

# THE DYNAMICS OF ACCEPTANCE AND RESISTANCE TO PRODUCTIVE WAQF: A Case Study of Mathali'ul Anwar and Al-Ishlah in Lamongan

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**Abstract:** This study examines the management of productive waqf in two Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in Lamongan Mathali'ul Anwar and Al-Ishlah through the lens of Max Weber's rationalization theory. Using a qualitative approach, data were gathered through interviews to understand how each institution implements productive waqf. The findings reveal contrasting approaches. Mathali'ul Anwar exemplifies Weber's concept of instrumental rationality (zweckrational), as Kiai Khotib's systematic leadership has fostered social change and broader acceptance of productive waqf. In contrast, Al-Ishlah reflects value-based rationality (zwerktrational), where Kiai Dawam's commitment to educational values takes precedence, sidelining the economic independence linked to productive waqf. The study also refutes James Peacock's categorization of santri into reformist and traditionalist groups. In the context of productive waqf, the interaction between values and practices is more complex, highlighting the unique dynamics within each institution.

**Keywords:** *Productive Waqf, Mathali'ul Anwar, Al-Ishlah, Max Weber's Rational Theory.*

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## Introduction

In the book “*The Religion of Java*” Clifford Geertz stated that Javanese society is divided into 3; abangan, santri and priyayi.<sup>1</sup> The santri model is then further divided into two; traditionalist and reformist. Traditionalist santri are people who uphold many principles and cultures and rituals that have been a tradition in Javanese society for generations, while reformists tend to eliminate these traditions and are open to reforms.<sup>2</sup>

This reformist santri model is also often referred to by some western researchers as puritanical Islam represented by Muhammadiyah as mentioned by Nakamura.<sup>3</sup> While traditionalist santri is close in meaning to Nahdhatul Ulama, which is very strong in holding local traditions and culture.<sup>4</sup> This research will discuss productive waqf, which is considered as a new thing that contradicts the conventional waqf model that has been known by Indonesian people in general who think that waqf is only on immovable goods such as mosques and land.<sup>5</sup>

The typology that has been proposed by both Clifford Geertz and James L. Peacock above does not necessarily make the reactions of two groups of santri in accordance with their characters in practicing waqf. Because what researcher found in the field, more precisely in Lamongan Regency, is that Mathali’ul Anwar, which is affiliated with NU, actually applies productive waqf and Al-Ishlah, which Muhammadiyah ideology is strong, does not apply productive waqf.

There are several studies that discussed the comparison of pesantren with other in implementing waqf, for example written by Nurwinskyah who compared fundraising strategy between PM Darussalam Gontor, Ponorogo and PM Tazakka in Batang which then concluded that the strategy practiced in Tazakka used a contemporary approach

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<sup>1</sup> Nensi Golda Yuli, Ilya Fadjar Maharika, and Frank Eckardt, “THE ARCHITECTURE OF PESANTREN: CURRENT ISSUES, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECT FOR DESIGN FRAMEWORK,” *Journal of Islamic Architecture* 7, no. 4 (2023): 626–38, <https://doi.org/10.18860/jia.v7i4.21006>.

<sup>2</sup> James L Peacock, *Muslim Puritans: Reformist Psychology in Southeast Asian Islam* (Washington, D.C., USA: University of California Press, 1978), <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.13167888>.

<sup>3</sup> Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c.1910s-2010* by Mitsuo Nakamura (2012-09-30) (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, n.d.).

<sup>4</sup> Wawan Juandi and Nawawi Nawawi, “Restorasi Manajemen Wakaf Dari Tradisional Menuju Profesional,” *LISAN AL-HAL: Jurnal Pengembangan Pemikiran Dan Kebudayaan* 14, no. 2 (2020): 219–40, <https://doi.org/10.35316/lisanalhal.v14i2.1011>.

<sup>5</sup> Trisno Wardy Putra and Muthia Zhafirah Ali, “Analisis Pengelolaan Dan Pemanfaatan Aset Wakaf Di Kelurahan Mappala, Kecamatan Rappocini, Kota Makassar,” *Management of Zakat and Waqf Journal (MAZAWA)* 3, no. 1 (2021): 63–76, <https://doi.org/10.15642/mzw.2021.3.1.63-76>.

model such as face to face, direct mail, special events and so on. As for what is done in Gontor, it still relying on classical modes and focusing on managing existing waqf.<sup>6</sup>

Another case is a research conducted by Novi Fitia, who compared the independence of pesantren in Tebuireng and Gontor. In conclusion, the author stated that two leaders or founders of pesantren have inherited a traditional value of wisdom in waqf issues by setting an example to be the first wakif by giving their properties directly for the benefit of the people.<sup>7</sup>

Research conducted by Abdul Karim also stated that effective Kiai leadership is a combination of charisma and ability. The approach taken is through Mintzberg's interpersonal managerial theory which explained the interaction between the figure of kiai as a leader with teachers and employees as staff<sup>8</sup> and the figure of kiai may influence the concept of organizational culture in pesantren.<sup>9</sup> However, the concepts used in these studies are not sufficient to explain the dynamics of change in a society or the social construction system that changes people's views on things.

There is a dissertation at the University of Western Sydney that used Weber's theory which is closer to the research area in this pesantren case, namely the dissertation written by Ahmad Zainal Arifin which argued that the kiai's authority in the pesantren is ordained through his charisma.<sup>10</sup> Zaenal Arifin then in 2017 conducted observations related to leadership in pesantren using Weber's theory, precisely in Ponpes Temboro, Magetan, which is considered the center of Jamaah Tabligh in Southeast Asia. The theory used to examine leadership in the pesantren is Weber's typology of leadership, which is divided into three, namely Traditional, Charismatic and Rational.<sup>11</sup> The three models of authority can be explained briefly as follows; Traditional authority comes from education in

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<sup>6</sup> Nurwinsyah Rohmaningtyas, "Pengumpulan Wakaf Berbasis Pesantren: Studi Kasus Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Dan Pondok Modern Tazakka," *ADILLA/ : Jurnal Ilmiah Ekonomi Syari'ah* 1, no. 1 (2018): 1–21.

<sup>7</sup> Novi Fitia Maliha, "Kearifan Tradisi Wakaf Sebagai Bentuk Kemandirian Pesantren: Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Tebu Ireng Jombang Dan Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor," *Kodifikasia* 15, no. 2 (2021): 185–208, <https://doi.org/10.21154/kodifikasia.v15i2.3559>.

<sup>8</sup> Abdul Karim and Dikhorir Afnan, "Kiai Interpersonal Managerial: Henry Mintzberg Perspective," *Journal of Leadership in Organizations* 2, no. 2 (2020): 75–90, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jlo.56290>.

<sup>9</sup> Siti Aisyah et al., "Kiai Leadership Concept in The Scope of Pesantren Organizational Culture," *Tafkir: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Education* 3, no. 1 (2022): 40–59, <https://doi.org/10.31538/tijie.v3i1.106>.

<sup>10</sup> Achmad Zainal Arifin, "Charisma and Rationalisation in a Modernising Pesantren: Changing Values in Traditional Islamic Education in Java" (University of Western Sydney, Australia, 2013), <http://researchdirect.uws.edu.au/islandora/object/uws%3A17130/>.

<sup>11</sup> Syah Wardi and Zuhri Arif, "A Critical Review on The Law of Cina Buta (Chinese Blind) According to Shaykh Abdul Qadir Bin Abdul Muthalib Al Mandili Al Indonesia Al Shafi'i," *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 21 (2023): 15–23, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35905/diktum.v21i1.4954>.

pesantren, from the commonly known concept of Jamaah Tabligh and from the Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah tradition, while in terms of charismatic authority it comes from the kiai's karomah which is considered very strong, and finally from the rational side is due to the opening of formal schools in the pesantren as an effort to modernize the pesantren.<sup>12</sup> The two studies that have been conducted still focus on educational issues only, so that discussions related to waqf are not touched.

In some of the studies mentioned above, from the comparison of pesantren in waqf issues to Zainal Arifin's efforts to observe the dynamics that occur in pesantren through Weber's perspective, this research offers a different perspective in terms of comparison of the dynamics of acceptance or rejection of productive waqf in pesantren using Weber's rationalization theory to find out the rationality side of two kiai in responding to the emergence of the productive waqf movement. This research is expected to make a difference because the focus of the study is a social study from the aspect of the main actors who are the key to the implementation or non-implementation of productive waqf in each institution using Weber's theory.

## Methodology

This research was conducted in two ways, library research and qualitative method by interviewing influential people related to this topic. As described by Amin Abdullah that Islamic studies should coexist with other branches of knowledge, like the development of sciences and modern technology and also social sciences to make Islamic teachings more adaptive with the changes of conditions, especially in this era.<sup>13</sup> To realize that purpose some scholars then develop methodology to combine between those perspectives like Professor Kaelan who wrote a qualitative inter-disciplinary of research methodology in Islamic studies.<sup>14</sup>

The approach used in this research is using sociological approaches because the researcher intends to dig the information about how far the reception and the resistance of Kiai in accordance with the application of waqf productive in their boarding school prospectively. The sources used to understand the sociological approaches depend on the books and articles written by professionals in the field and the researcher try to elaborate the theories with the conditions exist during the research.

From the qualitative method, the researcher took two boarding schools as main comparison. The requirement in the comparison between the boarding schools is it should

<sup>12</sup> Zainal Arifin, "Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 6, no. 2 (2017): 265, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2017.62.265-292>.

<sup>13</sup> M. Amin Abdullah, *Islamic Studies Di Perguruan Tinggi: Pendekatan Integratif-Interkonektif* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Kaelan, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Interdisipliner/ : Bidang Sosial, Budaya, Filsafat, Seni, Agama Dan Humaniora* (Yogyakarta: Paradigma, 2012).

be a big boarding school. Amongst the criteria of big boarding school is it already has more than 500 students live in the cottage<sup>15</sup> and has been established more than 30 years ago which prove that the boarding schools can survive in very long time which also become a sign that the society put their belief in the quality of boarding school that is very important for fundraising of waqf. Both Mathali'ul Anwar and Al-Ishlah have already fulfilled the criteria mentioned to be the case study especially in Lamongan district.

While the procedure of interview taken by researcher is semi-structured interview which deeply interrogate the verbal and non-verbal message delivered by respondent. As part of qualitative method, the number of respondent is not important because it is seen from quality of respondent's knowledge or influence. Therefore choosing a respondent is considered to be the most important thing in qualitative method.<sup>16</sup>

The researcher chose to interview two persons in each Mathali'ul Anwar and Al-Ishlah. The first person interviewed in Mathali'ul Anwar is Dr. K.H. Khotib Soleh who considered as main figure in boarding school who give inspiration to others in initiating waqf productive, and the second person is Ms. Nuri M. Ma'rifah as the admin at KSPPS Mawar. While for Al-Ishlah, the first source is Drs. K.H. Muhammad Dawam Saleh as the founding father of the boarding school and the second is H. A. Thohir as the director of Al-Ishlah foundation.

The data collected from reading journals and from interview then filtered by using data reduction method. After selecting most important materials in understanding the case deeper, the researcher will then use sociological theories to analyse the reason between the implementation or non-implementation of productive waqf perspective.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Productive Waqf**

In the terminology explained by Miftahul Huda, he explained that the definition of waqf that is more in line with the modern context is: "Waqf is the holding of property, either perpetually or temporarily, to be utilized directly or indirectly, and to benefit from its proceeds repeatedly in the way of goodness, general or specific". With this definition, several modern waqf concepts have been included, including the meaning that waqf can be interpreted as capital, so that its use will have economic and production value. It is also included in the definition of waqf which results can be used repeatedly, such as roads that can be used continuously, which means waqf of benefits, and there is also waqf of goods such as monthly magazine waqf.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> Kaelan, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Interdisipliner/ : Bidang Sosial, Budaya, Filsafat, Seni, Agama Dan Humaniora*.

<sup>17</sup> Miftahul Huda, *MENGALIRKAN MANFAAT WAKAF/ : Potret Perkembangan Hukum Dan Tata Kelola Wakaf Di Indonesia* (Bekasi: Gramata Publishing, 2015).

While the root of productive waqf can be found in the era of the Prophet Muhammad when he donated seven fields of date palms in Medina. The date plantation was actually owned by a Jew named Mukhairiq who died fighting alongside with the Prophet Muhammad and advised that his date plantation would belong to Rasul if he died. From the waqf model carried out by Prophet Muhammad, it can be concluded that the profit generated from the management of the date plantation which will be given to the people is also a form of productive waqf.<sup>18</sup>

The model of productive waqf also has many dimensions of practice that have been implemented around the world and proved to help the poor.<sup>19</sup> As mentioned in the book *Financing Waqf*, there are even 10 new models of productive waqf implementation, such as the cash waqf model, Cash Waqf Linked Sukuk,<sup>20</sup> Cash Waqf Linked Deposit<sup>21</sup>, BOT<sup>22</sup>, BLT, Joint-Venture, Dual-Leasing, and so on. The modern waqf model that has begun to be implemented in Indonesia is cash waqf.<sup>23</sup>

Cash waqf is defined by MUI on April 26, 2022 as waqf by a person, group of people, institution or legal entity in the form of cash.<sup>24</sup> Starting the idea of cash waqf, an

<sup>18</sup> Fahrurroji, *Wakaf Kontemporer* (Jakarta: Direktorat Pemberdayaan Zakat dan Wakaf Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam, 2020).

<sup>19</sup> Dirie, Alam, and Maamor, "IslamKhadar Ahmed Dirie, Md. Mahmudul Alam, and Selamah Maamor, "ISLAMIC SOCIAL FINANCE FOR ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS: A Systematic Literature Review and Future Research Agenda," *International Journal of Ethics and Systems* 40, no. 4 (2023): 676–98, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJOES-12-2022-0317>.ic Social Finance for Achieving Sustainable Development Goals."; Unggul Priyadi and Siti Achiria, "Social Enterprise Model in Waqf Land Management in Bantul, Indonesia," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 21, no. 3 (2022): 891–914, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol21.iss3.art10>.; Muhammad Ayub et al., "Waqf for Accelerating Socioeconomic Development: A Proposed Model with Focus on Pakistan," *Qualitative Research in Financial Markets* 16, no. 5 (2024): 937–61, <https://doi.org/10.1108/QRFM-07-2023-0161>.

<sup>20</sup> Haris Maiza Putra et al., "Reconstruction of the Practice of Siyasa Syar'iyah During the Islamic Empire's Relevance to the Practice of Sharia Financing CWLS Retail in Indonesia," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 8, no. 2 (2023): 347–68, <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v8i2.8057>.; Sherin Kunhibava et al., "Viability of Cash Waqf-Linked bukûk in Malaysia," *ISRA International Journal of Islamic Finance* 15, no. 4 (2023): 25–44, <https://doi.org/10.55188/ijif.v15i4.530>.; Aimatul Yumna et al., "The Impacts of Cash Waqf Linked Sukuk Empowerment Programs: Empirical Evidence From Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic Monetary Economics and Finance* 10, no. 1 (2024): 5–34, <https://doi.org/10.21098/jimf.v10i1.1940>.

<sup>21</sup> Mitra Sami Gultom and Muhammad Iman Sastra Mihajat, *Cash Waqf Linked Deposit: A Proposed Waqf Model for Education Program and Poverty Alleviation in Indonesia, Strategic Islamic Business and Management* (Berlin: Springer, 2024).

<sup>22</sup> Mustafa Omar Mohammed, Mohamed Cherif El Amri, and Ramadhani Mashaka Shabani, *Analysis of Sukuk Al-Waqf Structure for Financing BOT-Based Development Programs* (Berlin: Springer, 2021), [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-65313-2\\_30](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-65313-2_30).

<sup>23</sup> Magda Ismail Abdel Mohsin et al., *Financing the Development of Old Waqf Properties* (Berlin: Springer, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58128-0>.

<sup>24</sup> Dirjen Bimas Islam Dan Penyelenggara Haji Departemen Agama RI, *Himpunan Fatwa MUI* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama RI, 2003).

economic expert in Bangladesh in 1998 named Muhammad Abdul Mannan provided certificates for people who intended to give waqf in the form of money to be managed productively and effectively reduce the burden of the poor in Bangladesh.<sup>25</sup> The concept finally began to be practiced in Indonesia for the first time by economic experts, one of whom was involved in the Republika core team who later founded a humanitarian organization under the name Dompot Dhuafa in 2001.<sup>26</sup> And according to data from BWI many researches conclude that waqf does not develop because of classic problems like unprofessional nazhir.<sup>27</sup>

## **Productive Waqf in Islamic Boarding Schools**

As a private educational institution, boarding schools in carrying out their daily activities require relatively large funds. Often the expenditure required by the boarding school is not enough if it only relies on the tuition fees of the students, because in some models there are boarding schools where the majority of students come from poor families so that the boarding school needs to look for other sources of funds outside of mandatory student fees. Some pesantren rely on funds from the government or regular donors who provide regular injections of funds,<sup>28</sup> while others struggle to be independent and finally initiated self-reliance programs in the form of businesses, for example, making shops for the needs of students and the outside community, then agricultural and livestock businesses, and so on.<sup>29</sup>

There are also some boarding schools that later combine the first and second models, so they are quite independent with many variations of their entrepreneurship, but also still open donations from outside parties who want to help. In this third model, it is found that there are efforts to combine the donation model in the form of waqf which is then managed with a professional business system so that it has productivity that the turnover of the process generates profits that benefit the boarding school and the

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<sup>25</sup> M A Mannan, "LINKING ISLAMIC COMMERCIAL AND SOCIAL FINANCE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CASH-WAQF AS NEW STRATEGY OF INTEREST-FREE MICRO-CREDIT FOR FAMILY EMPOWERMENT OF THE POOR TOWARDS ESTABLISHING WORLD SOCIAL BANK/ : A CASE STUDY APPROACH," *Journal of Islamic Monetary Economics and Finance* 3 (2018): 1–24, <https://doi.org/10.21098/jimf.v3i0.913>.

<sup>26</sup> Mohsin et al., *Financing the Development of Old Waqf Properties*.

<sup>27</sup> Amelia Fauzia, *Fenomena Wakaf Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Badan Wakaf Indonesia, 2016).

<sup>28</sup> Ujang Giri et al., "Evaluation of a Policy for the Distribution of Islamic Boarding School Grant Funds in Banten," *KnE Social Sciences* 2022 (2022): 387–97, <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v7i5.10565>.

<sup>29</sup> Gatot Suhirman and Muhammad Muhajir Aminy, "Economic Independence of Pesantren and Its Impact on the Development of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs)," *International Journal of Health Sciences* 6, no. April (2022): 4046–63, <https://doi.org/10.53730/ijhs.v6ns5.10751>.

surrounding community.<sup>30</sup> This third model can be found in several large pesantren in Indonesia that have been implementing productive waqf for quite some time with variations in its application, because as mentioned by Sulthani that a more modern waqf model will be able to increase the amount of waqf revenue compared to the traditional waqf model,<sup>31</sup> like transparent nazhir,<sup>32</sup> or development of agriculture like in Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang<sup>33</sup> or standardizing waqf management and distribution by ISO 9001: 2015 like Pondok Darut Tauhid.<sup>34</sup>

## Operationalization of Max Weber's Rationalization Theory

In the world of sociology, Max Weber is considered a figure who has a great influence as the names of predecessor sociologists such as Auguste Comte (1798-1857), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), or Karl Marx (1818-1883). Weber's influence is so great that Ralph Schroeder dares to juxtapose him with Nietzsche and call them both prophets of the modern world.<sup>35</sup> Weber is different from Marx because he considered that the ideas and values held by individuals also have the same portion as a factor of social change.<sup>36</sup>

In order to criticize Marx's overemphasis on capitalism, Weber mentioned that knowledge and bureaucracy are also factors that change the shape and condition of society. The success of bureaucracy, the development of knowledge and technology is often referred to as rationalization.<sup>37</sup> In his book *Economy and Society*, Max Weber

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<sup>30</sup> Toha Masum and Muh Barid Nizarudin Wajdi, "Pengembangan Kemandirian Pesantren Melalui Program Santripreneur," *Engagement/ : Jurnal Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat* 2, no. 2 (2018): 221–32, <https://doi.org/10.29062/engagement.v2i2.40>.

<sup>31</sup> Muhammad Shulthoni and Norma Md Saad, "Waqf Fundraising Management: A Conceptual Comparison between Traditional and Modern Methods Inthe Waqf Institutions," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 1 (2018): 57–86, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v8i1.57-86>.

<sup>32</sup> Azidni Rofiqo and Diyan Novita Sari, "Transparency and Reputation as The Factor Influences to The Intention Waqf: Empirical Studies in Gontor Institution," *Velocity: Journal of Sharia Finance and Banking* 2, no. 1 (2022): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.28918/velocity.v2i1.4615>.

<sup>33</sup> Amin Awal Amarudin, Rika Annisa Febia, and Bakti Widyaningsih, "Implementasi Pengembangan Wakaf Produktif Untuk Pemberdayaan Pendidikan Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang," *Minhaj: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 5, no. 1 (2024): 72–92, <https://doi.org/10.52431/minhaj.v5i1.2318>.

<sup>34</sup> Danu Chandra Saputra, Laily Dwi Arsyianti, and Imam Teguh Saptono, "Development Strategy of Islamic Boarding Schools-Based Waqf (Case Study: Islamic Boarding Schools of Daarut Tauhiid, Bandung)," *Journal of Consumer Sciences* 6, no. 2 (2021): 129–50, <https://doi.org/10.29244/jcs.6.2.129-149>.

<sup>35</sup> Max Weber, *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*, ed. Sam Whimster and Scott Lash (London: Routledge, 1987), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315823935>.

<sup>36</sup> Anthony Giddens et al., *Introduction to Sociology* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2021).

<sup>37</sup> Giddens et al.

explained that there are several things that become the basis for someone to take an action related to the economy<sup>38</sup> which is clarified by Jon Elster in *The Cambridge Companion to Weber* or Weber's taxonomy actions are as follows:

1. Zweckrational (instrumentally rational): This model is determined by an individual's expectation of something that is perceived as a prerequisite or as a means by which the individual rationally considers achievement.
2. Value-rational: A value-driven rational based on ethical, aesthetic, religious or other values.
3. Affectual (especially emotional): An action that is based on certain specific feelings.
4. Traditional: An action that is performed out of repetitive habit.

This theory is considered effective for uncovering some social phenomena that occur in modern times, especially theories that explain self-rational or instrumentally rational because it can explain something that is considered irrational. Many things are done by a determined individual but in the view of others it is unreasonable.<sup>39</sup>

A simpler explanation of the process of action can be seen in the picture above. An action starts with a desire to do something. The desire moves him to seek information which then influences beliefs. The beliefs and desires will drive a person to take a real action. In the case of instrumental rational and value-based rational, the above process applies, except that they have some differences. For example, in the instrumental rational model, individual desires oriented towards specific and even pragmatic things become the reason for an action. In the case of value-based rationality, these desires come from principles that are firmly held because of ethical or moral concerns.

Max Weber first mentioned the division of leaders in terms of legitimacy or recognition into 3 types; The first is from the rational side, a leader who was chosen in election system. Then the second, a leader who is recognized traditionally. Then the third or last is a leader who is recognized because of his charisma.<sup>40</sup> Further explained in his book *The Theory of Social and Economic*, Max Weber states that the phrase charisma can actually be pinned on an individual because of his qualities that distinguish him from ordinary people in general.<sup>41</sup>

With this assumption, in ancient times, leaders often emerged in a society because of their reputation as a prophet or spiritual leader or a wise man. However, this assumption shifted by the time Weber wrote the book, stating that a single people can have strong charisma like in the case of Kurt Eisner<sup>42</sup>. Although the definition of Weber's charismatic theory also received comments from its historical side, giving rise to quite

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<sup>38</sup> Weber, *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*.

<sup>39</sup> Giddens et al., *Introduction to Sociology*.

<sup>40</sup> Weber, *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*.

<sup>41</sup> Weber.

<sup>42</sup> Max Weber.

varied definitions according to John Breuilly<sup>43</sup>. However, its use in responding to the case being researched by the author is still quite relevant, it is because leadership with a charismatic model does not come solely from the recognition of others, but the strong attraction possessed by the leader which is purely derived from the quality of the leader<sup>44</sup>.

## **Brief Profile of Mathali'ul Anwar Islamic Boarding School**

Mathali'ul Anwar is located in Sungelebak village, Karanggeneng sub-district, Lamongan district. The boarding school that was pioneered by Kiai Abdul Wahab on January 18, 1914 is one of the oldest pesantren in the area. The leadership of Kiai Abdul Wahab transmitted to his son-in-law Kiai Abdullah, Kiai Rusman and Kiai Dja'far after he passed away in 1925. The second generation leadership of the pesantren arguably began when K.H. Soefyan Abdul Wahab took charge of the pesantren since July 17, 1935 and continued until January 20, 1983 when he passed away. Kiai Soefyan's leadership is considered an extraordinary leadership milestone because it laid the scientific foundation, so that the number of students at that time could reach approximately 1250 people. In addition, he had also aspired to establish a university which was only realized after his death, namely the establishment of Darul Ulum University (UNISDA) in 1990.

The third generation of leadership was continued by the sons-in-law of Kiai Soefyan, namely Drs. K.H. Masykuri Shodiq, Drs. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri and K.H. Mahsuli Effendi who later contributed many significant changes to the development of Ponpes Mathali'ul Anwar. However, after K.H. Mahsuli Effendi passed away on December 8, 2011, the leadership of the pesantren was replaced by K.H. Ahmad Taufiq who was assisted by the *dzuriyah* such as Dr. H. Khotib Sholeh, M.Ag., Ahmad Yusuf Anwar, Dr. K.H. Muhammad Afif Hasbullah and the five daughters of K.H. Soefyan.

## **The Role of Kiai H. Khotib Soleh in Pioneering Productive Waqf**

Dr. K.H. Khotib Soleh is the son-in-law of K.H. Mahsuli Effendi who is considered the most influential figure in the pioneering of productive waqf. In terms of history in implementing productive waqf in Mathali'ul Anwar, it began with Kiai Khotib's desire and awareness that the NU community needed to change one of the entrenched old cultures that he considered unproductive, namely shodaqoh. As explained by Kiai Khotib, the shadaqoh circulating among the nahdiyyin has benefits for the community, but the results often run out immediately because after being issued it just disappears in the form of thanksgiving, tahlilan, ziyarah and other. Because of this, in 2005 he invited community around pesantren and especially the youth and women of Fatayat and Muslimat NU to collect their shodaqoh but with the aim that the results could be enjoyed permanently, at that time he said that the results of the shodaqoh would be used to build a NU polyclinic.

<sup>43</sup> John Breuilly, "Max Weber, Charisma and Nationalist Leadership†."

<sup>44</sup> David Norman Smith, "Charisma Disenchanted: Max Weber and His Critics."

Starting the program, Kiai Khotib started the shodaqoh movement through the closest people, the family, including Kiai Mahsuli who was still alive at that time who also directly supported the movement. Then after the closest family had approved it, he looked for other donors by approaching teachers of MA Mathali'ul Anwar. The approach model taken by Kiai Khotib was by means of personal persuasion by visiting the teachers one by one, some were met at school and some were even met at their homes. The invitation conveyed by Kiai Khotib to the teachers and employees of MA Mathali'ul Anwar was not delivered in a pushy style, but casually and interspersed with jokes so that the teachers voluntarily set aside part of their honorarium for the benefit of the movement, especially Kiai Khotib also did not mention the minimum nominal amount that needed to be given as long as it was not burdensome. Apart from being taken from teachers and employees of MA Mathali'ul Anwar, the shadaqah money is also taken from the remnants of recitation activities at Fatayat or Muslimat NU by not considering the nominal amount, sometimes even only 50,000 rupiah.

It turned out that the efforts made by Kiai Khotib were not just a call by mere talk, but he also actually realized his intention and directly gave his own example. One example of what was done when he was going on hajj at the end of 2005, he did not want his departure or arrival to be made into a slametan agenda which is common in NU. He also said that when he returned from Hajj, he would not bring any souvenirs and would not give anything to the people. The reason why he did not do slametan was because he wanted everything given to him from the people to be diverted to the establishing of the clinic's shodaqoh program. Although some people, even from *ndalem* family itself, doubted that the principle of replacing slametan with shodaqoh would be difficult and perhaps impossible to do, Kiai Khotib remained firm in his desire. In the end, because of his persistence, the community began to understand the goal and many began to join the program.

In 2015, the allocation of cash waqf that was previously intended for the benefit of Fatayat and Muslimat was switched to the benefit of pesantren. The funds that have been collected since the beginning of the collection in 2005 until 2015 is approximately 400 million rupiah and handed over to the NU. Since 2015, the funds that have been collected in Fatayat and Muslimat are still managed by them with a separate account, while what is meant by switching is that the focus of the movement led by Kiai Khotib since then is more on efforts to develop the pesantren by using productive waqf money.

In relation to productive waqf, especially cash waqf here. Kiai Khotib himself admitted that what he did at the beginning of his movement did not come from an awareness of cash waqf itself, because he did not know the term, but had already implemented it. Only later, after he had traveled a lot, he began to dare to state that the practice carried out at Mathali'ul Anwar was a form of the application of cash waqf that was managed productively.

## **Brief Profile of Pesantren Al-Ishlah**

Al-Ishlah which is located in Sendangagung Village, Paciran District, Lamongan Regency, was first pioneered by K.H. Drs. Muhammad Dawam Saleh. This pesantren was then considered the official year of its establishment on September 13, 1986 with 10 students. Kiai Dawam, who was an alumnus of the Darussalam Gontor Ponorogo Modern Boarding School and UGM philosophy, has the aspiration to return to his hometown to teach all the knowledge he has gained during his journey of seeking the knowledge.

Starting from the inspiration of the Gontor pesantren, the spirit, activities and educational model that are trying to be developed in the pesantren have many similarities with those of the Gontor, one of which is discipline in daily activities and especially in speaking Arabic and English in the dormitory. Until today, under the leadership of Kiai Dawam as the pioneer generation of Ponpes Al-Ishlah, the number of students has reached about 2000 students and a high college named Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Sains Al-Ishlah (STIQSI Lamongan) has been established which has approximately 120 students.

Muhammadiyah culture is deeply rooted in the environment of Ponpes Al-Ishlah, it is inseparable from Kiai Dawam's own family background because his father, H. Saleh Abdul Razaq was among the early generation Muhammadiyah followers in Sendangagung Village. In addition, the neighborhood where the cottage was built was adjacent to Muhammadiyah Junior High School which had been established earlier. In its development, the Muhammadiyah school collaborated with pesantren so that all students at the junior high level who stay at Al-Ishlah had to go to the junior high school. Another evidence that indicates the culture and strong influence of Muhammadiyah in Al-Ishlah Boarding School is that no less than 15 teachers in Al-Ishlah become Muhammadiyah administrators at the Lamongan Regency level.

## **Kiai Dawam's Principles on Education**

Al-Ishlah, according to the results of interviews with Kiai Dawam, relies on the biggest expenditure of the boarding school taken from the management of santri fees totaling 2,000 students. In terms of independence, Kiai Dawam is quite sure that the financial management has been sufficient to run the operation of the pesantren, and can even finance the lectures of students STIQSI for free.

Due to the operational adequacy of the boarding school and other institutions, Kiai Dawam has no interest in implementing productive waqf in his institution. It was also based on his very strong stance on the quality of education in the Pesantren, so that often in many meetings with teachers or students he stated that salary should not be pursued, but everything must start from a sincere intention to educate and educate students.

All of Kiai Dawam's words and advice related to sincerity are the result of the actions he has taken from the beginning of the Pesantren which indeed started from

zero. In the interview with Kiai Dawam, it was also explained how teaching in the classroom became something that he could not leave. He is still actively teaching every day at MA Al-Ishlah, including in pesantren. Kiai Dawam's discipline is implied by his explanation that when the bell rings he is already in class and never exceeds the set time, both entry and exit hours. This love for education is also something that he prioritizes, even when he gets invitations to attend events at the regency or provincial level which are often cancelled because they clash with his teaching schedule. Likewise, he almost never leaves being an imam at subh prayer, because every time he finishes praying he will provide dawn lecture to santri.

The principle of prioritizing education was proven even to the extent of building management. As mentioned by the Chairman of the Foundation, H. A. Thohir, Kiai Dawam was not pleased if the buildings in the front of the pesantren had a commercial image, because it did not show its identity as an educational institution, for example used as shops, canteen, stalls and so on but it should be used as libraries, mosques, etc instead. Because of this principle, H. A. Thohir also tried to follow what was directed by Kiai Dawam, so that the economy did not become the main focus in Al-Ishlah, even tended to be subordinated.

The large focus on education and the lack of attention to economic development issues eventually also affected the non-implementation of productive waqf which was considered unseparable with the business world from perspective of teachers in Al-Ishlah. It is logic that productive waqf is impossible to be implemented without the running of business programs in the pesantren manners.

## **Productive Waqf in Mathali'ul Anwar and Al-Ishlah, Between Reception and Resistance**

If analyzed through Max Weber's rationalization scheme, Kiai Khotib's Desire is to realize the existence of shodaqoh whose results are permanent or eternal among the NU community, so that a belief arises that community programs, including those in the Mathali'ul Anwar boarding school, need to be diverted or directed to realize this shodaqoh model. The action that is carried out then is to set an example first by refusing to hold a Hajj slametan on the pretext that the money or food given from the community can be diverted to the waqf program. Then the information obtained by Kiai Khotib eventually changed some of his previous perceptions so that he knew that what he and the people gathered at KSPPS Mawar had done was a cash waqf model. The new knowledge also eventually changed some of the actions taken so that the management and collection of waqf became more professional.

The case that occurred at Ponpes Mathali'ul Anwar can be categorized as a zweckrational action. The conclusion is based on the many conformities between the practice cash waqf implemented by Kiai Khotib which is applied in a very measured and

systematic and gradual manner. The rational actions he chose such as approaching ndalem family, then even personally visiting teachers was an effective method to introduce the forerunner of cash waqf which at that time was still very unfamiliar. The turning point of the successful social construction that transformed the community's rejection into acceptance can mainly be found when Kiai Khotib refused to hold a slametan for Hajj so that all the funding that might have been used for the slametan event could instead be allocated to the cash waqf program that has broader and lasting benefits.

While what happened at Ponpes Al-Ishlah if both are analyzed through the rationalization scheme, then Kiai Dawam's desire (Desire) to realize the best education for students in the boarding school causes him to believe (Belief) that education is the number one thing that needs to always be thought about and fought for. This strong desire and belief stems from information (Information) in the form of his life experiences during his life at PM Gontor about the principle that the teachers must not make mistakes, about sincerity, and others. The information and life experiences eventually formed beliefs and desires which eventually led to rational actions (Action) in the form of high discipline to teach, then actions in the form of consistent speech related to being a sincere teacher and others.

The strong thinking held by Kiai Dawam in the second case at Ponpes Al-Ishlah can be categorized as value-based rational action or Wertrational. Such a high value of education that covers all aspects of his life is a symbol of independent and unbound idealism. This strong educational idealism may ignore other things outside educational matters which in its rational instruments can actually support the development of educational institutions, such as the development of economic independence through productive waqf. The mindset of Kiai Dawam's sturdy figure eventually influenced the social conditions in pesantren's environment which formed a mindset among teachers that business activities tend to be labelled as worldly matters and education needs to be prioritized over any business.

	Kiai Khotib (Mathali'ul Anwar)	Kiai Dawam (Al-Ishlah)
<b>Desires</b>	Building permanent common facility	Giving best education to student
<b>Information</b>	The Fatwa of Al-Azhar's scholars who allow cash waqf	Life experience at Gontor
<b>Beliefs</b>	Shodaqoh may be used for longer and broader use	Education is number one, other value may be dismissed (including economic value like waqf productive)
<b>Implementation of Productive Waqf (Action)</b>	Practiced	Not practiced
<b>Weber's Rationalization Theory</b>	Instrumentally rational (Zweckrational)	Value rational (Wertrational)

## Conclusion

The study examines the dynamics of productive waqf implementation in two pesantren. At Mathali'ul Anwar, initial resistance to waqf model deemed illegitimate by some people, but shifted to acceptance due to Kiai Khatib's leadership as agent of change, demonstrating its feasibility through personal example. Conversely, at Al-Ishlah, resistance remains strong. Kiai Dawam, it's founder, prioritizes education over business, believing waqf productive could undermine educational goal. This strong resistance suggests a lengthy path to acceptance, requiring an agent to bridge the gap without diminishing leader's charisma.

This research also challenges James Peacock's dichotomy of reformist and traditionalist santri. Kiai Khatib, a traditionalist, embraced reform through productive waqf, even foregoing NU cultural practices like slametan. Meanwhile, the reformist Pesantren Al-Ishlah's resistance is rooted in value-based rationality rather than rationalist openness to change, highlighting nuanced dynamics that transcend traditional reformist-traditionalist classification.

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