



Waqf-Based Human Capital and Institutional Sustainability: An Ethnographic Study of Waqf Basyari in Indonesian Pesantren

Eko Nur Cahyo ^{1*}, Usmanul Khakim ², Muhammad Faqih Nidzom ³,
Khurun'in Zahro' ⁴, Nurita Binti Juhdi ⁵

^{1,4} Department of Islamic Economics Law, Faculty of Sharia and Law, Universitas Darussalam Gontor, Indonesia

^{2,3} Magister Program of Aqidah and Islamic Philosophy, Postgraduate Program, Universitas Darussalam Gontor, Indonesia

⁵ Kulliyah of Economics and Management Sciences, International Islamic University Malaysia, Malaysia

^{1*}Corresponding author: eko.nurcahyo@unida.gontor.ac.id, email: usmanulhakim@unida.gontor.ac.id,

faqihnidzom@unida.gontor.ac.id, khuruninzahro@unida.gontor.ac.id, nurita@iiu.edu.my

Article history: Received November 1, 2025 | Revised March 12, 2026 | Accepted March 26, 2025 | Available online on April 23, 2026

To cite this article [*Turabian of style 8th edition*]: Cahyo, Eko Nur, Usmanul Khakim, Muhammad Faqih Nidzom, Khurun'in Zahro, and Nurita Binti Juhdi. "Waqf-Based Human Capital and Institutional Sustainability: An Ethnographic Study of Waqf Basyari in Indonesian Pesantren". *IQTISHODUNA: Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 15, no. 1 (April 1, 2026): 117-138. Accessed April 23, 2026

ABSTRACT

Despite extensive studies on voluntarism in Islam and fiqh-based analyses of waqf, self-devotion (waqf basyari) has never been examined as waqf-based human capital nor linked to institutional sustainability within Islamic economics. This study fills this gap by examining waqf basyari and institutional sustainability at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor (PMDG), a century-old Indonesian pesantren. Framed within Islamic economics and waqf-based institutional economics, this ethnographic study employs participant observation, interviews, and document analysis. The findings reveal three results. First, the waqf basyari tradition at PMDG has developed over nearly 100 years from the founders' devotion movement. Second, devoted cadres (kader wakaf) realize institutional sustainability across five Panca Jangka dimensions: education, cadre formation, infrastructure, *khizanatullah* (asset expansion), and family welfare. Third, these cadres possess six attributes—readiness, time commitment, duty acceptance, evaluation openness, prioritizing the pesantren, and institutional defense—that operationalize waqf-based human capital. This study contributes theoretically to Islamic economics by introducing waqf-based human capital as a new analytical category and demonstrating its causal link to institutional sustainability. The findings offer a replicable model for Islamic educational institutions seeking sustainability beyond lineage-based succession.

Keywords: waqf basyari, waqf-based human capital, institutional sustainability, islamic institutional economics.

INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools represent a distinctive Indonesian educational institution that has existed since the 13th century AD.¹ Traditionally, the existence of *pesantren* relied heavily on the lineage (*nasab*) system, where a

¹ Muhammad Yunus, "Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Asli Indonesia," *Edification Journal* 1, no. 1 (2019): 111-118; Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*, IX. (Jakarta: LP3S, 2015).

pesantren was typically the personal property of a Kiai.² This lineage-based model has inherent weaknesses related to breaks in lineage or competency problems, leading to the decline or even closure of pesantren.³ Over time, pesantren succession has evolved to include individuals who are not descendants of kyai but are dedicated to the institution through devotion.⁴

Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor (PMDG), established in 1926, implements this transformative approach by emphasizing the concept of self-devotion (*waqf basyari*). This system allows not only descendants of kyai but also those who pledge their entire lives to the pesantren to become part of its leadership succession. To date, more than 300 individuals have dedicated themselves to PMDG,⁵ committing to lifelong service without fixed salary provisions, pledging obedience to the pesantren leadership, and refraining from external affiliations.⁶

This study argues that *waqf basyari* is the empirical manifestation of waqf-based human capital, and that this distinctive form of human resource management is the primary mechanism through which institutional sustainability is achieved in waqf-governed pesantren such as PMDG. Waqf-based human capital refers to human resources voluntarily and permanently endowed to a waqf institution, governed by spiritual commitment rather than contractual wage relations.⁷ Institutional sustainability refers to the capacity of a waqf-governed pesantren to maintain its operational, financial, and ideological continuity across generations.⁸

² Nurul Hidayah, "Kaderisasi Kepemimpinan Pesantren Terhadap Putra Kiyai Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Iman Bulus Purworejo," *SANGKÉP: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan* 1, no. 2 (2018): 143-165; Febrian Zainiyatul Firdaus, "Kaderisasi Kepemimpinan Pondok Pesantren (Studi Multi Situs Regenerasi Kepemimpinan Di Pondok Pesantren Nurul Islam Seribandung & Pondok Pesantren Al Ittifaqiah Indralaya)" (UIN Maliki Malang, 2017).

³ Khasanuri, "Kepemimpinan Klan Kiai Dalam Pendidikan Islamic Boarding School Modern" (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2022), 5.

⁴ Pondok Modern Darussaam gontor, "Diktat Kepondokmodernan" (Ponorogo, 2005), 10

⁵ Tim Penyusun, *Wardun: Warta Dunia Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor* (Ponorogo: Darussalam Press, 2022), 57.

⁶ Farichatul Azkiyah, "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Menurut Hukum Positif," *Al - Mazahib* 8, no. 1 (2020): 77.

⁷ Alfarid Fedro, Syamsuddin Arif, and Vina Fithriana Wibisono, "Waqf-Based Pesantren: Strategy of Human Capital and Entrepreneurship Education Development," *EDUKASIA ISLAMIKA Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 2 (2019): 123-142; Saifudin Asrori et al., "Integrating Waqf into Pesantren Curriculum: Strengthening Ethical Values and Economic Empowerment," in *Building a Greener and Sustainable Future* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2025).

⁸ Murat Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations : The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present* (Istanbul: Klasik, 2020), <https://archive.org/details/historyofphilant000ciza>; Amirul Haqem Bin Abd. Ghani and Muhammad Fikri Bin Aziz, "Productive Waqf Asset Management Based on Primary Scale and Implications for Community Welfare," *Management of Zakat and Waqf Journal (MAZAWA)* 5, no. 1 (September 27, 2023): 85-104, <https://jurnalfebi.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/MAZAWA/article/view/1452>.

Existing research on self-devotion, voluntarism, and Islam can be grouped into three distinct streams. The first stream, represented by Sulaiman, Philips, and Peucker, examines the concept of voluntarism from an Islamic theological perspective, exploring how Islamic teachings encourage charitable giving, community service, and volunteerism as forms of worship.⁹ The second stream, including studies by Mohamad and Abdalla, Miller, Ulfahadi, and Adnan et al., focuses on the practice of voluntarism within Islamic organizations and community institutions, investigating factors such as youth participation, spiritual development, and social media-based philanthropy.¹⁰ The third stream, consisting of Durroh, Azkiyah, Saleh, and Diana, addresses the specific phenomenon of self-devotion (*waqf basyari*) at PMDG, but these studies are predominantly approached from legal, *fiqh*, or case study standpoints rather than ethnographic or Islamic economics perspectives.¹¹

Despite these valuable contributions, three significant gaps remain. First, no study to date has employed an ethnographic approach to explore the internal cultural logic, attributes, and daily practices of devoted cadres (*kader wakaf*) at PMDG. While Durroh and Azkiyah examined the legal and *fiqh* dimensions of *waqf basyari*, their analyses focus only on formal regulations rather than the lived experiences of the cadres themselves.¹² Second, the voluntarism literature rarely addresses the specific condition of lifelong, unconditional commitment with no fixed salary—which is precisely what characterizes *waqf basyari* at PMDG. Studies by Sulaiman and Alzaareer & Abdalla, for example, discuss volunteer motivation and participation but assume voluntary engagement is temporary or part-time, not permanent and life-long.¹³ Third, and most critically

⁹ Kabuye Uthman Sulaiman, "Volunteerism from Islamic Perspective," in *International Conference on Humanities 2011*, vol. 11, 2011, 1–5, http://irep.iium.edu.my/6624/2/Kabuye_Uthman_Sulaiman.pdf; Bilal Philips, *Volunteering in Islam* (Australian Islamic Library, 2019); Mario Peucker, *Muslim Volunteering in the West: Between Islamic Ethos and Citizenship* (Switzerland: Mc Milan, 2020).

¹⁰ Ahmad Alzaareer and Mohamad Abdalla, "Exploring Motivations and Benefits of Volunteering: The Perspectives of High School Students in Selected Australian Islamic Schools," *Religions* 14, no. 4 (2023); Katherine Joanne Ledbetter Miller, "A Spiritual Development: Islam, Volunteerism and International Development in the Hunza Valley, Northern Pakistan" (University of California, 2015); Rizki Ulfahadi, "Islamic Philanthropy on Social Media in Youth Volunteering Movements," *Dialog* 46, no. 2 (2023): 135–144; Nurul Najihah Adnan, Siti Fatimah Mohamad Shuhaimi, and Adnan Aminuddin, "Factors That Contribute to Youth Participation in Volunteering Activities in Sungai Petani," in *ICOFA* (Atlantis Press SARL, 2023), 299–309, http://dx.doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-076-3_24.

¹¹ Nice Durroh, "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Dalam Perspektif Fiqih Dan UU No.41 Tahun 2004," *INKLUSIF* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1–29; Azkiyah, "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Menurut Hukum Positif"; Zumi Azka Diana, "Studi Analisis Wakaf Diri Ustadz Sunan Autad Sarjana Bin Hartono Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Ponorogo Jawa Timur" (IAIN Walisongo Semarang, 2020).

¹² Durroh, "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Dalam Perspektif Fiqih dan UU No.41 Tahun 2004."

¹³ Alzaareer and Abdalla, "Exploring Motivations and Benefits of Volunteering: The Perspectives of High School Students in Selected Australian Islamic Schools"; Sulaiman, "Volunteerism from Islamic Perspective."

from an Islamic economics perspective, no study has explicitly linked self-devotion (*waqf basyari*) to the concept of waqf-based human capital or to institutional sustainability within a waqf-based governance structure. The term "sustainability" in prior studies by Durroh, Saleh, and Diana remains generic – referring loosely to organizational continuity – without being grounded in Islamic institutional economics or the specific dimensions of waqf-based sustainability.¹⁴

This study fills these three gaps by employing an ethnographic approach to: first, identify the cultural attributes of devoted cadres that enable PMDG's sustainability; second, articulate how waqf *basyari* functions as waqf-based human capital within an Islamic economics framework; and third, demonstrate the explicit link between self-devotion and institutional sustainability within a waqf-governed pesantren. In other words, this research not only describes the phenomenon of self-devotion but also offers a new theoretical concept that enriches Islamic economics by extending the waqf literature beyond asset management (*al-waqf al-mali*) to include human resource endowment (*al-waqf al-basyari*).

The contributions of this study are threefold. Theoretically, this study introduces waqf-based human capital as a new analytical category in Islamic economics that goes beyond conventional human capital theory;¹⁵ by incorporating principles of perpetuity (*ta'bid*), spiritual motivation (*ihhtisab*), and shariah-based loyalty.¹⁶ Empirically, it provides an ethnographic account of how waqf *basyari* is practiced at PMDG through five sustainability dimensions known as *Panca Jangka*: educational continuity, cadre regeneration, infrastructure development, *khizanatullah* (expansion of waqf assets), and family welfare.¹⁷ Practically, it offers a replicable model for other Islamic educational institutions seeking sustainability beyond lineage-based succession, demonstrating how waqf-based human capital can be systematically developed and sustained

This study is anchored in three interrelated concepts within Islamic economics: waqf-based institutional economics, waqf-based human capital, and

¹⁴ Durroh, "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Dalam Perspektif Fiqih Dan UU No.41 Tahun 2004"; Diana, "Studi Analisis Wakaf Diri Ustadz Sunan Autad Sarjana Bin Hartono Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Ponorogo Jawa Timur."

¹⁵ Gary S Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1964), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=9t69iICmrZ0C&printsec=copyright&hl=id#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

¹⁶ Fedro, Arif, and Wibisono, "Waqf-Based Pesantren: Strategy of Human Capital and Entrepreneurship Education Development"; Asrori et al., "Integrating Waqf into Pesantren Curriculum: Strengthening Ethical Values and Economic Empowerment."

¹⁷ Syamsuri Syamsuri, Sultan Nanta Setia Dien Labolo, and Iqbal Maulana Firdaus, "Implementation of Panca Jangka as a Strategy to Develop the Pesantren Gontor," *Santri: Journal of Pesantren and Fiqh Sosial* 4, no. 2 (2023): 177-194.

institutional sustainability. The relationship among these concepts is causal: waqf-based institutional economics provides the governance structure; waqf-based human capital (manifested as waqf *basyari*) is the human resource mechanism; and institutional sustainability is the intended outcome.

In Islamic economics, waqf is a core instrument of Islamic social finance alongside zakat, *infaq*, and *sadaqah*.¹⁸ Unlike zakat, waqf is voluntary and perpetual (*ta'bid*) – once endowed, it cannot be sold, inherited, or gifted.¹⁹ Three essential principles of waqf are relevant here: perpetuity (*ta'bid*), irrevocability, and charitable purpose (*al-ghayah al-khayriyyah*). PMDG's transformation from a kyai-owned institution to a formal waqf in 1958 exemplifies these principles, as founders renounced inheritance rights for their descendants.²⁰

Waqf-based institutional economics examines the governance and sustainability of waqf institutions.²¹ It emphasizes three conditions for sustainability: (1) governance separating ownership from management, (2) a renewable human resource base, and (3) productive management of waqf assets. PMDG's *Panca Jangka*—five strategic areas including education, cadre formation, infrastructure, *khizanatullah* (asset expansion), and family welfare—operationalizes these conditions.²²

Conventional human capital theory assumes human capital is alienable – individuals sell labor for wages and can exit at will.²³ This assumption does not hold for PMDG's devoted cadres. This study proposes waqf-based human capital as an extension of human capital theory from an Islamic perspective.²⁴ It is characterized by four features: lifelong commitment without fixed wage, spiritual motivation (*ihtisab*), subordination of personal interests to institutional mission, and governance by shariah-based loyalty rather than contract. At PMDG, devoted cadres (*kader wakaf*) function as "living waqf" – their

¹⁸ Monzer Kahf, "Islamic Banks: The Rise of a New Power Alliance of Wealth and Shari'a Scholarship," in *The Politics of Islamic Finance*, ed. Clement Hendry and Rodney Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004); Ahmad Muqorobin and Mohammad Syifa Urrosyidin, "The Contribution of Zakat, Infaq, Sadaqa, and Waqf (Ziswaf) Strategic Management in Developing the Prosperity of Ummah," *Journal of Islamic Economics and Finance Studies* 4, no. 1 (June 26, 2023): 27–47, <https://ejournal.upnvj.ac.id/JIEFeS/article/view/5698>.

¹⁹ Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present*.

²⁰ Syahrudin Sumardi Samindjaya et al., "Imam Zarkasyi's Contribution to Indonesia's Modern Waqf Education System," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 14, no. 1 (2024): 74–91.

²¹ Muhammad Bilal Zafar and Hassnian Ali, "Waqf as a Socioeconomic Institution and Its Governance and Development for Welfare and Sustainability," *Discover Global Society* 4, no. 1 (April 28, 2026): 58, <https://link.springer.com/10.1007/s44282-026-00412-8>.

²² Syamsuri, Labolo, and Firdaus, "Implementation of Panca Jangka as a Strategy to Develop the Pesantren Gontor."

²³ Gary S. Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education* (New York: NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH, 1964).

²⁴ Fedro, Arif, and Wibisono, "Waqf-Based Pesantren: Strategy of Human Capital and Entrepreneurship Education Development."

knowledge, commitment, and presence are inseparable from the institution's waqf identity.

Institutional sustainability within Islamic economics refers to a waqf institution's capacity to maintain its mission, governance, and operations across generations.²⁵ For *pesantren*, sustainability is challenged by succession crises inherent in lineage-based models.²⁶ This study operationalizes institutional sustainability through five *Panca Jangka* dimensions: educational continuity, cadre regeneration, infrastructure maintenance, *khizanatullah*, and family welfare.

The causal relationship is sequential: waqf provides the legal foundation; waqf-based institutional economics provides the governance framework; within this framework, two necessary conditions must be met – waqf-based human capital (*waqf basyari*) and productive asset management (*khizanatullah*) to achieve institutional sustainability. This study focuses on the link between waqf-based human capital and sustainability through *Panca Jangka*, identifying the specific attributes of devoted cadres that enable each dimension.

METHODS

This study employs an ethnographic approach.²⁷ Fieldwork was conducted at PMDG over six months (July-December 2024). The researcher resided in the *pesantren* compound, enabling continuous participant observation. A total of 25 informants participated using purposive sampling: 15 devoted cadres (coded CDR-01 to CDR-15), 5 leaders including kyai and high-level institutional leaders (LDR-01 to LDR-05), and 5 senior alumni (ALM-01 to ALM-05). Three methods were used: participant observation (daily field notes), semi-structured interviews (60-120 minutes each, audio-recorded, transcribed), and document analysis (waqf charter, cadre pledge letters, cadre formation policies). Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria were applied:²⁸ credibility (prolonged engagement, member checking, peer debriefing), transferability (thick description), dependability (audit trail), and confirmability (reflexive journal). Three levels were performed Denzin: data triangulation (CDR, LDR, ALM), method triangulation (observation, interviews, documents), and investigator triangulation (peer debriefing).²⁹ Data Analysis followed Spradley's

²⁵ Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present*.

²⁶ Khasanuri, "Kepemimpinan Klan Kiai Dalam Pendidikan Pesantren Modern (Studi Komparasi Di Pesantren Daarul Rahman, Asshididiqiyah Dan Darunnajah)."

²⁷ James P. Spradley, *Participant Observation, Paper Knowledge . Toward a Media History of Documents* (New York: Holt, Rineart and Winston, 1980), 3–4.

²⁸ Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (CA: SAGE Publications, 1985), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=2oA9aWlNeooC&printsec=frontcover&hl=id#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

²⁹ Denzin, Norman K. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. Second Edi. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978.

(1980) four-stage procedure manually.³⁰ Stage 1 identified domains (readiness, time, duty, and evaluation). Stage 2 revealed taxonomies (e.g., "readiness" had three subtypes). Stage 3 identified contrasts across *Panca Jangka* dimensions. Stage 4 identified cultural themes (e.g., "self-devotion as living waqf"). All decisions were documented in an audit trail.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Historical Development of Self-Devotion Culture at PMDG

The first finding reveals that the culture of self-devotion (*waqf basyari*) at PMDG has grown and developed over nearly 100 years, originating from the devotion movement initiated by the three founders of PMDG, known as the Trimurti: K.H. Ahmad Sahal, K.H. Zainuddin Fananie, and K.H. Imam Zarkasyi. This finding emerged from document analysis of PMDG's historical archives and was confirmed by interviews with senior alumni and *pesantren* leaders.

The *waqf* charter signed in 1958 represents a critical turning point in this history. One senior Alumni explained, "The founders didn't just donate land and buildings. They donated their souls, minds, and entire lives to Gontor. This was later emulated by subsequent cadres" (ALM-01). Document analysis confirmed this progression: the formal *waqf* charter explicitly states that the founders renounced inheritance rights for their descendants, ensuring that PMDG would not suffer the same fate as the old Gontor and Tegalsari *pesantren*, which collapsed due to succession failures.³¹

A *pesantren* leader elaborated on the founders' strategy: "Trimurti realized that Islamic boarding schools would not last if they relied solely on descendants. They created a cadre system that allowed anyone, not just descendants of kyai, to become leaders, provided they demonstrated dedication and competence" (LDR-01). This insight was echoed by another leader who stated, "To date, more than 300 people have become waqf cadres. They come from various backgrounds, not just families of kyai" (LDR-05). The annual reports confirmed that the number of devoted cadres has continued to increase across generations.³²

The nearly 100-year survival of *waqf basyari* at PMDG is far from accidental. Rather, it demonstrates that self-devotion is not an ad hoc practice but a deliberate institutional design conceived by the founders to solve the succession crisis that plagued traditional lineage-based *pesantren*.³³ By institutionalizing self-devotion rather than relying on biological inheritance, the founders transformed PMDG from a family-owned enterprise into a *waqf*-governed institution with a renewable human resource base. This finding aligns with the first condition of *waqf*-based institutional economics – governance separating ownership from

³⁰ Spradley, *Participant Observation*.

³¹ Sekretaris Pimpinan, *Serba Serbi Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor* (Ponorogo: Darussalam Press, 2024), 79.

³² Tim Penyusun, *Wardun: Warta Dunia Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*.

³³ Khasanuri, "Kepemimpinan Klan Kiai Dalam Pendidikan Pesantren Modern (Studi Komparasi Di Pesantren Daarul Rahman, Asshiddiqiyah Dan Darunnajah)."

management – which recent studies identify as essential for waqf sustainability.³⁴ The founders understood that no institution can outlive its founder if leadership succession is tied to bloodline rather than competence and commitment.

From the perspective of Islamic economics, this finding reveals a distinctive model of human resource motivation that fundamentally challenges conventional assumptions. In standard economic theory, labor supply is understood to respond primarily to monetary incentives and wage determination.³⁵ The PMDG cadres, however, work without fixed salaries, yet their commitment has sustained the institution for a century. The motivational mechanism at work here is not wage but *ih̄tisab* – the deeply held belief that service to the *pesantren* is an act of worship (*ibadah*) that will be rewarded by Allah in the afterlife.³⁶ Amrullah et al. provide a philosophical foundation for this finding, demonstrating that a person's worldview determines their willingness to perform waqf, including self-devotion as an act of worship.³⁷ This spiritual economy of motivation, where worldly compensation is replaced by otherworldly expectation, represents an underexplored but potentially transformative dimension of Islamic labor economics.³⁸ The founders' genius was not merely legal (transforming ownership to *waqf* status) but also economic: they created a system where human capital could be permanently endowed because the cadres' "returns" are not monetary but spiritual. This transforms the conventional employer-employee relationship, governed by contract law and wage negotiation, into a relationship of shared religious purpose, governed by *shariah*-based loyalty and mutual trust (*amanah*).

This finding also illustrates how the principle of perpetuity (*ta'bid*) in *waqf* jurisprudence extends beyond physical assets to include human resources.³⁹ In classical *waqf* doctrine, *ta'bid* requires that once an asset is endowed as *waqf*, it cannot be sold, inherited, or gifted. The PMDG cadres who pledge self-devotion become, in effect, "living waqf" – human beings who embody the permanence and irrevocability of *waqf* itself. In this sense, PMDG has expanded the *waqf* literature beyond asset management (*al-waqf al-mali*) to include human resource endowment (*al-waqf al-basyari*). This expansion is

³⁴ Vika Annisa Qurrata et al., "Institutional Economics from Islamic Perspective: With Special Reference to Waqf," *SAGE Open* 15, no. 4 (2025); Eko Nur Cahyo, Khurun'in Zahro', and Vina Fithriana Wibisono, "Waqf Governance and Asset Management in Sudan: Accountability and Performance," *International Journal of Islamic Business* 11, no. 1 (2026): 58–74.

³⁵ Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*.

³⁶ Usman N Topbasy, *Tsalatsiyatu Al Khair Wa Al Atha' Fi Al Hadzarah Al Islamiyah: Al Waqfu, Al Infaqu, Al Khidmatu* (Birmingham: Daar Arqam, 2016).

³⁷ Khasib Amrullah et al., "The Concept of Waqf From Worldview Theory: The Study of Sharia-Philosophy," *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam* 23, no. 1 (2022): 22–41.

³⁸ Daromir Rudnyckj, "Spiritual Economies: Islam and Neoliberalism in Contemporary Indonesia," *Cultural Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (February 2009): 104–141, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2009.00028.x>.

³⁹ Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present*.

significant because it addresses a critical weakness in conventional *waqf* studies, which tend to focus narrowly on the management of physical assets while neglecting the human beings who must manage those assets across generations.⁴⁰

Relevance to global issues. The PMDG model of *waqf basyari* has significant implications beyond the Indonesian context. Across the Muslim world, Islamic educational institutions—*from madrasas in Pakistan and India to almajiri schools in Nigeria and zawaya in Morocco*—face similar succession crises.⁴¹ Many were founded by charismatic religious leaders but collapsed after their founders' deaths because no sustainable leadership succession mechanism was in place. The PMDG model offers a tested solution: transformation to *waqf* status combined with a systematic cadre formation system based on spiritual motivation (*ihhtisab*) rather than wage-based employment. International Islamic organizations such as the Islamic Development Bank (IsDB) and the World Waqf Foundation have begun exploring *waqf*-based human resource models for educational sustainability.⁴² The PMDG case provides empirical evidence that such models can work across nearly a century. In an era where Islamic education faces pressures from secularization, globalization, and the rise of alternative educational models, the *waqf basyari* system demonstrates that tradition and sustainability need not be opposed. An institution can remain deeply rooted in Islamic values while simultaneously ensuring its own long-term survival through innovative governance mechanisms.⁴³

Moreover, this finding challenges the common assumption in voluntarism literature that religious voluntary service is necessarily temporary or episodic.⁴⁴ Unlike the Western-based models of episodic volunteerism, which assume that volunteers contribute limited hours for limited durations, the PMDG case demonstrates that Islamic voluntarism can be institutionalized as a permanent, multigenerational system when supported by appropriate governance structures, cadre formation programs, and cultural reinforcement. While previous studies of *waqf basyari* have examined the phenomenon primarily from legal and *fiqh* perspectives.⁴⁵ Those studies correctly identify the formal regulations governing self-devotion but do not explain how the practice has been sustained across nearly a century. The present finding reveals that sustainability depends not only on legal documents but on the active transmission of values,

⁴⁰ Qurrata et al., "Institutional Economics from Islamic Perspective: With Special Reference to Waqf."

⁴¹ Timur Kuran, "Islamic Economic Institutions," in *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

⁴² Qurrata et al., "Institutional Economics from Islamic Perspective: With Special Reference to Waqf."

⁴³ Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present*.

⁴⁴ Peucker, *Muslim Volunteering in the West: Between Islamic Ethos and Citizenship*.

⁴⁵ Durroh, "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Dalam Perspektif Fiqih Dan UU No.41 Tahun 2004"; Azkiyah, "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Menurut Hukum Positif."

behaviors, and commitments from one generation of cadres to the next—a transmission made possible precisely because the cadres are motivated by *ih̄tisab* rather than by wages.

The Role of Devoted Cadres in Achieving Five Dimensions of Institutional Sustainability

The second finding reveals that devoted cadres occupy an ideal strategic position in realizing PMDG's institutional sustainability across five specific dimensions, known as *Panca Jangka*. These dimensions emerged consistently from interviews with cadres, leaders, and alumni, and were confirmed through document analysis of PMDG's strategic plans. The five dimensions are: (1) educational continuity, (2) cadre regeneration, (3) infrastructure maintenance, (4) *khizanatullah* (expansion of waqf assets), and (5) family welfare.

Educational continuity. Devoted cadres ensure the uninterrupted transmission of Islamic and general sciences across generations. One cadre explained, "I taught at KMI for 15 years. My students are now teachers here. It's a never-ending chain" (CDR-05). A leader confirmed, "The presence of waqf cadres ensures that the educational process never stops. Even when other teachers take leave or leave, the cadres remain" (LDR-01). Observation notes recorded that during the fieldwork period, even when temporary teachers came and went, the devoted cadres remained consistently present in classrooms and student activities.

Cadre regeneration. Devoted cadres are themselves the mechanism for producing the next generation of cadres. One senior cadre who has served for over 30 years stated, "I train young cadres every day. They learn from me, and one day they will replace me. This has been going on continuously" (CDR-02). Another cadre added, "My son is also a waqf cadre. This is not a blood inheritance, but a legacy of values" (CDR-03). A leader observed, "Cadre development is carried out systematically through an assignment program (*amanah*). Senior cadres serve as role models for junior cadres" (LDR-02). Document analysis confirmed that PMDG has a formal cadre formation program that all prospective cadres must complete before taking the self-devotion pledge.⁴⁶

Infrastructure maintenance. Devoted cadres oversee the physical development and maintenance of PMDG's extensive facilities. A cadre from the development division explained, "Each building in this Islamic boarding school has a person in charge. We, the cadres, ensure everything is well-maintained" (CDR-11). Another cadre added, "I've been involved in construction for 20 years. There's not a day without repairs or new construction" (CDR-08). Observation notes recorded that cadres were frequently seen inspecting buildings, coordinating repairs, and supervising construction projects throughout the fieldwork period.

⁴⁶ Sekretaris Pimpinan, *Serba Serbi Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*.

Khizanatullah (expansion of waqf assets). Devoted cadres manage PMDG's various business units that generate income to support the institution's operations. One cadre stated, "We run a printing press, rice paddies, a bookstore, and a laundry. All profits go back to the lodge" (CDR-10). Another cadre added, "I was tasked with developing a new business unit. This was a huge responsibility because the results supported the sustainability of the boarding school" (CDR-13). A leader confirmed, "The cadres who manage the business do not seek personal gain. They work with sincere intentions for the Pondok" (LDR-03).

Family welfare. PMDG ensures the welfare of its devoted cadres and their families, even though no fixed salary is specified in the self-devotion pledge. One cadre explained, "I never received a fixed salary, but my family's needs were always met. The boarding school provided us with a place to live, education for our children, and basic necessities" (CDR-09). Another cadre added, "I don't know how much other cadres receive. That's between me and the leadership. The important thing is, I've never been short" (CDR-06). A leader stated, "The welfare of the cadres is the priority of the boarding school. They don't need to worry about their living expenses because the boarding school guarantees them" (LDR-04). A senior alumni observed, "None of the waqf cadres live below the poverty line. They have decent homes, their children attend school, and many even own private vehicles" (ALM-02).

These five dimensions are not separate goals but interconnected elements of a single system. Educational continuity depends on cadre regeneration (to replace retiring teachers), which depends on family welfare (to attract and retain cadres), which depends on *khizanatullah* (to generate revenue), which depends on infrastructure maintenance (to house business units), which depends on educational continuity (to produce qualified cadres to manage everything). The devoted cadres are the common thread connecting all five dimensions; without them, the system would collapse.

This finding demonstrates how PMDG fulfils the three conditions for *waqf* institutional sustainability proposed in the theoretical framework.⁴⁷ The first condition—governance separating ownership from management—was established through the 1958 *waqf* charter, which transferred ownership from the Trimurti family to the *waqf* board (*nadzir*), while management remained with the *pesantren* leadership drawn from devoted cadres. The second condition—a renewable human resource base—is fulfilled precisely through the *waqf basyari* system described above, particularly the cadre regeneration dimension of *Panca Jangka*, where senior cadres train juniors to ensure intergenerational continuity. The third condition—productive management of *waqf* assets—is

⁴⁷ Qurrata et al., "Institutional Economics from Islamic Perspective: With Special Reference to Waqf"; Mulyono Jamal et al., "إدارة الوقف الزراعي لمعهد دار السلام كونتور بعقد الإجارة والمزارعة على تحليل سواوت (The Management of Waqf Fields at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor (PMDG) Based on Ijarah and Muzara'ah Contract: SWOT Analysis)," *IQTISHODUNA: Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 14, no. 1 (April 11, 2025): 101-124, <https://ejournal.iaisyarifuddin.ac.id/index.php/iqtishoduna/article/view/2617>.

fulfilled through the *khizanatullah* dimension, where cadres manage business units whose revenues support the entire institution. In this way, the *Panca Jangka* framework operationalizes all three theoretical conditions simultaneously, with devoted cadres serving as the human mechanism that connects governance to asset management through their own regeneration.

When viewed through the lens of Islamic economics, the *Panca Jangka* framework bears a striking resemblance to the five objectives of *shariah* (*maqashid al-syariah*) as formulated by al-Ghazali and later systematized by al-Syatibi.⁴⁸ Educational continuity corresponds to protecting religion (*hifzh al-din*) by ensuring the transmission of Islamic knowledge across generations, as well as protecting intellect (*hifzh al-'aql*) by maintaining educational institutions. Cadre regeneration corresponds to protecting progeny (*hifzh al-nasl*) by ensuring that future generations of leaders are properly formed and trained. *Khizanatullah* (expansion of *waqf* assets) corresponds to protecting wealth (*hifzh al-mal*) by growing and sustaining the institution's asset base in a *shariah*-compliant manner. Family welfare corresponds to protecting life (*hifzh al-nafs*) by ensuring that those who serve the institution are adequately provided for. This alignment suggests that PMDG's sustainability model is not merely pragmatic or managerial but is deeply rooted in classical Islamic economic ethics.⁴⁹ Unlike secular sustainability frameworks – such as the triple bottom line (people, planet, profit) or ESG (environmental, social, governance) criteria –,⁵⁰ which focus narrowly on financial viability or environmental protection, the *Panca Jangka* model integrates material and spiritual dimensions into a coherent whole.

Relevance to global issues. The *Panca Jangka* framework offers a holistic sustainability model that addresses a gap in global development discourse. The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), for all their strengths, tend to treat education, economic growth, infrastructure, and well-being as separate goals rather than as interconnected elements of an integrated system.⁵¹ PMDG's *Panca Jangka* demonstrates how Islamic educational institutions can simultaneously pursue educational quality (SDG 4), economic productivity (SDG 8), infrastructure development (SDG 9), and reduced inequality (SDG 10) through a single integrated framework. Moreover, the inclusion of "family welfare" as a formal sustainability dimension anticipates the SDG principle of

⁴⁸ Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (Herndon, VA: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008); Usmanul Khakim et al., "Formulating an Islamic Corporate Social Responsibility (I-CSR) Model: Integrating Maqāṣid Sharī'ah and Iḥsān," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 14, no. 2 (2024): 263–285.

⁴⁹ Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present*.

⁵⁰ John Elkington, *Cannibals with Forks: The Triple Bottom Line of 21st Century Business*, Capstone, vol. 1 (Oxford UK: Capstone, 1997); esgenterprise, "Sustainability & Environmental Solutions," *Www.Esgenterprise.Com*, last modified 2021, <https://www.esgenterprise.com/>.

⁵¹ UNDP, "The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (New York: United Nations, 2015).

"leaving no one behind" by ensuring that those who provide essential services are themselves adequately cared for – a principle often neglected in conventional development models that prioritize aggregate outcomes over the well-being of service providers. For global Islamic education policymakers, the PMDG model suggests that sustainability requires not only financial endowments but also human endowments – systems for recruiting, forming, and retaining committed personnel who view their work as an act of worship.

Furthermore, this finding provides empirical validation for the causal pathway proposed in the theoretical framework: *waqf-based human capital* (manifested as *waqf basyari*) is precisely the mechanism through which institutional sustainability is achieved in PMDG. The contribution of each cadre attribute to each sustainability dimension can now be mapped. Educational continuity depends primarily on the attributes of readiness and time commitment, as cadres remain on campus 24/7 ensuring that teaching never stops. Cadre regeneration depends on duty acceptance, as senior cadres willingly train juniors without expecting additional compensation. Infrastructure maintenance relies on prioritizing the *pesantren*, as cadres sacrifice personal time for facility upkeep. *Khizanatullah* depends on defending the *pesantren*, as cadres manage business units with no personal profit motive – a direct manifestation of *ihtisab* in the economic domain. And family welfare depends on openness to evaluation, as cadres accept the leadership's determination of welfare without negotiation or protest, trusting that the institution will fulfill its *shariah*-based obligation to care for them.

The inclusion of "family welfare" as a formal sustainability dimension is particularly significant from an Islamic economics perspective. It reflects the Islamic principle that institutions have a moral and religious obligation to care for those who serve them – an obligation derived from the concept of *al-ghayah al-khayriyyah* (charitable purpose) that defines all legitimate *waqf*.⁵² In conventional human resource management, welfare is typically determined by market forces: employees receive wages based on supply and demand, and there is no moral obligation beyond the employment contract. In the PMDG model, by contrast, welfare is determined by the leadership based on need and *shariah*-based principles of justice (*adl*) and benevolence (*ihsan*). This difference is not merely procedural but foundational. The cadres do not negotiate their welfare because they do not see themselves as employees selling labor to an employer. They see themselves as servants of Allah performing *ihtisab* through their service to the *pesantren*. The institution, in turn, sees its provision for their welfare not as a cost to be minimized but as a religious duty to be fulfilled. This relational dynamic – governed by spiritual obligation rather than contractual negotiation – is what makes the *waqf basyari* system work and what distinguishes it from both conventional employment and generic voluntarism.

⁵² Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present*.

Six Key Attributes of Devoted Cadres as Waqf-Based Human Capital

The third finding reveals that devoted cadres (*kader wakaf*) at PMDG possess six distinct attributes that distinguish them from conventional employees or temporary volunteers. These attributes emerged consistently across interviews and observations with all 25 informants. Based on domain and taxonomic analysis of informants' language, the six attributes are: (1) readiness, (2) time commitment, (3) duty acceptance, (4) openness to evaluation, (5) prioritizing the *pesantren*, and (6) defending the *pesantren*. These attributes were not merely stated as ideals but were consistently demonstrated in daily practice throughout the six-month fieldwork period.

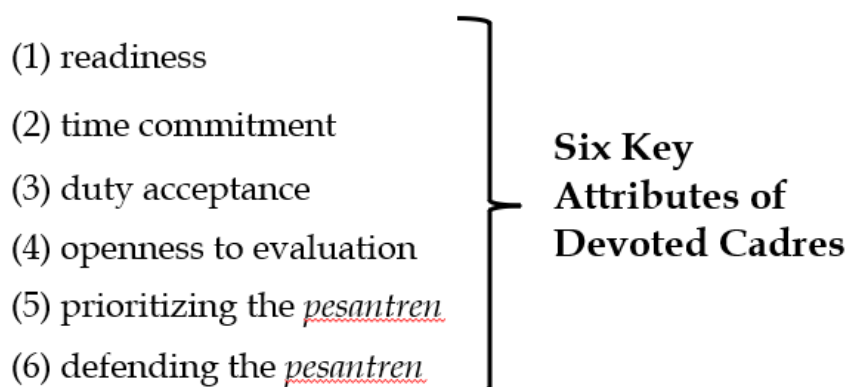


Image 1. Six Key Attributes of Devote Cadres

The first attribute, readiness; manifested in three distinct subtypes. One cadre explained, "I'm ready to be assigned anytime and anywhere without asking first. There's no such thing as not being ready" (CDR-07). Another cadre with over 20 years of service stated, "We don't have fixed working hours. If the boss calls at 2 a.m., we're still ready" (CDR-12). A third cadre confirmed, "There is no concept of retirement for us. We serve until the end of our lives" (CDR-04). Observation notes supported these statements: during the fieldwork period, cadres were frequently seen responding to calls for assistance at all hours, including late nights for student emergencies and early mornings for preparatory activities.

The second attribute, time commitment; refers to the cadre's willingness to dedicate their entire time to the *pesantren* without reservation. A *pesantren* leader observed, "Waqf cadres work 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year. They have no holidays" (LDR-02). This was evident during major holidays when most students returned to their hometowns. Observation notes recorded that while students and some staff departed, the devoted cadres remained on campus, continuing their duties. One cadre explained, "My family has come to understand that the cottage is a top priority. If I had to choose between a family vacation and cottage duties, I'd choose the cottage" (CDR-09).

The third attribute, duty acceptance; describes the cadre's willingness to accept any assignment, regardless of its nature or location. A senior cadre reflected, "During my 35 years of service, I've been assigned to various divisions: education, development, business, and even the kitchen. There's no such thing as a high or low task" (CDR-01). Another cadre who had recently been reassigned to a different campus stated, "I had just gotten married when my superiors ordered me to transfer to another campus. I didn't protest. Duty is a trust" (CDR-14). A leader confirmed, "We've never heard of a cadre refusing an assignment. They accept it wholeheartedly" (LDR-03).

The fourth attribute, openness to evaluation; refers to the cadre's willingness to receive feedback, criticism, and reprimand without resistance. One cadre stated, "Evaluation is part of the process. If I make a mistake, I accept the reprimand with an open heart" (CDR-06). Another cadre added, "The leadership often reminds us, both openly and privately. We never feel offended because it's for the good of the boarding school" (CDR-10). A leader explained, "Evaluations are conducted routinely. Sometimes the outcome of an evaluation is a job transfer. Cadres accept this without protest" (LDR-04).

The fifth attribute, prioritizing the *pesantren*; describes the cadre's consistent subordination of personal and family interests to the institution's needs. One cadre stated, "The importance of the cottage is everything. If my family needs me but the cottage also needs me, I choose the cottage" (CDR-08). Another cadre explained, "I only took a few days off for Eid, the rest of the time I returned to the boarding school because I had assignments waiting" (CDR-11). Observation notes recorded that during the fieldwork period, many cadres took only one to three days of leave during national holidays, returning to campus while most other staff remained on vacation.

The sixth attribute, defending the *pesantren*; refers to the cadre's commitment to protect the institution from any threat. One senior Alumni reflected, "I remember when political upheaval occurred, the cadres were actually at the forefront to protect the kyai and the Pondok" (ALM-03). A leader added, "To this day, if there is a threat to the Pondok, the cadres are always ready to defend it. This is not just a slogan, but a proven history" (LDR-05). Another cadre stated, "We will not allow anyone to damage the hut. This is our responsibility as waqf cadres" (CDR-13).

Analytical interpretation and theoretical engagement. These six attributes collectively operationalize the concept of *waqf-based human capital* introduced in the theoretical framework. Each attribute corresponds directly to the four characteristics of *waqf-based human capital* proposed by Fedro et al. and Asrori et al.⁵³ Readiness and time commitment together embody the first characteristic:

⁵³ Fedro, Arif, and Wibisono, "Waqf-Based Pesantren: Strategy of Human Capital and Entrepreneurship Education Development"; Asrori et al., "Integrating Waqf into Pesantren Curriculum: Strengthening Ethical Values and Economic Empowerment."

lifelong commitment without fixed wage.⁵⁴ The cadres work without fixed hours, without retirement, and without wage negotiation—yet their commitment remains absolute. Duty acceptance and openness to evaluation embody the second characteristic: governance by *shariah*-based loyalty rather than contract. Cadres accept any assignment and any reprimand not because a contract requires it but because they have pledged obedience (*ta'ah*) as an act of worship. Prioritizing the *pesantren* embodies the third characteristic: subordination of personal interests to institutional mission. Cadres consistently choose institutional needs over personal and family interests. Defending the *pesantren* embodies the fourth characteristic: integration of spiritual motivation (*ihhtisab*) with professional competence. Cadres defend the institution not primarily for material reasons but because they view such defence as a religious duty.

This finding extends conventional human capital theory (Becker, 1964) in three significant ways.⁵⁵ First, while Becker's framework assumes that human capital is alienable—individuals invest in their skills and sell their labor in exchange for wages—the PMDG cadres demonstrate that human capital can be inalienably endowed as *waqf*. The cadres receive no fixed salary, yet they remain committed for life. This challenges the wage-based motivation assumption that underlies conventional labor economics and suggests the need for an alternative theoretical framework that can accommodate spiritual motivation (*ihhtisab*) as a primary driver of labor supply in certain institutional contexts. Second, the six attributes identified here provide empirical specification of what *waqf-based human capital* looks like in practice. Previous studies introduced the concept but did not identify its behavioural indicators.⁵⁶ The six attributes—readiness, time commitment, duty acceptance, openness to evaluation, prioritizing the *pesantren*, and defending the *pesantren*—provide measurable, observable indicators that can be used to assess the presence and strength of *waqf-based human capital* in other institutional contexts. Third, this finding contrasts sharply with voluntarism literature,⁵⁷ which typically assumes that voluntary engagement is temporary, part-time, and conditional. The PMDG cadres, by contrast, demonstrate that voluntary commitment can be permanent, full-time, and unconditional. This suggests that the conceptualization of Islamic voluntarism needs to be expanded to include what might be termed "radical

⁵⁴ Fedro, Arif, and Wibisono, "Waqf-Based Pesantren: Strategy of Human Capital and Entrepreneurship Education Development"; Asrori et al., "Integrating Waqf into Pesantren Curriculum: Strengthening Ethical Values and Economic Empowerment."

⁵⁵ Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*.

⁵⁶ Fedro, Arif, and Wibisono, "Waqf-Based Pesantren: Strategy of Human Capital and Entrepreneurship Education Development."

⁵⁷ Peucker, *Muslim Volunteering in the West: Between Islamic Ethos and Citizenship*; Sulaiman, "Volunteerism from Islamic Perspective"; Alzaareer and Abdalla, "Exploring Motivations and Benefits of Volunteering: The Perspectives of High School Students in Selected Australian Islamic Schools."

voluntarism"—complete dedication of one's entire human capital as an act of worship.

Relevance to global issues. The six attributes of PMDG cadres offer a behavioural model for human resource management in faith-based institutions worldwide. In many religious traditions, institutions struggle to recruit and retain committed personnel because they cannot compete with secular employers on salary and benefits.⁵⁸ The PMDG model suggests an alternative: recruit based on spiritual motivation (*ih̄tisab*), form through holistic education (*tarbiyah*), and retain through community-based welfare rather than individual salary maximization. This model has potential applicability beyond Islam. Catholic religious orders, for example, have sustained schools and hospitals for centuries through vows of poverty, obedience, and lifelong service—a strikingly similar model to *waqf basyari*. Jewish *yeshivas* and Buddhist monastic education systems also rely on similar principles of lifelong dedication and spiritual motivation.⁵⁹ The PMDG case provides empirical documentation of how such a system operates in practice, offering lessons for faith-based institutions across traditions that face the common challenge of sustaining commitment across generations.

Furthermore, this finding contributes to the growing global literature on alternative forms of organizing that challenge the dominance of the wage-labor model.⁶⁰ In an era where precarious work, gig economy employment, and the erosion of job security have become global concerns, the PMDG *waqf basyari* system demonstrates an alternative: employment without wage negotiation but with community-based welfare guarantee; flexibility without precarity; commitment without contract. While the PMDG model depends on specific religious and cultural conditions that may not be replicable elsewhere, its underlying principles—spiritual motivation, community obligation, and lifelong formation—offer provocations for rethinking human resource management in nonprofit and faith-based sectors globally. International development organizations seeking to support Islamic education should take note: sustainability requires not only buildings and endowments but human beings who embody the institution's mission as their own life purpose.

The Causal Pathway from *Waqf Basyari* to Institutional Sustainability: An Ethnographic Synthesis

The three findings form a single causal pathway: the founders institutionalized *waqf* as the legal foundation, established *waqf*-based governance separating ownership from management, and developed *waqf*-based human capital manifested as *waqf basyari*. Through the six attributes of its cadres, this human capital operationalizes the five *Panca Jangka* dimensions—educational

⁵⁸ Miller, "A Spiritual Development: Islam, Volunteerism and International Development in the Hunza Valley, Northern Pakistan."

⁵⁹ Peucker, *Muslim Volunteering in the West: Between Islamic Ethos and Citizenship*.

⁶⁰ J.K. Gibson-graham, *The End of Capitalism (as We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*, *International Affairs*, vol. 73 (London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

continuity, cadre regeneration, infrastructure maintenance, *khizanatullah*, and family welfare – which together produce institutional sustainability. The cadres embody the four characteristics of *waqf-based human capital*: lifelong commitment without fixed wage, spiritual motivation (*ih̄tisab*), subordination of personal interests to institutional mission, and governance by *shariah*-based loyalty. Thus, *waqf basyari* turns the legal fact of *waqf* into the lived reality of institutional perpetuity.

From an ethnographic perspective, these findings are deeply contextual and do not claim statistical generalizability. From an Islamic economics perspective, however, the PMDG case offers a *model of principles* that is transferable: separation of ownership from management, renewable human resources through systematic cadre formation, *ih̄tisab* as a substitute for monetary incentives, and welfare determined by *shariah*-based ethics. The recursive dynamic – six attributes produce and are produced by the five *Panca Jangka* dimensions – explains PMDG's century-long sustainability. In sum, the causal pathway is confirmed: *waqf* → *waqf-based institutional economics* → *waqf-based human capital (waqf basyari)* → six attributes → five *Panca Jangka* dimensions → institutional sustainability. While context-specific, the principles embedded in this pathway offer inspiration for other Islamic educational institutions, with the caution that every context requires its own adaptation.

CONCLUSION

This ethnographic study examined *waqf basyari* and institutional sustainability at PMDG. Three conclusions emerge. First, self-devotion culture developed over nearly 100 years from the founders' strategy to solve succession crises. Second, devoted cadres occupy an ideal position in realizing five *Panca Jangka* dimensions. Third, six attributes – readiness, time commitment, duty acceptance, openness to evaluation, prioritizing the pesantren, and defending the pesantren – operationalize *waqf-based human capital* as "living waqf."

Theoretical contribution. This study introduces *waqf-based human capital* as a new analytical category. Unlike conventional theory, human capital can be permanently endowed as waqf, extending waqf literature to *al-waqf al-basyari*.

Policy implications. For waqf regulators (BWI, Ministry of Religious Affairs), formal recognition of *waqf basyari* is needed. For pesantren governance, sustainability requires transformation to waqf status, separation of ownership from management, and a systematic cadre formation program.

Practical implications. Key success factors include: institutionalizing waqf as legal foundation, developing cadre formation integrating *ih̄tisab*, embedding six attributes into daily life, maintaining five *Panca Jangka* areas, and ensuring cadre welfare as an institutional obligation.

Limitations and future research. This is a single case study; findings may not be generalizable. Future research should conduct comparative studies across

multiple waqf-governed pesantren, quantitative testing, and explore the "living waqf" concept beyond Islam.

Author's Contribution

Eko Nur Cahyo, Khurun'in Zahro': Contribute to formulating research ideas, collecting data, processing data, and interpreting data

Usmanul Khakim: Contributing to writing systematics and research methods

Muhammad Faqih Nidzom: Contributing to analyzing interpretation results

Nurita Binti Juhdi: Contribute to compiling a literature review and to language proofreading.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to those who helped in the completion of this article, especially during the data collection process and article review.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

Ethical Approval

Ethical approval No patient-identifying parts in this paper were used or known to the authors. Therefore, no ethical approval was requested.

REFERENCES

- Adnan, Nurul Najihah, Siti Fatimah Mohamad Shuhaimi, and Adnan Aminuddin. "Factors That Contribute to Youth Participation in Volunteering Activities in Sungai Petani." In *ICOFA*, 299–309. Atlantis Press SARL, 2023. http://dx.doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-076-3_24.
- Alzaareer, Ahmad, and Mohamad Abdalla. "Exploring Motivations and Benefits of Volunteering: The Perspectives of High School Students in Selected Australian Islamic Schools." *Religions* 14, no. 4 (2023).
- Amrullah, Khasib, Mulyono Jamal, Usmanul Khakim, Eko Nur Cahyo, and Khurun'in Zahro'. "The Concept of Waqf From Worldview Theory: The Study of Sharia-Philosophy." *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam* 23, no. 1 (2022): 22–41.
- Asrori, Saifudin, Muhammad Yazid Hady, Jalhani Isma'il Ahmad, and Likia Nurdin. "Integrating Waqf into Pesantren Curriculum: Strengthening Ethical Values and Economic Empowerment." In *Building a Greener and Sustainable Future*. London: Taylor & Francis, 2025.
- Auda, Jasser. *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach*. Herndon, VA: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008.
- Azkiyah, Farichatul. "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Menurut Hukum Positif." *Al - Mazahib* 8, no. 1 (2020): 77–103.
- Becker, Gary S. *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1964.
- Bin Abd. Ghani, Amirul Haqem, and Muhammad Fikri Bin Aziz. "Productive Waqf Asset Management Based on Primary Scale and Implications for Community Welfare." *Management of Zakat and Waqf Journal (MAZAWA)* 5, no. 1 (September 27, 2023): 85–104. <https://jurnalfebi.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/MAZAWA/article/view/1452>.
- Cahyo, Eko Nur, Khurun'in Zahro', and Vina Fithriana Wibisono. "Waqf

- Governance and Asset Management in Sudan: Accountability and Performance." *International Journal of Islamic Business* 11, no. 1 (2026): 58–74.
- Çizakça, Murat. *A History of Philanthropic Foundations : The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present*. Istanbul: Klasik, 2020.
<https://archive.org/details/historyofphilant0000ciza>.
- Denzin, Norman K. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. Second Edi. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*. IX. Jakarta: LP3S, 2015.
- Diana, Zumi Azka. "Studi Analisis Wakaf Diri Ustadz Sunan Autad Sarjana Bin Hartono Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Ponorogo Jawa Timur." IAIN Walisongo Semarang, 2020.
- Durroh, Nice. "Wakaf Diri Di Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Dalam Perspektif Fiqih Dan UU No.41 Tahun 2004." *INKLUSIF* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1–29.
- Elkington, John. *Cannibals with Forks: The Triple Bottom Line of 21st Century Business*. Capstone. Vol. 1. Oxford UK: Capstone, 1997.
- esgenterprise. "Sustainability & Environmental Solutions." *Www.Esgenterprise.Com*. Last modified 2021.
<https://www.esgenterprise.com/>.
- Fedro, Alfarid, Syamsuddin Arif, and Vina Fithriana Wibisono. "Waqf-Based Pesantren: Strategy of Human Capital and Entrepreneurship Education Development." *EDUKASIA ISLAMIKA Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 2 (2019): 123–142.
- Firdaus, Febrian Zainiyatul. "Kaderisasi Kepemimpinan Pondok Pesantren (Studi Multi Situs Regenerasi Kepemimpinan Di Pondok Pesantren Nurul Islam Seribandung & Pondok Pesantren Al Ittifaqiah Indralaya)." UIN Maliki Malang, 2017.
- Gibson-graham, J.K. *The End of Capitalism (as We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. *International Affairs*. Vol. 73. London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Hidayah, Nurul. "Kaderisasi Kepemimpinan Pesantren Terhadap Putra Kiyai Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Al-Iman Bulus Purworejo." *SANGKÉP: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan* 1, no. 2 (2018): 143–165.
- Jamal, Mulyono, Hendri Setiyo Wibowo, Khurun'in Zahro', and Eko Nur Cahyo. "إدارة الوقف الزراعي لمعهد دار السلام كوتنور بعقد الإجارة والمزارعة على تحليل سواوت" (The Management of Waqf Fields at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor (PMDG) Based on Ijarah and Muzara'ah Contract: SWOT Analysis)." *IQTISHODUNA: Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 14, no. 1 (April 11, 2025): 101–124.
<https://ejournal.iaisyarifuddin.ac.id/index.php/iqtishoduna/article/view/2617>.
- Kahf, Monzer. "Islamic Banks: The Rise of a New Power Alliance of Wealth and Shari'a Scholarship." In *The Politics of Islamic Finance*, edited by Clement Hendry and Rodney Wilson. Edinburgh: Edinburg University Press, 2004.

- Khakim, Usmanul, Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, Fuad Mas'ud, and Muhammad Faqih Nidzom. "Formulating an Islamic Corporate Social Responsibility (I-CSR) Model: Integrating Maqāsid Sharī'ah and Ihsān." *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 14, no. 2 (2024): 263–285.
- Khasanuri. "Kepemimpinan Klan Kiai Dalam Pendidikan Pesantren Modern (Studi Komparasi Di Pesantren Daarul Rahman, Asshiddiqiyah Dan Darunnajah)." UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2022.
- Kuran, Timur. "Islamic Economic Institutions." In *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S., and Egon G. Guba. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. CA: SAGE Publications, 1985.
<https://books.google.co.id/books?id=2oA9aWINEooC&printsec=frontcover&hl=id#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Miller, Katherine Joanne Ledbetter. "A Spiritual Development: Islam, Volunteerism and International Development in the Hunza Valley, Northern Pakistan." University of California, 2015.
- Muqorobin, Ahmad, and Mohammad Syifa Urrosyidin. "The Contribution of Zakat, Infaq, Sadaqa, and Waqf (Ziswaf) Strategic Management in Developing the Prosperity of Ummah." *Journal of Islamic Economics and Finance Studies* 4, no. 1 (June 26, 2023): 27–47.
<https://ejournal.upnvj.ac.id/JIEFeS/article/view/5698>.
- Peucker, Mario. *Muslim Volunteering in the West: Between Islamic Ethos and Citizenship*. Switzerland: Mc Milan, 2020.
- Philips, Bilal. *Voluntering in Islam*. Australian Islamic Library, 2019.
- Pondok Modern Darussaam Gontor. "Diktat Kepondokmodernan." Ponorogo, 2005.
- Qurrata, Vika Annisa, Muhammad Hakimi Muhammad, Hairunnizam Wahid, Suhaili Almaamun, and Abdul Ghafar Ismail. "Institutional Economics from Islamic Perspective: With Special Reference to Waqf." *SAGE Open* 15, no. 4 (2025).
- Rudnyckyj, Daromir. "Spiritual Economies: Islam and Neoliberalism in Contemporary Indonesia." *Cultural Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (February 2009): 104–141.
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2009.00028.x>.
- Samindjaya, Syahrudin Sumardi, Abdelkader Laallam, Fahmi Ali Hudaefi, Bechir Mahamat Issa, Saidi Ouassaf, and Mohamed Imad Oussedik. "Imam Zarkasyi's Contribution to Indonesia's Modern Waqf Education System." *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 14, no. 1 (2024): 74–91.
- Sekretaris Pimpinan. *Serba Serbi Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*. Ponorogo: Darussalam Press, 2024.
- Spradley, James P. *Participant Observation. Paper Knowledge . Toward a Media History of Documents*. New York: Holt, Rineart and Winston, 1980.
- Sulaiman, Kabuye Uthman. "Volunteerism from Islamic Perspective." In

- International Conference on Humanities 2011*, 11:1-5, 2011.
http://irep.iium.edu.my/6624/2/Kabuye_Uthman_Sulaiman.pdf.
- Syamsuri, Syamsuri, Sultan Nanta Setia Dien Labolo, and Iqbal Maulana Firdaus. "Implementation of Panca Jangka as a Strategy to Develop the Pesantren Gontor." *Santri: Journal of Pesantren and Fiqh Sosial* 4, no. 2 (2023): 177-194.
- Tim Penyusun. *Wardun: Warta Dunia Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor*. Ponorogo: Darussalam Press, 2022.
- Topbasy, Usman N. *Tsalatsiyatu Al Khair Wa Al Atha' Fi Al Hadzarah Al Islamiyah: Al Waqfu, Al Infaq, Al Khidmatu*. Birmingham: Daar Arqam, 2016.
- Ulfahadi, Rizki. "Islamic Philanthropy on Social Media in Youth Volunteering Movements." *Dialog* 46, no. 2 (2023): 135-144.
- UNDP. "The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." New York: United Nations, 2015.
- Yunus, Muhammad. "Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Asli Indonesia." *Edification Journal* 1, no. 1 (2019): 111-118.
- Zafar, Muhammad Bilal, and Hassnian Ali. "Waqf as a Socioeconomic Institution and Its Governance and Development for Welfare and Sustainability." *Discover Global Society* 4, no. 1 (April 28, 2026): 58. <https://link.springer.com/10.1007/s44282-026-00412-8>.