

Social Enterprise as an Instrument for Community Welfare Development: A Multi-Case Study of Local Initiatives in Bali, East Nusa Tenggara, and North Maluku

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Abstract: This article discusses community welfare development based on social enterprise through a multi-case study of the East Bali Cashews (Bali), Du'Anyam (East Nusa Tenggara), and Sidegon (North Maluku) communities. Specifically, this article aims to analyse social enterprise models, the empowerment strategies implemented, and their impact on improving the economic, social, and cultural welfare of local communities. The research uses a qualitative approach with a multi-case study design, through data collection techniques such as in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation studies. Data analysis was conducted thematically and comparatively across cases to identify patterns, similarities, and characteristics of each community studied. The results of the study show that social enterprise plays a significant role in increasing community income, strengthening social capacity, and encouraging the transformation of the role of vulnerable groups, especially women, as economic and social actors through the communities they enter. Despite operating in different geographical and cultural contexts, and even with different religious identities, the three communities share similarities in their principles of sustainability, integration of local values, and orientation towards sustainable social impact. The findings of this study are expected to serve as a reference for the development of community empowerment policies and local initiative-based social enterprise practices in Indonesia.

Keywords: Social enterprise, Community Welfare, Local Initiatives, Strategies, Vulnerable Groups

Introduction

The idea of improving community welfare through the development of social enterprise is not new. Such ideas rarely come to the fore and become a topic of public discussion. However, in the context of efforts to improve community welfare, the idea of developing social enterprise has become non-negotiable.

Improving community welfare is a fundamental goal of development that still faces structural challenges, especially in rural and island areas (1). Disparities in welfare between regions are not only reflected in differences in income levels, but also in limited access to economic resources, markets, skills education, and weak social and institutional capacity in local communities (2). This situation leaves some communities vulnerable and unable to escape the cycle of structural poverty despite the implementation of various development programmes.

Various studies related to local community development show that welfare issues in peripheral areas are closely correlated with community dependence on commodity-based economic sectors with low added value, such as subsistence agriculture, small-scale fisheries, and home-based crafts.

For decades, the approach to welfare development in Indonesia has been dominated by state intervention through social assistance, project-based poverty alleviation programmes, and top-down rather than bottom-up sectoral policies (2). This approach has been relatively effective in meeting short-term basic needs, but has often failed to build economic independence and sustainable welfare. Criticism of this conventional approach has led to the development of alternative approaches that place people or communities at the centre of development (3). One

approach that is gaining prominence is social enterprise, which combines entrepreneurial logic with a mission to create sustainable economic, social and cultural value (4).

A number of studies show that social enterprise has significant potential to improve community welfare, especially in areas with limited access to the formal economy, such as eastern Indonesia (5). Through initiatives to create local employment, improve production skills, and strengthen market access, social enterprise can boost household income and the inclusion of vulnerable groups, particularly women (6).

However, a number of studies also emphasise that social enterprise is not a homogeneous practice, nor is it free from contradictions. Its success is highly dependent on the social, cultural, and institutional context in which it is born and developed (7). Many local initiatives related to social enterprise face challenges in the form of limited business scale, market access, dependence on donors, and tensions between social orientation and business sustainability. Without an inclusive institutional design, social enterprise even has the potential to reproduce internal inequalities within communities.

In the Indonesian context, social enterprise studies are still dominated by conceptual studies, single case studies, or partial economic impact evaluations (8). Research linking social enterprise to multidimensional community welfare, including economic, social, and cultural dimensions, is still relatively limited. In addition, the multi-case study approach, which allows for comparative analysis across social and geographical contexts, has also been rarely used, especially in eastern Indonesia. In fact, this region has unique geographical and social characteristics, such as regional isolation, high logistics costs, and strong local social and cultural capital. These conditions make the region an important social laboratory for studying social enterprise based on local initiatives.

In the context of community development and welfare improvement, it is interesting to further examine the phenomenon of local initiatives in the form of economic institutions engaged in social enterprise, or social enterprises, in various regions of the country, particularly in eastern Indonesia. The East Bali Cashews community in Bali Province, Du'Anyam in East Nusa Tenggara Province, and Sidegon in North Maluku Province represent social enterprise practices that have developed in this context with a strong focus on community empowerment and sustainability.

Although often referred to as good practices, academic studies that analyse these three communities comparatively and systematically are still very limited. Most of the existing literature is descriptive and does not yet place social enterprise as a strategy for community welfare development that is analysed theoretically and empirically.

In general, social enterprise is recognised as an alternative approach to community welfare development. Empirical evidence shows that its impact and sustainability are highly dependent on the local context, empowerment strategies, and institutional design (9). In Indonesia, particularly in the eastern region, social enterprise practices have developed in conditions of limited market access, infrastructure, and policy support, but are simultaneously supported by strong social and cultural capital.

The main problem that arises is that many studies of social enterprise still place community welfare in a narrow context, limited to improving economic welfare, without exploring in depth how social enterprise affects the social and cultural dimensions of the community. Furthermore, the lack of multi-case studies results in an incomplete understanding of the variations in models, strategies, and success factors of social enterprise, making it difficult to replicate models or formulate evidence-based policies.

In this context, the East Bali Cashews, Du'Anyam, and Sidegon communities demonstrate relatively successful and sustainable social enterprise practices. However, to date, there has been no academic study that systematically and comparatively explains: (1) how social enterprise models are constructed in different local community contexts, (2) what empowerment strategies are key to improving community welfare, and (3) how the impact of social enterprise works holistically, beyond economic aspects alone.

Therefore, this study positions social enterprise not merely as an alternative economic activity, but as a mechanism for community-based welfare development that needs to be understood contextually, comparatively, and multidimensionally. Based on these conditions, there is a clear research gap, namely the lack of empirical studies

based on multiple case studies that analyse social enterprise as a strategy for community welfare development in the context of diverse local communities. Unlike previous studies that tended to focus on economic impacts or single case studies, this study integrates the analysis of social enterprise models, empowerment strategies, and sustainability mechanisms into a comprehensive analytical framework. Thus, this study not only enriches the literature on

on social enterprise in the context of developing countries, but also offers an empirical basis for the formulation of community empowerment policies and the replication of contextual and sustainable community-based social enterprise models.

Related Study

Academic studies on social enterprise have grown rapidly over the past decade, with a diverse range of research topics ranging from conceptual definitions and mechanisms for creating social value to its role in achieving community welfare and sustainable development. In general, social enterprise is understood as an economic mechanism that not only pursues financial gain but also has a social mission to solve complex social problems, including poverty, inequality, and community empowerment (10). From an Islamic perspective, for example, social enterprise is an effort to do business to seek worldly and spiritual profits, creating benefits for the community by promoting sharia values such as honesty, trustworthiness, justice, and avoiding what is forbidden (usury, gharar, maysir), and aims to prosper the earth and serve others as a form of worship, not merely for profit, with the motivation of seeking blessings from God (11).

1. Social enterprise and Community Empowerment

In the context of community empowerment, many empirical studies show a positive relationship between social enterprise and community empowerment. Social enterprise is often used as an alternative strategy to overcome structural poverty and increase the economic capacity of local communities. For example, studies show that social enterprise models can increase community participation and provide socio-economic impacts through the establishment of micro-enterprises, the mental and emotional involvement of community members in group activities, and the capacity to open up new business opportunities (12). Such studies generally focus only on socio-economic impacts and pay less attention to sustainability as an important dimension of social enterprise.

In addition, research in villages highlights the role of social enterprise assistance in strengthening community knowledge and skills to utilise local potential as an independent economic source, showing that social enterprise-based interventions can improve residents' understanding and abilities in local business development (4). Increasing the capacity of the local community involved is often the main orientation and objective of social enterprise programmes. Respect for local culture and wisdom is also an important part of community-based social enterprise development (13).

A number of literature also shows that social enterprise can be seen as an instrument for empowering families and the wider community, especially vulnerable groups, in addressing other social issues, such as environmental damage through family empowerment programmes based on social enterprise (14). This reflects the increasingly broad link between social enterprise and the social and environmental development agenda (15). Currently, there are many economic and religious social institutions that are oriented towards promoting local values and environmental sustainability (16).

2. The Role of Social enterprise in Improving Community Welfare Social enterprise is positioned not only as an economic phenomenon but also as

development strategies that can trigger holistic improvements in community welfare. Empirically, research shows that social enterprise can: First, address socio-economic problems such as poverty, unemployment, and limited access to basic services through job creation and increased income for local communities (17). Second, strengthen social inclusion and environmental sustainability, which contribute to sustainable development goals and community economic transformation. Third, enhance social network capabilities, which are an important mechanism in social value creation and community empowerment, where network components, norms, and trust

play a mediating/moderating role in the process of creating social impact (8). Findings related to the relationship between social capital and social enterprise show that the strength of local social structures is often a determining factor in the success of social initiatives, both in terms of business productivity and community or family resilience to socio-economic shocks (18).

Several case studies and reviews show that successful social enterprise initiatives create inclusive community economic ecosystems. For example, research conducted by Fujimoto found that the community-based tourism model can increase the income of

through the revitalisation of local resources (19). Social enterprise practices in business tourism villages are seen as successful in strengthening local business networks and improving the performance of partner businesses through a combination of social values and mutually reinforcing economic activities. In addition, empirical literature studies also emphasise the importance of institutional support and multi-stakeholder collaboration, including the government, private sector, and civil society, to strengthen a sustainable social enterprise ecosystem (6).

3. Research Challenges

Although there have been many studies examining the positive impact of social enterprise on community welfare, there are still research gaps that this study can fill. First, there is a lack of comparative multi-case studies linking social enterprise strategies with multidimensional community welfare outcomes (economic, social, cultural), rather than just economic aspects. Second, there is limited research on the mechanisms of social value and social enterprise performance, especially in the context of different cultures and institutions between regions. Third, there is a limitation in the integration of theory and practice, where much of the research is still descriptive or single case studies without playing at a comparative level that can explain why and how a social enterprise model succeeds in creating welfare.

Based on recent empirical studies, social enterprise has been proven to contribute significantly to community empowerment and improved economic welfare through job creation, social value, and enhanced social networks (20). However, there is a gap in research related to multi-case comparative analysis and holistic mapping of social impact creation mechanisms that still needs to be addressed.

This study is at the intersection of social enterprise and community development literature, offering an integrative approach to empirically address this gap. This study constructs a conceptual framework that places social enterprise as a strategic variable, community empowerment as an intervening process, and community welfare as a multidimensional outcome. This framework departs from the assumption that the impact of social enterprise on welfare is not only determined by economic activities alone, but also by how empowerment strategies are designed and implemented in the context of a particular community.

Research Design

This research was conducted in three social enterprise-based community economic development institutions located in three provinces in eastern Indonesia. Namely, East Bali Cashews in Bali Province, Du'Anyam in East Nusa Tenggara Province, and Sidegon in North Maluku Province, which are geographically located in eastern Indonesia. The three cases were selected purposively based on the following considerations: First, they have a clear social enterprise mission. Second, they are based on local community empowerment. Third, they have demonstrated operational sustainability and social impact in the medium to long term. In addition, these three social enterprise-based community economic development institutions were selected based on the consideration that eastern Indonesia needs more attention and stronger economic development efforts, given that their economic standards are relatively lower than those in western Indonesia.

The subjects of this study are the managers of community economic development institutions and the implementation of social enterprise in East Bali Cashews, Bali Province, Du'Anyam, East Nusa Tenggara Province, and Sidegon, North Maluku Province. The subjects of this study also include local residents who are involved as economic actors, as well as other stakeholders related to the community economic development process, both business capital providers and the Small and Medium Enterprises Agency within the local

government structure.

As this is a qualitative study with a multi-case study design, it does not aim to make generalisations as quantitative studies do. Data in this study was collected through in-depth interviews, focused group discussions, observations and documentation studies. Focused discussions and in-depth interviews were conducted primarily to obtain a holistic picture of the strategies used to access capital and strengthen the capacity of community economic actors, who are generally local residents.

The use of a multi-case study design with a multidimensional welfare approach is the methodological strength of this research. This methodology allows for the analysis of social enterprise not only as an economic phenomenon, but also as a complex, contextual, and multi-layered community development practice.

Results

1. East Bali Cashews

East Bali Cashews is an economic institution oriented towards social enterprise, established in 2012. The name East Bali Cashews is inseparable from an American figure named Aaron Fishman (21). As reflected in its name, East Bali Cashews is located in the province of Bali. Behind its natural beauty and unique culture, eastern Bali, especially the Karangasem region, is actually a fairly poor area. This inspired the creation of East Bali Cashews as a social enterprise that not only helps cashew farmers in the area become more prosperous, but also opens up job opportunities for the community in the region (22). The social enterprise through East Bali Cashews is intended to utilise local potential that can generate more profits for local residents (23). The main idea is to create business activities that can generate employment and further improve the quality of life for farmers and their families, as well as the local community in general.

At the social enterprise East Bali Cashew, every cashew nut used in these snack packs aims to prove and ensure that no hard work goes to waste. The East Bali Cashews management team has created a variety of snack options, such as granola, muesli, flavour mixes, and roasted cashew nuts in a range of flavours. Furthermore, all the flavours used come from Bali, including coconut, rosella, chilli and chocolate, which represent the distinctive flavours of this region. East Bali Cashew's favourite flavour is chocolate cashew nuts, which are processed using local sources and natural chocolate powder. Cashew nuts and salted caramel popcorn are also among the company's top offerings.

In the future, this social enterprise plans to reclaim a total of 77,000 hectares of land for cashew cultivation. In the next decade, a healthy agricultural foundation for the cashew farming community in Bali will be further secured. They have modelled their business to reach beyond the village community, for development and to start making a positive impact in other areas. The most important part of this social enterprise is its stability and autonomy to bring development to other places where it is needed.



Figure 1: Production gallery space at East Bali Cashew, Karangasem, East Bali

To keep the entire process local, each product is grown, packaged and prepared for shipment in a single factory. Giving back to the local community remains a key objective for East Bali Cashews, even for the next few years. Today, the company has grown significantly, and its products are available in several shops across Bali, reaching international markets in Southeast Asia, Australia, New Zealand, and even the United States (Interview).

2. Du'Anyam

Du'Anyam, which means Mother Weaving, is a social enterprise founded in 2014 by Azalea Ayuningtyas with her two close friends, Melia Winata and Hanna. Du'Anyam started its first project in the city of Larantuka, East Nusa Tenggara. This province is one of the poorest provinces, with the highest maternal and infant mortality rates in Indonesia. Therefore, Du'Anyam's initial presence offered solutions to the health and economic problems faced by the local community. This social enterprise utilises existing weaving traditions by providing alternative employment for women who tend to be socially and economically vulnerable (24). Currently, Du'Anyam has reached no less than 100 villages across the archipelago, with its main base in Larantuka and Solor Island, East Nusa Tenggara.

Du'Anyam started its first project in the city of Larantuka, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. This province is one of the poorest provinces in Indonesia, with the highest maternal and newborn mortality rates in the country. Most pregnant women experience financial difficulties in covering pregnancy-related costs. In addition, most pregnant women in this region also work in fields, gardens or rice paddies to earn additional income for their families.



Figure 2: Du'Anyam production office in Larantuka, East Nusa Tenggara

To date, Du Anyam has empowered more than 1,600 women weavers in 54 villages spread across the provinces of East Nusa Tenggara, South Kalimantan, and Papua with three main pillars, namely empowering women, promoting culture, and improving welfare. In other words, the social enterprise carried out by Du Anyam is built on the foundations of social empowerment, preservation of local culture, and economic sustainability (24).



Figure 3: Du'Anyam Product Gallery

3. Sidegon

The social enterprise known as Sidegon is located in the city of Ternate, North Maluku Province. It was born out of online discussions during Covid-19, initiated by Si'De'Go, pioneered by Mukhtar Adam, a local resident who is also a doctor of economics and a graduate of Padjadjaran University in Bandung. The outcomes of these discussions were used to formulate concrete programmes through economic initiatives to address the threat of economic recession, leading to the establishment of the Sidegon Cooperative. Sidegon then brought together micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs) to trade at designated locations, providing a space for them to resume activities that had been disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Sidegon is an association of nearly one hundred Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises in North Maluku Province, particularly in the cities of Ternate, Halmahera and Morotai. Formally, Sidegon, which was initiated by grassroots economic activists, took the form of a cooperative. As a gallery for various small and medium enterprises to do business together, Sidegon has a shared sales area called Fala Sidegon, located on Jalan Sultan Kaherun Soa Sio Ternate, North Maluku Province.

According to Mukhtar Adam, Sidegon is a form of social enterprise that aims to improve the welfare of its members, who are spread across 88 micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) throughout North Maluku. Sidegon itself was formed by a group of MSME actors and academics who share a common vision about the importance of collaboration in the development of a sustainable people's economy (Interview).

The term "Sidegon" itself, according to Mukhtar Adam, means "to sit" in the Ternate language, while "Gon" means "to sell." Thus, Sidegon roughly translates to "sitting to sell," which is a response to various efforts to encourage entrepreneurship in North Maluku Province, where the ratio of residents involved in entrepreneurial ventures is still relatively low (Interview).



Figure 4: Fala Sidegon Ternate, a shared outlet where Micro Small and Medium Enterprise members display their products

As a form of business, cultural and social collaboration, Sidegon has entered into various partnerships with a number of large companies to encourage local artisans to develop their businesses, one of which is the production of a traditional Ternate hat known as the Tuala Lipa. In fact, the Tuala Lipa has also been adopted as the symbol or logo of Sidegon. Through collaborations with various companies, Sidegon encourages local artisans spread across various Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises to produce Tuala Lipa while also preserving local wisdom that risks being lost to time if not continuously maintained and preserved (Interview).

Discussion

1. Community-Based Social enterprise Model

Research findings indicate that the three communities, East Bali Cashews in Bali Province, Du'Anyam in East Nusa Tenggara Province, and Sidegon in North Maluku Province, have developed social enterprise models that draw on local potential but are packaged within a market-oriented and sustainable business framework. Although operating in different sectors and commodities, East Bali Cashew utilises cashew nuts, Du'Anyam utilises woven products, and Sidegon develops various local processed products, including those based on coconut, all three have similarities in placing the local community as the main actor in the production process and the creation of economic value.

East Bali Cashews developed a cashew processing model that integrates local farmers into the value chain, from post-harvest to market-ready products. Du'Anyam promotes traditional household-based weaving production with a focus on women's empowerment, while Sidegon develops businesses based on local island resources that

adapted to geographical limitations and market access. These findings confirm that community-based social enterprise is not singular in nature, but rather highly adaptive to the social and geographical context of each region (8). This shows that local initiatives in the form of social enterprise development are largely determined by their local potential. As local potential varies, community-based social enterprise is never homogeneous, but rather heterogeneous in accordance with the diversity of potential in each region.

Theoretically, this finding is in line with the views of Daskalopoulou (10) (2006) and Dacin et al. (7), who emphasise that social enterprise is a contextual practice, in which business model design is greatly influenced by local social, cultural and institutional structures. This study enriches the literature by showing how adaptation to the local context is a key factor in the sustainability of social enterprises in peripheral regions of Indonesia.

2. Community Empowerment Strategies in Social enterprise

The results of the study identified that community empowerment strategies in the three communities not only focused on improving technical production skills, but also included strengthening the social and cultural capacity of the community. The empowerment strategies identified include continuous skills training, business mentoring, strengthening community organisations, and creating inclusive participation spaces for vulnerable groups. These strategies are adopted by social enterprise managers in collaboration with other parties who can provide skills and capacity building for community members involved in social enterprise in their respective regions.

In the Du'Anyam community, women's empowerment is a key strategy, whereby women are not only involved as workers, but also as decision-makers in production groups. Meanwhile, East Bali Cashews emphasises capacity building for local farmers and workers through training on production quality and sustainability standards. Sidegon, with its limited island area, emphasises community collaboration and strengthening social solidarity as key assets in running joint ventures.

These findings reinforce the view that the success of social enterprise is largely determined by the quality of the empowerment process, rather than solely by the scale of the business or economic profits (25). This study shows that multidimensional empowerment—economic, social, and cultural—is more effective in creating long-term welfare impacts.

3. The Impact of Social enterprise on Economic, Social and Cultural Welfare

In terms of economic welfare, all three communities showed an increase in household income among community members and the creation of relatively more stable livelihoods compared to conditions prior to involvement in social enterprise. Community members gained more consistent access to work, additional income, and opportunities to improve skills relevant to market needs.

However, this study also found that improvements in economic welfare are not always linear and evenly distributed. Some community members still face limitations in production scale and market demand fluctuations. This shows that social enterprise can improve the economic resilience of communities, but still requires broader

ecosystem support to expand its impact.

These findings are in line with the results of research by Khanh Hun Doan (26) and Riswan Rambe (27), which states that social enterprise has great potential in creating economic value, but still faces structural challenges related to the market and business sustainability.

One important finding of this study is that the impact of social enterprise on community welfare lies not only in economic aspects, but also in strengthening social and cultural dimensions. Involvement in social enterprises increases the confidence of community members, strengthens social cohesion, and creates a collective identity as dignified economic actors.

In the Du'Anyam community, women's involvement in social enterprise contributes to changing gender relations at the household and community levels. At East Bali Cashews, sustainability practices and work ethics strengthen environmental awareness and social responsibility. Meanwhile, in Sidegon, social enterprise serves as a space for strengthening community solidarity in facing the limitations of the archipelago.

This finding expands on the concept of community welfare as proposed by Salic (28), namely that welfare is not only measured by income, but also by improvements in the capacity, dignity and social freedom of individuals and communities.

4. Social Issues as Assets

The three case studies that have been elaborated, namely East Bali Cashews, Du'Anyam and Sidegon, provide two main points that can be used as material for reflection. First, it is important to understand that social issues, like community welfare, can be resolved by viewing them as assets. This is similar to Imamul Hakim's (6) idea of creating shared value, whereby incorporating social issues into business strategies and operations will lead to competitive advantages and long-term business sustainability. These three cases also reflect important factors in an asset-based community development approach.

Secondly, in addition to viewing social issues as assets, these three cases illustrate that valuing the values, culture and traditions of local residents contributes to local and regional development. These cases provide good examples of identifying assets as diverse ideas, human resources and social dynamics such as trust, which acts as a lubricant for cooperative businesses. In countries where trust and reliability are not observed in government or social mechanisms (e.g., corruption, bribery, lack of legal frameworks for business and industry), business entrepreneurs must build on existing trust networks rather than create them. Therefore, as Fahad Sultan (29) concludes, discovering and building on existing trust and utilisation is the starting point for community entrepreneurs in overcoming existing social challenges.

Indeed, collaborative networks for community entrepreneurs are essential in production, consumption and redistribution platforms. Successful communities and social enterprises of all sizes and scales can start by establishing networks of internal markets, suppliers, partners and customers. Using these platforms makes social connectivity and data sharing easier among employees, partners, suppliers and customers. It is also important to have direct knowledge of the environment and customer needs, and to be able to flexibly take appropriate actions to maintain business continuity so that they can contribute to addressing social issues within and around the community.

5. Cross-Case Analysis: Similarities, Differences, and Academic Implications

Cross-case analysis shows fundamental similarities in social mission orientation, community involvement, and integration of local values in social enterprise practices. However, there are significant differences in operational strategies, mentoring patterns, and mechanisms for adapting to geographical and market challenges.

These differences indicate that there is no universal model of social enterprise. The success of social enterprise lies in its ability to adapt to the local context, as emphasised in the literature on contextual social enterprise (7). This study confirms the importance of a contextual approach in designing and replicating community-based social

enterprise models.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the development of social enterprise studies by placing community welfare as a multidimensional and prosocial outcome. These findings reinforce the argument that social enterprise needs to be understood as a community development strategy, not merely a business innovation with a social mission. Furthermore, the multi-case study approach used in this research enriches the literature, which has been dominated by single case studies. By comparing three communities in different contexts, this study is able to identify common patterns and contextual variations that are important for the development of community-based social enterprise theory.

Conclusion

This study shows that social enterprise plays a strategic role in developing community welfare based on local initiatives, particularly in peripheral areas in eastern Indonesia. Through a multi-case study of the East Bali Cashews community in Bali Province, Du'Anyam in East Nusa Tenggara Province, and Sidegon in North Maluku Province, this study found that social enterprise can function as an empowerment mechanism that not only improves economic welfare but also strengthens the social and cultural dimensions of local communities. The three cases highlighted fundamental similarities in terms of social mission orientation, community involvement, and appreciation of local values in social enterprise practices. However, there were important differences in the selection of strategies and patterns.

assistance, and ways to adapt to geographical and market challenges, tailored to the potential and capacity of each individual.

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