

Position of Kyai in Traditions and Ideologies of Traditional Waqf in Maduranese Communities

Ahmad MukriAji¹, Harisah, SyarifahGustiawatiMukri²

^{1,2}Universitas Islam Negeri SyarifHidayatullah Jakarta, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura, Universitas Ibn Khaldun Bogor

Abstract

Waqf is one of the assets distribution instruments in the Islamic concept. This instrument is mostly carried out by the community, and each community has different traditions and ideologies as well as among Maduranese communities. Maduranese have a tradition of giving waqf funds to religious scholars or religious leaders (kyai) who are considered experts in the religious fields. This tradition is balanced with the public ideology that has been embedded in various layers of Maduranese society. This ideology is accepted and fulfilled by the community by assuming that waqf will give more blessings to the waqf giver (waqif), as a result, the tradition of giving waqf is still implemented traditionally. From this notion, researchers are interested in conducting research on the analysis of traditions and ideologies of the Maduranese community on giving traditional waqf as well as benefits for the community in the presence of these waqf traditions. This study applied a qualitative approach using interviews and observations, while the objects of research are kyai, community leaders, and the waqf giver (waqif). This study revealed that the majority of Maduranese gave waqf assets through traditional methods to the kyai and community leaders who were considered pious in religion, and the community had a belief that the waqf property given to the kyai and religious leaders would provide a blessing effect on their possessions.

Keywords: Tradition, Ideology, Waqf

1. PRELIMINARY

In Indonesia, waqf has been known before the arrival of Islam, as a form of donation to take the value of mutual benefit (Sulistiani, 2017, p. 12), since its benefits can be received by the general public. Waqf has existed for a long time, as seen in the era of the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam which was established in 916 H. Waqf actions have been implemented (Sulistiani, 2017, p. 19), particularly by the royal family. This custom was also practiced by the people of ancient times, for instance, there is also a waqf in the Java region called the *perdikan* land with several terms such as: *Pesantren* Village, a land given to kyai to teach Islamic studies, *Mijen* Village is land given to someone to plant vegetable or fruit seeds for the king's needs, *Keputihan* Village is land given to magicians, and *Pakuncen* Village land given to the king's funeral caretaker. All these types of land belonged to the king which was lent to someone or his family as a gift or salary and were exempt from taxes, but eventually became a form of waqf (Sulistiani, 2017, pp. 56-57). Likewise, in Madura, the giving of waqf has become a community tradition to give the land intended for the public like the act of king in the name of waqf, therefore until now, the majority of waqf property is land and given to the kyai or religious leaders. Waqf land for religious leaders is usually land intended for graves, mosques, mushallas and schools as well as roads.

Some forms of waqf property that are usually given by the community have their own uniqueness. Because each recipient and type of assets given has some meaning in the Maduranese ideology. The Maduranese are known by their terms of Islamic authenticity with various Islamic religions (Susanto, 2012, p. 102). With this Islamic diversity, the majority

habits of people are inseparable from religious values, both directly and indirectly. These values are then welcomed by the community. Each region will have a recognized tradition that is accepted by the community, both in the social and financial aspects, as well as in the Madura region. Madura island with a majority of Muslim community has various customs or traditions that are maintained to this day. This tradition is not only in the social aspect, but also in the financial aspect. Both aspects are in one activity that has worship values, since the Maduraneses implement the sharia principles and ideology that put forward the value of blessing in Maduranese society.

The ideology which emphasizes the value of blessing has been recognized, believed, and practiced by the Maduranese community, thus in the practice of giving waqf property, the majority of Maduranes do it traditionally. This phenomenon is taken place because the community believes that giving waqf will give more value to their assets. To this day, the management of waqf funds or the distribution of waqf assets through waqf management institutions is rare and limited, means that the Maduranes still give more traditional waqf assets, both consumptive and productive. From the explanation above, the authors conducted a study of the ideology embedded in the Maduranese community, which cause applying waqf traditionally.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This study applied a qualitative method, a type of research which findings are not obtained through statistical procedures or other forms of calculation (Afrizal, 2017, p. 12). The use of this qualitative method is due to the need of qualitative data to provide a real picture of the study. Researchers need individuals who provide information about social reality from the perspective of actors, gather information about labels, stigmas, or arguments (Afrizal, 2017, p. 30), furthermore, not all of the values, behaviors, and interactions of social actors and their environment can be quantified. This is mainly because of someone's perception of something very dependent on the values, culture, and experience brought by the individual (Gunawan, 2017, p. 105). Thus, researchers really need the information provided by the informants related to the data of this study through qualitative data.

In collecting valid data, researchers utilized in-depth interview technique, or a technical interview without using a list of questions, but carried out by exploring information from an informant. Hence, the interview was carried out repeatedly with the informant. Therefore, the interviewer needs to control the social situation of the interview in depth to make a good and valid data in its quality (Afrizal, 2017, pp. 36-37). Interviews are carried out on the object or a waqf giver (waqif), waqf receiver (*nazhir*) or the the waqf utilizer. Additionally, researchers also utilize technical observations to the field by looking at and analyzing objects or items represented by the community, as well as taking care for objects that are represented by people as recipients of waqf property. With some of these techniques, researchers will obtain valid data, as a result, they can explain the desired topic in this article thoroughly and completely.

3. MADURANESE TRADITIONS AND IDEOLOGY OF WAQF

Tradition is a hereditary habit (partanto & Barry, 2001, p. 756) and is trusted and preserved by the community, while ideology is used to show groups of ideas in various aspects of life such as political, economic, social, and basic principles of life (partanto & Barry, 2001, p. 239). It can also be interpreted as a collection of ideas, basic ideas, beliefs and faith to achieve a certain goal both for personal or public. From this understanding, both tradition and ideology have a significant relationship in the study of waqf. People have a traditional tradition of giving waqf assets that are maintained until now by the community,

because of the ideology or beliefs of the community which got the acceptance by the community itself.

This trust becomes a guideline for community actions in every aspect of life, including in the aspect of giving waqf. Waqfis etymologically defined as "holding," while terminologically is "holding assets that can be utilized while maintaining the substance, deciding the use of substances with other forms of utilization that still exist" (Azzam, 2017, p. 395). In the pillars of waqf, there must be four things namely; the giver of waqf (*waqif*), the property that is represented (*mauquf*), receiver of waqf (*mauquf 'alaih*), and the contract (*shighat*) (Azzam, 2017, p. 398). If all of the pillars have been fulfilled, then the waqfis legal or lawful.

One of study has explained that waqf is a combination of spiritual elements in outward elements, therefore, waqf can be categorized as one of the essential elements in the Islamic economic structure. In order to adapt towards the changing era, the transformation of trust waqf management is needed, so the waqf property becomes a source of productive economic activity (Markom, 2014, p. 341). The benefits of granting waqf assets are greatly supporting the rotation in the economy of the *ummah*, because waqf property can be utilized for the public, so it is requiring a trustee waqf recipient.

Nowadays, the Maduranese community still strongly believes that the teacher (*kyai*) is the most feasible person as a representative in receiving waqf. Although in several terms and conditions, the position of the kyai and his role is no longer the major thing in the community. According to the research of Iva Yulianti Umdatul Izzah, she stated that each region changes according to the factors that influence, and the process can take place quickly, medium, or slowly, in evolution or revolution. This alteration can be triggered by technology, transportation, communication, and industrialization. This is in line to the pattern of changes in the relationship between the kyai and the community which has resulted in the reduced role of the kyai among community life (Izzah, 2011, p. 46). However, this change does not apply to all aspects of life and all kyai, because some sectors of society still maintain the kyai as the main figures such as stratification regarding on religion.

There are four levels of stratification based on religion which was developed among Maduranese community, namely; *firstly* is a Kyai, a person known as a religious leader and people who occupy the top layer, since he is considered a father to the community and a teacher to his students; *Secondly* are the Bindara, or people who complete their education in the school (*pondok*) but their knowledge is still below the kiyai. This position is based on the level of ability to understand religious knowledge; *Thirdly* are students (*santri*), people who study in Islamic boarding schools; *Fourthly* is non-*santri*, those who do not study religion in Islamic boarding schools, however, they could be someone who is not a *santri* yet a *Priyayi*, so they have a higher position than the *santri* (Ma'arif, 2015, p. 45).

This stratification is still very strongly maintained by the Maduranese community, excluding, for kyai who have entered into the political sphere or called participant kyai, they are no longer the main people who are prioritized by the community. This notion is in accordance with Akhmad Farid Mawardi Sufyan's statement that there are a number of kyai that are considered by the people to be no longer strong to carry out their mandate or be asked for their blessings, including kyai who have joined political matters and become political participants (Sufyan, 2020).

The view of stratification was also triggered by the history of the entry of Islam, one of which was brought by the saints (*wali*) of Allah, and people who believe in the kyai as a substitute for the *wali* of Allah. This is in accordance with Syamsul Maarif's statement that the method of Islamization in Madura can be successful because the 100% native Maduranese population are Muslim, no-one of indigenous Maduranese are non-Muslim even an immigrant one. The process of Islamization in Madura is arguably an extraordinary

da'wah project, beginning with a massive process of national Islamization between the 7th and 15th centuries through the sincere hands of the *Wali Songo*. From this process, there are three paths of Islamization of Madura, namely: the trade route, the royal path, and the path of the preacher (*wali*) or *kyai* (Ma'arif, 2015, p. 143).

Recently, the first two pathways are no longer developed in Madura, while the only path that has survived to date is the *wali* or *kyai*, therefore, the *kyai* is positioned and remained as the first guardian trusted by the Maduranese in many aspects of life. Although Madura is a society that has many cultures, however, they have a cultural system that can form perspectives, such as; "*Settongdhere* (Maduranese language)" means one Maduranese blood, which shows that fellow Maduranese are obliged to help each other and carry out mutual cooperation (Mujtahidin, Mahmud, & Nurtamam, 2017, p. 127). This culture is held by the community and used as a principle in the order of life, as a result, the developed various cultures will not become a trigger for the community to fight each other. This situation can be maintained since the role of *kyai* as religious leaders who are very caring and wise in controlling society.

The role of *kyai* in each sector of community life is also recognized in terms of receiving or managing waqf funds. Based on Akhmad Farid Mawardi Sufyan's statement, stating that the *Kyai* is someone who is considered to have an emotional relationship towards the community, consequently, they prefer to give waqf funds to the *kyai* or religious leaders in the community (Akhmad Farid Mawardi Sufyan, 2020). This is also triggered by the principle of community prudence and the high level of trust among people in Madura, so that the *kyai* or religious figure is considered as the closest person to Allah. Thus, the form of *ta'dzim* towards the *kyai* by the Maduranese community was strongly maintained (Akhmad Farid Mawardi Sufyan, 2020). The existence of *kyai* in the waqf as the recipient of waqf assets are considered the most trustful by the community.

The majority of Maduranese at this time still hold the Madura proverb known as *bhuppa' bhebhhu thunder ratoh* (Maduranese language) means the Maduranese observance hierarchy is which parents become the number one or the most important person who must be respected from others, the next position is teacher, and lastly is the leader or the government. This proverb shows that public trust will be more prioritized in the teacher particularly in the category of *kyai*, then in the government (Wahyudi, 2020). This condition is in accordance with the statement of Ach. Taufiqurrahman mentioned that a *kyai* is not merely in the form of a religious figure, but a person who is considered that made every step aimed seeking the pleasure of Allah, hence, in the life of the Maduranese, they still prioritize the *kyai* to play a role. Supplementary to this, when the community participating the figure of *kyai* in his life, then they will get blessing or "*ngamri blessing*" (Maduranese language) (Taufiqurrahman, 2020). The similar thing was also stated by Hermanto that the *kyai* among Maduranese were considered number one for a religious life (Hermanto, 2020).

This is in tone to the case of waqf which is conducted in traditional practice patterns, is still maintained by the people, especially a form of community trust in the *kyai* over the management of waqf funds. This practice is also carried out by people in the form of money, which then money from the community will be spent on land which is sometimes intended to build Islamic schools, mosques, mushalla or roads whose recipients are still representatively by *kyai* (Wahyudi, 2020). *Kyai* is considered as a person who can pray so that the represented assets will give a blessing effect to other assets (Faiqoh, 2020). Giving waqf to the *kyai* or religious figure becomes a tradition that is maintained by the community with the ideology or belief of the community that the *kyai* is the most trustworthy person to safeguard the waqf property. Aside, the community also believes that the assets given through the *kyai* will give blessings to the assets owned by the community.

4. THE TRADITIONAL PRACTICE ON GIVING WAQF IN MADURA

According to customary law, waqf is positioned as a legal act by making an item or condition of the item has been issued or taken for the benefit of the large community, or for the benefit of someone, or for a particular person (Sulistiani, 2017, p. 12). The term of waqf can also be defined as the giving of valuable assets to another person for the public interest without reducing the assets, therefore, the use of the waqf is only taken from the benefits of the waqf property.

Giving or distributing consumptively is conducted by giving goods to be taken benefits without any development of assets from the object, this practice is also implemented by the Maduranese community. According to the opinion of Moh. Syifaudin, which mentioned that the waqf funds in Madura were made directly to the waqf recipients by agreement or contract (Syifauddin, 2020). The same statement was also expressed by Bhismoadi Tri that the majority of the waqf property in Madura were given directly and represented to the kyai as community leaders (Faizal, 2020), since they are considered close to Allah. This means that people handed the waqf property to someone called a kyai without looking at his background, but is based on the closeness of the person with Allah (Sa'ri, 2020).

The distributing method of waqf assets in Madura, is mostly handed directly to the recipients of waqf which are represented by kyai or religious leaders who are considered trustworthy by the community.

The represented waqf assets can be categorized, such as; land, money and agricultural products. This is in accordance with the statement of Akhmad Farid Mawardi Sufyan (Sufyan, 2020) mentioned that the majority of Maduranese is giving waqf in the form of land, while the recipient is a kyai, although the item is not belonging to the kyai, yet it is intended for the general public. Aside of land, sometimes, people are donating on agricultural products, such as corn which given to the nearest mosque, then the corn becomes waqf property for the mosque which is converted into a cash by the kyai who guard the mosque. (Faizal, 2020)

Giving waqf funds to the kyai or to people who are considered close to God, is a form of trust from the Maduranese community that the recipient of waqf funds is a figure who is considered to be more understanding on religion, as well as the community's belief that the kyai or religious leaders must utilize the waqf funds appropriately (Syifauddin, 2020). A similar expression was also stated by Syifaudin regarding the types of assets used as waqf or represented, namely the majority of waqf property is in the form of land, although there is also fund in a form of money (Syifauddin, 2020). The mechanism of handing a waqf can be various in ways that are primarily carried out by the community, for example giving land directly to the kyai as representatives, giving cash in cash by a group of people, and giving waqf in the form of agricultural products.

Traditional Waqf is still maintained, because people are still prioritized the position of kyai who are considered the wisest teachers. Although this traditional waqf can be in the form of agricultural products, the applied contract is a waqf contract with the kyai as the representative of the waqf recipient and also as the manager. These agricultural products are usually in the form of corn, soybeans, and beans which are donated to the kyai for the mosque and become waqf fund for the mosque (Faizal, 2020). The same notion was stated by Faiqoh that the distribution of traditional waqf funds were not using administrative activities but only using the intermediary of the kyai (Faiqoh, 2020).

The tradition among them is believed to be true and practiced by the majority of people, because of the belief in the value of someone's closeness to Allah, when the waqf funds are given to that person, it is considered that donation or worship will be more quickly accepted by Allah. Furthermore, tradition is also based on the reality took place in the community mentioned that when waqf fund are given to kyai or religious leaders, the funds will be appropriately utilized such as land which used for the construction of schools,

mosques and *mushallas*(Sa'i, 2020). Hence, with this belief, it is seldom to be found in Madura that waqf funds are given to the waqf management institutions such as government agencies or private institutions.

Distribution of waqf funds is mainly conducted in a traditional way, or direct submission to waqf recipients on terms or agreements, such as the agreement regarding on the utilization of the waqf funds. The recipients of waqf are kyai or religious leaders who are considered competent to manage waqf fund, while the beneficiaries are people(Sufyan, 2020).

Kyai or religious leaders in the community perspectives are people who are considered close to Allah and not politicized, considered trustworthy, non-participant and have many experiences. This experience meant that a kyai or figure could manage or use waqf funds properly. For instance, there is one practice of giving waqf from the community in the form of land to kyai with the land agreement used to build Islamic school. However, since the land is nearby the Islamic boarding school, then the kyai conduct a swap with other land with the approval of the waqif. In this condition, the kyai is considered to have experience, so that the community in giving waqf funds will entrust to the kyai or community leaders who experts in managing waqf(Sufyan, 2020). The community argue that when giving waqf funds to ordinary people, they will feel the loss and assume that the waqf funds are difficult to be accepted by Allah(Sufyan, 2020).

There are a number of waqf institutions in Madura managed by community organizations, such as the Nahdatul Ulama Waqf Institution and Muhammadiyah Waqf Institutions and waqf institutions managed by the local Regency Governmen. However, these institutions have not been in demand by the Maduranese, consequently, the waqif on its institution is limited to the members or the family members of the organization. While in the district government waqf institutions, waqifis merely come from employees, thus, it makes the fund collection is certainly not optimal(Hosen, 2020).

This less optimal situation is due to the lack of public trust in these contemporary institutions. In fact, these institutions are needed to help the economy with community empowerment programs from waqf fund. This is also triggered by the many institutions that are considered to be failure by the community such as the rise of corruption and misuse of waqf funds, as a result, the majority of people choose kyai or religious leaders as recipients of waqf funds(Sufyan, 2020).

In order to introduce modern waqf institutions and invitations to do not merely utilizing traditional waqf, the waqf institutions carry out various activities for introducing this waqf institution. Such as the introduction of the Indonesian Waqf Tubes (TWI) as a *nazir* waqf who conducts socialization through cultural approaches, such as religious studies, as well as through brochures and leaflets. Meanwhile, Baitul Mal Muamalat (BMM) has a creative program to increase the number of waqifs of money representing BMM, namely conducting socialization to Bank Muamalat customers through brochures, collaboration with other parties, as well as launching special programs, and SMS broadcast(Fanani, 2011, pp. 191-192).

This management illustrates that waqf funds managed properly by waqf institution will help the community's economy. It is proven that several waqf institutions outside the Madura region which carried out in a modern and managed manner can develop rapidly and provide broad benefits for the community. Those the waqf institution is as follows;

Firstly; Management of waqf in Darunnajah Islamic Boarding School located in Jakarta. This institution has three objectives namely; production, business and social. From these three objectives, the increasing benefits of the waqf fund is carried out through opening business units, building facilities and infrastructure, providing scholarships, providing assistance to the poor, neglected children, orphans and for the welfare of the people. In

addition, an increase in the appropriateness of the production of waqf assets, protect the principal items of waqf, distribute the results of waqf, adhere strictly to the conditions of waqf, encourage the community to entrust their waqf funds to the Darunnajah Foundation both in writing and orally. In fact, these programs give a positive influence on the economic improvement of the Darunnajah Islamic boarding school in Jakarta, from 2005 which was accounted for Rp.55,017,010,000 (9%) increased to Rp.197,033,025,000 (33%) in 2006 and in 2007 it was increased up to Rp 350,107,496,000 (58%) (Nufzatutsaniah, 2018).

Secondly, the Wali Songo Islamic Boarding School waqf institution which has a waqf management agency under the foundation. This means that the management does not own the property, so there is a separation of ownership. Moreover, this principle can also reduce internal deviation from the management in order to maintain professionalism according to the article 11 of Law Number 41 of 2004 concerning waqf. In this institution, the manager has conceptualized optimally, both short-term and long-term management in addition to the well organizing through collection management, investment management, and distribution management of the productive waqf benefits. Meanwhile, the management of human resources in this waqf institution is all centered on the Boarding School Management Training Center, and the supervision of the centralized method with decision making is centered on the boarding school caretakers for all financial statements (Imari & Syamsuri, 2017, pp. 30-31).

Thirdly, the implementation of cash waqf in Darus Sholihin Mosque carried out either simply or traditionally. This is due to the fact that Darus Sholihin Mosque is not a waqf development institution, but the waqf law is still valid, but in the applicable laws in Indonesia, the traditional implementation of cash waqf has no legal basis, therefore, if problems arise in this cash waqf then there are no legal basis that can be definitely used (Puspita, 2012, p. 44).

Some of these studies illustrate that the management of waqf funds through waqf management institutions will have a better impact on the Maduranese community. The waqf management agency have not only organized by a state institution, but it can also be managed by private institutions in Islamic boarding schools or other Islamic institutions.

5. CONCLUSION

Waqf is a form of means to distribute one's property for public purposes, because waqf is assets distribution for its benefit of public interest and problems. In Madura, some assets that commonly used as waqf including land, cash, and agricultural products. Furthermore, there are several methods of waqf distribution, namely; firstly, by direct way to the recipient of waqf represented by a kyai who is considered close to God, not a political kyai or political participant. Secondly, cash is usually given by a group of people for example to buy land used for graves, mosques, mushallas, and road that are represented by kyai or religious leaders who are considered trustworthy. Thirdly, the donation of agricultural products provided by farmers delivered to the near mosques, which is also represented to the kyai or mosque managers. Agricultural products will be converted in the form of cash then belonging to the mosque needs.

There are several factors influence people to give this waqf fund in a traditional way, namely: first, the giving of waqf through the kyai is considered to provide a blessing value to the assets they own. Second, the Maduranese people believe that the traditional way of giving positive value because the kyai is a trustworthy and wise person in utilizing the properties of waqf. Third, the lack of public trust in contemporary institutions that manage waqf funds. Fourth, Maduranese culture with the term of *settongdhere* (Maduranese language) means that Maduranese people obliged to help each other to carry out mutual cooperation.

From the eabove explanation, there are a number of suggestions for this tradition and ideology, namely if the Maduranese community's belief is fostered well and motivated by the government, then there will be a maximum and professional management of waqf funds, consequently, the positive value of waqf will be very beneficial, even could become one of the Islamic economic instruments for the Maduranese people.

References

- [1] Afrizal. (2017). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif : Sebuah Upaya Mendukung Penggunaan Penelitian Kualitatif Dalam Berbagai Disiplin Ilmu*. Jakarta: PT. RajaGrafindo Persada.
- [2] Akhmad Farid Mawardi Sufyan. (2020, January 14). Vice of Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Pamekasan.
- [3] Azzam, A. A. (2017). *Fiqh Muamalat :Sistem Transaksi Dalam Fiqh Islam*. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika Offset.
- [4] Faiqoh. (2020, January 16). Administrator of Moncek Barat Sumenep School.
- [5] Faiqoh. (2020). Manager of Moncek Barat Sumenep School.
- [6] Faizal, B. T. (2020). Resident of Bindang Pasean Pamekasan.
- [7] Fanani, M. (2011). Pengelolaan Wakaf Tunai. *Walisongo*, 19(1), 191-192.
- [8] Gunawan, I. (2017). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Teori & Praktik* (1st ed.). Jakarta: Sinar Grafika Offset.
- [9] Hermanto. (2020, January 19). Resident who utilized Waqf property lived in Poreh Karang Penang Sampang.
- [10] Hosen. (2020, January 14). a chief of Syariah Laboratorium of IAIN Madura.
- [11] Imari, I., & Syamsuri, S. (2017). Pemberdayaan Waqf Produktif Sebagai Media Pembangunan Ekonomi Pesantren: Satu Analisa Mekanisme Pelaksanaanya Di Pesantren Wali Songo Ngabar. *Islamic Economics Journal*, 3(1), 30-31.
- [12] Izzah, I. Y. (2011). Perubahan Pola Hubungan Kiai Dan Santri Pada Masyarakat Muslim Tradisional Pedesaan. *Jurnal Sosiologi Islam*, 1(2), 46.
- [13] Ma'arif, S. (2015). *The History of Madura:Sejarah Panjang Madura Dari Kerajaan, Kolonialisme Sampai Kemerdekaan*. Yogyakarta: Araska Publisher.
- [14] Markom, N. A. (2014). Transformasi Institusi Pelaksana Wakaf: Kes Wakaf An-Nur Corporation. *Seminar Waqf Iqlimi 2014* (p. 341). Nilai: Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia.
- [15] Mujtahidin, M., Mahmud, M., & Nurtamam, M. E. (2017). Peran Nilai Budaya Dalam Membentuk Perspektif Toleran Dan Intoleran di Madura: Studi Kasus Konflik Sunni-Syiah Di Desa Karanggayam Kecamatan Omben Kabupaten Sampang–Madura. *Pamator Journal*, 10(2), 127.
- [16] Nufzatutsaniah, N. (2018). Pengaruh Wakaf Produktif Terhadap Peningkatan Ekonomi Pesantren Darunnajah Jakarta. *Jurnal Ilmiah Manajemen Forkamma*, 1(3), 82-82.
- [17] partanto, P. A., & Barry, M. D. (2001). *Kamus Ilmiah Populer*. Surabaya: Arkola.
- [18] Puspita, I. C. (2012). Implementasi Wakaf Tunai Di Masjid Darush Sholikhin Kota Batu. *Jurisdictie*, 44.
- [19] Sa'i, M. (2020, January 13). Lecturer of Islamic Educational Management studies at STAI Ma'arif Sampang.
- [20] Sufyan, A. F. (2020, January 14). Vice of Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Pamekasan.
- [21] Sulistiani, S. L. (2017). *Pembaruan Hukum Wakaf Di Indonesia*. Bandung: PT.Refika Aditama,.
- [22] Susanto, E. (2012). Revitalisasi Nilai Luhur Tradisi Lokal Madura. *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 12(2), 102.
- [23] Syifauddin, M. (2020). Teacher of Dusun Bragan Tengah Klampis Bangkalan.
- [24] Taufiqurrahman, A. (2020, January 20). Lora (Son of Kyai) as the Waqf receiver in Kramat Larangan Pamekasan.
- [25] Wahyudi, A. (2020, January 16). a Resident of Labuan Sreseh Sampang.