



REPOSITION OF PESANTREN Kiyai IN POLITICAL DYNAMICS

Rahiman Dani¹ Qolbi Khoiri²

¹ rahimandani@gmail.com ; ² qolbikhoiri@gmail.com ;

¹ Graduate Program of Hazairin University Bengkulu;

² Postgraduate Program IAIN Bengkulu

Abstract

This paper aims to reveal and explain the dynamics of Islamic boarding school kiyai in relation to national politics and review the repositioning of the role of the kyai in the dynamics of national politics. Although there have been many analyzes regarding the role of the kyai, the fact is that the ups and downs of the pesantren's kiyai position are increasingly visible. This can be proven by the practical involvement of the kyai in politics so that it has an impact on the existence of the pesantren education institutions that they manage. The results of the author's analysis illustrate that it is time for the kiyai to return to their central role as the main figure in the management of pesantren, this is important to do so that the existence of pesantren in the modern era is maintained and focuses on reformulation of the bastion of morals and morals of the ummah which is increasingly worrying. The reformulation that the author offers is through the internalization and adaptation of modern civilization for kyai and focuses on improvements in educational institutions, both in the fields of economy, socio-culture, and technology.

Keywords: Islamic Boarding School Kiyai, Political Dynamics

Background

This paper tries to analyze and explain the dynamics of the position of the kiyai in an Islamic education institution called pesantren. In theory, according to Abdurrahman, according to Abdurrahman, quoting Chatib Bisri and Nurcholis Madjid, he explained that a person who is considered and given the nickname Kiyai is a person who has advantages and / or deep religious knowledge compared to others.[1] On another understanding, Kiyai is a charismatic leader figure who has full authority to manage the pesantren he founded. Kiyai acts as a planner, implementer and evaluator of all activities carried out at the boarding school.[2] The leadership role of the Kyai is not only limited to the spiritual aspect, but also the broader aspects of social life.[3] There are

many variations in the use of the term kyai in Indonesian society, but it is clear that each of these titles can indicate one's strengths in the religious field. Some examples can be cited, for example in the area of West Java (Sunda) kiyai is also called *ajengan*, in Aceh it is called '*Teungku*', in Minangkabau it is called '*Buya*', in Makasar '*Tofranrita*', in Madura '*Nun*' or '*Bendana*' which is usually abbreviated as '*ra*', in Lombok and its surroundings are usually called '*Tuan Guru*'. Particularly in Java, thekyai is usually equated with sunan or '*termsusuhan*'. [4]

With regard to the position of the kyai in the modern diera today, there are many writings that have elaborated further on its role, function, dynamics and contribution in various aspects of politics, social, culture and religious. The dynamics of the role of the Kyai are reflected in various forms and models, including positions. Nursyam in his paper explained that the position of the kiyai and also the santri in political dynamics tends to be



utilized more by political hegemony, according to him this can be seen from the long history of the Indonesian nation. One of the reasons, according to Syam, is the difference in the political affiliation of the kyai, which has caused mixed responses from the community, which previously placed the kyai as the *opinion leader* or the main reference for decision making that must be obeyed.[5] This is because kyai also holds the title of pesantren elites who have high authority in storing and disseminating religious knowledge.[6]

Then the problem is, the extent to which Kyai interacts with its strategic position to be used in order to maintain the existence of pesantren which relatively have to deal with modernity, globalization and universalization.[7] Today's modern civilization demands the involvement of various parties by upholding professionalism, including Kyai. The existence of the kiyai as the stronghold of the pesantren is also required to be able to play an active role, not only relying on charisma and figures which are evolvingly eroded by political energy within the framework of democracy.[8]

Kyai in the Dynamics of National Politics

history of the existence of the Kyai in the course of the Indonesian nation, is in a straight line with the history of the Indonesian nation itself, the relationship between the Kyai and the Indonesian nation has experienced ups and downs that dynamically always face each other between two opposing poles and or hand in hand.

Several important events regarding the Kyai's involvement in the nation's struggle through their political choices reflect how strong the Kyai's influence was for the survival of the nation and state. However, kiyai in a political context is faced with a dilemma where one side must become a moral and moral bastion as a form of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, but on the other hand obey the leader (government). These two positions have experienced ups and downs starting from the colonial period to the reform era, it is not uncommon to find sharp friction between the kyai and the government, but there is also often friction between the kyai, one of which is motivated by struggles for influence in society.

When the New Order came to power, Kiyai in the context of national politics experienced a degradation of their roles and also seemed marginalized, even they were one of the groups that were often suspected of their movements, but this did not stop Kyai from taking a stand in their political choices. This can be seen in the momentum of the 1977 election campaign, Kyai Bisyrri Syamsuri as one of the NU clerics and chairman of the PPP Party Advisory Council, issued a "political fatwa", that every Muslim is required to vote for PPP.[9] This fatwa continued with the Walk Out of a number of DPR / MPR members from the PPP in 1978 which was motivated by their disapproval of giving a place to a religious sect.

The fall of the New Order, marked by the collapse of Soeharto's rule on May 21, 1998, revived the political spirit of the kiyais, including those of the pesantren. This was marked by the emergence of kiyai from Islamic boarding schools involved in the declaration of the establishment of the National Awakening Party (PKB) supported by the Nahdhatul Ulama mass organization, although it ultimately had an impact on internal polarization of NU, which in part called for them to return to the Decree of the Congress in Situbondo, namely returning to the 1926 NU Khittah. As a result, the kiyai's charisma politically no longer coincides with his charisma in the social community, because NU organizationally fully leaves political choices to its citizens, so there is no single affiliation in politics.



Although there is no single affiliation in the political context, in the reform era the kyai remain on the line of political engagement, both passively and actively. Michael Rush and Philip Althof stated that participation in politics consists of passive and active forms ranging from occupying positions in political organizations to providing financial support by paying membership fees.[10] The

dynamics of kiyai politics in practical political constellation can be found in various political momentum, both at the local scale in the regions through Pilkada and the national scale in the legislative and presidential elections. An obvious example is seen in the political maneuvers carried out by the kiai group calling itself the Kampung Kiai Forum. This group sent a letter to President Jokowi to immediately allow Khofifah Indar Parawansah (Minister of Social Affairs) to compete in the East Java Regional Election.[11] There was also the involvement of Kyai nationally at the Kiyai Nusantara Congress at the Al-Munawwir Krapyak Bantul Islamic Boarding School, Yogyakarta, which listed one of its decisions read by KH. Hasan Basri (representing the clerics) to invite all NU kiai to unite the vision and political steps that will enable NU as the biggest force of Islam *rahmatan lil alamin* Indonesia to take a central and decisive role in Indonesian politics and government going forward and Support Cak Imin - H. Muhaimin Iskandar - Chairperson of the National Awakening Party (PKB) to become vice president for 2018-2024 so that the ideals of the ulama about *baldatun thoyyibatun wa robbun ghofur* can be realized.[12]

The ups and downs of the role and position of the kyai in the dynamics of national politics can actually be understood in two opposite dimensions, first. Kiyai as the central figure of an Islamic education institution are expected to keep their distance from power, because democracy with a multi-party system has an impact on alignments that tend to end in polarization. The figure of Kiyai as a person who is considered a role model will be eroded by this system. Kiyi as a role model should stand above all political forces, not taking sides. Although in the end there was also a second view that expects kyai to appear in the political arena in the high political dimension, this is important to do, so that Kyai can become the guardian of morals and morals and ethics in politics.[13]

Reaffirming the position of the Islamic Boarding School Kyai

As previously explained, the term kiyai actually has a variety of meanings, forms and uses. However, in this paper the kyai referred to is the figure / figure of the kiyai who is in the pesantren, because that is why the sentence used is the pesantren kiyai. The chaplain of this pesantren shows the notion of a person who is created through a theological process[14] and he is the founder or manager of the pesantren.

At the beginning, it has been stated that when the figure of the kiyai is faced with politics, it will bring up two opposing views, that the kiyai is a central figure that functionally acts as a moral defense if it is opted by politics, so the possibility of being independent and not taking sides is very small. On the other hand, if the kiyai are not directly involved practically in politics, it is feared that they will not become actors to prevent munkar. Merlia's research shows that the choice of support for kiyai is based on the fact that kyai, who are religious leaders, are considered to be honest, so they are far from being corrupt. In addition, kiyai are also believed to have noble morals so that they are able to lead wisely. On the other hand, those who reject the practical involvement of the kiai in politics argue that when the kiai is already involved in a political realm that is full of



struggles for interests, money, and position, then the kyai is no longer the kyai who is purely desired by the community. These clerics are already in the political interests of the parties.[15] The

involvement of the Kyai in the political party structure on the one hand is very encouraging, but on the other hand the collapse of the honor of the Kyai will also very easily occur when the kyai is involved in various criminal acts. One of the crimes that often occurs is corruption, this was experienced by the Mayor of Mojokerto, who was known as a humble and accomplished kyai. In addition, the Kyai's involvement in corruption cases also occurred against the former Bangkalan regent twice, and the Chairman of the Bangkalan DPRD.[16] That is why Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) Researcher Aradia Caesar said the involvement of kyai or religious figures in the vortex of corruption is a form of the failure of the political system. He saw that corruption had targeted religious leaders because of the misunderstanding of political culture in Indonesia, how political parties (partol) obliged their cadres to pay quite expensive deposits to parties.[17]

Cultural observer Acep Zamzam Noor in his interview with Republika.co.id explained that there are many Islamic boarding schools that have experienced deterioration both in quantity and quality due to politics, politics in question is the involvement and alignments of pesantren organs, especially kyai in certain political factions, causing their decline. public trust with its independence and independence.[18]

Furthermore, EH Ismail, as the family carer of the Cipasung Islamic Boarding School who took part in the resolution of social conflicts in Tasikmalaya in 1996, explained that politics has reduced people's trust in pesantren, because all this time pesantren is believed to be an institution that stands in all circles, all strata, in fact all religions. Pesantren are believed to be independent of any interest from certain groups or parties. However, problems began to emerge when political parties turned pesantren into objects of politicization of certain interests which contradicts the position of pesantren that previously stood in the middle[19] according to him since the last 10 years since the opening of the multiparty era and the existence of regional autonomy. Politicians take advantage of the pesantren to gain their votes, including involving the kyai as the head of the pesantren, the vote of the pesantren can influence the voices of other people.

Based on this phenomenon, it is time for pesantren kyai to return to its basic function as community figures and role models in the socio-religious dimension. Repositioning the kyai to their initial position does not mean keeping them away from the dynamics of national politics, but rather maintaining the authority and charisma of the kyai as the central moral figure of the ummah who is free from the interests of a group of people or groups. The author views that repositioning the kyai on the original idea of the establishment of a pesantren is a reflection of the consistency of pesantren institutions to guard the civilization of the ummah in the future.

Pesantren, especially the kyai, cannot be separated from politics, but it needs to be considered that politics in the practical dimension is full of intrigue and interests, so it requires the intelligence and wisdom of the kyai to respond with a strategy *high political*. This is what is expected to appear in pesantren kyai, namely politics which according to Amin Rais has three characteristics, namely; *First*. Every political office is a mandate from society that must be properly preserved and must not be misused. The slightest power must be utilized and oriented towards the welfare of the people. *Second*. *High politics* must be understood that every mandate contains elements of *mas'uliyah*, or responsibility



(*Accountability*). This implies theological meaning, that each mandate will be held accountable before Allah SWT. Third. Political activities in the political dimension *high* must have the dimension of *ukhuwah Islamiyah*. In this regard, every action taken must be in the context of maintaining good relations that are not only intra and extra religion, but beyond that, including race, class and ethnicity.[20]

In this regard, examining the early history of the establishment of Islamic boarding schools, namely Islamic religious education institutions that grew and recognized by the surrounding community, with a boarding system (complex) in which santri received religious education through the recitation system or madrasah which was fully under the sovereignty of *Leadership* is one or several kyai with characteristics that are charismatic and independent in all respects.[21] So the pesantren is required to return to its original goal, without ignoring its political twists, the pesantren kyai are expected to position themselves as leaders who hold high political principles.

Regarding practical issues in politics, we should leave this issue functionally to other instruments and organs of society, this is what Parson and Merton mean in functional structural theory which states that the structure of society as part of the social order indicates that they have a harmonious life.[22] Functionalism focuses on the social structure at the macro level in society, it also emphasizes that society is the objective reality of the individuals who are its members. In addition, functional structural theory is part of the balance in social institutions, which he admits will exist or be known to the public if it succeeds in carrying out its duties and functions properly, without giving the slightest difference.[23] Therefore, by leaving this matter functionally to other organs, the function of the clerics as coordinators and those who have authority as sacred figures can be preserved.

Essentially, the main principles of functionalism[24] are: *First*, society is a complex system consisting of parts that are interconnected and interdependent, and each of these parts has a significant effect on other parts. *Second*, every part of society exists because that part has an important function in maintaining the existence and stability of society as a whole, therefore the existence of one particular part of society can be explained if its function for society as a whole can be identified. *Third*, all societies have a mechanism to integrate themselves, namely a mechanism that can glue them together; an important part of this mechanism is the commitment of community members to a set of shared beliefs and values. *Fourth*. Society tends to lead to a homeostatic state, and disturbance in one part tends to cause adjustments in other parts in order to achieve harmony and stability. *Fifth*, social change is an unusual occurrence in society, but if it does occur, then change will generally lead to consequences that benefit society as a whole.[25]

Furthermore, what must be understood by pesantren kiyai is that the educational institution they lead is the last bastion of defense for the formation of the mentality and morality of the nation. Although the original form is still maintained, along with the changing times and the progress of civilization, pesantren must gradually adapt systemically in modern Islamic education. This is what Steenbrink predicted with the adjustment of the system in pesantren education institutions.[26] And as a stronghold of moral defense, the leadership of the Kyai is also required to be able to maintain an educational pattern, which according to Dhofier, the main objective of pesantren education is not to pursue power and money,[27] but to strengthen and deepen *aspke*, Worship, Spread of Knowledge and Charity. as well as creating community life based on faith and devotion to Allah SWT.[28] In addition, the specific purpose of establishing a boarding school is to prepare students



(santri) to become pious people in the religious knowledge taught by the kyai concerned, and to practice it in society.[29]

Ridwan Nasir more emphatically states that the quality of the education system in pesantren is highly dependent on the quality of his kiyai, because after all in the pesantren tradition, kiyai are locomotives that can act as social actors, mediators, dynamists, catalysts, motivators so that they can answer the needs of society.[30]

Closing

Progress and changing times is a necessity that must be faced by pesantren, so that it requires adaptation and reformulation of the education system that takes place therein. The most important thing is to restore the position of the pesantren kiyai to their initial position as the central figure of the pesantren who is responsible for the continuity of education in the pesantren and to maintain the honor of the pesantren by not involving themselves in practical political affiliations, because if this is done it will distort the main function of the pesantren as guardians. stronghold of morals and morals. The seriousness of the pesantren kiyai to position itself as the leader of the pesantren education institution is manifested by mastery of scientific aspects that are not only oriented towards ukhrowi but also worldly aspects such as economic, social and cultural aspects, and more importantly in technological aspects.

REFERENCES

- Abdurrahman, *The Phenomenon of Kiai in Political Dynamics: Between Moral and Political Movements*, KARSA Journal, Vol. XV No. April 1, 2009
- Adibah. Ida Zahara. *Robert K. Merton's Structural Functional: Its Application in Family Life*, Journal of INSPIRATION - Vol. 1, No. 1, January-June 2017
- Ahmad Adaby Darban, *Rifa'iyah: Religious Social Movement in Rural Central Java Tahuun 1850-1982*, Yogyakarta: Postgraduate Program, 1987
- Dhofier, Zamakhsary. *Pesantren Tradition, Studies on the Life View of Kiyai*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994
- Farhan, Hamdan and Syarifudin, *Pesantren Fighting Points: Conflict Resolution in Islamic Boarding School Communities* (Yogyakarta: Pilar Religia, 2005), p. 65.
- <http://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2017/11/24/masud-yunus-wali-kota-mojokerto-yang-tersangka-kpk-itu-dikenal-sebagai-kiai-berprestasi> accessed on 23 May 2018. Also can be seen <http://poskotanews.com/2016/02/11/terpidana-korupsi-kh-fuad-amin-dari-miliarder-fakir-/> Jadi-miskin accessed on 23 May 2018
- <http://www.republika.co.id/news/world-islam/islam-nusantara/09/01/02/23865-acep-zamzam-noor-pesantren-damaged-for-politics> accessed on 24 May 2018
- <http://www.republika.co.id/news/world-islam/islam-nusantara/09/01/02/23865-acep-zamzam-noor-pesantren-damaged-for-politics> accessed on 24 May 2018
- <https://news.okezone.com/read/2015/12/08/337/1263082/para-religious-entangled-corruption> accessed on 23 May 2018



- Imron Arifin, *Kyai's Leadership in the Classical Islamic Books Teaching System (Case Study: Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang)*. Unpublished thesis, (Malang: Postgraduate Program, State University of Malang UM), 1992
- Regional Kompas.com with the title "" Maneuvers "of Kiai in the Political Stage of the East Java Election", <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2017/11/19/19115311/maneuver-para-kiai-on-stage-politic-pilkada-East-Java>. accessed on 23 May 2018
- Kompas.com with the title "A number of Kiai in DIY Give Support to Cak Imin", <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2018/04/01/21431051/sejotal-kiai-di-diy-give-support-to-cak-imin>.
- M. Arifin, *Kapita Selekta of Islamic and General Education*, Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1991
- Mujamil Qamar, *Islamic Boarding School from Methodological Transformation to Institutional Democratization*, Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005
- Nasir, Ridwan. *Looking for a Typology of Ideal Education Formats: Islamic Boarding Schools in the Middle of Civilization*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005
- Nasution. Indra Kesuma. *Islamic World in the Hands of Globalization*. Journal of Insights, February 2006, Volume 11, Number 3 of USU's FISIP.
- Nursyam, *Kiyai, Santri and Politics* (Papers, in <http://nursyam.uinsby.ac.id/?p=17>) accessed on 23 May 2018
- Prastiwi, Merlia Indah. *The Politicization of Pesantren and the Shifting of Islamic Boarding School Functions in Madura*, KARSA: Journal of Islamic Social and Culture Vol. 23 No. 2, December 2015: 208-220., P. 210
- Rais, Amen. Magazine *Panji Masyarakat*, 1987. p. 61
- Ritzer, George. *A Dual Paradigm Sociology of Science* (Jakarta: PT. Rajagrafindo Persada, 1992
- _____. *Theory of Sociology* Yogyakarta: Student Library, 2012
- Rush, Michael & Althof, Philip, *Introduction to Political Sociology*, trans. Kartini Kartono Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1990
- Steenbrink, A. Karel. *Pesantren, Madrasah and Schools: Recente ontwikkelingen In Indonesisch Islamondericht* Terj. Karel Steenbrink and Abdurrahman, cet-2 April 1994
- _____. *Pesantren, Madrasah, School* Jakarta: LP3ES. 1986
- Stephen K. Sanderson, *Macro Sociology* Jakarta, Grafindo, 2000
- Zada, Khamami "NU, Politics, and Khidmat Ummah" in *Nahdlatul Ulama: The Dynamics of Ideology and State Politics*, ed. Khamami Zada and A. Fawaid Sjadzili, Jakarta: Kompas, 2010
- Zeimek. *Pesantren and Social Change*. Jakarta: P3M, 1986

[1] Abdurrahman, *The Kiai Phenomenon in Political Dynamics: Between Moral and Political Movements*, KARSA Journal, Vol. XV No. 1 April 2009

[2] Zeimek. *Islamic boarding schools and social change*. (Jakarta: P3M, 1986)., Pp. 138

[3] Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, School* (Jakarta: LP3ES. 1986)., P. 109

[4] Ahmad Adaby Darban, *Rifa'iyah: Religious Social Movements in Rural Central Java Tahuun 1850-1982*, (Yogyakarta: Postgraduate Program, 1987)., P. 29

[5] Nursyam, *Kyai, Santri and Politics* (Paper, in <http://nursyam.uinsby.ac.id/?p=17>) accessed on 23 May 2018



[6] Amir Fadhilah, *Structure and Pattern...* p. 104

[7] In theory, modernism is shown in various terms including globalization. Jan Aart Scholte, for example, sees that there are several things related to globalization, namely: Internationalization, Liberalization, Universalization, Westernization, Transplanetary Relations and supraterritoriality: This fifth meaning is different from the four definitions above. In the first four definitions, each country still maintains its ontology status. In the fifth sense, the global world has its own ontological status, not just a combination of countries. See Indra Kesuma Nasution. *Islamic World in the Hands of Globalization*. Journal of Insights, February 2006, Volume 11, Number 3 of USU's FISIP.

[8] Kyai and pesantren figures are often the target areas for politicians in building a political support base. In every General Election (Pemilu), the votes of kyai and santri are always contested not only by Islamic-based political parties but also nationalist-based political parties. See about this in Nursyam, *Kyai, Santri and Politics*,

[9] Nursyam, *Kyai, Santri and Politics*,

[10] Michael Rush & Philip Althof, *Introduction to Political Sociology*, trans. Kartini Kartono (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1990), p. 128; see also Khamami Zada, "NU, Politics, and the Khidmat of the Ummah" in *Nahdlatul Ulama: The Dynamics of Ideology and State Politics*, ed. Khamami Zada and A. Fawaid Sjadzili (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), page 63.

[11] See on Kompas.com with the title "" Maneuvers "of Kiai on the Political Stage of the East Java Pilkada", <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2017/11/19/19115311/maneuver-para-kiai-on-stage-politics-regional-election-East-Java>. accessed on 23 May 2018

[12] Look at Kompas.com with the title "A number of Kiai in DIY Give Support to Cak Imin", <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2018/04/01/21431051/sejotal-kiai-di-diy-beridukung-cks-imin>.

[13] See more about this in Merlia Indah Prastiwi, *Politicization of Pesantren and Shifting of Islamic Boarding School Functions in Madura*, KARSA: Journal of Islamic Social and Culture Vol. 23 No. 2, December 2015: 208-220., P. 210

[14] Hamdan Farhan and Syarifudin, *Pesantren Fighting Points: Pesantren Community Conflict Resolution* (Yogyakarta: Pilar Religia, 2005), p. 65.

[15] Merlia Indah Prastiwi, *Politicization of Pesantren...* p. 216

[16] See <http://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2017/11/24/masud-yunus-wali-kota-mojokerto-yang-tersangka-kpk-itu-dikenal-sebagai-kiai-berprestasi> accessed on 23 May 2018. Also available seen <http://poskotanews.com/2016/02/11/terpidana-korupsi-kh-fuad-amin-dari-miliarder-fakir/> Jadi-miskin accessed on 23 May 2018

[17] See <https://news.okezone.com/read/2015/12/08/337/1263082/para-tokoh-agama-terjerat-korupsi> accessed on 23 May 2018

[18] <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/09/01/02/23865-acep-zamzam-noor-pesantren-rusak-karena-politik> accessed on 24 May 2018

[19] <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/09/01/02/23865-acep-zamzam-noor-pesantren-rusak-karena-politik> accessed on 24 May 2018

[20] Amin Rais, Magazine *Panji Masyarakat*, 1987. p. 61

[21] Mujamil Qamar, *Pesantren from Methodological Transformation Towards Institutional Democratization*, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005), p. 2

[22] George Ritzer. *Double Paradigm Sociology of Science* (Jakarta: PT. Rajagrafindo Persada, 1992), p. 25



- [23] George Ritzer, *Sociological Theory* (Yogyakarta: Student Library, 2012), p. 178.
- [24] Stephen K. Sanderson, *Macro Sociology* (Jakarta, Grafindo, 2000), p. 9
- [25] Read. Ida Zahara Adibah. *Robert K. Merton's Structural Functional: Its Application in Family Life*, Journal of INSPIRATION - Vol. 1, No. 1, January-June 2017
- [26] A. Karel Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah and Schools: Recente ontwikkelingen In Indonesisch Islamondericht* (trans. Karel Steenbrink and Abdurrahman, cet-2 April 1994), p. 7
- [27] Zamakhsary Dhofier, *Pesantren Tradition, Study of the Life View of Kyai*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), p. 21
- [28] Imron Arifin, *Leadership of Kyai in Classical Islamic Books Teaching System (Case Study: Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang)*. Unpublished thesis, (Malang: Postgraduate Program, State University of Malang (UM), 1992), p. 55.
- [29] M. Arifin, *Kapita Selektta of Islamic and General Education*, (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1991), p, 248
- [30] Ridwan Nasir, *Looking for a Typology of Ideal Education Format: Islamic Boarding Schools in the Middle of Civilization Flow*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), P. 7