reinforce the view that Nyadran has become a relatively institutionalised collective practice in Gebangan, with participation embedded in community routine rather than being sporadic or marginal.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Nyadran Participation, Religious Moderation, Social Capital, and Economic Resilience

	mean	sd	median	trimmed	mad	min	max	range	se
nyadran_freq	3,02	1,23	3,00	3,02	1,48	0,00	6,00	6,00	0,08
nyadran_contrib_money	20000	0	20000	20000	0	20000	20000	0,00	0,00
nyadran_contrib_kind	2,98	1,02	3,00	2,97	1,48	0,00	5,00	5,00	0,06

nyadran_org_involvement	1,95	0,84	2,00	2,00	1,48	0,00	3,00	3,00	0,05
moderation_index	2,99	0,79	3,00	3,01	0,74	1,00	5,00	4,00	0,05
social_capital_index	2,75	0,84	2,75	2,73	1,11	0,75	5,00	4,25	0,05
econ_resilience_index	3,01	0,84	3,00	3,01	0,89	0,80	5,00	4,20	0,05

Religious moderation and social capital indices in Table 1 depict a community profile characterised by balanced religious orientations and functional social networks. The religious moderation index records a mean of 2.99 ($SD = 0.79$, range 1–5), indicating that respondents tend to occupy a middle position rather than polarised conservative or permissive stances. The social capital index shows a mean of 2.75 ($SD = 0.84$, range 0.75–5.00), suggesting moderate levels of trust, reciprocal support, organisational participation, and cross-group interaction. This configuration supports the interpretation that Gebangan possesses a usable stock of social capital capable of sustaining collective action and mutual assistance, although the spread of scores implies that access to and mobilisation of these networks remain uneven across households. Household economic resilience is summarised in Table 1 with a mean index value of 3.01 ($SD = 0.84$, range 0.80–5.00).

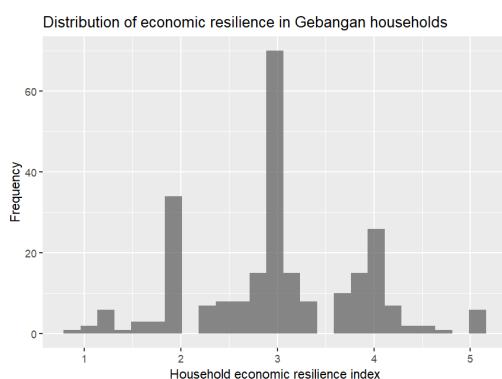


Figure 1. Distribution of the Household Economic Resilience Index in Gebangan Village

The distribution depicted in Figure 1 reveals a pronounced peak around the score of 3, signalling that the largest proportion of households falls within a “moderate–reasonably resilient” category when facing economic shocks. The visible tails towards

both lower and higher values indicate the coexistence of a small segment of highly vulnerable households alongside another group that displays strong resilience capacities.

Correlations among key constructs

Figure 2 shows a consistent pattern of positive correlations among the four key indices. The Nyadran participation index displays moderate positive correlations with the religious moderation index, the social capital index, and the economic resilience index, with coefficients in the mid-range and clearly above zero. Cells linking religious moderation and social capital also show positive, albeit smaller, correlations compared to those involving Nyadran participation and economic resilience. All non-diagonal entries are positive, and no negative associations appear among the constructs, while diagonal cells equal 1.00 as expected for self-correlations.

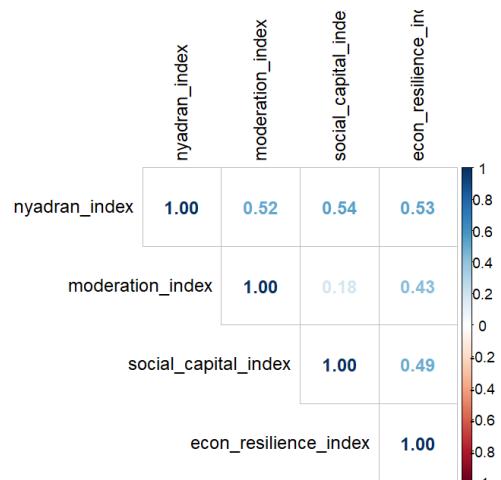


Figure 2. Correlation Matrix among Nyadran Participation, Religious Moderation, Social Capital, and Economic Resilience Indices

Figure 2 also shows that both religious moderation and social capital have low-to-moderate positive correlations with the economic resilience index. Correlation values

in the row and column for economic resilience are clearly above zero and accompanied by darker shading than cells close to zero. None of the correlations among the predictors approaches unity, and there is no evidence of extremely high collinearity in the matrix. The overall pattern is one of consistently positive, non-redundant associations, with variation in magnitude across pairs of constructs clearly visible in the differing coefficient values and colour intensities in Figure 2.

Economic resilience across Nyadran participation groups

Figure 3 displays household economic resilience scores across three Nyadran participation groups: low, medium, and high. The boxplots show that the median resilience index increases monotonically from the low-participation group to the high-participation group. The interquartile range for the low group is positioned at the lower part of the overall scale, while the medium group shifts this central band upward, and the high group exhibits the highest median with its box located in the upper segment of the scale. The whiskers extend over a wider range in the low-participation group, and taper upwards in the medium and high groups, indicating a broader spread of resilience scores among households with limited Nyadran involvement.

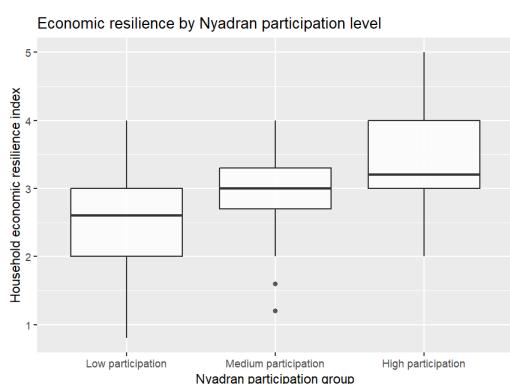


Figure 3. Household Economic Resilience by Nyadran Participation Level in Gebangan Village

Figure 3 further shows that the high-participation group tends to cluster in the upper part of the resilience scale, with fewer cases in the lower tail compared to the low-participation group. Outlying points, where present, appear predominantly in the lower tail of the low-participation distribution, while the high-participation group is characterised by more compressed variation around a relatively elevated central value. The medium-participation group occupies an intermediate position both in terms of central tendency and dispersion. The three-box configuration in Figure 3 visually distinguishes the distributions of economic resilience across Nyadran participation levels and highlights systematic shifts in the location and spread of scores between groups.

Multiple regression models

Table 2 presents the estimates from the full multiple regression model predicting the household economic resilience index using Nyadran participation, religious moderation, social capital, and sociodemographic controls. The three focal predictors show positive and statistically significant associations with economic resilience: Nyadran participation (Estimate = 0.277, SE = 0.080, $p < 0.001$), religious moderation (Estimate = 0.271, SE = 0.063, $p < 0.001$), and social capital (Estimate = 0.315, SE = 0.061, $p < 0.001$). The intercept is positive and significant, while most sociodemographic variables—gender, education, household size, livelihood categories, and land ownership—display non-significant coefficients. Age is the only control with a small negative yet statistically significant coefficient (Estimate = -0.010, SE = 0.004, $p < 0.05$), indicating a slight downward shift in economic resilience scores as age increases when other predictors are held constant.

Table 2. Multiple Regression of Household Economic Resilience on Nyadran Participation, Religious Moderation, Social Capital, and Sociodemographic Controls

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	2,113	0,417	5,067	0,000000813***
nyadran_index	0,277	0,080	3,474	0,000609***
moderation_index	0,271	0,063	4,316	0,0000233***
social_capital_index	0,315	0,061	5,203	0,000000425***
age	-0,010	0,004	-2,204	0,028468*
genderMale	0,027	0,087	0,307	0,759
education_years	-0,015	0,014	-1,041	0,299
hh_size	-0,001	0,022	-0,064	0,949
livelihoodFarmer	-0,208	0,185	-1,125	0,262
livelihoodInformal worker	-0,324	0,191	-1,696	0,091
livelihoodOther	-0,059	0,218	-0,272	0,786
livelihoodTrader	-0,098	0,190	-0,513	0,608
land_ownershipOwn land	-0,092	0,089	-1,030	0,304

Figure 4 complements these findings by visualising the association between the Nyadran participation index and the economic resilience index. The scatterplot displays a cloud of points distributed along an upward-sloping fitted regression line, consistent with the positive coefficient reported in Table 2. The concentration of observations around the line is relatively tight in the central range of

Nyadran participation, with somewhat greater dispersion at lower and higher values, yet the overall pattern retains a clear linear gradient. The visual pattern in Figure 4 aligns with the interpretation that higher Nyadran participation levels correspond to higher economic resilience scores under the model specification used.

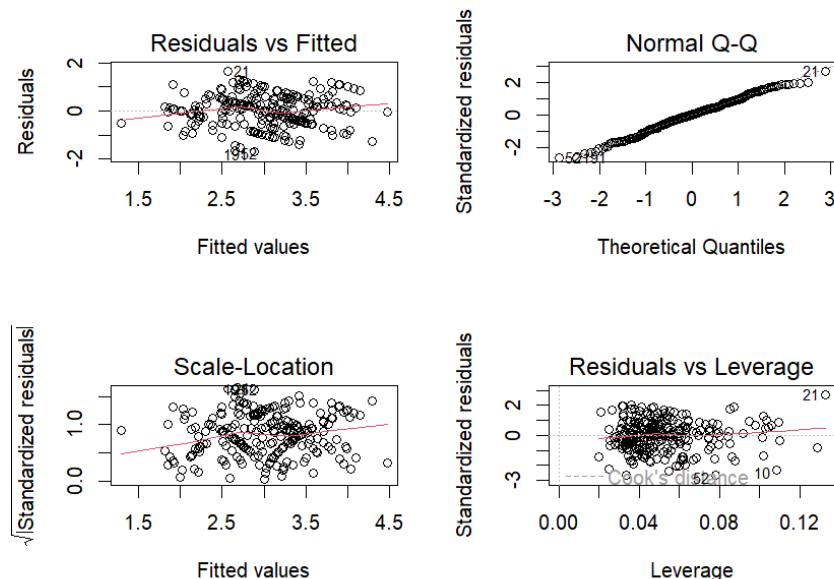


Figure 4. Diagnostic Plots for the Multiple Linear Regression Model of Household Economic Resilience

Figure 5 provides the standard diagnostic plots for the regression model. The residuals-versus-fitted plot shows residuals dispersed symmetrically around zero without obvious curvature, indicating that the linearity assumption holds to an acceptable degree. The normal Q–Q plot displays residual points that track the reference line closely, with only minor deviations in the extreme tails, which supports approximate normality of residuals. The scale–location plot does not show a pronounced funnel shape, suggesting reasonably constant variance across fitted values, while the residuals-versus-leverage plot does not reveal influential observations that combine high leverage with large residuals.

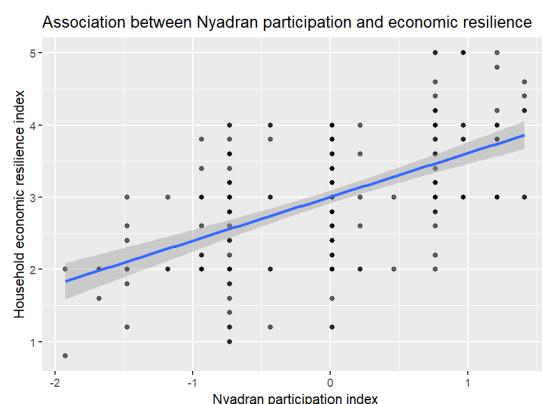


Figure 5. Association between Nyadran Participation Index and Household Economic Resilience Index in Gebangan Village

Mediation analysis using SEM

Table 3 reports the structural path estimates from the SEM mediation model, while Figure 6 provides the corresponding path diagram. Nyadran participation shows strong positive paths to both mediators: religious moderation ($a_1 \approx 0.56, p < 0.001$) and social capital ($a_2 \approx 0.62, p < 0.001$). These coefficients indicate that a one-unit increase in the Nyadran index is associated with substantial increases in both the religious moderation index and the social capital index in standardised terms. The paths from the mediators to household economic resilience are also positive and statistically significant, with religious moderation ($b_1 \approx 0.27, p < 0.001$) and social capital ($b_2 \approx 0.33, p < 0.001$) contributing to higher resilience scores. Figure 6 visually aligns with these results through relatively thick arrows connecting Nyadran participation to the mediators and from the mediators to the economic resilience node.

Table 3. Structural Path Estimates from Nyadran Participation to Economic Resilience via Religious Moderation and Social Capital

Regressions:	Estimate	Std.Err	z-value	P(> z)	Std.lv
moderation_index ~nydrn_n (a1)	0,557	0,057	9,850	0,000	0,557
social_capital_index ~nydrn_n (a2)	0,619	0,063	9,786	0,000	0,619
econ_resilience_index ~nydrn_n (c_pr)	0,253	0,080	3,173	0,002	0,253
mdrtn_n (b1)	0,271	0,064	4,247	0,000	0,271
scl_cp_ (b2)	0,328	0,063	5,184	0,000	0,328
Std.all	0,515	0,543	0,219	0,254	0,324

Table 3 further shows that the direct path from Nyadran participation to economic resilience remains positive and significant when both mediators are included in the model ($c' \approx 0.25, p < 0.01$). This coefficient is smaller than the zero-order association implied by the total correlation but retains sufficient magnitude to indicate a direct structural link in addition to the indirect channels. The standardised estimates

summarised in Figure 6 depict this pattern as a three-arm configuration, in which Nyadran participation connects directly to the economic resilience node and indirectly through the religious moderation and social capital nodes. The visual spacing and arrow weights highlight that all three routes—two mediated and one direct—carry non-trivial contributions to variation in resilience.

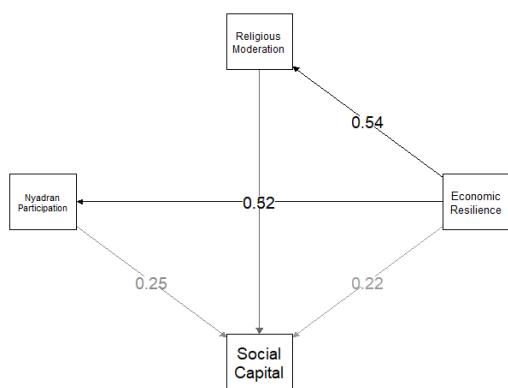


Figure 6. Structural Equation Model Linking Nyadran Participation, Religious Moderation, Social Capital, and Economic Resilience

The indirect effects derived from the product of paths can be read from Table 3. The indirect effect via religious moderation ($a_1 \times b_1$) is approximately 0.15 in standardised units, whereas the indirect effect via social capital ($a_2 \times b_2$) is approximately 0.20, yielding a combined indirect effect of about 0.35. The total effect of Nyadran participation on economic resilience, obtained by summing the direct and total indirect components, is therefore larger than either individual path alone. Figure 6 provides a compact graphical summary of this configuration, with Nyadran participation positioned as an upstream variable that feeds into both mediators and the outcome, and with annotated standardised coefficients on each arrow corresponding to the estimates listed numerically in Table 3.

Qualitative Analysis

Qualitative accounts show that Nyadran is embedded in household routines in ways that mirror the medium-to-high participation scores reported earlier. A senior religious leader (Ustadz-01, male, 55) stated, "Nyadran is not just a yearly event; it is a fixed family schedule. The children already know that when Nyadran approaches, they must come home, prepare food, and join the grave visit." A female respondent (Housewife-03) similarly explained, "Although I am busy with work, I make sure the whole family attends, at least to help clean the graves and send prayers." Participant observation during

preparatory meetings documented repeated presence of the same households in planning sessions, graveyard clean-ups, and logistical coordination. These field notes reinforce the descriptive pattern that Nyadran participation is not incidental but organised and recurrent at household level.

Interview data also illuminate how Nyadran supports moderate religious orientations in line with the positive paths from Nyadran participation to religious moderation in the SEM model (Table 3; Figure 3). A mosque imam (Imam-02) remarked, "Nyadran is our way of combining Islamic prayers with respect for ancestors without endless debates about innovation. What matters is praying and strengthening community ties." A youth leader (Youth-01) added, "People have different ways of reciting prayers or bringing food; no one needs to judge as long as we stay in harmony." Field observations recorded several ustaz leading prayers with distinct recitation styles, while participants followed quietly without visible protest. The coexistence of variations in ritual style and an absence of open conflict reflects a lived pattern of tolerance and accommodation of local custom consistent with the moderate scores on the religious moderation index.

The qualitative material further clarifies how Nyadran reinforces bonding and bridging social capital, consistent with the strong structural path from Nyadran to social capital in Table 3. A neighbourhood head (RT-01) reported, "If a neighbour struggles to afford contributions for Nyadran, others usually pool resources; someone brings rice, another sugar or side dishes, so everyone can bring something." A small trader (Trader-02) described a similar networked arrangement: "I often send my snacks with a neighbour who owns a motorbike; in return, part of the profit flows back into village needs." Observational notes document work teams formed across age groups and hamlets for grave cleaning, cooking, seating arrangements, and post-ritual clean-up. These organised, multi-household task groups and reciprocal exchanges illustrate dense horizontal ties and cooperative norms

that underlie the quantitative social capital index.

Economic narratives provide concrete illustrations of how Nyadran participation connects to household resilience, echoing the significant direct and indirect effects on economic resilience in the SEM results. A micro-entrepreneur selling snacks (UMK-03) explained, “During slow months I can still keep the business going because Nyadran customers order in advance; they know my products from previous years.” A farm labourer (Buruh-01) recounted, “When fertiliser prices increased, I first borrowed

from relatives and neighbours I usually meet during Nyadran; I pay them back after harvest.” Field observation during the ritual documented intense small-scale economic activity around the site, including temporary food stalls, flower vendors, and local transport services. These episodes show that Nyadran functions as a recurring economic node that sustains client networks, enables informal credit, and creates short-term income opportunities that households draw upon when navigating shocks.

Table 4. Summary of Qualitative Themes, Illustrative Evidence, and Links to Quantitative Findings

Major theme	Sub-theme / code	Illustrative evidence (interview / observation)	Link to quantitative findings
Ritualised Nyadran participation as household routine	Nyadran as fixed family schedule	“Nyadran is not just a yearly event; it is a fixed family schedule. The children already know that when Nyadran approaches, they must come home, prepare food, and join the grave visit.” (Ustadz-01, male, 55)	Supports medium-to-high Nyadran participation scores (Table 1) and the positive association between the Nyadran index and economic resilience in regression and SEM models (Table 2, Table 3).
	Obligatory presence despite work constraints	“Although I am busy with work, I make sure the whole family attends, at least to help clean the graves and send prayers.” (Housewife-03)	Reinforces the interpretation that Nyadran participation is routinised rather than occasional, consistent with the distribution of Nyadran frequency and organisational involvement (Table 1).
Nyadran and moderate religious orientations	Acceptance of doctrinal and ritual variation	“Nyadran is our way of combining Islamic prayers with respect for ancestors without endless debates about innovation. What matters is praying and strengthening community ties.” (Imam-02)	Mirrors the strong positive path from Nyadran participation to religious moderation in the SEM (Table 3) and the moderate levels of the religious moderation index (Table 1).

Harmony despite different prayer styles	“People have different ways of reciting prayers or bringing food; no one needs to judge as long as we stay in harmony.” (Youth-01)	Aligns with the correlation matrix where Nyadran participation and religious moderation are positively associated (Figure 1), indicating a shared empirical space between ritual engagement and moderate orientations.
Social capital generated around Nyadran	Mutual financial and in-kind support	“If a neighbour struggles to afford contributions for Nyadran, others usually pool resources; someone brings rice, another sugar or side dishes, so everyone can bring something.” (RT-01)
	Shared logistics and reciprocal arrangements	“I often send my snacks with a neighbour who owns a motorbike; in return, part of the profit flows back into village needs.” (Trader-02)
Cross-hamlet cooperative work teams	Observation: mixed-age and cross-hamlet teams formed for grave cleaning, cooking, seating, and clean-up tasks during Nyadran.	Clarifies how bonding and bridging social capital are built through reciprocal help, consistent with positive correlations between social capital and economic resilience (Figure 1).
Economic resilience pathways linked to Nyadran	Ritual-based customer networks	“During slow months I can still keep the business going because Nyadran customers order in advance; they know my products from previous years.” (UMK-03)
		Provides concrete evidence for the positive effect of Nyadran participation on economic resilience in regression and SEM models (Table 2, Table 3) and for the higher median resilience among high-participation groups (Figure 5).

Informal credit and trust-based borrowing	“When fertiliser prices increased, I first borrowed from relatives and neighbours I usually meet during Nyadran; I pay them back after harvest.” (Buruh-01)	Connects social capital mechanisms (trust, reciprocity) to resilience outcomes, consistent with the significant path from social capital to economic resilience in the SEM (Table 3).
Intensified micro-economic activity around ritual	Observation: temporary food stalls, flower vendors, and local transport services cluster around the Nyadran site, generating short-term income opportunities.	Matches the distribution of the economic resilience index (Table 1, Figure 4) and helps explain why high Nyadran participation groups show more favourable resilience profiles (Figure 5, Figure 6).
Nyadran as integrative civic infrastructure	Single arena for religious, social, and economic exchange	“Nyadran is where everyone meets—from wealthier families to daily labourers. People talk about work, debts, and small business plans while keeping the atmosphere Islamic and peaceful.” (Teacher-02)
Post-ritual conversations and planning	Observation: after prayers and meals, small groups remain to discuss employment, schooling, joint repairs of village facilities, and future initiatives.	Complements the quantitative evidence that Nyadran participation exerts both direct and indirect effects on resilience, by showing the informal governance and planning processes taking place within the ritual setting (Table 3, Figure 3).

Taken together, interview and observational data depict Nyadran as a multi-functional arena in which religious, social, and economic processes intersect in ways that correspond closely to the quantitative pathways identified in Figure 3. A madrasa teacher (Teacher-02) summarised this interweaving succinctly: “Nyadran is where everyone meets—from wealthier families to daily labourers. People talk about work, debts,

and small business plans while keeping the atmosphere Islamic and peaceful.” Observers noted that after collective prayers and shared meals, small groups remained on site to discuss employment, schooling, and joint initiatives to repair village facilities. These field impressions provide a qualitative counterpart to the SEM structure, showing how Nyadran creates a shared space in which moderate Islamic values, dense social networks, and

livelihood strategies are continually negotiated and reinforced at the community level.

Discussion

Quantitative and qualitative results together depict Nyadran as a multi-dimensional institution that links religious life, social organisation, and household livelihoods. The positive and statistically significant paths from Nyadran participation to religious moderation, social capital, and economic resilience, alongside the substantial indirect effects in the SEM, indicate that ritual engagement operates simultaneously through normative, relational, and material channels. Household narratives about Nyadran as a “fixed family schedule” and a moment when “everyone must come home, prepare food, and join the grave visit” corroborate the medium-to-high participation scores and support the interpretation of Nyadran as a routinised civic infrastructure rather than a sporadic ceremony. The combination of structured quantitative effects and thick qualitative descriptions strengthens the claim that Nyadran participation is systematically associated with differences in how households relate to others, interpret religious diversity, and organise economic survival strategies.

Recent work on Nyadran and religious moderation in other Indonesian settings resonates strongly with these findings. An ethnographic study in Ngayung, East Java, shows Nyadran working as a mediator of interreligious harmony through tawasuth, tasamuh, i'tidal, al-iṣlāḥ, and muwāṭanah, emphasising moderation as lived practice rather than abstract doctrine (Syarifah et al., 2025). Another study on the Nyadran Gunung Silurah tradition identifies the ritual as a medium for cultural preservation, ecological spirituality, and social education that internalises core moderation values at the local level (Masrur et al., 2025). Research on Nyadran as a glue for social harmony similarly underlines its role in teaching tolerance and togetherness to younger generations. Those accounts align closely with the strong a-path from Nyadran to religious moderation in the present SEM and with interview excerpts in

Gebangan where imams and youth leaders describe Nyadran as a setting where differences in prayer style or offerings are accepted as long as communal harmony is maintained.

Evidence from other local rituals confirms that the link between tradition and moderation is not unique to Nyadran. A recent study on the Sedekah Desa ritual in Kandangan Village, East Java, shows that village-scale communal offerings embody key dimensions of religious moderation by blending Islamic norms with local custom in inclusive ways (Azizah et al., 2025). A systematic review of religious moderation research in Indonesia between 2020 and 2024 concludes that local traditions frequently function as sustainable frameworks for maintaining harmony in increasingly diverse Muslim societies (Zaluchu et al., 2025). Policy documents and conceptual work from the Ministry of Religious Affairs frame religious moderation as a public virtue grounded in daily interactions and respect for cultural diversity (Setinawati et al., 2025). Results from Gebangan fit squarely within this trajectory by showing, in a single structural model, that higher Nyadran participation corresponds to more centrist and tolerant religious orientations at household level.

The strong positive association between Nyadran participation, social capital, and economic resilience places this study in conversation with a growing body of work on social capital and resilience in Indonesia. Case studies in Bantul Regency during the COVID-19 pandemic show that dense networks of trust and mutual aid enhanced household economic resilience under crisis, particularly through informal loans and shared labour arrangements (Riyanti & Harta, 2023). Research on arisan-based social gatherings documents similar patterns in which routine social meetings facilitate social capital formation and buffer economic shocks for women in low-income communities. Studies of social capital in disaster-prone regions, including work on local government resilience in Gowa and community responses to tidal flooding in West Kalimantan, confirm that

bonding and bridging ties actively support collective problem-solving and access to resources (Prianto & Abdillah, 2023). Regression and SEM coefficients in Gebangan, combined with narratives about pooled contributions and shared business logistics around Nyadran, display the same mechanisms in a ritualised village setting.

Broader empirical work on social capital and economic outcomes at the national scale further supports these patterns. Analyses of Indonesian data show that higher levels of trust and cooperation reduce poverty and raise income per capita, particularly where intergroup trust is strong. Recent research on community-based entrepreneurial ecosystems highlights that local economic resilience improves when social capital supports collective entrepreneurship and resource mobilisation across actors. Findings from Gebangan add a new layer by showing that a specific religious ritual is one of the key sites where such social capital is generated and renewed. Boxplots and regression plots indicate that households with high Nyadran participation not only have higher median resilience scores but also show a narrower spread of vulnerability, a distributional pattern that matches qualitative accounts of how informal credit, advance orders, and ritual-related trade reduce exposure to shocks for those embedded in Nyadran networks.

The SEM results and qualitative narratives also contribute to ongoing discussions about Islamic social capital and economic welfare. Studies on Islamic social capital among MSME members demonstrate that trust, solidarity, and shared Islamic norms increase cooperative behaviour and improve member welfare. Research on group-based financing programmes for women shows that ukhuwah-based Islamic social capital supports empowerment and community economic improvement. Evidence from coastal fishermen communities indicates that Islamic social capital and Islamic financial behaviour significantly raise household welfare. Work on pesantren-based social economy models further illustrates how religiously grounded networks foster ethical entrepreneurship and

strengthen local resilience. Nyadran in Gebangan fits into this broader picture as a ritual arena where Islamic moral discourse, patterns of mutual help, and small-scale economic exchanges coalesce, producing effects that register both in social capital indices and in household resilience measures.

The combined quantitative–qualitative design allows a more precise characterisation of Nyadran as everyday civic infrastructure. Statistical paths indicate that Nyadran participation has a direct effect on economic resilience alongside indirect effects via religious moderation and social capital. Interview and observational data show how these paths operate in practice: families treat Nyadran as a non-negotiable calendar event, neighbours pool resources so that no household is excluded, micro-entrepreneurs cultivate repeat customers through ritual-based orders, and conversations after collective prayers revolve around debts, work opportunities, and joint projects. Nyadran thus functions as a recurring platform where households renegotiate obligations, update information on livelihoods, and reaffirm shared norms of tolerance and solidarity. This structural and experiential convergence strengthens the interpretation of Nyadran as a ritual that not only symbolises but also operationalises resilience at the village level.

Several limitations require careful consideration when interpreting these findings. The focus on a single village in a rural–peri-urban district restricts direct generalisation to other contexts, especially urban settings or communities with different religious and economic configurations. The cross-sectional design captures associations at one point in time and does not track how resilience scores change before and after major shocks, nor how Nyadran participation evolves across generations. Measurement choices rely on self-reported indices that, despite acceptable reliability, cannot fully capture the complexity of moderation, social capital, and resilience. Future research can extend this work through multi-site comparative designs, longitudinal tracking of households across crisis episodes, and more

fine-grained economic indicators, such as income volatility or asset trajectories. Studies that juxtapose Nyadran with other Islamic communal rituals would further clarify whether the structural pattern observed in Gebangan characterises village Islam more broadly or reflects a distinctive local configuration.

D. Conclusion

The findings show that Nyadran functions as a dense socio religious infrastructure that links everyday ritual participation to household level economic resilience through clearly identifiable normative and relational pathways. Higher Nyadran participation associates with stronger religious moderation, richer social capital, and higher economic resilience, while SEM results indicate a combination of direct and indirect effects through both mediators. Qualitative material supports these structural patterns by showing Nyadran as a regular household obligation that normalises tolerant religious practice, sustains cooperative networks, and activates small scale economic exchanges during preparation, implementation, and follow up of the ritual. The study therefore positions Nyadran as an embedded Islamic communal practice that not only sustains cultural memory but also underpins practical capacities for coping with and recovering from economic shocks among moderate Muslim communities in rural peripheral settings.

Several limitations frame the scope of these conclusions and open space for further research. The focus on a single village with a predominantly moderate Muslim population restricts external validity, and the cross sectional design cannot establish temporal ordering or long term change in resilience trajectories. Reliance on self reported indices, despite acceptable reliability, captures only selected dimensions of moderation, social capital, and resilience. Future studies can extend this work through multi site comparative designs that include more diverse religious and economic profiles, longitudinal panels that follow households across specific

shocks, and integration of administrative or financial records alongside survey data. Comparative research across different Islamic communal rituals and other local traditions can also test whether similar structural pathways appear or whether Nyadran represents a distinctive model of ritual based resilience in Indonesian village life.

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