



**SUNAN KALIJAGA'S LEGACY UNDER THE SHADOW OF
MALADMINISTRATION: INSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT IN
THE SEMARANG–DEMAK TOLL ROAD PROJECT**

Thesis

**Prepared to meet the requirements of completing Strata 1 Education
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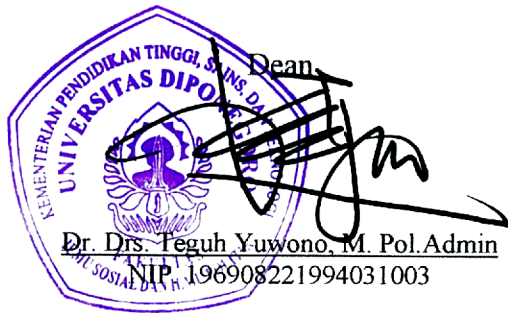
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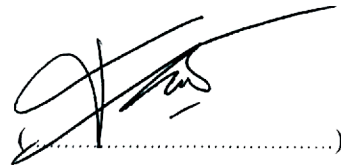
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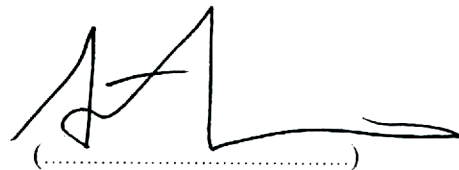


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MOTTO

“Suro diro jayaningrat, lebur dening pangastuti”

(Sunan Kalidjogo)

Bahasa Indonesia : “Segala sifat keras hati, kebencian, dan angkara murka hanya bisa dikalahkan oleh sikap bijak, kelembutan hati, serta kesabaran.”

English : “All hardness, hatred, and anger can only be overcome by wisdom, meekness, and patience.”

PRESENTATION PAGE

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In addition, stating that as a writer, he realized that in the twists and turns of completing the thesis, in fact, he could not be separated from the help and support of many parties as good people. With all due respect, it will be conveyed to:

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ABSTRACT

The development of toll road infrastructure as part of the National Strategic Project in Indonesia aims to encourage economic growth and community welfare. However, in its implementation, the land acquisition process often causes conflicts, especially on land with special characteristics such as waqf land. The dispute over the Sunan Kalijaga waqf land in Kadilangu, Demak Regency, shows complex problems involving conflicts between foundations, unclear authority of nadzir, and alleged maladministration in the distribution of compensation. The conflict is exacerbated by institutional fragmentation, differences in historical legitimacy, and government policies that are not fully synchronized. This study aims to analyze the dynamics of the conflict between the Sunan Kalijaga Foundation in Kadilangu during the land acquisition process for the Semarang–Demak Toll Road and to examine how inter-institutional conflicts of interest contributed to institutional disharmony in the Sunan Kalijaga waqf land dispute.

This study uses a qualitative approach with a case study type, supported by socio-legal and historical juridical approaches to comprehensively understand the phenomenon. Data were obtained through field observation as primary data and literature studies as secondary data, which included literature, legal documents, and historical archives. The data collection technique is carried out through observation and documentation, while the data analysis uses inductive methods through the stages of reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawn.

The results of this study indicate that the Sunan Kalijaga waqf land dispute in Kadilangu was driven by institutional fragmentation, overlapping authority, and inconsistencies among government institutions in determining the legitimate foundation and nadzir authorized to manage waqf assets and receive compensation. These conditions transformed the dispute into a structural and administrative conflict. The study further found that conflicts of interest among the involved institutions generated institutional disharmony, as reflected in divergent interpretations of legal authority, institutional representation, and decision-making, which weakened inter-institutional coordination and impeded the effective resolution of the waqf land dispute.

Keywords: Waqf land disputes, Institutional disharmony, Policy maladministration

ABSTRAK

Pembangunan infrastruktur jalan tol sebagai bagian dari Proyek Strategis Nasional di Indonesia bertujuan untuk mendorong pertumbuhan ekonomi dan kesejahteraan masyarakat. Namun, dalam pelaksanaannya, proses pembebasan lahan sering menimbulkan konflik, terutama pada lahan dengan karakteristik khusus seperti lahan wakaf. Sengketa tanah wakaf Sunan Kalijaga di Kadilangu, Kabupaten Demak, menunjukkan permasalahan kompleks yang melibatkan konflik antar yayasan, kewenangan nadzir yang tidak jelas, dan dugaan maladministrasi dalam pembagian ganti rugi. Konflik diperparah oleh fragmentasi kelembagaan, perbedaan legitimasi historis, dan kebijakan pemerintah yang tidak sepenuhnya sinkronisasi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dinamika konflik yang terjadi pada Yayasan Sunan Kalijaga di Kadilangu dalam proses pengadaan tanah untuk pembangunan Jalan Tol Semarang–Demak serta menganalisis bagaimana konflik kepentingan antarinstansi berkontribusi terhadap terbentuknya disharmoni kelembagaan dalam sengketa tanah wakaf Sunan Kalijaga.

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis studi kasus, didukung oleh pendekatan sosio-hukum dan yuridis historis untuk memahami fenomena secara komprehensif. Data diperoleh melalui pengamatan lapangan sebagai data primer dan studi literatur sebagai data sekunder, yang meliputi literatur, dokumen hukum, dan arsip sejarah. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi dan dokumentasi, sedangkan analisis data menggunakan metode induktif melalui tahapan reduksi, penyajian data, dan kesimpulan yang ditarik.

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa sengketa tanah wakaf Sunan Kalijaga di Kadilangu didorong oleh fragmentasi kelembagaan, tumpang tindih kewenangan, dan inkonsistensi antar lembaga pemerintah dalam menentukan yayasan yang sah dan nadzir yang berwenang mengelola aset wakaf dan menerima ganti rugi. Kondisi ini mengubah perselisihan menjadi konflik struktural dan administratif. Studi lebih lanjut menemukan bahwa konflik kepentingan di antara lembaga-lembaga yang terlibat menghasilkan ketidakharmonisan kelembagaan, sebagaimana tercermin dalam interpretasi yang berbeda tentang otoritas hukum, representasi kelembagaan, dan pengambilan keputusan, yang melemahkan koordinasi antar-lembaga dan menghambat penyelesaian sengketa tanah wakaf yang efektif.

Kata kunci: *Sengketa tanah wakaf, Disharmoni kelembagaan, Maladministrasi kebijakan*

FOREWORD

Praise and gratitude for the presence of Allah SWT who has given His grace, guidance, and gifts so that the author can complete his thesis with the title "The Legacy of Sunan Kalijaga under the Shadow of Maladministration: Institutional Conflicts in the Semarang-Demak Toll Road Project". This thesis is submitted by the author as one of the requirements to obtain a Bachelor of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Diponegoro University, Semarang. In completing this thesis, the author received a lot of guidance, assistance, and direction from various parties, for which the author expresses his respect and gratitude to:

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