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Social Welfare and the Role of Sufi Orders in Indonesia: A Systematic Literature Review

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Abstract: Study on Indonesian Sufi orders has focused on spirituality, politics, and religious revival, but their role in social welfare is scattered across isolated studies. This article explores how these orders act as welfare providers and transform spiritual ethics into social services. Using PRISMA 2020 guidelines, the review searched databases like Scopus, DOAJ, Garuda, SINTA, and Google Scholar for peer-reviewed articles in English and Indonesian from 2013 to 2024. After removing duplicates, screening titles and abstracts, assessing full texts, and evaluating quality, 18 articles were selected and analyzed through thematic coding and cross-case comparison. Most studies focus on TQN/Inabah and Idrisiyya, with fewer on other Qādiriyya–Naqshbandiyya, Naqshbandiyya, Shādhiliyya, Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan, and hybrid Sufi communities. The studies reveal three main, interconnected welfare mechanisms: care and human development, redistributive and economic support, and community resilience and inclusion. The findings indicate that spiritual-ethical commitments are socially impactful when expressed through relational authority, trust within congregations, organizational routines, and institutional structures.

Contribution: This review conceptualises *ṭarīqa-based* welfare as a socio-spiritual configuration linking spiritual-ethical foundations, relational infrastructure, institutional translation, and multidimensional welfare outcomes, thereby extending the interface between Sufi studies and Islamic social work.

Keywords: Sufi orders; social welfare; Islamic social work; sufipreneurship; Indonesia

Introduction

Sufi orders have historically functioned as pivotal institutions within Islamic civilisation, serving as both spiritual networks and socio-cultural movements that shape moral consciousness, community ethics, and collective resilience among Muslim societies.¹ Traditionally viewed as mystical paths (*ṭarīqa ilā Allāh*) emphasising inner purification and divine realisation, the institutionalisation of Sufi orders has in fact extended far beyond individual spirituality, encompassing organised systems of education, charity, and communal welfare.² Classic works by Trimmingham and Chittick underscore this dual dimension where mystical devotion operates alongside social responsibility. At the same time, van Bruinessen highlights the adaptive vitality of Indonesian *ṭurūq* in responding to historical, political, and cultural changes.³

In Indonesia, Sufi orders and Sufi-oriented movements such as Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya-Naqshbandiyya Suryalaya (TQN), Idrisiyya, and Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) have increasingly institutionalised their spiritual teachings through community-based welfare initiatives encompassing education, rehabilitation, economic empowerment, and crisis response.⁴ Empirical studies document how TQN's Inabah programme combines *dhikr* (remembrance of God)-based discipline with psycho-spiritual counselling,⁵ while the Idrisiyya Order

¹ J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971), 3–5.

² William C. Chittick, *Sufism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2000), 12–15. William C. Chittick, *Sufism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2000), 12–15.

³ Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 27–30.

⁴ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, Southeast Asia Publications Series (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 166–71; Julia Day Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (2001): 701–29, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2700107>.

⁵ Studies of Inabah consistently identify an integrated psycho-spiritual rehabilitation model combining ritual discipline, *dhikr*, counselling, psychoeducation, cognitive reorientation, supportive relationships, and structured spiritual guidance; see Didin Komaruddin and Ilim Abdul Halim, "Peranan Terapi Spiritual Terhadap Penyembuhan Adiksi Narkoba (Studi Di Inabah XX Tasikmalaya Jawa Barat)," *Syifa Al-Qulub: Jurnal Studi Psikoterapi Sufistik* 5, no. 2 (2021): 155–68, <https://doi.org/10.15575/saq.v5i2.11226>; Ahmad Saifuddin, "Therapeutic Principles in Healing Reliability of Addictive Substances and Behavioral Disorders," *Indigenous: Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi* 6, no. 1 (2021): 37–54, <https://doi.org/10.23917/indigenous.v6i1.11401>; Asep Rusmana and Wan Zailan Kamaruddin Wan Ali, "Sufism Healing Methods for Drug Rehabilitation in Inabah of

translates *tawhid* (the oneness of God) ethics into microfinance and entrepreneurial initiatives commonly described as "Sufipreneurship." Hizib NW similarly integrates Sufi-inspired rituals and moral formation with *madrasa* (Islamic educational institution) education, youth development, and wider community engagement.⁶

Howell situated Sufism within Indonesia's Islamic revival, while her study of "Salafist Sufis" examined its hybridisation through television preaching and popular religious media; both foregrounded revival, piety, and religious mediation rather than organised welfare provision.⁷ Turmudi analysed TQN in East Java as a political network structured through *murshid* (spiritual guide) authority, leaving its therapeutic, educational, and economic functions largely unexplored.⁸ Rasyad et al. showed how Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan mobilised ritual, education, and political engagement to shape identity and drive socio-cultural change in Lombok, while Rosidi linked Naqshbandiyya *sulūk* (spiritual path) to spiritual formation, social solidarity, and responsible communal conduct.⁹ Rohmawati and Zulkifli's systematic review mapped socio-political, educational, philanthropic, economic, personal, and spiritual transformations across fourteen studies retrieved from Google Scholar; however, its broad social-change orientation and single-database design did not isolate the mechanisms through

West Java, Indonesia," *TEMALI: Jurnal Pembangunan Sosial* 5, no. 2 (2022): 153–60, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jt.v5i2.21234>.

⁶ Abdul Rasyad et al., "Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan: Construction of Social Change During the New Order Period in Lombok, Indonesia," *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning* 18, no. 6 (June 27, 2023): 1963–72, <https://doi.org/10.18280/ijstdp.180633>; M. Rohman Ziadi, "Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Dan Perannya Dalam Perpolitikan Di Lombok," *Refleksi Jurnal Filsafat Dan Pemikiran Islam* 18, no. 2 (July 30, 2018): 207–39, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ref.v18i2.1866>.

⁷ Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival"; Julia Day Howell, "Indonesia's Salafist Sufis," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2010): 1029–51, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X09990278>.

⁸ Endang Turmudi, "The Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in East Java and Islamic Politics in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 26, no. 2 (1998): 65–84, <https://doi.org/10.1163/030382498X00166>.

⁹ Rasyad et al., "Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan"; Imron Rosidi, "The Suluk Ritual in the Tradition of the Tariqa (Sufi Order) Naqsyabandiyyah Al-Kholidiyyah Jalaliyyah in Indonesia," *An-Najah University Journal for Research - B (Humanities)* 38, no. 4 (April 2024): 819–36, <https://doi.org/10.35552/0247.38.4.2186>.

which Sufi ethics become institutionalised welfare practices.¹⁰ Beyond Sufi studies, international research on faith-based welfare conceptualises religious organisations as hybrid actors that combine moral communities, civil society networks, and social service functions, while emphasising that their welfare capacity depends on organisational form, institutional resources, and relationships with public systems.¹¹

Taken together, existing scholarship confirms that Indonesian Sufi orders participate in religious revival, political mobilisation, education, spiritual formation, economic empowerment, and broader social change.¹² Yet three limitations remain. First, empirical studies are predominantly order- or program-specific, leaving education, therapy, philanthropy, and economic activity analytically compartmentalised rather than theorised as interconnected modes of welfare provision.¹³ Second, the previous PRISMA-based review synthesises tarekat primarily under the broad rubric of social change and draws on 14 Google Scholar studies, without isolating the institutional mechanisms by which Sufi ethics are organised into welfare practices.¹⁴ Third, the relationship between spiritual formation, relational authority, congregational trust, and community-

¹⁰ Hanung Sito Rohmawati and Zulkifli Zulkifli, "The Role of Sufi Orders in Social Change in Indonesia: A Systematic Literature Review," *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 13, no. 2 (2024): 187–212, <https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v13i2.22567>.

¹¹ Faith-based welfare scholarship conceptualises religious organisations as hybrid civil-society and service actors whose welfare capacity depends on organisational form, resources, and institutional relationships; see Gerard Clarke, "Faith Matters: Faith-based Organisations, Civil Society and International Development," *Journal of International Development* 18, no. 6 (August 24, 2006): 835–48, <https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1317>; Wolfgang Bielefeld and William Suhs Cleveland, "Faith-Based Organizations as Service Providers and Their Relationship to Government," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (June 21, 2013): 468–94, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764013485160>; Rana Jawad, "Religion and Social Welfare in the Lebanon: Treating the Causes or Symptoms of Poverty?," *Journal of Social Policy* 38, no. 1 (2009): 141–56, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279408002596>.

¹² Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival"; Turmudi, "The Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in East Java and Islamic Politics in Indonesia"; Syamsun Ni'am, "Tasawuf Di Tengah Perubahan Sosial (Studi Tentang Peran Tarekat Dalam Dinamika Sosial-Politik Di Indonesia)," *Harmoni* 15, no. 2 (2016): 123–37, <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v15i2.35>.

¹³ Dede Aji Mardani, "Spiritual Entrepreneurship Dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat: Studi Terhadap Tarekat Idrisiyah Pageningan Tasikmalaya," *Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah* 4, no. 2 (2019): 194–206, <https://doi.org/10.37058/jes.v4i2.1252>; Rasyad et al., "Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan"; Rosidi, "The Suluk Ritual in the Tradition of the Tariqa (Sufi Order) Naqsyabandiyah Al-Kholidiyyah Jalaliyyah in Indonesia."

¹⁴ Rohmawati and Zulkifli, "The Role of Sufi Orders in Social Change in Indonesia."

based service delivery remains conceptually underdeveloped.¹⁵ Addressing these limitations, this review develops a socio-spiritual welfare model linking ethical foundations, congregational networks, institutional translation, and multidimensional welfare outcomes.

Sufi institutions offer a locally embedded complement grounded in compassion (*rahma*), ethical service (*khidma*), and holistic well-being (*falāḥ*).¹⁶ This orientation resonates with faith-based welfare scholarship that treats spirituality as integral to social care.¹⁷ Against this background, this review examines which Indonesian Sufi orders are most frequently represented in social-welfare scholarship, the welfare domains attributed to them, and the institutional mechanisms through which spiritual ethics are translated into social provision. It advances the proposition that *ṭarīqa-based* welfare is best understood not as a collection of discrete charitable activities but as a socio-spiritual welfare configuration in which ethical formation, relational trust, communal authority, and organisational mediation jointly structure community-based welfare provision.¹⁸

¹⁵ Edward R. Canda and Leola Dyrud Furman, *Spiritual Diversity in Social Work Practice: The Heart of Helping* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 44–48; Rohmawati and Zulkifli, "The Role of Sufi Orders in Social Change in Indonesia."

¹⁶ Hendri Hermawan Adinugraha, Muhammad Shulhoni, and Dliya'udin Achmad, "Islamic Social Finance in Indonesia: Opportunities, Challenges, and Its Role in Empowering Society," *Review of Islamic Social Finance and Entrepreneurship* 2, no. 1 (2023): 45–62, <https://doi.org/10.20885/RISFE.vol2.iss1.art4>; Budi Rahman Hakim and Herman L Beck, "Sufistication of Social Welfare Policies in Contemporary Indonesia: Recalibrating Policy Ethics through Tasawuf-Based Values," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Indonesia (JISI)* 6, no. 2 (2025): 16–27, <https://doi.org/10.15408/jisi.v6i2.50028>.

¹⁷ Research on spiritually sensitive social work and Sufi well-being converges on spirituality as a resource for meaning, coping, resilience, and psychosocial support; see Canda and Furman, *Spiritual Diversity in Social Work Practice: The Heart of Helping*, 44–48; Budi Rahman Hakim and Fajrur Rahman, "Sufi Ritual Practices and Perceived Mental Well-Being: Insights from Indonesia's COVID-19 Pandemic Experience," *Jurnal Sosial Humaniora Dan Pendidikan* 1, no. 2 (2022): 147–63, <https://doi.org/10.55606/inovasi.v1i2.5326>; Budi Rahman Hakim, "Sufi Lifestyle, Spiritual Resilience, and Social Welfare (Psychospiritual and Metabolic Pathways to Community Health in the COVID-19 Era)," *Jurnal Riset Rumpun Agama Dan Filsafat* 1, no. 2 (2022): 196–214, <https://doi.org/10.55606/jurrafi.v1i2.6698>.

¹⁸ For the broader conceptual foundations linking spirituality, social care, and the public-social functions of Sufi communities, see Canda and Furman, *Spiritual Diversity in Social Work Practice: The Heart of Helping*, 44–48; Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival"; Rohmawati and Zulkifli, "The Role of Sufi Orders in Social Change in

Literature Review

Faith-Based Welfare and Islamic Social Work

In spiritually sensitive social work, religion and spirituality can function as resources of meaning, coping, identity, ethical motivation, and communal support rather than as optional additions to care.¹⁹ Comparative research on faith-based service organisations further cautions against treating religious identity itself as a proxy for welfare effectiveness: organisational structure, service capacity, accountability, and relationships with public institutions mediate how religious commitments become social provision.²⁰ Sufi values such as *khidma*, *ihsān* (spiritual and moral excellence), *tazkiyat al-nafs* (purification of the self), and *amāna* (trust and moral responsibility) are therefore treated here not merely as normative vocabulary but as moral resources that orient and legitimate organised social action.²¹

Ṭarīqa as Relational and Institutional Infrastructure

Rather than redefining *ṭarīqa* primarily as a mystical path, this framework approaches it as a relational and institutional infrastructure linking spiritual authority, discipleship, ritual community, shared ethical discipline, and collective solidarity.²² In the Indonesian context, Sufi networks have demonstrated considerable institutional adaptability, extending religious authority beyond devotional practice into education, civic engagement, social organisation, and community programmes.²³ For welfare analysis, the crucial

Indonesia." The socio-spiritual welfare configuration advanced here is the integrative analytical proposition developed in the present review.

¹⁹ Canda and Furman, *Spiritual Diversity in Social Work Practice: The Heart of Helping*.

²⁰ Bielefeld and Cleveland, "Faith-Based Organizations as Service Providers and Their Relationship to Government"; Kenneth Scott Smith and Martell Teasley, "Social Work Research on Faith-Based Programs: A Movement Towards Evidence-Based Practice," *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought* 28, no. 3 (2009): 306–27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426430903070236>; Jawad, "Religion and Social Welfare in the Lebanon."

²¹ Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 3–5; Chittick, *Sufism: A Short Introduction*, 12–15.

²² Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*; Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia: Survey Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis*.

²³ Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival"; Sulaiman Sulaiman et al., "The Revival Movement of the Idrisiyya Order in Indonesia," *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 12, no. 2 (2023): 303–32, <https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v12i2.18810>; Budi Rahman Hakim, "Transformation of Sufistic Da'wah and Islamic Psychotherapy Through Online Manaqib: A Qualitative Case Study on Tarekat Qadiriyyah

mechanism is therefore relational and organisational: spiritual authority and repeated communal practices sustain trust and solidarity; these networks facilitate coordination and resource mobilisation; and affiliated institutions—such as *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), rehabilitation centres, philanthropic bodies, cooperatives, and community organisations—translate ethical commitments into organised forms of social provision. This relational emphasis is reinforced by research on Islamic faith-based organisations in Indonesia, which shows that bonding, bridging, and linking forms of social capital can shape community trust, institutional coordination, and the effectiveness of post-disaster recovery.²⁴

Sufipreneurship as Ethical-Economic Translation

Studies of the Idrisiyya Order show how spiritual commitments can be embedded in business activities, economic empowerment, and organisational development, connecting religious discipline with productive economic participation and communal benefit.²⁵ Baried documents the integration of Sufi orientation with Idrisiyya's social and business activities, while Sulaiman et al. locate its economic initiatives within a broader institutional revival encompassing education and social programmes.²⁶ Analytically, Sufipreneurship therefore illustrates how values such as *amāna*, service, and spiritual accountability can become institutionalised in economic practice; it remains one welfare pathway alongside therapeutic care, education, philanthropy, and community resilience.

Its analytical sequence is: spiritual-ethical foundations (*khidma*, *ihsān*, *tazkiyat al-nafs*, and *amāna*) → relational infrastructure (spiritual authority, discipleship, trust, and solidarity) → institutional translation (*pesantren*, rehabilitation, philanthropy, and economic organisations) → material,

Naqsyabandiyah Community in Indonesia," *G-Couns: Jurnal Bimbingan Dan Konseling* 9, no. 3 (2025): 2278–91, <https://doi.org/10.31316/g-couns.v9i3.7780>.

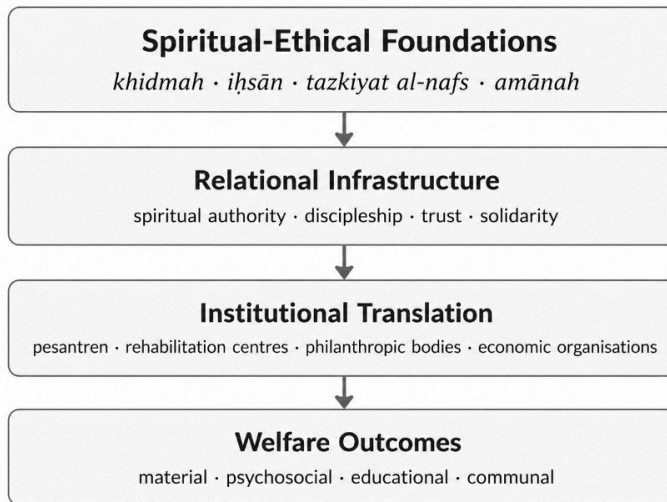
²⁴ Muhammad Riza Nurdin, "Islamic Faith-based Organisations and Their Role in Building Social Capital for Post-disaster Recovery in Indonesia," *Disasters* 48, no. S1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12635>.

²⁵ Ariani Baroroh Baried, "Sufisme and Business: Study of Social and Business Activities of the Tarekat Al-Idrisiyyah in Indonesia," *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat* 18, no. 2 (January 3, 2023): 116–29, <https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v18i2.3808>.

²⁶ Baried; Sulaiman et al., "The Revival Movement of the Idrisiyya Order in Indonesia."

psychosocial, educational, and communal welfare.²⁷ This sequence does not assume that spiritual values automatically generate welfare outcomes; instead, it directs the review toward the organisational mechanisms through which ethical commitments become programmes, resources, and practices.

Figure 1. Analytical Model of *Ṭarīqa*-based Socio-Spiritual Welfare



Source: Authors' conceptual synthesis based on the literature reviewed

Method

This study employed a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) guided by PRISMA 2020 to identify, screen, appraise, and synthesise peer-reviewed scholarship on Sufi orders and social welfare in Indonesia.²⁸ Searches were conducted in Scopus, DOAJ, Garuda, SINTA, and Google Scholar and were last updated on 10 August 2026; the publication window was January 2013 to December 2024. The review was restricted to peer-reviewed journal articles written in English or Indonesian. The search strategy combined three conceptual clusters: Sufi-order terms, welfare-related terms, and the Indonesian geographical context. Because database interfaces use different indexing

²⁷ This analytical model is developed in the present review as an integrative synthesis informed by Canda and Furman, *Spiritual Diversity in Social Work Practice: The Heart of Helping*; Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival"; Sulaiman et al., "The Revival Movement of the Idrisiyya Order in Indonesia."

²⁸ Matthew J Page et al., "The PRISMA 2020 Statement: An Updated Guideline for Reporting Systematic Reviews," *BMJ* 372 (March 29, 2021): n71, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71>.

structures and Boolean functions, we used database-specific search strings, as reported in Table 1.

Table 1. Database Search Strategy

Database	Exact search string(s)	Limits
Scopus	TITLE-ABS-KEY ("Sufi order" OR <i>ṭarīqa</i> OR <i>tarekat</i> OR <i>tasawuf</i> OR Sufism) AND ("social welfare" OR "social work" OR kesejahteraan OR "pekerjaan sosial" OR philanthropy OR filantropi OR education OR pendidikan OR rehabilitation OR rehabilitasi OR "economic empowerment" OR "pemberdayaan ekonomi" OR "community resilience") AND Indonesia) AND PUBYEAR 2012 AND PUBYEAR 2025 AND LIMIT-TO (DOCTYPE, "ar")	2013–2024; journal articles; English/Indonesian
DOAJ	("Sufi order" OR <i>ṭarīqa</i> OR <i>tarekat</i> OR <i>tasawuf</i> OR Sufism) AND ("social welfare" OR "social work" OR kesejahteraan OR "pekerjaan sosial" OR philanthropy OR education OR pendidikan OR rehabilitation OR "economic empowerment" OR "community resilience") AND Indonesia	2013–2024; journal articles; English/Indonesian
Garuda	Separate searches: " <i>tarekat</i> " "kesejahteraan sosial"; " <i>Tasawuf</i> " "pekerjaan sosial"; " <i>tarekat</i> " "pemberdayaan ekonomi"; " <i>tarekat</i> " rehabilitasi; " <i>tarekat</i> " pendidikan; " <i>tarekat</i> " filantropi; "Sufism" "social work" Indonesia	2013–2024; journal articles
SINTA	Separate searches: " <i>tarekat</i> " "kesejahteraan sosial"; " <i>Tasawuf</i> " "pekerjaan sosial"; " <i>tarekat</i> " "pemberdayaan ekonomi"; " <i>tarekat</i> " rehabilitasi; " <i>tarekat</i> " pendidikan; " <i>tarekat</i> " filantropi; "Sufi order" "social welfare" Indonesia	2013–2024; journal articles
Google Scholar	Separate searches: " <i>tarekat</i> " "kesejahteraan sosial" Indonesia; " <i>Tasawuf</i> " "pekerjaan sosial" Indonesia; " <i>tarekat</i> " "pemberdayaan ekonomi" Indonesia; " <i>tarekat</i> " rehabilitasi Indonesia; "Sufi order" "social welfare" Indonesia; Sufism "social work" Indonesia	Custom range 2013–2024; English/Indonesian

Note: Search strings are reported as entered into each database interface; minor syntax differences reflect database-specific search functionality.

Studies were eligible when they (1) were peer-reviewed journal articles published between 2013 and 2024; (2) were written in English or Indonesian; (3) focused on Indonesia; and (4) substantively examined Sufi orders or Sufi-oriented

institutions in relation to philanthropy, education, spiritual or psychosocial care, economic empowerment, crisis response, community resilience, or related welfare practices. Studies were excluded when they were books, book chapters, theses, conference papers, or grey literature; referred to *ṭarīqa* only tangentially; focused exclusively on theology or ritual without a welfare dimension; fell outside Indonesia; or did not satisfy the publication-period or language criteria.

The database searches identified 3,242 records across Scopus, DOAJ, Garuda, SINTA, and Google Scholar. After removing 580 duplicate records, 2,662 unique records underwent independent title-and-abstract screening by Budi Rahman Hakim (BRH) and Panji Putrawan Makalalag (PPM). At this stage, 2,548 records were excluded because they did not meet the topical, geographical, publication type, language, or temporal criteria. The remaining 114 articles underwent full-text eligibility assessment.²⁹

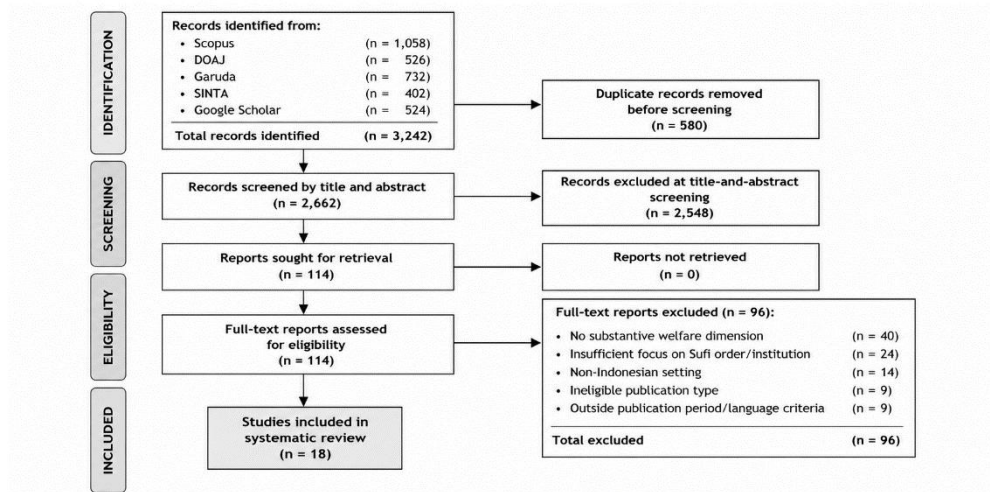
Full-text eligibility was assessed independently using the predefined criteria. Of the 114 full-text articles assessed, 96 were excluded because they either lacked a substantive welfare dimension, did not sufficiently focus on a Sufi order or Sufi-oriented institution, concerned a non-Indonesian setting, represented an ineligible publication type, or failed to satisfy the specified publication-period or language criteria. Disagreements between BRH and PPM were resolved through discussion and, where necessary, adjudication by Ismatu Ropi (IR). This process resulted in a final corpus of 18 studies included in the qualitative synthesis.

Table 2. Eligibility Criteria

Criterion	Inclusion	Exclusion
Publication	Peer-reviewed journal article	Books, chapters, theses, proceedings, grey literature
Period	2013–2024	Before 2013 or after 2024
Language	English or Indonesian	Other languages
Geography	Indonesia	Non-Indonesian setting
Unit of analysis	Sufi order or Sufi-oriented institution/community	Sufism mentioned only tangentially
Welfare relevance	Material, psychosocial, educational, economic, relational, or communal welfare	Exclusively theological or ritual discussion without an identifiable social-welfare dimension

²⁹ Page et al.

Figure 2. PRISMA 2020 Flow Diagram of Study Selection



Source: Author's review process based on PRISMA 2020

The substantial reduction between identification and inclusion reflects the review's deliberately narrow scope: studies were required not merely to mention Sufism or *ṭarīqa*, but to provide substantive evidence on welfare-related practices, institutions, mechanisms, or outcomes in an Indonesian setting.³⁰ Because the included studies employed heterogeneous research designs, we appraised methodological quality using a cross-design assessment matrix adapted from principles for evaluating disparate evidence.³¹ Five domains were assessed for each study: clarity of the research aim, appropriateness of the research design, transparency of data or evidence, adequacy of analysis, and relevance to the review objectives. Each domain was classified as met, partially met, or not adequately demonstrated. Quality appraisal informed the interpretive weight assigned to individual studies rather than serving as an automatic basis for exclusion. The appraisal was conducted by Budi Rahman Hakim (BRH) and independently checked by Panji Putrawan Makalalag (PPM), with disagreements resolved through discussion and, where necessary, adjudication by Ismatu Ropi (IR).

³⁰ Page et al.

³¹ Sheila Hawker et al., "Appraising the Evidence: Reviewing Disparate Data Systematically," *Qualitative Health Research* 12, no. 9 (2002): 1284–99, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732302238251>.

Data from each included study were extracted into a structured matrix recording author and year, Sufi order or movement, geographical setting, research design, target population, welfare programme or activity, welfare domain, spiritual-ethical mechanism, institutional vehicle, and reported outcome.³² Extraction was conducted by Budi Rahman Hakim (BRH) and independently checked by Panji Putrawan Makalalag (PPM). The data were then analysed through thematic coding and cross-case comparison. Coding combined deductive categories derived from the socio-spiritual welfare framework—ethical foundations, relational infrastructure, institutional translation, and welfare outcomes—with inductive codes emerging from the reviewed studies.

Study Characteristics

Each study is assigned an analytical identifier (S1–S18), which is used consistently throughout the Results and Discussion.

Table 3. Characteristics and Key Findings of the 18 Studies

No.	Author(s)	Sufi Order / Setting	Design & Welfare Focus
1	S1 — Syukur & Muhaya (2015) ³³	Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya; Java	Comparative case study; economic participation
2	S2 — Abdullah (2018) ³⁴	Naqshbandiyya; Boyolali, Central Java	Case study; religious education and social behaviour
3	S3 — Sofwatul Ummah (2018) ³⁵	Shādhiliyya; Pesantren Cidahu, Banten	Qualitative study; spiritual and social piety
4	S4 — Mardani (2019) ³⁶	Idrisiyya; Tasikmalaya, West Java	Phenomenological study; economic empowerment

³² Mary Dixon-Woods, "Using Framework-Based Synthesis for Conducting Reviews of Qualitative Studies," *BMC Medicine* 9, no. 1 (2011): 39, <https://doi.org/10.1186/1741-7015-9-39>.

³³ M. Amin Syukur and Abdul Muhaya, "Economic Movements within Sufism in Java: A Case Study on Qadiriyyah and Naqsyabandiyah Sufi Orders," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 9, no. 2 (2015): 229–56, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2015.9.2.229-256>.

³⁴ Luqman Abdullah, "Kontribusi Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Terhadap Pendidikan Agama Islam Dan Perubahan Perilaku Sosial Jamaah (Studi Kasus Jamaah Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Di Dukuh Tompe, Kabupaten Boyolali)," *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 1, no. 1 (2018): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v1i1.39>.

³⁵ E. Ova Siti Sofwatul Ummah, "Tarekat, Kesalehan Ritual, Spiritual Dan Sosial: Praktik Pengamalan Tarekat Syadziliyah Di Banten," *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Dan Filsafat* 15, no. 2 (2018): 315–34, <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v15i2.1448>.

³⁶ Mardani, "Spiritual Entrepreneurship Dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat: Studi Terhadap Tarekat Idrisiyah Pageningan Tasikmalaya."

5	S5 — Munandar & Mursalat (2019) ³⁷	Idrisiyya pesantren; Tasikmalaya	Field study; education and institutional empowerment
6	S6 — Munandar, Susanto & Nugroho (2020) ³⁸	Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya; Gemutri, Sleman	Qualitative study; social piety
7	S7 — Komaruddin & Halim (2021) ³⁹	TQN/Inabah XX; Tasikmalaya	Field study; addiction rehabilitation
8	S8 — Saifuddin (2021) ⁴⁰	Inabah; Sirnarasa, West Java	Qualitative case study; behavioural and addiction rehabilitation
9	S9 — Sholihah, Maarif & Romadhan (2021) ⁴¹	TQN	Literature-based analysis; Islamic counselling
10	S10 — Ahmad et al. (2021) ⁴²	TQN; Suryalaya, Mranggen, and Jombang	Qualitative study; moderation and anti-radicalism
11	S11 — Rusmana & Wan Ali (2022) ⁴³	Inabah; West Java	Ethnography; drug rehabilitation
12	S12 — Mursalat & Munandar (2022) ⁴⁴	Idrisiyya; Indonesia	Qualitative study; socio-economic empowerment and philanthropy

³⁷ Siswoyo Aris Munandar and M. Mursalat, "Akuntabilitas Manajemen Pemberdayaan Pendidikan: Studi Pada Pesantren Tarekat Al Idrisiyyah Tasikmalaya," *Jurnal MD* 5, no. 1 (June 2019): 13–37, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jmd.2019.51-02>.

³⁸ Siswoyo Aris Munandar, Sigit Susanto, and Wahyu Nugroho, "Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah Terhadap Kesalehan Sosial Masyarakat Dusun Gemutri Sukoharjo Sleman," *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat* 16, no. 1 (2020): 35–51, <https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v16i1.1833>.

³⁹ Komaruddin and Halim, "Peranan Terapi Spiritual Terhadap Penyembuhan Adik."

⁴⁰ Saifuddin, "Therapeutic Principles in Healing Reliability."

⁴¹ Maidatus Sholihah, Muhammad Anas Maarif, and Moh. Syahru Romadhan, "Konseling Islam Dengan Dzikir Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsabandiyah: Mengatasi Kegelisahan Jiwa Dan Bathin," *Al-Afkar, Journal for Islamic Studies* 4, no. 2 (2021): 299–317, <https://doi.org/10.31943/afkarjournal.v4i2.143>.

⁴² Maghfur Ahmad et al., "The Sufi Order against Religious Radicalism in Indonesia," *HTS Theologisc Studies / Theological Studies* 77, no. 4 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i4.6417>.

⁴³ Rusmana and Wan Ali, "Sufism Healing Methods for Drug Rehabilitation."

⁴⁴ Mursalat Mursalat and Siswoyo Aris Munandar, "Socio-Economic Dimensions of the Al-Idrisiyyah Tarekat in Indonesia: Doctrine and Practice," *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* 17, no. 1 (2022): 205–32, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v17i1.2543>.

13	S13 — Suwito et al. (2022) ⁴⁵	Hybrid Sufi communities; Java and Kalimantan	Ethnography; quality of life and communal resilience
14	S14 — Amboro (2023) ⁴⁶	Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya; Pesantren Miftahul Huda Gading, Malang	Qualitative documentation study; education and character formation
15	S15 — Baried (2023) ⁴⁷	Idrisiyya; Tasikmalaya	Phenomenological study; business and philanthropy
16	S16 — Sulaiman et al. (2023) ⁴⁸	Idrisiyya; Tasikmalaya	Qualitative multi-method study; institutional revival
17	S17 — Rasyad et al. (2023) ⁴⁹	Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan; Lombok	Historical study; education, identity, and social integration
18	S18 — Rosidi (2024) ⁵⁰	Naqshbandiyya Al-Khālidiyya Jalāliyya; Indonesia	Qualitative observation and interviews; spiritual formation and solidarity

Results and Discussion

Empirical claims are grounded in the reviewed corpus, while literature outside S1–S18 is used only for comparative or theoretical interpretation.⁵¹

Characteristics of the Reviewed Literature

One study was published in 2015, two in 2018, two in 2019, one in 2020, four in 2021, three in 2022, four in 2023, and one in 2024; no included studies were published in 2013, 2014, 2016, or 2017. Fourteen articles appeared in Indonesia-based journals and four in journals published outside Indonesia,

⁴⁵ Suwito Suwito et al., "Hybrid Sufism for Enhancing Quality of Life: Ethnographic Perspective in Indonesia," *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 78, no. 4 (2022): 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.4102/HTS.V78I4.7198>.

⁴⁶ Kamas Wahyu Amboro, "Integration of Tarekat Teachings in the Islamic Education Curriculum: A Case Study at the Miftahul Huda Gading Islamic Boarding School in Malang," *Atthulab: Islamic Religion Teaching and Learning Journal* 8, no. 2 (October 31, 2023): 219–37, <https://doi.org/10.15575/ath.v8i2.25167>.

⁴⁷ Baried, "Sufisme and Business: Study of Social and Business Activities of the Tarekat Al-Idrisiyyah In Indonesia."

⁴⁸ Sulaiman et al., "The Revival Movement of the Idrisiyya Order in Indonesia."

⁴⁹ Rasyad et al., "Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan."

⁵⁰ Rosidi, "The Suluk Ritual in the Tradition of the Tariqa (Sufi Order) Naqsyabandiyyah Al-Kholidiyyah Jalaliyyah in Indonesia."

⁵¹ The analytical corpus consists of the eighteen studies designated S1–S18 and fully identified in Table 3. Study identifiers are retained throughout the Results and Discussion to ensure traceability between cross-study synthesis and the underlying evidence.

indicating that scholarship on *ṭarīqa-based* welfare remains predominantly situated within Indonesian academic publication while acquiring selective international visibility.⁵² The corpus was identified through the five-source search strategy comprising Scopus, DOAJ, Garuda, SINTA, and Google Scholar. Because a single article may be indexed in more than one database, database coverage is treated as overlapping rather than as mutually exclusive categories.⁵³

Eleven studies employ qualitative case, field, documentary, or multi-method designs; two use ethnography; two use phenomenology; one uses a comparative case design; one uses a literature-based analysis; and one uses a historical method.⁵⁴ Geographically, fourteen studies include a Java-based research setting, with West Java—particularly Tasikmalaya and the institutional settings associated with Idrisiyya and Inabah—constituting the strongest concentration. Other settings include Central Java, Yogyakarta, Banten, East Java, Lombok, Kalimantan, and studies framed at the broader Indonesian level. This geographical concentration indicates that the corpus offers substantial insight into particular institutional settings but should not be interpreted as geographically representative of all Indonesian Sufi orders.⁵⁵

Table 4. Profile of the Reviewed Literature

Dimension	Corpus profile	Analytical implication
Publication years	2015 (1); 2018 (2); 2019 (2); 2020 (1); 2021 (4); 2022 (3); 2023 (4); 2024 (1)	Research becomes more visible after 2018

⁵² Authors' calculation from studies S1–S18 in Table 3. The four articles published in journals outside Indonesia are S10 and S13 in *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, S17 in the *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning*, and S18 in *An-Najah University Journal for Research—B (Humanities)*.

⁵³ The complete database search strategy is reported in Table 1. Searches covered Scopus, DOAJ, Garuda, SINTA, and Google Scholar; overlapping indexing was resolved during deduplication rather than treated as separate study occurrences.

⁵⁴ Authors' methodological classification based on Table 3: qualitative case, field, documentary, or multi-method studies (S2, S3, S5–S8, S10, S12, S14, S16, S18); ethnographies (S11, S13); phenomenological studies (S4, S15); comparative case study (S1); literature-based analysis (S9); and historical study (S17).

⁵⁵ Authors' geographical coding of S1–S18. Fourteen studies are set in Java, although some are multi-sited; S13 additionally covers Kalimantan, S17 focuses on Lombok, and S12 and S18 are presented at the broader Indonesian level.

Publication venue	14 Indonesia-based; 4 outside Indonesia	Scholarship remains predominantly Indonesia-centred
Search sources	Scopus, DOAJ, Garuda, SINTA, Google Scholar	International and Indonesian retrieval systems combined
Methodology	Qualitative/multi-method (11); ethnography (2); phenomenology (2); comparative case (1); literature analysis (1); historical (1)	Evidence base is predominantly qualitative
Geography	14 studies include Java; strongest concentration in West Java/Tasikmalaya; additional Lombok and Kalimantan coverage	Significant regional concentration limits national generalisation
<i>Ṭarīqa</i>/institutional profile	TQN/Inabah and Idrisiyya dominate; other Qādiriyya–Naqshbandiyya, Naqshbandiyya, Shādhiliyya, NW, and hybrid communities also represented	Corpus is institutionally uneven.
Welfare dimensions	Care/human formation; redistributive-economic provision; resilience/inclusion	Multiple coding captures overlapping welfare functions.

Sufi Orders Represented in Social Welfare Scholarship

The corpus is concentrated around two principal institutional clusters. TQN/Inabah-related settings account for five studies (S7–S11), while five studies examine Idrisiyya (S4, S5, S12, S15, S16). Three studies address Qādiriyya–Naqshbandiyya communities without a specific TQN designation (S1, S6, S14), and two examine other Naqshbandiyya settings (S2, S18). Shādhiliyya (S3), hybrid Sufi communities (S13), and Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan (S17) are each represented by one study.

The institutional concentration corresponds to differentiated welfare orientations. TQN/Inabah studies primarily address rehabilitation, counselling, and moderation; Idrisiyya studies foreground entrepreneurship, organisational development, philanthropy, education, and socio-economic empowerment; other Qādiriyya–Naqshbandiyya and Naqshbandiyya studies address economic conduct, education, social piety, and solidarity. Shādhiliyya is represented through the relationship between spiritual practice and social piety, Hizib NW through education, identity, and socio-cultural integration, and hybrid Sufism

through quality of life, livelihood, and communal-ecological responsibility. These distributions indicate patterns of scholarly representation and should not be interpreted as a ranking of which Sufi orders are objectively the most socially active in Indonesia.

Mechanisms and Domains of *Ṭarīqa*-based Welfare Care and Human Formation

Care and human formation constitute the most consistently documented mechanism in the corpus. Educational studies show that *tarekat* participation can connect spiritual discipline with behavioural and ethical formation: Abdullah (S2) reports changes in religious knowledge, compassion, calmness, and social responsibility; Sofwatul Ummah (S3) links ritual and spiritual practice with social piety; Munandar, Susanto, and Nugroho (S6) identify mutual care and helping behaviour; and Amboro (S14) documents the institutionalisation of *tarekat* practices within *pesantren* education.⁵⁶ Inabah-related research (S7, S8, S9, S11) describes combinations of *dhikr*, prayer, fasting, ritual discipline, counselling, psychoeducation, structured routines, and spiritual guidance in addiction rehabilitation and psychosocial care.⁵⁷ Across these settings, care operates through a dual process of ethical-spiritual formation and relational-institutional support, indicating that *ṭarīqa*-based welfare concerns the formation and reconstruction of persons as much as the delivery of discrete services.

Redistributive and Economic Provision

Syukur and Muhaya (S1) show that Sufi commitment does not necessarily entail economic withdrawal, thereby providing an empirical basis for linking spiritual discipline to productive economic conduct.⁵⁸ Mardani (S4) associates spiritual leadership with entrepreneurship and economic empowerment;

⁵⁶ Abdullah, "Kontribusi Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Terhadap Pendidik"; Sofwatul Ummah, "Tarekat, Kesalehan Ritual, Spiritual Dan Sosial"; Munandar, Susanto, and Nugroho, "Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah Terhadap Kesalehan Sosial Masyarakat Dusun Gemutri Sukoharjo Sleman"; Amboro, "Integration of Tarekat Teachings in the Islamic Education Curriculum: A Case Study at the Miftahul Huda Gading Islamic Boarding School in Malang."

⁵⁷ Komaruddin and Halim, "Peranan Terapi Spiritual Terhadap Penyembuhan Adik"; Saifuddin, "Therapeutic Principles in Healing Reliability"; Sholihah, Maarif, and Romadhan, "Konseling Islam Dengan Dzikir Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsabandiyah: Mengatasi Kegelisahan Jiwa Dan Bathin"; Rusmana and Wan Ali, "Sufism Healing Methods for Drug Rehabilitation."

⁵⁸ Syukur and Muhaya, "Economic Movements within Sufism in Java."

Munandar and Mursalat (S5) locate economic activity within a wider educational and organisational programme; Mursalat and Munandar (S12) document socio-economic programmes with philanthropic capacity; Baried (S15) connects business activities with community assistance; and Sulaiman et al. (S16) identify economic innovation as part of broader institutional revival.⁵⁹ Cross-study comparison therefore shows that production and redistribution are not separate domains: economic organisations generate resources and relational capacities that can subsequently support communal welfare. *Sufipreneurship* is thus best understood as one institutional form of ethical-economic translation, rather than as the overarching model of *ṭarīqa-based* welfare.

Community Resilience and Inclusion

Ahmad et al. (S10) show that TQN communities mobilise *dhikr*, love, moderation, and tolerance as ethical resources in resisting religious radicalism. In contrast, Mursalat and Munandar (S12) document how established socio-economic capacities were mobilised for community assistance during the COVID-19 period.⁶⁰ Suwito et al. (S13) broaden this pattern by associating Sufi formation with hard work, interpersonal respect, local wisdom, quality of life, and environmental responsibility. Rasyad et al. (S17) identify ritual and education as mechanisms of collective identity, solidarity, and socio-cultural integration within Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan. At the same time, Rosidi (S18) shows that *sulūk* strengthens social relations and communal responsibility alongside spiritual formation.⁶¹ These studies do not establish that Sufi affiliation automatically produces resilient or tolerant communities; rather, they indicate that durable ritual communities, shared ethical repertoires, and relational authority can generate resources relevant to crisis response, solidarity, inclusion,

⁵⁹ Mardani, "Spiritual Entrepreneurship Dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat: Studi Terhadap Tarekat Idrisiyah Pageningan Tasikmalaya"; Munandar and Mursalat, "Akuntabilitas Manajemen Pemberdayaan Pendidikan: Studi Pada Pesantren Tarekat Al Idrisiyyah Tasikmalaya"; Mursalat and Munandar, "Socio-Economic Dimensions of The Al-Idrisiyah Tarekat In Indonesia: Doctrine And Practice"; Baried, "Sufisme and Business: Study of Social and Business Activities of the Tarekat Al-Idrisiyyah In Indonesia"; Sulaiman et al., "The Revival Movement of the Idrisiyya Order in Indonesia."

⁶⁰ Ahmad et al., "The Sufi Order against Religious Radicalism in Indonesia"; Mursalat and Munandar, "Socio-Economic Dimensions of The Al-Idrisiyah Tarekat In Indonesia: Doctrine and Practice."

⁶¹ Suwito et al., "Hybrid Sufism for Enhancing Quality of Life: Ethnographic Perspective in Indonesia"; Rasyad et al., "Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan"; Rosidi, "The Suluk Ritual in the Tradition of the Tariqa (Sufi Order) Naqsyabandiyyah Al-Kholidiyyah Jalaliyyah in Indonesia."

and social cohesion. This corpus-based pattern parallels research on Indonesian Islamic faith-based organisations outside the *ṭarīqa* context, where community recovery is similarly mediated by social capital, cultural sensitivity, and locally embedded institutional relationships.⁶²

Toward a Socio-Spiritual Welfare Model

Across the three mechanisms, the corpus reveals a recurrent process rather than a uniform organisational template. Spiritual disciplines and ethical commitments first shape individual and collective orientations; these acquire social capacity through relational infrastructures such as spiritual authority, discipleship, ritual community, and congregational trust; and they become welfare practices when translated through educational, therapeutic, philanthropic, and economic institutions. The resulting outcomes include material support, psychosocial care, ethical formation, economic capability, solidarity, and communal inclusion. The principal cross-case finding is therefore not that every Sufi order performs every welfare function, but that different institutions translate spiritual formation into social provision through distinct organisational pathways.

This pattern provides the empirical basis for the socio-spiritual welfare model proposed here: spiritual-ethical foundations → relational infrastructure → institutional translation → multidimensional welfare outcomes. The sequence is analytical rather than deterministic. The reviewed studies do not demonstrate that *dhikr*, *khidma*, *iḥsān*, *tazkiyat al-nafs*, or *amāna* automatically generate welfare effects; instead, these ethical orientations become socially consequential when mediated through durable relationships, organisational routines, institutional structures, and mechanisms of resource mobilisation. In this sense, the model extends spiritually sensitive social-work perspectives by specifying how religious formation can become organised social provision within Indonesian Sufi settings.⁶³

Conclusion

This systematic review shows that the Indonesian literature represents Sufi orders not as uniform welfare providers but as religious institutions that translate spiritual formation into different forms of organised social provision. Across the 18 included studies, these translations are most clearly expressed through three

⁶² Nurdin, "Islamic Faith-based Organisations and Their Role."

⁶³ Canda and Furman, *Spiritual Diversity in Social Work Practice: The Heart of Helping*.

interconnected mechanisms: care and human formation, redistributive and economic provision, and community resilience and inclusion. The cross-study evidence further indicates that welfare effects are evident where spiritual discipline is mediated by relational authority, repeated communal practices, organisational routines, and institutional structures. *Ṭarīqa-based* welfare is therefore better understood as a differentiated set of institutional pathways than as either a single organisational model or an aggregation of charitable activities.

The principal theoretical contribution of this review is to reposition *ṭarīqa* from an object studied primarily through ritual, devotion, or religious authority toward a form of relational and institutional welfare infrastructure. The proposed socio-spiritual welfare model specifies a four-stage analytical relationship: spiritual-ethical foundations, relational infrastructure, institutional translation, and multidimensional welfare outcomes, through which values and practices acquire organised social consequences. This formulation connects Sufi studies more directly with spiritually sensitive and Islamic social-work concerns by showing that spiritual formation and welfare provision are linked neither automatically nor abstractly, but through trust, authority, organisation, and institutional mediation. The contribution, therefore, lies less in claiming a distinctly superior Sufi welfare system than in identifying the mechanisms by which spiritual communities can become socially productive welfare actors.

Practically, the findings suggest that Sufi orders, *pesantren*, rehabilitation centres, and affiliated socio-economic organisations would benefit from documenting their welfare programmes more systematically, including their beneficiaries, service processes, institutional resources, and measurable outcomes. Spiritual values should complement rather than substitute for professional competence, safeguarding, accountability, and appropriate referral mechanisms.⁶⁴ Partnerships with social workers, health professionals, educational institutions, philanthropic organisations, and public agencies may strengthen institutional capacity while preserving the relational and ethical resources that give *ṭarīqa-based* programmes their distinctive social embeddedness. Public policy can accordingly recognise Sufi networks as potential community partners without instrumentalising spiritual authority or reducing religious relationships to administrative delivery channels.

⁶⁴ P. Gilligan, "The Role of Religion and Spirituality in Social Work Practice: Views and Experiences of Social Workers and Students," *British Journal of Social Work* 36, no. 4 (2005): 617–37, <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bch252>; Smith and Teasley, "Social Work Research on Faith-Based Programs."

These conclusions should nevertheless be read within the limitations of the review. The corpus comprises only 18 articles and is dominated by qualitative case-based research, with substantial geographical concentration in Java and particularly West Java. The review was restricted to English- and Indonesian-language peer-reviewed publications, thereby excluding potentially relevant evidence in other languages and in books, theses, reports, and other grey literature. The studies also employ heterogeneous understandings of social welfare, populations, institutional settings, and reported outcomes, preventing meta-analysis or the calculation of comparable effect sizes. Most importantly, frequency of publication should not be treated as evidence of the scale, effectiveness, or social impact of any particular Sufi order. Future research should therefore prioritise comparative cross-*ṭarīqa* designs, longitudinal and mixed-method evaluation, explicit welfare indicators, and systematic assessment of institutional outcomes to test and refine the socio-spiritual welfare model proposed here.

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