Typology of 21st Century Islamic Boarding School Education (Pesantren) in Indonesia

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Typology, Islamic Boarding School, Education, Indonesia

Received : 1 October
Revised : 20 October
Accepted : 23 November

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia with a focus on typology and development. Through a qualitative descriptive approach and library research, this research identified three developing typologies of Islamic boarding schools: Salaf Islamic Boarding Schools, Modern Islamic Boarding Schools, and Radical Islamic Boarding Schools. Salaf Islamic boarding schools, which are traditional Islamic boarding schools, maintain the teaching of classical Islamic books without adding to the general curriculum. The case study of the Tarbiyatun Nasyi'in Islamic Boarding School in Jombang provides an illustration of the sustainability of the Salafist model which still exists today. Modern Islamic boarding schools, represented by Pondok Modern Gontor, show transformation by incorporating a general curriculum, emphasizing Arabic and English language teaching, and managing Islamic boarding school management neatly. This phenomenon illustrates the adaptation of Islamic boarding schools to the demands of the times and general education. Radical Islamic boarding schools reflect a conservative and scriptural Islamic ideology, often involving fundamentalist views and radicalism. Case studies of Islamic boarding schools in Lamongan and Ngruki highlight the negative impact of radical thinking in the students' thinking patterns and the involvement of some alumni in acts of terrorism. This research describes the variations in educational approaches and religious views in Islamic boarding schools, reflecting the dynamics of Islam in Indonesia. With a deeper understanding of Islamic boarding school typology, this research contributes to detailing the development and role of Islamic boarding schools in shaping Islamic society in Indonesia.
INTRODUCTION

Islamic education in Indonesia has been in existence since the arrival of Islam to the region. To address the question of the origin of Islam in Indonesia and how it was introduced, three theories have been proposed as the basis for establishing this: 1) the Indian theory, 2) the Arab theory, and 3) the Fatimi theory. Each of these theories posits a different origin for the introduction of Islam to Indonesia. (Daulay, 2017).

The Indian theory believes that Islam entered Indonesia brought from India. According to Azyumardi Azra as quoted by Husaini Husda, Indian theory argues that this theory was proposed by Dutch scholar Pijnappel from Leiden University, Moquette, and Snouck Hurgronje. Pijnappel argued that Islam entered Indonesia originating from Gujarat and Malabar, so did Moquette's opinion. Snouck Hourgronje argued it was from South India in the 12th century, and as the beginning of the spread of Islam in The Archipelago (Husda, 2017).

Islamic education then developed along with the existence of Islam in Indonesia as an effort of Islamization, and as a process of growth and development of Islamic society in Indonesia. One form of Islamic education that has developed since the existence of Islam in Indonesia is the Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School) (Mustam, 2017). Pesantren can be referred to as one of the typical models of Islamic education in Indonesia. Pesantren with its various typologies in Indonesian history can be traced back to the 13th century AD as an educational institution that thrived in rural and small villages areas. Further developments show that pesantren grew as part of Islamic da'wah in Java by the walis, commonly known as the Walisongo. The role of Walisongo and these pesantrens was further strengthened by the allegiance of Islamic kingdom rulers in the field of Islamic education, such as Sultan Agung in the Mataram Islamic Kingdom (Mursyid, 2021).

Regarding the origin of the formation of Islamic educational institutions, namely pesantren, it is still an object of debate and developing scientific studies. There is a debate or at least a difference of opinion between groups that see that Islamic boarding schools are indigenous Indonesian products (Tan, 2014), with groups that see Islamic boarding schools as derivatives of Hindu education models in India (Kholis, 2017), as well as groups that argue that Islamic practices in Baghdad when at the peak of Islamic glory inspired the formation of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia (Huda, 2018).

Pesantren, as revealed by Zamakhsyari Dofier, is built upon five main foundations. In addition to the Kyai (Islamic scholar and leader) as the primary driving force, pesantren consists of elements such as santri (students), mosque, dormitories, and yellow books (Islamic classical texts). (Dhofier, 2011, p. 79). These five elements must always be fulfilled in all typologies of pesantren institutions, whether traditional-salaf, modern, or integrated. (Nihwan & Paisun, 2019). Despite sharing the same elements, the distinction among these three pesantren typologies lies in the position of yellow books as the primary reference for teaching religious materials. In traditional-salaf pesantren, yellow books hold a central and primary position, while in modern and integrated pesantren, this is not necessarily the case. In these two types of pesantren, yellow books are willing to share their position with other sources of religious studies, including books, modules, or other materials. (Hasyim, 2015).

Despite having different positions in religious studies due to the variation in pesantren typologies, the Yellow Books consistently serve as a distinctive identity among pesantren institutions. Zamakhsyari notes the existence of eight types of Yellow Book studies used in pesantren. These eight types include language sciences (nahwu and sharaf), jurisprudence (fikih), principles of jurisprudence (ushul fikih), jurisprudential rules (kaidah fikih), hadith, exegesis (tafsir), monotheism (tauhid), mysticism (tasawuf), history, and rhetoric (balaghah). These eight types of studies are classified into three levels: foundational, intermediate, and advanced. (Dhofier, 2011, p. 87).

In addition to Zamakhsyari, Martin van Bruinessen mentions the types of Yellow Books studied in pesantren, which include Arabic grammar, jurisprudence (fikih) and principles of jurisprudence (ushul fikih), creed (akidah), exegesis of the Qur'an (tafsir), hadith and the science of hadith, mysticism (tasawuf), and ethics (akhlaq), as well as the biography of the Prophet (sirah). (Bruinessen, 2012, p. 151).
If these two opinions are summarized, broadly speaking, the scholarly studies conducted in pesantren with the primary reference of Yellow Books are concentrated in the areas of monotheism (tauhid), jurisprudence (fikih), mysticism (tasawwuf), and Arabic grammar. The findings and generalizations made by Zamakhsyari and Martin regarding the typology of scholarly studies in pesantren seem highly accurate and continue at least until the 21st century. However, what may have been overlooked by these two prominent experts in the study of Yellow Books and pesantren is the limitation in examining the various types of pesantren. The typology of scholarly studies in pesantren, as revealed by Zamakhsyari and Martin, is restricted to traditional-salaf pesantren and has not yet touched upon the evolving typologies of pesantren.

**METHODS**

In this research, a descriptive qualitative research method was employed to present the research results by describing them as a complete narrative regarding the phenomenon of the development of Islamic boarding school typologies in Indonesia. This study falls under the category of library research in the form of Islamic boarding school literature. The stages of the research carried out are as follows: the literature selection stage, the reading and writing note-taking stage of the literature review, the idea and idea synthesis stage, and finally the stage of writing or inputting the research results in the form of narrative and analysis which the author presents descriptively to obtain insights into the various typologies of pesantren that have evolved up to the present.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The Characteristics of Islamic Boarding Schools (Pesantren)

According to Zamakhysyari Dhofier, there are several characteristics generally attributed to pesantren. One of the most distinct characteristics is the simplicity of the buildings, reflecting the simple lifestyle of the students (santri) in pesantren. (Dhofier, 2011, p. 17). Therefore, living in a pesantren is an independent way, students (santri) are expected to take care of themselves, especially their physical needs, and not rely on others except Allah. In studying classical books, the Islamic scholars (kyai) demand individual learning, meaning students are required to be able to study independently and attempt to read larger books after the kyai provides a foundation for their study.

The characteristics of pesantren, in general, can be recognized through two patterns: the overall educational pattern and the teaching system pattern. The overall educational pattern of pesantren, when examined more deeply, leads to the founding goals of the pesantren. While pesantren is an institution intended to transform Islamic teachings through an institutionalized Islamic education medium, the focus is not only on education at the conceptual level but also on how Islamic teachings can become values adopted and used as guidance in the lives of students. There are values instilled in pesantren education in general, including: (1) sincerity, (2) simplicity, (3) independence, (4) Islamic brotherhood (ukhuwah islmaiyyah), and (5) freedom. (Rodlimakmun, 2014, p. 108).

The educational pattern used in pesantren is generally hierarchical and tailored to the needs of the students, whether the students aim to study religion exclusively or aspire to become Islamic scholars (ulama). (Dhofier, 2011) At the basic level, students will learn to read and write the Quran, memorize short chapters, and memorize short hadiths. This pattern is intended for students aged 7 and for those who are newly enrolled. At the next level, there is a structured class system or general studies that focus on basic classical texts as their material. These texts are then recited by the Islamic scholars (kyai) or religious teachers (ustadz) and translated into the Javanese language. (Dhofier, 2011, p. 20).

The next level involves education based on sorogan, where students read books in front of the ustaz or kyai one by one, interspersed with question and answer sessions about the content of the book and knowledge of language science (morphology), grammar (nahwu), and conjugation (shorof) from the text being read. The highest level is the syawir class, where senior students engage in discussions addressing socio-religious issues from the perspective of classical texts and the opinions of scholars, moderated by the kyai or ustazd.

In addition to different educational patterns, the teaching system in pesantren also varies. There are several teaching systems used in pesantren from ancient times until now. Among these systems are:
Halaqah system:
This is a classification system in pesantren education that refers to the abilities of each student, categorizing them based on their individual capabilities. This system generally consists of three levels: Ula, Wustho, and Ulya. Each level is further divided into several classes according to the curriculum of each pesantren.

Bandongan system:
The bandongan or weton method involves group learning with all students led by the kyai as the reader of the book. The kyai typically translates Arabic sentences and adab (manners) in the Yellow Books taught using the local language, often in Javanese. (Hasyim, 2015) Bandongan learning itself is characterized by monologue, top-down instruction, and indoctrination. (Chairi, 2019) The bandongan learning process involves the kyai reading a specific book within a set period. Students bring the same book, listen to the kyai's reading, and pay close attention. They take notes on translations and explanations provided by the kyai, known as "makanani," "ngesahi," or "njenggoti." This type of study is conducted informally, without attendance requirements, and continues until the completion of the book being studied. The selection of the book and the timing of the bandongan session are at the discretion of the instructor, usually the kyai. (Thoriqussu’ud, 2012)

Sorogan System
The sorogan system involves individual learning, where a student faces the kyai to submit and "tashih" (correct and deepen) and delve into a specific book. This type of study is conducted informally, without attendance requirements, and continues until the completion of the book being studied. The selection of the book and the timing of the bandongan session are at the discretion of the instructor, usually the kyai. (Thoriqussu’ud, 2012)

Syawir System
The Syawir system is a form of consultation that involves discussing not only academic subjects in the pesantren or studying books but also addressing various cases or issues that arise in daily life, with a contextual nature. This creates a sense of seriousness and enthusiasm among students in participating in this Syawir activity. (Triani & Hermanto, 2020). In the process of solving problems that occur within the community, students engage in discussions where they present various arguments or evidence drawn from the Yellow Books. After analyzing and gathering opinions accompanied by strong evidence, conclusions can be drawn and used to address the existing issues. (Abdullah, 2016). The existence of syawir, students have a platform to review and deepen their understanding of the subjects they have learned in the pesantren. Critical thinking is cultivated to fulfill three aspects: cognitive (knowledge) aspect, which trains comprehension and expands knowledge, affective (attitude) aspect, fostering critical attitudes in addressing issues, appreciating the opinions of others, cultivating tolerance, and building self-confidence. The psychomotor aspect (skills) in discussions trains students to respond or explain using their own clear and flexible language that can be accounted for (Triani & Hermanto, 2020).

Kilatan System
The kilatan system or Ngaji kilatan or pasanan is an accelerated learning system of Yellow Books aimed at increasing references to enhance the knowledge and insight of students, typically using the bandongan method. This rapid learning, often conducted in almost all pesantrens in Indonesia, whether traditional-salaf or modern, covers materials such as jurisprudence (fikih), mysticism (tasawwuf), and others. Usually, it involves commentaries or hasiyiyah, which, if studied periodically, would take years to complete (Masykhur, 2010, p. 55).

Moreover, there has been a dynamic change and shift in the use of Yellow Books in pesantrens. Initially, they served as "primary" sources from the works of medieval Muslim scholars and transformed into "secondary" sources, including concise books and compilations containing thematic arrangements of scholars' opinions. This shift is evident during Ramadan study sessions (pasanan) in pesantrens with Khalaf typology or modern characteristics.

The Typology of Pesantren Development
In general, there are 5 typologies of Islamic boarding schools (Pondok Pesantren) that are currently developing. The first typology is the Pesantren that still maintains the teaching patterns of yellow books (kitab kuning) totally without any addition of general education curriculum. Literally, this pesantren is called salaf pesantren. The second typology is the pesantren that has transformed by not only teaching yellow books but also assimilating general education curriculum, this typology is then called Modern Pesantren. The third typology is the
pesantren that nurtures radical and Islamist ideas, this type of pesantren is then called Radical Pesantren. The fourth typology is Specialist Pesantren (drug rehabilitation pesantren). And the fifth typology is Complex Pesantren (boys and girls pesantren) (Isbah, 2020). The descriptions of the characteristics of these pesantrens are as follows:

Salaf Pesantren

Dhofier reveals that Salaf Pondok Pesantren are pesantrens that teach classical Islamic books (salafiyah kitabs) as the core education in pesantrens. The madrasa system is implemented to facilitate the sorogan system used in the form of old-style recitations, without introducing the teaching of general knowledge in their education system. (Dhofier, 2011, p. 49) The word salaf comes from the Arabic Salaf. It means ancient or classical (Hielmy, 1999). It means that Salaf Pesantrens still maintain their education with classical books and without providing general knowledge. The teaching models applied in salaf pesantrens are as commonly applied in the form of Sorogan, Weton, and Bandongan learning methods. (Anhari, 2007)

Salaf pesantren is the first pesantren existed in Indonesia. This pesantren was generally established as a center for da'wah (Islamic proselytization) and the spread of Islam in Indonesia in the early days, especially during the Wali Songo era. This type of pesantren is also commonly referred to as a traditional pesantren. The term "traditional" here is because this institution has existed for hundreds of years and has become an integral part of the life system of most Indonesian Muslim communities. (Mastuhu, 1994, p. 55)

In addition, the term traditional is also because pesantrens are generally managed and developed by traditional Islamic groups (read: Nahdlatul Ulama) that are rural-based institutions. Traditional groups are still steeped in local traditions and customs. In terms of understanding religious texts, they tend to take a cultural contextual approach. It is therefore not surprising that traditional Islamic figures tend to choose to adapt, assimilate, and also inculturate local cultures, rather than outright declare bid'ah as done by modernists. (Nihwan & Paisun, 2019)

In salaf pesantrens, the role of the kiai is also very strong. He is not only the leader of the pesantren, but more than that, he is the "owner" of the pesantren. As the owner, he has the right to do "anything" to the pesantren he owns. The vision and mission of the pesantren depends on the vision and mission possessed by the kiai. The development of knowledge applied in the pesantren is also in line with the knowledge possessed and mastered by the caretaker. If the caretaker mastered hadith knowledge, then the pesantren usually becomes a place for everyone to learn hadith knowledge. (Nihwan & Paisun, 2019)

One of the salaf pesantrens that still exists today is the Tarbiyatun Nasyi'in Paculgowang pesantren in Jombang. The Tarbiyatun Nasyi'in pesantren itself was pioneered in 1880-1885 by Kyai Alwi from Klaten, Central Java. The initial establishment of the Pesantren by Kyai Alwi began with the establishment of a small mosque in Paculgowang Village which was used as a place of worship and teaching religion to local residents. Gradually more and more people entrusted their children to Kyai Alwi to be taught religious knowledge, the children who were entrusted to him to study religion then made small cottages for resting behind the mosque and his house until in 1900 a dormitory building was built which is now known as the Al-Hidayah complex (Afif, 2019).

The Tarbiyatun Nasyi'in pesantren itself still maintains its distinctive educational characteristics, namely the salaf method which teaches the yellow books to its students in full without integrating with the general curriculum.

Nowadays, most salaf pesantrens have begun to transform following existing curriculum standards. Transformations in methodology and even epistemology have become common along with the demands of the times. In its history, this pesantren transformation can be said to have been initiated by the Tebuireng pesantren in 1935 during the leadership of KH. Wahid Hasyim who incorporated foreign language and general subject lessons into the madrasa nizhamiyah curriculum. The changes were not immediately accepted by the community,
especially other pesantren leaders at that time. However, gradually, the transformation of the pesantren curriculum was followed by almost all salaf pesantrens where previously only taught religious knowledge, then transformed by also teaching general education curriculum. So pesantrens which initially focused on Islamic education, now have also penetrated other disciplines by utilizing the general education curriculum. Educational methods like this have become common in Indonesia, namely by establishing general education institutions under the auspices of pesantrens while maintaining the identity of pesantrens as Islamic educational institutions that have been running for a long time (Nata, 2001, p. 4).

Furthermore, among the salaf Pesantrens that have followed curriculum changes while still maintaining their pesantren identity as described above are the Bahrul 'Ulum Tambakberas Pesantren in Jombang. Until now, the Bahrul Ulum Pesantren has 49 branches (filial) with a total of 13,800 students and currently the Bahrul Ulum Pesantren already has 18 Formal Education Units from primary to tertiary levels.

**Modern Pesantren**

Along with the reforms made by pesantrens, Dofier previously divided the conception of pesantrens into two categories, namely salafi (traditional) pesantrens and khalafi (modern) pesantrens. Salafi pesantrens still teach classical Islamic books as the core of their education, while khalafi pesantrens have incorporated general subject lessons into the madrasas they develop or open types of public schools within the pesantren environment. (Dhofier, 2011) However, nowadays, the conception of pesantrens offered by Dofier needs to be changed, considering the very rapid transformation of salaf pesantrens so that new typologies and classifications of pesantrens have emerged that were not detected at that time.

According to Barnawi, the classification of Pesantren as "Modern" cannot be simply attributed to pesantrens that open public schools nowadays in general, but for a pesantren to be called modern it must meet several criteria. First, the management and administration of the pesantren is very neat. Second, equal portions of religious and general subject teaching. Third, emphasis on proficiency in Arabic, English or other Foreign Languages which become the hallmark of the pesantren (Bawani, 1993, p. 105). But nowadays the conception of modern pesantren is increasingly biased because the development of salaf pesantrens which have been actively establishing madrasas or public schools under their auspices since the 1970s.

Furthermore, Abdul Tolib states that to be more specific and clear between the concept of modern and salaf pesantrens that develop. Then modern pesantrens can be identified by several characteristics: 1) Emphasis on Arabic or English conversation. 2) using contemporary Arabic literature and not yellow books (turats). 3) having formal schools under the Ministry of Education / Ministry of Religious Affairs. 4) No longer using traditional teaching systems such as sorogan, wetonan, and bandongan (Tolib, 2015).

In Falikul Isbah's view, the icon and tagline carrier of the modern pesantren is the Gontor Modern Islamic Boarding School in Ponorogo (Isbah, 2020). The emergence of this modern pesantren stems from the philosophical desires and Islamic, modern, progressive and anti-colonial pedagogical enthusiasm. This modern pesantren combines the educational philosophy of Al-Azhar, Aligarh Muslim University and Santiniketan educational in India as well as Syanggit in Mauritania (Saputra & Krismono, 2021). In his writing, Isbah reveals that modern pesantrens emerged due to the incompatibility of their educational philosophy with the pattern of traditional pesantren education at that time, which was unstructured and undisciplined, as well as their incompatibility with the style of government schools because they considered that government schools would produce Dutch colonial civil servants. The characteristics of modern pesantrens in Isbah's view are the emphasis on mastery of Arabic and English conversation, in addition in terms of theology and schools they claim not to be affiliated with the classical jurisprudential views of certain schools of thought, and consider
fanatical affiliation to schools of thought will actually hamper the progress of Islamic scholarship and clearly contrary to the mission of Islamic reform (Isbah, 2020).

From the above description, it can be understood that the typology of modern pesantrens focuses on educating students on aspects of formal education and mastery of foreign languages, whether Arabic or English, and abandoning the yellow book recitation system in the form of sorogan, wetonan and bandongan, or at least not requiring students to participate in these recitations.

**Radical Pesantren**

The next type of Pesantren is Radical Pesantren. Radical or Islamist ideas here are Islamic ideologies built on scripturalist and conservative understandings of Islamic teachings to be applied in both personal and public life. Pesantrens that are conservative in facing globalization generally lead to fundamentalism and radicalism (Muin, 2007, p. 20). Technological developments and globalization are then understood as a real threat and enemy of Islam which gives birth to radical thinking that is produced and instilled in the mindset of students in these pesantrens.

There are two examples of radical pesantrens in Indonesia that have been uncovered, namely: Al-Islam Islamic Boarding School in Lamongan, whose alumni were involved in the Bali Bombing movement, namely Muchlas and Amrozi who were also members of the Indonesian Mujahideen Council (MMI). Second, Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, Ngruki, Sukoharjo, which is led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir as the main figure who founded the Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) and is a splinter of the MMI organization (Chaq, 2013). Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is also suspected of being involved in several acts of violence and terrorism in the country so he often goes in and out of prison from the New Order era to the reformation (Farida, 2015).

**Specialist Pesantren**

The next typology is specialist pesantrens, these pesantrens specifically focus on only one field and can vary, including drug rehabilitation pesantrens such as the Suryalaya Pesantren (Lestari, 2015). In rehabilitation pesantrens like this, in addition to therapy methods as in other rehabilitation places, students (drug users) are also guided and nurtured through a spiritual approach which is expected to further strengthen the psychology and mentality of former drug users to avoid using these drugs when they leave the pesantren.(Hawi, 2018)

In addition to rehabilitation pesantrens, elderly pesantrens have also emerged, such as the Raudlatul Ulum Kencong Kepung Kediri Elderly Pesantren. In this pesantren the basic characteristic is that the students are specifically for the elderly, in addition the students in the pesantren are not affected by the modernization that occurs outside the pesantren, because the main focus of the students in the elderly pesantren is to explore the Theocentric principles (Khotimah, 2016). As Mastuhu explained about the theocentric principle, it teaches that all forms of events originate, process, and finally return to God's truth (Mastuhu, 1994). So in their daily practices students in elderly pesantrens are prioritized on the hereafter orientation and multiply worship.
Complex Pesantren

Referring to Falikul Isbah's understanding regarding the next typology of pesantren, namely complex pesantrens. What is called a complex pesantren is a pesantren that accommodates both male and female students under the auspices of the same pesantren institution, which are then made into separate dormitory complexes for male and female students. (Isbah, 2020)

In history, pesantrens were usually dedicated to women or men only or were not under the auspices of the same institutional umbrella. In its development, the girls' complex pesantren was initiated by Nyai Nurkhadijah and KH. Bisri Syansuri under the auspices of the Mambaul Ma'arif Denanyar Jombang Islamic Boarding School. In early 1919, it was only the children of relatives who were organized to participate in informal education in their home complex. Then many people were interested in enrolling their daughters in the education until in 1930 the first girls' pesantren complex was established under the auspices of the Mambaul Ma'arif pesantren. (Srimulyani, 2012, p. 38) In its development this complex pesantren typology has since been followed by the majority of pesantrens today.

Integrated Pesantren

According to Dhofier, each pesantren has varied ways of developing, in Dhofier's perspective, pesantrens are classified into two categories, namely salafi (pesantrens that still maintain the teaching of classical books) and khalafi (pesantrens that have incorporated general subjects). (Dhofier, 2011, p. 75) Meanwhile, slightly different from dhofier, Abdullah Syukri Zarkasyi as quoted by Abd. Halim Soebahar, Zarkasyi classifies pesantrens into three categories. Namely Salaf Pesantren (traditional), Modern Pesantren (Khalaf), and Integrated Pesantren which are pesantrens that continue to teach yellow books while also organizing other formal education integrated under the auspices of the pesantren. (Soebahar, 2013, p. 48) Such as Tambakberas Pesantren, Darul Ulum Jombang Pesantren, and Tebuireng Pesantren.

CONCLUSION

The typology of Islamic boarding schools, as discussed above, is analyzed based on the teaching patterns and educational focus of the boarding schools. Consequently, five classifications of boarding school typology are identified: Salafi, Modern, Radical, Specialist, and Complex. However, upon closer examination of their teaching patterns alone, three fundamental typologies of boarding schools emerge: Salafi Boarding Schools, Integrated Boarding Schools (boarding schools that still use traditional Islamic texts but also have formal educational institutions integrated with the boarding school), and Modern Boarding Schools.

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