



Responses of SALAFI and Modern Islamic Boarding School Students to the Establishment of New Islamic-based Political Party

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Abstract

Political parties have a very strategic role and position. Political parties play a strategic role as a liaison between the government process and citizens, so that the birth of new political parties is needed. This study aims to provide a description of the responses of students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools and modern Islamic boarding schools related to the establishment of new political parties based or based on Islam. The approach used in this research is descriptive quantitative by using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov method of hypothesis testing. Based on the comparison between the D value in the table and the calculated D value, the D value is 0.051531. This value is smaller than the D value in the table of 0.315376. This study concludes that the null hypothesis is rejected and accepts the alternative hypothesis which states that the responses given by students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are better than the responses given by students from modern Islamic boarding schools regarding the establishment of new Islamic-based political parties. In this condition, it can be concluded that the santri who come from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are more enthusiastic or more receptive in accepting the formation of a new Islamic-based political party.

Keywords: *Islamic Political Party, Modern Islamic Boarding School, SALAFI Islamic Boarding School, Santri*

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Introduction

The existence of a multi-party system that is strengthened by a system of balanced representation or proportional representation provides broad opportunities for the growth of new parties. However, the existence of a parliamentary threshold to be able to place party representatives in parliament has become a ghost for new parties competing in the contestation, where new parties are often seen as an underdog trying to attract voices that have been nurtured by old parties. The parliamentary threshold will select from the many parties participating in the general election to get seats in parliament, so that only parties that have a majority vote will sit in parliament (Rokhim, 2011).

Political parties have a very strategic role and position. The strategic role is played by political parties as a liaison between the government process and citizens, so space for the birth of new political parties is urgently needed. It is possible that citizens actually need or need the birth of a new political party in parliament that really represents their interests. So a formula in the form of a regulation is really needed which provides an open space for new political parties to enter parliament without having to stumble over requirements that are deliberately used to hinder new political parties from entering parliament constitutionally.

From a formal legal perspective, the journey of "Islamic parties" is not as fortunate as their counterparts who are "non-Islamic parties". For quite a long time, the government viewed Islamic parties as major political competitors that could disrupt the state's ideological foundations. Because of this, the government seeks to weaken and tame Islamic parties. As a

result, Islamic political activists and leaders not only failed to make Islam the basis and state religion ahead of Indonesia's independence – which was later repeated in the grueling trials at the Constituent Assembly – but also, as a political force, they occupied the position of a minority or outsider group.

There are two definitions of Islamic parties. First, political parties use Islam as the party principle, and use Islamic symbols. Second, political parties do not use Islam as a party principle, but have a support base from mass organizations Islam. From the first definition we can mention the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Crescent Star Party (PBB), and the United Development Party (PPP) as Islamic parties. Meanwhile, from the second definition, there are two political parties that can be categorized as: Islamic parties, namely the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the National Mandate Party (PAN). This study uses the first definition regarding what is called an Islamic party (Ikrar, 2003; Argenti, 2022).

There are 2 (two) important reasons in examining Islamic parties in Indonesia, namely: First, even though the majority of Indonesian people seriously embraced Islam or vice versa, the political position of Islam in that period was relatively weak. Islamic parties at that time were a minority political group in state institutions. As a minority group, they only play a driving role in giving an Islamic flavor to political developments in Indonesia. As a logical consequence that must be accepted in the reality of political history. Just adjusting to the new political system and order under one command. Second, the reason for studying this issue is because there has not been a specific study conducted on the topic of Islam and its relevance to parties in practical political discourse so far. The emergence of new political parties based on Islam cannot be separated from the Muslims themselves. This tendency cannot be separated from the students who study in many Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. Many people want to know how the response of the students who incidentally also have the right to vote in general elections. So that it deserves a more in-depth study related to the responses or responses from students studying at Islamic boarding schools.

Education has essentially emerged since the creation of humans, because humans are the main object of education as well as subjects (Yusra & Zulmuqim, 2022). In the Medina period, the Prophet Al-Qur'an was used as the first and foremost source of Islamic education because it has absolute values derived from Allah SWT, Allah SWT created humans and He who educates humans, where educational content has been embodied in His revelations, there is not a single problem including educational problems that are beyond the reach of the Qur'an (Husna et al., 2022). Muhammad, PBUH. Conducting social and political development (Munawaroh & Kosim, 2021). Islamic boarding schools are educational institutions that cannot be separated from the history of Muslims. Islamic boarding schools are original Indonesian religious institutions that have certain characteristics and values. Islamic boarding schools are the oldest institutions in Islamic education in Indonesia which have developed but have not lost the characteristics of the pesantren (Hayati & Satria, 2022).

Pondok Pesantren is the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia. Pondok pesantren comes from two words, namely pondok and pesantren. Pondok comes from the Arabic "Funduq" which means a place to stay, or hostel (Maesaroh & Achdiani, 2018). Whereas pesantren comes from the Tamil language, from the word santri, with the prefix pe and the ending -an which means students of knowledge (Zulhingga, 2013). Another understanding says that pesantren are boarding schools to study Islam (Komariyah, 2016). Other sources also explain that pesantren means a place to foster humans (Yunus, 2015) to become good people (Kariyanto, 2020).

The typology of pesantren generally comes from the view that there are traditional and modern educational institutions (Krisdiyanto et al., 2019). The typology of pesantren cannot be separated from the reforms carried out in Indonesian pesantren (HASIBUAN, 2013). Renewal of Islamic boarding schools when looking at the development of world culture and civilization which is increasingly rapid, is a necessity (Nihwan & Paisun, 2019).

In general, Islamic boarding schools are divided into two groups or sections, the first is the SALAFI Islamic boarding school and the second is the Modern Islamic boarding school.

SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are to provide learning or studies on Islamic religious knowledge, while modern Islamic boarding schools already have the intervention of modern learning media. Therefore, the educational process in Islamic boarding schools is different from the educational process in modern Islamic boarding schools. In SALAFI Islamic boarding schools, Kiyai figures are still strong role models, especially in terms of blessings and obedience to kiyai, in contrast to modern Islamic boarding schools which do not prioritize figures (Stiawan & Tohirin, 2015). Hence the notion that salaf Islamic boarding schools have a narrow orientation and do not respond to the times, especially in the field of technology (Rasyid, 2020).

Salaf is something or someone who came before. SALAFI education is an education system that maintains subject matter sourced from classical Islamic books, although once in a while the madrasa system is practiced too, just to facilitate the implementation of the sorogan system which is the main pillar (Fachrurazi, 2016). Islamic boarding schools that implement SALAFI education do not teach non-religious knowledge. Khalaf Islamic Boarding School or what is also called Modern Islamic Boarding School, namely education that applies a classical teaching system (madrasa), provides general and religious knowledge, and also provides skills education. pesantren which have carried out reforms (modernization) in the education system, institutions, thinking and functions (Ahmad Miftahul Ma'arif, 2017).

Khalafiyah Islamic boarding schools are Islamic boarding schools that adopt the madrasah or school system, with the curriculum adjusted to the government's curriculum, both the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of National Education. Khalafiyah Islamic boarding schools usually organize educational activities on the school path, be it the general school route (SD, SMP, SMU, and SMK) (Abdul Tolib, 2015), as well as schools with Islamic characteristics (MI, MTs, MA, or MAK). There are even a number of pesantren that have organized higher level education (university) (Sosiologi et al., 2014).

Regarding the origin of the word "santri" there are two opinions, which can be used as a reference for understanding the word, namely; first, the opinion that "santri" comes from the word "sastri", which comes from Sanskrit, which means literacy. This opinion gives us an understanding that in the past, especially at the beginning of the growth of Islamic political power in Demak. The santri were a "literary" class for the Javanese. , which means someone who always follows a teacher wherever the teacher goes or resides (Ibrahim, 2014).

Santri is a designation for anyone who has chosen a boarding school institution as a place to study. Santri in Islamic boarding schools can be categorized into two groups, namely: Santri Mukim, namely students who live and live in Islamic boarding schools; Santri Kalong, are students who come from areas around the Islamic boarding school and usually they do not stay at the Islamic boarding school, they return to their respective homes after attending a teaching at the Islamic boarding school (Muhammad Ahsan Jauhari, 2017).

Santri are adolescent children who choose or choose their parents to study at Islamic boarding schools either forced or voluntarily (Susanto & Muzakki, 2017). According to Indra (2005) said that students are a group of pious people who are good and obedient to religious rules and live or live in a boarding school environment. In reality, santri have a number of the same psychological characteristics as non-santri, even in some ways better than non-santri (Nashori, 2011). Geerts (2005) in his research said that the average age of a student he met was 12-20 years old, but there were also some who were up to 25 years old.

This study aims to provide a description of the responses of students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools and modern Islamic boarding schools regarding the establishment of new Islamic-based political parties. This study intends to answer the question whether there are differences in the responses of students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools and modern Islamic boarding schools regarding new Islamic-based political parties.

Method

In this study the approach used is descriptive quantitative. The quantitative approach method uses the Kolmogorov-Smirnov method of hypothesis testing. Fundamentally, the hypothesis testing procedure using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov method for multiple sample groups is focused on testing the validity of the null hypothesis which essentially states that the first and second sample groups come from identical populations (Lestari & Yudhanegara, 2017). While the alternative hypothesis states that the first and second sample groups come from populations that are not identical or that one of them is higher or lower.

For multiple sample groups, the stages or procedures for testing the hypothesis that must be followed in the Kolmogorov-Smirnov method to determine the final conclusion include:

- a. Formulate null hypothesis and alternative hypothesis
- b. Determine a certain level of significance
- c. Formulate test criteria

In testing the two-sided hypothesis, the null hypothesis is accepted if

$$D \leq D_a$$

While the null hypothesis is rejected if

$$D > D_a$$

- d. Calculating the value of D

If the hypothesis testing procedure using the Kolmogorov-Smirnow method has reached this stage, the value of D must be calculated through several steps. The series of steps that must be taken to find the value of D are:

1. Record the results of observations in the table

The intended observation result is the value of each member in the sample group.

2. Compile the cumulative frequency distribution of observations

If the number of members from each category in each sample group has been recorded and entered into the table, then the cumulative frequency distribution of observations is compiled. For each frequency, the relative percentage values of each category are included. The display of the cumulative frequency distribution of observations along with their relative percentages is marked with F1 for the first sample group and F2 for the second sample group.

3. Calculating the difference between the values of F1 and F2 and looking for the value of D

The value of the biggest difference is used as the D value of the calculation results.

Results and Discussion

Empirically-historically, even though Muslims are the majority, Islamic parties have never won elections. We still remember the 1955 election, which was said to be the most democratic election in Indonesia, but the Islamic parties lost. NU, Masyumi, PSII, Perti, PPTI, and AKUI won only 45.2 percent of the votes, still below that of the national parties plus non-Islamic parties which received 54.8 percent. This phenomenon repeated itself in the 1971 election: NU won 18.67 percent of the vote, Parmusi 7.36 percent, PSII 2.39 percent and Perti 0.70 percent. Even though Golkar won 62.8 percent of the vote, PNI 6.94 percent, Parkindo 1.34 percent, and the Catholic Party 1.11 percent.

Even in the 1977 election – after the 1973 fusion – the vote acquisition of Islamic groups through PPP declined: 29.3 percent. This decline continued in the following elections: 1982 (27.8 percent) and 1987 (16.0 percent). It was only after the 1992 election that the voices of Islamic groups experienced an increase, in 1992 (16.2 percent) and 1997 (22.4 percent). However, this increase was unable to match the gains in the 1977 elections.

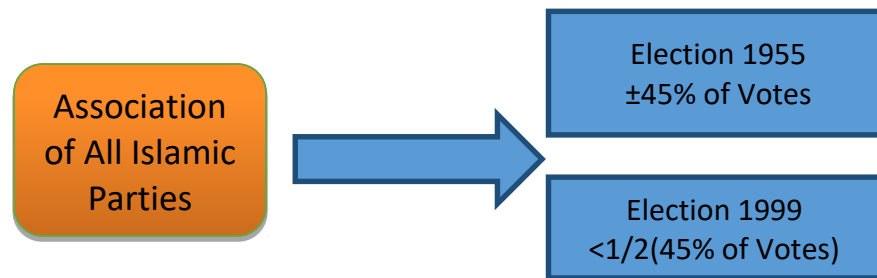


Figure 1. The combined votes of Islamic political parties in the 1955 and 1999 elections

The defeat of parties based on Islam in the June 7, 1999 general election was absolutely crushing. Only the United Development Party (PPP) won significant votes and entered the top five; the results of the Crescent Star Party (PBB) were far below expectations, although it managed to form its own faction in the DPR with 13 members. The Justice Party (PK) only won 7 seats in the DPR, failed to meet the minimum acquisition requirement (threshold) of two percent of the total, and thus was liquidated for the 2004 elections.

Despite its lively appearance, from election to election, the number of parties and votes obtained by Islamic parties has stagnated, even decreased. Of the three groups of Islamic parties, only 5 parties passed in the 2014 election. In the 2004 election, the total vote acquisition of the four Islamic-based Islamic parties was only 18.77 percent of the national vote. The PBB got 2.62 percent of the national vote. Meanwhile, PPP got 8.16 percent. PKS and PPNUI followed, with votes of 7.2 percent and 0.79 percent respectively. In the following two elections, the total vote acquisition of the four Islamic parties decreased to 15.15 percent in the 2009 election and 14.78 percent in the 2014 election.

Among the political organizations that emerged were parties that had Islamic social origins. As a continuation of such social origins, there are parties that assert themselves as Islamic parties. Even so, the public still considers it an Islamic party. How could it not be, conspicuously, the supporters of these parties – whether they declare themselves officially as Islamic parties or not – are the Islamic community.

This research was conducted in the area of Tegal City, Tegal Regency, and Pemalang Regency with respondents including students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools and modern Islamic boarding schools. The age range of the respondents was selected with the condition that respondents at the time the research was conducted already had the right to vote and respondents in the 2024 election already had the right to vote.

The following are survey answers given by respondents who came from students of SALAFI Islamic boarding schools and modern Islamic boarding schools regarding the emergence of new political parties based on Islam.

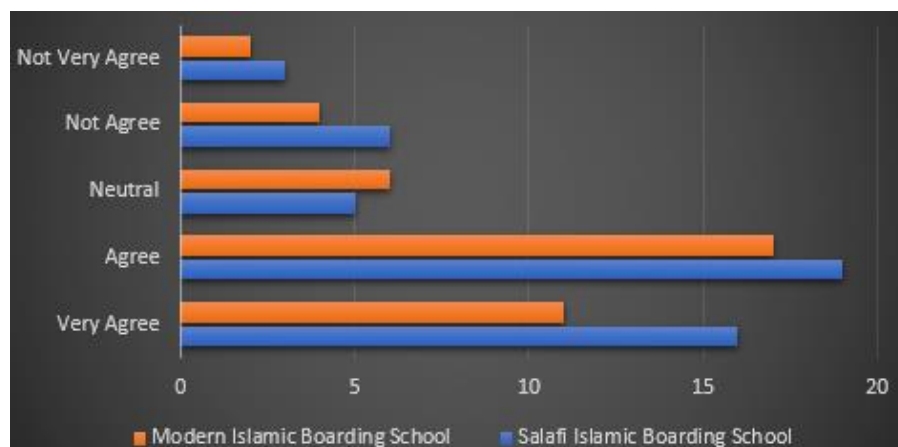


Figure 2. Description of Respondents' Answers

Respondents who gave answers that strongly agreed as much as 30.34% of the total respondents, both students from SALAFI and modern Islamic boarding schools welcomed the presence of the Islamic party with joy. They consider these parties to be new political channels for Muslims after their political role during the New Order was shut down. They are sure that parties with Islamic flags will not confuse the people in determining their politics. Meanwhile, 5.6% of the total respondents, namely respondents who answered strongly disagree, said the opposite.

Based on the respondents' answers, the results are simplified in the table as follows

Table 1. Data on Respondents' Answers

Response Respondents	Santri category	
	SALAFI Islamic Boarding School	Modern Islamic Boarding School
Very Agree	16	11
Agree	19	17
Neutral	5	6
Not Agree	6	4
Not Very Agree	3	2
Total	49	40

From the display of the data in the respondent's answer table, it was tested whether the responses of the students from the two Islamic boarding schools were the same, different or whether one of them was better. Thus, the null hypothesis formulated states that the responses given by students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are the same as the responses given by students from modern Islamic boarding schools. Meanwhile, the alternative hypothesis states that the responses given by students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are better than the responses given by students from Islamic boarding schools. So, if formulated symbolically the two hypotheses are

$$H_0 : \mu_{\text{Response of Santri of SALAFI Islamic Boarding Schools}} = \mu_{\text{Response of Santri of Modern Islamic Boarding Schools}}$$

$$H_1 : \mu_{\text{Response of Santri of SALAFI Islamic Boarding Schools}} \neq \mu_{\text{Response of Santri of Modern Islamic Boarding Schools}}$$

In this study, the significance level used was 2.50%. On the basis of the significance level, a value of D in the table must be calculated. Because the applicable significance level is 2.50%, the value of D in the table is equal to

$$1,48 \times \sqrt{\frac{49 + 40}{49 \times 40}} = 1,48 \times 0,213092 = 0,315376$$

The D value of 0.315376 is the basis for the formulation of the test criteria and the final conclusions in this study.

Thus, the criteria for testing the hypothesis applied to this study are that the null hypothesis is accepted if

$$D > 0,315376$$

While the null hypothesis is rejected if

$$D < 0,315376$$

Furthermore, the value of D must be calculated through several steps. The series of steps taken to determine the value of D is shown in the following work table

Table 2. Double Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Method Working Table

Respons Respondent	Santri Category				Difference F1 – F2
	SALAFI Islamic Boarding School Cumulative Frequency and Percentage (F1)		Modern Islamic Boarding School Cumulative Frequency and Percentage (F2)		
Very Agree	16	0.326531	11	0.275	0.051531
Agree	35	0.714286	28	0.7	0.014286
Neutral	40	0.816327	34	0.85	-0.03367
Not Agree	46	0.938776	38	0.95	-0.01122
Not Very Agree	49	1	40	1	-

From the calculation steps carried out with the help of the table above, the difference in relative percentage values between the responses of the students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools and modern Islamic boarding schools is 0.051531. The difference value of 0.051531 is the calculated D value.

Three decades of the disappearance of Islam in formal political discourse has left many people with no memory; what is the true face of an Islamic party? The uncertainty grew thicker when respondents were asked where they identified a party as an Islamic party. In general, respondents believed that the Islamization of a party was determined by the figure who led that party. That is, the character and Islam of a leader is a high selling point for a political party to attract Islamic masses. This percentage is even higher than the identification based on the principles used or work programs. Meanwhile, others identified it from the symbol used by the party.

The Kiai figure who is the caretaker of a salaf pesantren. The position of the kiai in the salaf pesantren is as a determinant and guardian of the existence of the salaf pesantren, the kiai is a charismatic figure who becomes a role model for students, administrators and society. This is in accordance with the opinion of Imre Lakatos who stated that scientific programs that are considered traditional will continue to exist as long as there is someone to protect them. In the context of the salaf pesantren, the salaf pesantren will survive because of the existence of the kiai figure. Variety of values and curriculum of salaf Islamic boarding schools. Various values such as religious values, salaf values, kyai obedience values, and sincere values are the main programs of pesantren education. The program is taught through a curriculum that is characteristic of salaf pesantren, namely the yellow book. Salaf Islamic Boarding School services such as helping community religion, helping community needs, and the work of alumni in society. Islamic boarding schools are a source of knowledge for community understanding, namely the understanding of ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah (Ibrahim, 2014).

The implementation of Islamic education in Islamic boarding schools is completely dependent on the authority of the kyai, both as owners, leaders and main teachers in these educational institutions. In line with this authority, the kyai determines all policy steps in the education system and process in pesantren. As the sole authority holder, the kyai determines the direction and strategy of education in the institution they lead (centralistic). Therefore, all elements involved in and supporting the pesantren education process are highly dependent on the decisions of the kyai (charisma). The existence of a kyai in the environment of a pesantren is like the heart of human life. The intensity of the kyai shows an authoritarian role because the Kiai is the pioneer, founder, manager, caregiver, leader, and even the sole owner of a pesantren. Because of the reasons for the prominent figure of the kyai above, many Islamic boarding schools eventually disbanded because their kyai died. While the kyai do not have offspring who can continue their business. As one of the dominant elements in a pesantren, the kyai regulate

the rhythm of the development and continuity of the life of a pesantren with their expertise, depth of knowledge, charisma and skills.

So it is not uncommon for a pesantren to have no neat educational management. Everything lies in the wisdom and decision of the kiai. Due to such conditions, it seems that it is not an exaggeration (feeling) when Zamakhsyari Dhofier points out that most kyai in Java think that a pesantren can be likened to a small kingdom, where the kyai is the absolute source of power and authority in life and environment. boarding school. No santri or other person can oppose the power of the kyai (in their pesantren environment) except for other kyai who have greater influence. The santri always hope and think that the kyai they follow is a person who is fully confident in himself (self-compident), both in matters of Islamic knowledge, as well as in the field of power and management of the pesantren. Therefore, it is quite logical to say that the direction and goals of pesantren education policy are determined by the authority of the kyai. So that there is almost no written formula regarding the curriculum, goals and objectives of pesantren education, unless it only depends on the authority of the kyai. So it becomes clear that the students who come from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are more enthusiastic in accepting the formation of a new Islamic-based political party.

Conclusion

Based on the comparison between the D value in the table and the calculated D value, the D value is 0.051531. This value is smaller than the D value in the table of 0.315376. Thus the null hypothesis which states that the responses given by students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are the same as the responses given by students from modern Islamic boarding schools are declared rejected. While the alternative hypothesis which states that the responses given by students from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are better than the responses given by students from modern Islamic boarding schools are accepted. In this condition, it can be concluded that the students who come from SALAFI Islamic boarding schools are more enthusiastic or more accepting in accepting the formation of a new Islamic-based political party.

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