**WOMEN AND NETWORKING AUTHORITY IN PESANTREN: THE BACKGROUND AND LIFE HISTORY PERSPECTIVE**

*Evi Muafiah[[1]](#footnote-1), Lutfiana Dwi Mayasari [[2]](#footnote-2)\*, Ulfa Wulan Agustina[[3]](#footnote-3)*

**Abstrak**

Kepemimpinan pesantren identik dengan peran seorang kyai. Masyarakat yang patriarki, dan narasi ekstrimis yang melegitimisasi konsep domestikasi meletakkan perempuan sebagai masyarakat kelas dua. Begitu juga dengan nyai, diposisikan sebagai pendampaing kyai dan pengatur kebutuhan dometik di pesantren saja. Dengan latar kondisi yang sedemikian rupa, maka keberadaan nyai sebagai sosok baru dalam pesantren dewasa ini menarik untuk dianalisis. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan antropologi gender. Adapun perspektif *life history* digunakan untuk menjelaskan persoalan individual dan bagaimana relevansinya dalam pembentukan budaya dan masyarakat secara umum. Metode pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara dan observasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa; *pertama*, perempuan dan jejaring kekuasaan di pesantren dimulai dari diadakannya kongres KUPI pertama pada 2017. *Kedua*, kecakapan perempuan dalam memimpin pesantren Mahasina didukung oleh keterlibatan nyai dalam politik praktis, pendidikan formal dan informal, serta pengalaman tergabung dengan NGO yang bergerak dalam pemberdayaan perempuan. Perempuan dan jejaring kekuasaan yang dibangun di pesantren ini membentuk kesadaran masyarakat. Bahwa perempuan dan laki-laki memiliki hak yang sama dalam kepemimpinan termasuk didalamnya kepemimpinan agama.

***Kata Kunci:*** *jejaring pesantren; perempuan; Mahasina; KUPI*

***Abstract***

The leadership of the pesantren is identical to the role of a kyai. A patriarchal society, and extremist narratives that legitimize the concept of domestication place women as a second class society. Likewise, nyai are positioned as kyai's companion and regulator of domestic needs in pesantren. With the background of such conditions, the existence of nyai as a new figure in pesantren today is interesting to analyze. This study uses a gender anthropological approach. The life history perspective is used to explain individual problems and how they are relevant in the formation of culture and society in general. Methods of data collection is done by interview and observation. The results showed that; *first*, women and power networks in pesantren started from the holding of the first KUPI congress in 2017. *Second,* women's skills in leading the Mahasina pesantren are supported by the involvement of nyai in practical politics, formal and informal education, as well as their experience of joining NGOs engaged in empowering women. Women and the power network built in this pesantren form public awareness. That women and men have equal rights in leadership, including religious leadership.

***Keywords****: pesantren network; woman; student; KUPI*

**PENDAHULUAN**

Pesantren is the eldest education institute in Indonesia component services include a mosque, boarding house, *santri kyai*, and teacher. (Zamakhsyari Dhofier 1994). Rapid social development of society requires pesantrens to involved for accomplish sial problems that happen in und it. According to (Choirul Yusuf and Suwito 2009), the role it should doing is because pesantrens are born out of tradition and culture. Pesantrens based on (Mohammad Takdir Ilahi 2014) at last develop become alternative education institutes for creating religious clime based on morals in the middle of the globalization era.

The success of pesantren on did role it according to (Nurcholish Madjid 1997) depends on the main figures of *Kyai*. The position of *kyai* according to (Mohammad Takdir Ilahi 2014) is dominant because in his mind there is supremacy against the estafet life of *santri*. The policy appointed by *kyai* obliged all *santri* without negotiation. Because create footing and problem solving on some problem in the community, so, based on (Hamdan and Syarifuddin 2005) *kyai* can change role model to become a teacher, *mubaligh*, shaman (medicate of the patient), and be a mediatory problem on a family.

The position of *kyai* that is dominant in this pesantren based on (Dawam Rahardjo 1985) brings out the feudalism concept that was tipped on devotees of *kyai*. *Kyai is* always placed in the superior position in the strata social society. Superiority also is confined to individualistic personality. So, all the pesantren policies are in the hands of *kyai*, with no intervention, and no involve others. The relations build with up-to-down relations.

Hierarchy superior and subordinate also apply in the relation of *kyai* and *kyai*. The role of *Nyai* (wife of *kyai)* no showed in front of public. Whereas on the various research(Arsyi 2019) occur many facts about role model of *kyai* that dominant into support fight of *kyai* to increase name of pesantren. His lead not be approved because women authority and capability rate not be created for basic of policy making.

According to (Treesya Hulontawa Melamahu 2019) this condition born out of patriarch dominant that was very strong into pesantren tradition in the Java and Madura. The patriarch dominant also appeared when designation of successor leadership pesantren if figure *kyai* gone. Pesantren leadership will continue by his son from generation to generation.

However, together with more exposed access to education for all society, pesantrens also had a significant change. Leadership in several pesantrens had changed. The pesantren did not close access for women to lead. Based on (Asmani and Jamal Ma’mur 2015) this change was driven by the activism of *kyai* into gender equality action that was strongly carried out in the 1980s, especially by Nahdlatul Ulama.

The important figure in the pesantren, such as Abdurrahman Wahid,(Hasyim, Al-Qolam, and Malang 2016) Zamakhsyari Dhofier,(Zamakhsyari Dhofier 1980), and Faqihudin Abdul Qodir(Amalia 2020) also severely critical patriarch system. The patriarch brings about discrimination against women, including in the world of pesantren. At the same time, figures also encourage to women be leaders in pesantrens.

Finally, based on (Farida and Kasdi 2018) the women josser the majority made up of the *nyai* make power into KUPI (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia). The existence of *nyai* or women josser in the world of *keulamaan* sometimes falls into oblivion. Therefore, there is KUPI based on (Husein Muhammad 2020) is an incredible initiative to start again of existence *ulama* leadershipin the religious authority taking as happened throughout the history of Islamic civilization.

Transformation of *kyai* and *nyai* relation into a pesantren in line with feminism cultural concept. Based on (Rajagukguk 2018) women’s way in the walk of life and getting knowledge can be role model better for getting a just society than traditional preference from man androcentric culture.

It is strengthened by (Tanara 2021) who stated that the different between men and women is also feminist values possessed by women’s own superiority which women have it. Cultural feminism as confirmed by (Nash, 2003) showed for equality between men and women. To knowability and uniqueness of man and woman then know the similarity between man and woman.

So, this article will discuss how is women building authority networking in pesantrens before through domestication and discrimination in the same institute. Through the gender anthropology approach, (Saptari 2016) this research implements life history for listen, show, and to express about woman itself. Bruce Shaw explain that life history be important into explain individual problem and how is relevance into establishment culture and society by all accounts.

As for research objects in this article is Mahasina pesantren which be conducted by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi (1971). (Ulya 2018) academic also activist birth of Pati have a role significant into attempt build authority networking pesantren. furthermore, Al-Azhar graduate Kairo Mesir also the important figure who initialize of woman *ulama* congress Indonesia/KUPI. (Ma’ruf, Wilodati, and Aryanti 2021).

**DISCUSSION**

**The Profile of Mahasina Pesantren Bekasi Pondok Gede**

Mahasina pesantren in 2000 originally is a study place of santri which doing everyday start from afternoon until evening. Santri in the Diniyah dominated by the surrounding society who want learn about theology. From diniyah, then be formed Mayis Club or (Mahasina Youth Islamic Studies Club). This community be success establish Mahasina Band, religion students, Marawis Group, and many other.

In 2008, mahasina diniyah change be pesantren called with Pondok Kalong. That is a pesantren that just does activities learn (mengaji) nonformal. As for formal education santri facile out of Mahasina. Pondok Kalong system in the journey is less effective because many reasons.

First, the time of the santri study was divided so that they were not focusing. Because learning in pesantren and formal school have different characters and approaches. Secondly, the headmaster of Mahasina pesantren also feels that the the investment character value of santri is still not maximal. As for, not getting at learning targets expectation. Third, there is a high risk which is handled by the headmaster of Mahasina because santri mobility from pesantren to formal school or the opposite.

On the strength of that, Drs. KH. Abu Bakar Rahziz, M.A., and Dra. Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi, Lc., M.A the headmaster of Mahasina pesantren officially implemented a formal school in the pesantren with building a junior high school and senior high school. Exactly in 2016, Mahasina pesantren officially changed its name be Mahasina Darul Qur’an wal Hadits (Mahasina Daqwah) pesantren.

Education concept intended to get santri to be ulama candidates in the future. So the education concept is the integrated education of ulama, the lead character of the Qurani, and having a conception of nationality. To make a reality that concept, learning of santri in pesantren, junior high school, and senior high school are one of the wholes which not can be divided take one with the others.

Mahasina Darul Qur’an wal Hadits pesantren today be conducted by Drs. KH. Abu Bakar Rahziz, M.A., and Dra. Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi, Lc., M.A. becomes a married couple, and both of them work together for the progress of education in the pesantren. Not only busy with the nurture program in the pesantren, Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz, and Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi was also active in the external activity pesantren. Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz ever becomes Komisi Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) central, Rabithah Ma’ahid Islamiyah (RMI NU), chief of MUI Bekasi city, director of Pendidikan Kader Ulama (PKU) MUI, vice in the Rais Syuriyah PC NU and the first chief of Dewan Masjid Indonesia (DMI) Bekasi city.

**Involvement of Nyai Badriyah Fayumi into Leadership in the Mahasina Pesantren**

The background of the activism role is important into establish an idea of Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz and Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi was moderate. Although the position of Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi in the Mahasina pesantren also the same as her husband is Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz. There is no different role taken according to gender, all of the policies of pesantrens taken by discussion and used need to be measured.

The awareness of Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi to follow in and be active in the public such as in pesantren not get off from Mom Lies Marcos, one of the feminist activists who become communicator secular woman action with feminism Muslim Indonesia.

Another figure who become inspired Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi is Nusyahbani Katjasungkana. Woman activist in Indonesia that hard to assert themselves and woman’s position in the political sector, civil, media, academic, and religious authority. Fight of Nusyahbani Katjasungkana in 80’s era based on Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi is an action which high risk remembering political order and patriarchal religion very attached to New Order it.

In the 80s era also, controversy about gender equality and Islam had many colors on discourse in the world of Arabic. Muslim feminism such as Fatima Mernisi, and Nawal el Sadawi many express views in book form which field out about Islam and woman’s equality. This point of view forms a critical woman idea in the pesantren scope is conservative. Especially for Nyai Hj. Badriyah Fayumi was born out of a pesantren scope.

Masdar Farid Mas’udi also is one of the inspiring figures for Nyai Badriyah Fayumi. From the development pesantren association and society (P3M), Masdar Farid Mas’udi active fight for democracy and woman’s rights. Then he got nicknamed the father of gender equality currently. Also, this forum encourages the leader of conservative pesantrens to become more respectful of contemporary problems such as pluralism and across-faith dialog.

Remember of important about understanding gender equality for ulama neither woman nor man, so that value becomes the main point which is delivered by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi into operate the education system in the Mahasina pesantren. This point according to the education concept integrated ulama candidates. The leader has a certain character of Qurani and has a conception of nationalism which applied in the Mahasina pesantren. This fact is also suitable with the opinion (Amrin Ma’ruf and Wilodati 2021) stated that a leader’s intellectual background in the pesantren implications how to view the direction of learning which gender-responsive in the pesantren.

Domestic narrations and extremist rereading by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi using the humane approach. On her principle, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi believes that no one verse of the Quran nor Hadist discriminates against a specific gender. If there is it is confirmed as not the main value that wants to be delivered. But approach and interpretation that biased and prayed by side who benefits.

As in the interpret surah An-Nisa’ 34 verse about nusyuz, surah an-Nisa 11 verse about part half heritage for woman, and surah al-Baqarah about evidence of two women who equal with man evidence discussed exclusively by Nyai Badriyah Fayumi in the study at after shubuh in the pesantren.

Using the historic approach and context, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi explains step by step the social context which abreast the downs of the verse. Into nusyuz verse for the example, in the context of the Arab tradition is normalizing violence against women. So that be regulated nusyuz concept that the hit for a woman is not hurt hit and not scaur. The assumption is, is there a hit not hurt, and not scaur? If there is then not a hit. The value delivered into an-Nisa 34 verse will be safe for a woman from acts of violence. Not legitimize of thrashing ability of women.

Nyai Badriyah Fayumi stated that the study of verses frequently interpreted with this not-fair value needs more time than other verse explanations. Besides not the usual approach used. Nyai Badriyah Fayumi believes that ideas relative to humanity should be attached to the heart of Mahasina students. Gender fairness and treatment like a human should be the first basic of santri to interpret Misogynist Hadist and the verse often be deciphered with discrimination view.

Not only internalize with a formal approach in the class, but equality of gender value also into practice form. Neither man students nor woman students get the same chance to present short speeches after shubuh with man and woman students’ audiences and also, with the leader of dzikir, done by man and woman students in rotation. Thus, with the leadership of an organization, the man and women students also give access and same chance to compete based on competency. *Orsam* (Organisasi Santri Mahasina) neither man nor woman competes with each other to bring out become better.

This approach did not make woman students haughty, nor make man students feel not treasured. This approach makes both of them become more competitive about good things. Both of them be given the same chance and access, not differentiated based on gender. The rule applied to them also be produced from the discussion process and forum which involve both. So, the rules, according to Nyai Badriyah Fayumi also should made be based on agreement and for the benefit of together.

**KUPI: Women's Space and the Power Network of Islamic Boarding Schools**

The experience of becoming a member of the house of representatives (DPR), tells Nyai Badriyah Fayumi about power spaces. The space it takes advantage of for delivered narration equality women. Nyai Badriyah Fayumi informs the message of man and woman equality in front of God in a various way. Although at a different position, an equality value in front of God is the main message that she tell for all forum.

The message increasing voice be expressed when she officiates become Majelis Masyayikh Kemenag RI, Wakil Sekjend Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Pusat, A’wan PBNU, Ketua Majelis Musyarawah Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia (KUPI), Ketua ALIMAT, Dewan Pakar KPPRI (Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen Republik Indonesia, Dewan Pakar PP MES (Masyarakat Ekonomi Syariah), Dewan Pakar IKALUNI (Ikatan Alumni UIN Jakarta), dan Ketua Majelis Mudzakarah Masjid Istiqlal, Pembina JP3M (Jaringan Perempuan Pengasuh Pesantren dan Mubaligh), Wakil Ketua LKK PBNU, and also Wakil Ketua IKALFU.

Nyai Badriyah Fayumi believes that reverberation of equality gender narration can do partial and personal. Internalizing the gender equality approach in the pesantren scope is important for provision ulama candidates. But building an equality women and pesantrens for together to express gender equality be based Islam approach also important thing. Authority networking pesantrens should go up to mutual each other and build awareness about how is important involve women in the pesantren networking.

On the strength of it, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi was involved active become director committee in the process born out *Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia* in 2017. It is starting from involve Nyai Badriyah Fayumi be program facilitator candidate woman ulama, one of the Rahima programs. Moreover, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi also one of the Rahima members, be writer Rahima’s voice, and interviewee Rahima program that accordance woman *keulamaan*. In 2015, when Rahima led by Eridani, held a workshop together with several interviewees. From that Rahima and Alimat and Fahmina networking plan performance of KUPI. Although at the moment idea name of KUPI get yet, still discourse from and project.

On the next, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi was involved in the process plan, and performance, until after KUPI. The implementation of KUPI is an alternative step to build authority ulama networking and pesantrens be focused on contextual Islamic law and have a conception of gender. Without any reason, involved pesantrens in KUPI implementation because of scholarly ability pesantren build on the knowledge of Islamic classic scholarly. Combined with understanding contemporary ulama to get new Islamic law that put forward humanity value with stand firm on theological base from classic holy book apart from al-Quran and Hadist.

The utterance term of woman ulama based on Nyai Badriyah Fayumi is an attempt to get some confession as man ulama. It is starting from the fact that ulama is always inductive with a man. This opinion was strengthened by Ayu Usada (Amrin Ma’ruf and Wilodati 2021) that KUPI can be a mediator of woman’s negotiation on man ulama power which have absolute authority in the social environment and pesantren.

KUPI becoming a woman authority networking and pesantren is one of the incarnate democracies, be antithesis group conservative. Where a woman in the group is identic with a second-level human being, with *less power*, and their existence is acknowledged as being a companion exist of man. According to (Nisa 2019) the role of men and women are divided by men and suitable to their needs. Women become new domestic human being permitted to have careers in public spaces only if the domestic business is done. In the conservative view, part of this role is decided based on man importance with not involve women be discussion objects.

Therefore, KUPI is a strong networking alternative pesantren effective for grab tafsir space. The first KUPI congress which was attended by almost 1500 members in 2017 ago was a symbolic preference for woman ulama agents to take part in fill public space. The truly important not only for congress implementation but how ulama can fill in public space and digital spaces for continuing express gender equality.

Equality values produced by KUPI become strengthened woman’s networking and this pesantren should disseminate knowledge through various publications. the value carried by KUPI able to fill digital information spaces. It is to intend become a contra narration tool on Islamic conservative ideas that discriminate against women.

**CLOSING**

Increasing the chance and woman’s access in the world of education affects the friction of women pesantren. *Nyai* who before its representative become a partner of *Kyai* to develop education in the pesantren already metamorphosed into an equal relationship. The existence of *Nyai* not only be a partner but become a partnership into develop the education system.

It has an impact on the education system of pesantrens which fair gender as happened in the Mahasina Darul Quran wal Hadist pesantren Bekasi. Kyai Abu Bakar Rahziz and Nyai Badriyah Fayumi applied the religious education system with forward gender equality as the main humanity value. The values are internalized in the education curriculum and also practiced in the student life system in the everyday.

Realize that action to objectify gender equality values with a religious approach can not doing partially, so women and pesantrens should build power networking. In 2017, Fahmina, Rahima, and Alimat where Nyai Badriyah Fayumi was a part of three institutes held the first Congress Ulama Perempuan (KUPI). Woman authority networking and pesantren into this KUPI place be alternative action doing negotiation on man ulama power has absolute authority in social environment and pesantren.

The woman into authority networking that builds in the pesantren by this KUPI forms social awareness. That woman and men have the same rights in leadership including religious, social, and societalss leadership. one of the indicators that becoming someone good in front of God only their god-fearing. Not because of gender, ethnic group, class, and race.

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1. Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo, email : [muafiahevi@gmail.com](mailto:muafiahevi@gmail.com) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo, email [lutfianamayasari@iainponorogo.ac.id](mailto:lutfianamayasari@iainponorogo.ac.id) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Universitas Kh A Wahab Hasbulla Jombang, email: [ulfa.wulanagustina@unwaha.ac.id](mailto:ulfa.wulanagustina@unwaha.ac.id) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)