

The Pesantren Network in Samarinda

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to reveal the model, the consistency, and the implication of pesantren network in Samarinda. This is a qualitative research based on sociology, phenomenology, and educational approach. The research was conducted within the total of 37 pesantren in Samarinda which were chosen based on their geographical sites, genealogical aspect, scientific affinity, as well as their tendency toward certain social organization. The geographical network consists of pesantren in South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, East Java, Central Java, and Jambi. The result shows that this kind of network bears two forms namely direct genealogy and family relationship. Meanwhile, the network of social organization entails pesantren of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, LDII, Jama'ah Tabligh, and Suffah Hizbullah. Furthermore, the network of scientific affinity comprises language science, physical/martial art, and sanad Al-Qur'an. The model of the pesantren network is established through pesantren alumnae's journey into new places or by Islamic preaching, alumni empowerment, cadres' regeneration, and service. The degree of consistency is categorized into three levels, namely, consistent, inconsistent, and modification. This network contributes to the development of pesantren and society in Samarinda.

Keywords: Network; pesantren; Samarinda

Abstrak

Tujuan penelitian ini yaitu menggali tentang bentuk, model, konsistensi, dan implikasi jaringan pesantren di Kota Samarinda. Jenis penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologis, fenomenologis dan edukatif. Penelitian ini dilaksanakan pada 37 pesantren di Kota Samarinda. Hasil peneltian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat 4 bentuk jaringan pesantren di Kota Samarinda yakni jaringan geografis, genealogis, keilmuan dan keormasan. Jaringan geografis terdiri dari jaringan pesantren Kali-mantan Selatan, Sulawesi Selatan, Jawa Timur, Jawa Tengah dan Jambi. Jaringan genealogis terdapat 2 bentuk yaitu genealogis langsung dan hubungan kekeraban. Jaringan keormasan terdiri dari jaringan pesantren NU, Muhammadiyah, LDII, Jama'ah Tabligh, dan Suffah Hizbullah. Sedangkan jaringan keilmuan terdiri dari jaringan ilmu bahasa, ilmu

kanuragan, dan sanad Alqur'an. Model jaringan pesantren melalui perantauan dan dakwah, pemberdayaan alumni, kaderisasi, dan pengabdian. Konsistensi jaringan terdapat tiga jenis yaitu konsisten, tidak konsisten dan modifikasi. Jaringan pesantren berimplikasi pada perkembangan pesantren dan masyarakat Kota Samarinda.

Kata Kunci: Jaringan, Pesantren, dan Samarinda

Introduction

The establishment of *pesantren* cannot be alienated from the chain of network. There are three forms of *pesantren* network chain, i.e., the network of teachers-students, the network of *kitab* (book) citations, and the network of *kitab* writers.¹ This network characterizes the *pesantren* webs as well as signifies a great deal of scientific activities among *ulama* (Moslem scholars).

The network in the form of “*kitab* writing” took place in 1892 which included the network of *kitab* (*al-kutub al-mu'ta-barah*), the network of intertextual, and the network of *kitab* writers who communicated each other by means of offering *syarh* and *hasyiyah*.

Pesantren improved in terms of scientific aspect due to intellectual interaction among Indonesian youth and the middle-east Moslem scholars occurred during two periods. The first period came about in the 17th through the 18th century, while the second period happened in the 19th century.² Despite the difference in terms of life time phase, Indonesian scholars and the Middle East scholars met at one point that was Nawawi al-Bantani. He was one of Javanese Moslem scholars who served great contribution in yielding numerous *ulama* and *kyai* in *Nusantara*.³ This is supported by Sunarwono who maintains that the end of the 19th century was the critical period for the reformation of *pesantren* sustained by a number of young Indonesian Moslem

¹ Ahmad Baso, *Pesantren Studies, Kosmopolitanisme Peradaban Kaum Santri di Masa Kolonial*, Cet. 1, Book II (2a) (Jakarta: Pustaka Afid, 2012), 276.

² Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama' Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995).

³ Samsul Munir Amin, *Sayyid Ulama' Hijaz, Biografi Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani*, Cet. II (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001), 93–96.

studying in Mecca. This inevitably had a strong relationship to the reformation of *pesantren*.⁴

Moreover, the *pesantren* network in Samarinda cannot be isolated from Islam development in East Kalimantan. The proliferation of Islam in Samarinda occurred throughout three periods, i.e., the pioneers (Datuk Ri Bandan and Pangeran Tunggai Parangan); the successors (K. H. Abul Hasan, K.H. Abdullah Marisie, K.H. Abdul Karim, K.H. Tayyib Babussalam and K.H. Abdul Khalid); and the developer (K.H. Dja'far Sabran, K.H. Saad Idjan Shaleh and K.H. Asli Husaini). The *pesantren* in Samarinda was initially established during the developer period, which in 2014 reached the total of 37 *pesantren*.⁵

The rapid development of the *pesantren* in Samarinda signified the growing enthusiasm among Moslems in improving Islamic education especially *pesantren*, in the middle of busy mining city.

The study on the development of *pesantren* studies in Indonesia suggests various facts which can be categorized into: first, researches which focused on comprehending *pesantren* as "traditional Islam". This includes the research by Clifford Geertz (1982), Za-makh-syari Dhofier (1994), Martin Van Bruinessen (19-95)-, and Karel A. Steenbrink (1994). Second, researches which paid in depth attention on *pesantren*'s social role in society, such as research by Man--fred Ziemek (1986), Hi-roko Horikosyi (1987), Dawam Raharjo (1999), and Zubaidi (2007). Third, researches emphasized on either the studies or scientific culture implemented within *pesantren* as well as the *pesantren* network, both locally and internationally. The studies on *pesantren*

⁴ Sunarwoto, "The Traditional Pesantren and the Discoursus of Islamic Reform in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Center for Study and Development of Pesantren (CSDP) International Journal of Pesantren*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2009): 160.

⁵ *Pesantren* in Samarinda are Da-rul lhsan, Al-Mu-na, Mu-jahidin, An-Nur, Al-Mubarak, Al-Ittihad, Rahmatullah, Sa-bilal Rasyad, Al-Qur'an al-Hiro, Al-Arsyadi, Nurul Iman, Harun Nafsi, Al-Husna, Darul Fat-ah, Nurul Hadi, As-Sa'diyah, Ar-Rahmah, Ihya Ulumuddin, Darussa'adah al-Hayat, Al-Aziziyah, Al-Adnan, Hidayatul Mubtadiin, Hidayatul Islamiyah, DDI Tani Aman, Nabil Hu-sin, Teknologi MIC, Al-Muhajirin, Al-Adnan, Ri-yadul Ilmi, Ma'had Ali Muhamadiyah, Su-bu-lussalam, Nurul Muhibbin Al-Husain, Al-Mu-barak, Hi-da-ya-tullah, Istiqomah Mu-hamadiyah, Syaichona Cholil, and Suffah Hizbullah Al-Fatah. The ministry of Religious Affairs, Samarinda, The record of *Pesantren*, 2013.

network started to receive prolific attentions in 1990 such as researches conducted by Azyumardi Azra (1995), Abdurrahman Mas'ud (19-97), Suwito and Muhib (2000), and Syam-sudin Arief, (2007). Fourth, researches which emphasized on *pesantren* creative endeavors to respond modern life necessities such as those conducted by Ab-dul A'la (2006), Mastuhu (1994) Bahaking Rama (2003), Muljono Damopolii (2011), Syech Hawib Hamzah (2012), and Achmad Sauqi.⁶ Fifth, new trend in *pesantren* researches which tried to analyze Islamic radicalism and its prevention efforts.⁷ This mapping has not included the entire *pesantren* studies and its variant, such as political aspect, *pesantren's* response to the contemporary issues, for instance, human rights, citizenship,⁸ democracy,⁹ gender issues,¹⁰ multiculturalism,¹¹ *pesantren* economy¹² and *pesantren's* social and political culture.¹³

The study on *pesantren* network is indeed not a novice thoughts since there have been a number of previous researchers directly or indirectly tried to reveal this certain aspect. In this regard, I intend to fulfill the existing gap on *pesantren* network especially within the local basis. The earlier researches conducted by Az-yumardi Azra, Abdurrahman Mas'ud, Suwito and Muhib, as

⁶ Achmad Sauqi, "Pesantren dan Modernitas, Telaah Pemikiran Nurcholish Madjid," *Jurnal Dinamika Penelitian, Pusat Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat (P3M) STAIN Tulungagung*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2012): 47-58.

⁷ Ali Amin, "Deradikalisasi Berbasis Pesantren: Kasus Pesantren Darul Ulum Bogor," *Jurnal Harmoni, Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI*, vol. 11, no. 3 (2012): 34-47.

⁸ Said Aqil Siraj, "Teks Pesantren tentang Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan," *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Juni 2007): 40-57.

⁹ Syamsul Arifin, "Pelembagaan Demokrasi dan Penguatan Sivil Society melalui Pendidikan: Harapan terhadap Pesantren," *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Juni 2007): 6-39.

¹⁰ Ema Marhuma, *Konstruksi Sosial Gender di Pesantren, Studi Kasus Kiai atas Wacana Perempuan*, Cet. I (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2011), . 165-177.

¹¹ Khojir, "Penanaman Nilai-Nilai Multikultural (Studi Kasus pada Pondok Pesantren Nabil Husein Samarinda)," *Jurnal Dinamika Ilmu*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2014): 65-80.

¹² Wahid Khozin, "Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Pesantren: Studi Kasus Pesantren Nurul Mursyidah Pandeglang," *Jurnal Edukasi Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2011): 4252-73.

¹³ Yanwar Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura, Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama' and Kiai as the core of Santri Culture," *Al-Jamiah (Journal of Islamic Studies)*, vol. 51, no. 1 (2013): 2-19.

well as Syamsudin Arief discovered the network with emphasize on individual network. Meanwhile, this research is aimed at revealing institutional network.

Furthermore, this research is grounded on several thoughts. First, each *pesantren* has its own characteristic of scientific development. Second, the study on *pesantren* in East Kalimantan especially in Samarinda started to grow rapidly and most of them involve only certain *pesantren*. Looking at this occurrence, I assume that research on *pesantren* network in Samarinda needs to be piloted. Third, this research investigates the form, the model, and the consistency as well as the implication of *pesantren* network in the city of Samarinda.

***Pesantren* Network**

Network can be defined as relation which is not solely individual but also social connection. Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence explain that Moslem networks have always involved three basic elements, i.e., trade, travel, and knowledge.¹⁴ In Islam, trading is an old rooted tradition. This practice has a clear historical value either in the period of pre-Islam or after the extensive spread of Islam in Arab Peninsula. Moreover, The Prophet Muhammad SAW was also well-known as a successful virtuous trader.

In wider context, one vital key of Moslem network establishment is *ummah* (global Moslem community). *Ummah* is an amenable term which encompasses the entire Moslems around the globe. This term is also legitimated in Al-Qur'an which means the one and only religion¹⁵, groups or nation.¹⁶ In the study of Islam world network, five types of network are recognized, i.e., genealogical network, intellectual network, spiritual (Sufism) network, theology and school of thoughts network, and social-politic network.¹⁷ The process of network establishment did not occur

¹⁴ Miriam Cooke dan Bruce B. Lawrence, *Muslim Network From Hajj to Hip-Hop* (USA: The University of Nort Carolina Press, 2005), 1–2.

¹⁵ Q.S al-Mukmin/23: 52.

¹⁶ QS al-Naml/27:83.

¹⁷ Syamsudin Arief, “Jaringan Pesantren di Sulawesi Selatan (1928-2005)” (Dissertation, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2003), 49–50.

simultaneously; instead it involved a number of actors, namely individuals, social position, organization or societal organization, and communities.¹⁸

Furthermore, there are two theories in regard to the network establishment, namely atomistic approach and normative approach. The earlier suggests that network establishment is focused on the actor personality.¹⁹ While, the later advocates the emphasize on network culture and socialization which internalize norms and values into the actor. As a response to the two approaches, integrative approach or structural perspective was proposed by Ronald Burt. Integrative approach (structural perspective) is a benchmark in determining the actors' role.²⁰

The distinctive aspect of the network theory is its attention toward micro and macro structure. In this regard, the network actors can be performed by individuals or even by groups of people such as enterprises or societies. In micro scale, network is attached to concrete personal relation. This relation is based on the idea that each individuals or collective groups possess distinctive access toward valuable resources (wealth, power, and information).²¹ In the meantime, inter-actors connection, namely strong and weak connection, and inter-actors bridge also emerged to be considered.²²

As maintained by Wellman cited by George Rit-zer and Duglas J. Goodman, a number of principles appear in the process of network establishment, i.e., 1) inter-actors connection is generally symmetrical either in terms of its level or its intensity. 2) inter-individuals connection should be analyzed in terms of wider and overall network. 3) social connection structure will result in several non-random network types. 4) the existence of group network creates cross relation among group network as well as individual network. 5) Asymmetric connection between elements within a system of unlimited resource network is distributed unevenly. As a consequence, the uneven distribution will lead to either cooperation or competition.²³

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 44-47.

¹⁹ George Ritzer dan Duglas J Goodman, *Modern Sosiologi Theory, Translation Alimandan*, Cet. VI (Jakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 382.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 86.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 383.

²² *Ibid.*,

²³ *Ibid.*, 384.

Samarinda's Pesantren

The history of *pesantren* can be separated from the history of the arrival of Islam in Indonesia. There are at least four ideas regarding the entrance of Islam in Indonesia. First, Islam arrived in Indonesia about the first year of *Hijriyah* (Islamic calendar) directly from Arab Peninsula or more or less at the 7th and 8th century.²⁴ This was coincident with Islamic government in the Middle East under the Umayyad caliphate in the period of Muawiyah Ibn Abi Sofyan.²⁵ Second, Islam arrived in Indonesia in the 9th century.²⁶ This idea was maintained by orientalist such as Snouck Hurgronje.²⁷ Third, initially, Islam arrived in Indonesia in the 7th and the 8th century. However, it officially reached Nusantara and received full political power encouragement in the 12th century. Fourth, the arrival of Islam in Indonesia was brought by Chinese descendants.²⁸

Based upon these four thoughts, four theories of the arrival of Islam in Indonesia were then suggested, namely: (1) theory of Gujarat which was proposed by Snouck Hurgronje, (2) theory of Mecca, (3) theory of Persia and, (4) theory of China.

Apart from these differences, the theory of Mecca by Hamka received the most acceptance compared to the other three ideas since it possessed stronger and more powerful evidence as well as more support from literary scholars.²⁹

²⁴ Marwan Saridjo, *Pendidikan Islam dari Masa ke Masa: Tinjauan Kebijakan Publik terhadap Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, Cet. I (Jakarta: Yayasan Ngali Aksara, 2010), 19.

²⁵ Among historians who favour the idea are Moh. Said J. A. E Moriey Harry W. Hazard, *Bahaking Rama, Sejarah Pendidikan dan Peradaban Islam dari Umayyah hingga Kemerdekaan* (Yogyakarta: Cakrawala, 2011), 24–27.

²⁶ Faiqoh, *Nyai Agen Perubahan di Pesantren* (Jakarta: Kucica, 2003), 146.

²⁷ P.S.J. Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en Islam, Acht Artkelen over Leven en Werk van een Orientalist uit het Koloniale tijd Perk*”, terj. Snouck Hurgronje en Islam, *Delapan Karangan tentang Hidup dan Karya Seorang Orientalis Zaman Kolonial*, Cet I (Jakarta: Girimukti Pasaka, 1989), 50–65.

²⁸ Slamet Muljono, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara*, Cet; IX (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2012), 54–55.

²⁹ The supports for the theory of Mecca appeared in several seminar, such as sejarah ma-suknya Islam ke Indonesia (1963), *Sejarah Islam di Minangkabau* (1969),

Furthermore, the birth of *pesantren* cannot be isolated from the role of *Walisongo*³⁰ as Islamic preachers especially in Java during the 15th-16th century. The most appreciation was delivered to Syaikh Maulana Malik Ibrahim (1404-1419 a.d) in Gresik East Java³¹ positioned as spiritual father.³² The endeavor pioneered by Syaikh Maulana Malik Ibrahim was followed by the other *wali* such as Sunan Bonang who established *pesantren* in Tuban, Sunan Ampel in Ampel Denta Su-rabaya, and Sunan Giri in Sidomukti. Therefore, discussing on the history of *pesantren* cannot be unglued from Java setting and its variant of Islam.³³

Pesantren is an education system consists of several key elements, namely, *pondok* (boarding school), mosque, classical books studies, and *kyai*.³⁴ These elements characterize *pesantren* education in Indonesia.

Likewise, *pesantren* development has undergone fluctuate dynamic particularly in its relation with government. During the Dutch's colonization, *pesantren* experienced discriminatory treatment in which the government leaned toward Christian education system.³⁵ Throughout Japan colonialism the situation was more or less similar, even Japan tried to incorporate its

Sejarah Riau (1975), Se-ja-rah Masuknya Islam di Kalimantan (1976), Seminar Pendahuluan Sejarah Islam di Indonesia (1980). Musyrifah Sunanto, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2005), 49–50.

³⁰ Hasanu Simon, *Misteri Syekh Siti Jenar, Pe-ran Walisongo dalam Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa*, Cet. II (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), 49–50.

³¹ H. J. De Graaf Th, *Kerajaan Islam Pertama di Jawa, Tinjauan Sejarah Politik Abad XV dan XIV*, Cet. IV (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2001), 22. Imam Tolhah & Barizi suggest that *pesantren* exist in the sixteenth and seventeenth as written in Serat Cebolek. See Imam Tolkhah & Ahmad Barizi, *Membuka Jendela Pendidikan dan Mengurai Akar Tradisi* (Jakarta: PT. GrafindoPersada, 2004), p. 52.

³² Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "Sejarah dan Budaya Pessantren", in Ismail SM, *Dinamika Pesanten dan Madrasah* (Semarang: Fakultas Tarbiyah IAIN Walisongo Semarang in cooperation with Pustaka Pelajar, 2002), 3.

³³ Timothy Daniels, "Islamic Spectrum in Java" reviewed by Muhammad Adlin Sila, *Jurnal of Studia Islamika*, vol. 18, no. 3 (2001): 613–19.

³⁴ Zamakhsyari Dofier, *Tradisi Pesantren dan Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*, Cet. 19 (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), 79–93.

³⁵ Saridjo, *Pendidikan Islam dari Masa ke Masa: Tinjauan Kebijakan Publik terhadap Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, 54.

culture into *pesantren*, such as *Seikere* (salutation facing the sun set).³⁶ After Indonesia received its independence, *pesantren* subsequently obtained some merits due to the government capability in managing its own regulation. Meanwhile, during the new order era, *pesantren* started to gain its bargaining position, despite of the suspicious nuance from the government. Recently, *pesantren* has become more and more powerful since it was incorporated within The Act No. 20 Year 2003 about National Education System.³⁷

Pesantren was officially recognized by the government since its incorporation into the Act of the Republic of Indonesia No.20 Year 2003 about National Education System, article 30 point (4): “Religious education can be in the form of *diniyah* education, *pesantren*, *pas-raman*, *pabhaja samanera*, and other form of the same type.” It is also supported by The Regulation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia No.55 Year 2007 about Religious Education, chapter I verse 1, point (4): “*Pe-santren* or *pondok pesantren* is community based Islamic religious education institution holding *diniyah* education or is integrated with other types of education”.³⁸

The Form of *Pesantren* Network in Samarinda

The *pesantren* network considerably determines the characters of the *pesantren*. Through the network, the root of the *pesantren* as well as its scientific tradition can be traced. There four *pesantren* network forms in Samarinda.

Firstly, geographical network. This constitutes the initial network of the *pesantren* establishment in Samarinda which is inevitably connected to Nusantara network. The geographical network includes: 1) South Kalimantan *pesantren* network, which involves *Pesantren Sullamul Ulum Dalam Pagar*, *Darussalam Martapura*, *Rasyi-diyah Khalidiyah Amuntai*, *Ibnu Amin Pamangkih*, *Nurul Muhibbin Barabai*. 2) South Sulawesi *pesantren* network which encompasses *Pesantren As’adiyah*, *Darul Dakwah wa al-Irsyad* and

³⁶ Saifuddin Zuhri, *Guruku Orang-Orang Dari Pesantren*, Cet; I (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001), 224-25.

³⁷ *The act of the Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on Sistem Pendidikan Nasional*, Cet.I (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2003), 16.

³⁸ *Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indo-nesia Nomor 55 tahun 2007 tentang Pendidikan Agama dan Pendidikan Keagamaan* (Bandung: Fokus Media, 2010), 146.

Pesantren Hidayatullah. These three pesantren served strong connection with pesantren in Samarinda. 3) East Java pesantren network. Pesantren in East Java contributed significantly toward the development of pesantren in Samarinda. East Javanese pesantren which related intensely with pesantren in Samarinda are Pesantren Tebu-ireng Jombang, Lirboyo Kediri, As-Suniah Kencong Jember, Salafiyah al-Adnan Malang, Istiqomah Muhammadiyah Lamongan and Pesantren Syaichona Cholil Bangkalan Madura. 4) Central Java pesantren network. The only pesantren in Central Java which relates to pesantren in Samarinda is pesantren Al-Wihdah Sragen. This pesantren connects to pesantren Al-Mubarak and pesantren Riyadussalam. 5) South Sumatera pesantren network, namely, pesantren Suffah Hizbullah Lampung.

Secondly, genealogical network. This type of network suggests that the founders or the leaders of the pesantren share family relation each other. There are two pesantren in Samarinda which hold genealogical network namely, pesantren Al-Arsyadi and pesantren Al-Adnan. Pesantren Al-Arsyadi has genealogical network with pesantren Al-Arsyadi Samboja Kutai Kartanegara. Meanwhile, pesantren Al-Adnan has genealogical network with pesantren Salafiyah Al-Adnan Malang East Java. Pesantren Al-Arsyadi's genealogical network was established because Djunaidi Marzuki, the founder of pesantren Al-Arsyadi Samarinda, was the son of Marzuki, the founder of pesantren Al-Arsyadi Samboja. If it is traced, his genealogy will reach up to Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. Meanwhile, pesantren Al-Adnan which was established by As'ad Rofiq a.k.a Gus Rofiq also has genealogical relation with the leader of pesantren Salafiyah Al-Adnan Malang Jawa Timur. Subsequently, pesantren Suffah Hizbullah Al-Fatah Samarinda has blood relation with pesantren Suffah Hizbullah Al-Fatah Jambi since pesantren the leader of Suffah Hizbullah Al-Fatah Samarinda was Ustaz Ma'mun who was the son of Sholeh Hafid, the leader of pesantren Suffah Hizbullah Al-Fatah Jambi.

Meanwhile, the atomistic approach dominates intensely in the case of pesantren Al-Adnan. This is because As'ad Rofiq as the only actor had adopted his father as well as his grandfather's pesantren to Samarinda context with exactly the same name, i.e., pesantren Al-Adnan.

However, in terms of genealogical network, pesantren in Samarinda have distinct characteristics compared to that of Java and South Sulawesi.

The pesantren in Java and South Sulawesi are characterized with spider web network. It suggests that the pesantren have blood or family relation (marriage, brotherhood) one to each other. On the contrary, the genealogical network among pesantren in Samarinda is limited only to one or two pesantren. This is because Samarinda is not the source and the center of pesantren development.

Atomistic approach nonetheless is obvious in the pesantren genealogical network over Samarinda due to the dominant role of the individual actor. Genealogy is commonly typified as individual who cannot be performed by other. For instance, pesantren Al-Arsyadi's main actor is Djunaidi Marzuki who relates genealogically to Marzuki, the founder of pesantren Al-Arsyadi Samboja, the district of Kutai Kartanegara. Next, the central actor of pesantren Al-Adnan is As'ad Rofiq who possesses genealogical relation with the leader of pesantren Salafiyah Al-Adnan Malang Jawa Timur, while Makmun has blood relation with Sholeh Hafid, the leader of pesantren Suffah Hizbullah Al-Fatah Jambi.

Thirdly, the social organization network. The development of pesantren cannot be unglued from the social organization network because the characters of the thinking patterns and the religious performances can be identified by their inclination toward certain social organization. In Samarinda, the social organization networks are: 1) Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) pesantren network. Pesantren and NU is parable of two sides of coin since the basic foundation of NU is grounded on pesantren. Pesantren in Samarinda that connect to NU network are pesantren Al-Mujahidin, Syaichona Cholil, Al-Ittihad, Al-Adnan, Al-Arsyadi, KH. Harun Nafsi, Hidayatul Islamiyah, Hidayatul Muhtadiin, An-Nur, Darul Fata, Al-Husna, Nurul Amin, Nabil Husin, Asa'diyah, Sabilal Rasyad, Ar-Rahmah, Darul Hufadz al-Jawahir dan Darul Ihsan. 2) Muhammadiyah pesantren network. Dormitory based education is not solely NU's domination. It is also adopted by other social organization such as Muhammadiyah. This second biggest social organization in Indonesia began to embrace pesantren system as one of its education model besides maintaining its formal education system. Pesantren in Samarinda which retain formal network to Muhammadiyah are pesantren Istiqomah Muhammadiyah, dan Pesantren Ma'had Aly Muhammadiyah. Other pesantren which indirectly connect to Muhammadiyah are pe-san-tren Da-

rusa'adah al-Hayat. Husni Muttaqin, the leader of pesantren Darussa'adah al-Hayat constitutes one of Muhammadiyah's prominent figure contribute widely on the establishment of pesantren Istiqomah Muhamadiyah. 3) Lembaga Dak-wah Islam Indonesia (LDII) pesantren network. Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII) has considerably wide network throughout Indonesia. Although the number of congregation is not as many as NU or Muhammadiyah, LDII exists in almost every regency/city in Indonesia. There are only two pesantrens in Samarinda which relate to LDII, i.e., pesantren Al-Aziziyah and pesantren Nurul Islam. These pesantren do not retain geographical network to pesantren outside Samarinda since LDII is an institutionally networked throughout Indonesia. 4) Jamaah Muslim Hizbullah pesantren network. The existence of Jamaah Muslim Suffah Hizbullah has highlighted significant role toward pesantren network in Samarinda. The Suffah Hizbullah Al-Fatah pesantren organized under Jamaah Muslim Hizbullah. 5) Jamaah Tablig pesantren network. Jamaah is one of Islamic preaching movement carrying out a mission to uphold the Sunnah. Jamaah Tablig in fact has not officially obtained its validated name. The pesantren organized under this group is pesantren Al-Mubarak. Personally, the leader of pesantren Al-Mubarak has relation to pesantren Al-Wihdah, Sragen, Central Java. To develop his pesantren as well as to achieve the mission, the leader of pesantren Al-Mubarak Samarinda established new pesantren namely Riyadussalam Sungai Siring Samarinda. 6) Hidayatullah pesantren network. Hidayatullah is an organization aimed at upholding Islamic teaching values in Indonesia. To achieve the values, pesantren was then established. The pesantren Hidayatullah development center is located in Balikpapan. The pesantren Hidayatullah Balikpapan established several branches in Indonesia. One of them is pesantren Hidayatullah Sama-rinda, with the subsidiary branch namely pesantren Rahmatullah in Lempake Samarinda Utara. Pesantren Hidayatullah seems to be more rigorous in implementing Islamic teaching, although it cannot be categorized into radical Islam group.

Fouthly, the scientific network. The scientific network is sufficiently dominating since it strongly characterizes pesantren institutions. Some of the scientific pesantren networks in Samarinda are: 1) Language sciene network. Pesantren in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan which have resilient tradition of teaching language competence (ilmu alat) is pesantren Ibnu Amin Pamangkih. This scientific tradition characterizes pesantren Ibnu Amin

Pamangkih. Some of the pesantren in Sama-rinda which specially relate to pesantren Pamangkih is pesantren Nurul Amin led by Dju-naidi Maksum and Nurul Muhibbin al-Husain. 2) Alqur'an's sanad network. This model encompasses several sanad network chains. For instance, pesantren Al-Mubarak connects to the sanad network chain of the pesantren Al-Wihdah Sragen, Central Tengah, pesantren Darul Hufadz al-Jawahir which was founded by Abdurrahman obtains the sanad network chain from pesantren As-Sunnah Barabai, South Kalimantan which is led by Syarqowi and pesantren Al-Furqon Wiliangi Bogor West Java which is led by Abdallah Maksum. 3) Kanuragan (the magical skills used in martial arts) science. Kanuragan is one teaching which is developed in pesantren. Most of kyai (pesantren's leader) has ilmu kanuragan in the forms of wirid, do'a, or martial arts such as pencak silat. Pesantren in Java typically develop and teach Ilmu Kanuragan which is called Jadug (physical insusceptibility). In Samarinda, there are three pesantren which develop Ilmu Kanuragan, i.e., pesantren Al-Ittihad, pesantren Al-Adnan and pesantren Salafiyah Hidayatul Islam. Pesantren Al-Adnan develops Ilmu Kanuragan and is connected to Mugni Banten. Banten is wellknown regency in Java, popular of its magical teaching. Meanwhile, pesantren Al-Ittihad constitutes the center of martial arts "Pagar Nusa" in Samarinda. "Pagar Nusa" martial art is organized by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Joko Bagus Wibowo as the leader of pesantren Al-Ittihad learned the Ilmu Kanuragan from Gus Maksum Liboyo Kediri East Java. Meanwhile, pesantren Hidayatul Islam, which was founded by Andi Faisal, connects to pesantren APTQ (Asrama Pesantren Ta'limul Qur'an) Gresik East Timur. In that pesantren Andi Faisal learned Alqur'an science as well as Ilmu Kanuragan.

The Model of the *Pesantren* Network in Samarinda

The model of *pesantren* network is a continuity of the network form mentioned above. There are at least four models of *pesantren* network. First, journey and preaching. There are a number of Moslem scholars originated from Banjar-masin South Kalimantan who intentionally came to east Kalimantan in order to perform a journey and to conduct preaching. Such as Asli Husaini who was the founder of *pe-santren* Darul Ihsan Samarinda. Asli Husaini came to East Kalimantan due to the shortage of religious teacher. He then took the advantage. The other *pesantren* founders also did the same

thing, such as Anshari, Solahudin Ismail, As'ad Rofiq, Andi Faisal, Husni Muttaqin, Ha-bib Asrori, Abdul Aziz, Salim, Jaswadi (Java), Sagirah, Abdullah Said (Sulawesi), Bakhtiar M. Yunus (Aceh) and Bukhori Nur (Ma-dura). Meanwhile, the local figures are Hasanudin Arif and Saad Idjan Sholeh.

Second, alumnae empowerment. In order to expand the ideology of the *pesantren* as well as to nurture it, the leader of the *pesantren* then grant the alumnae certain mandate to establish new *pesantren*. This case has been occurred to take place in several *pesantren* in Samarinda such as *pesantren* Syaichona Cholil and Darul Dakwah wal Irsyad (DDI Tani Aman), *pe-santren* Hi-da-yatullah and *pesantren* Muhammadiyah. Besides direct mandate by the leader of the *pesantren*, occasionally, the alumnae establish a new *pesantren* with similar ideology to the old *pesantren* such as *pesantren* Ar-Rahmah.

Third, cadre regeneration. In achieving the missions, *pesantren* cannot be alienated from the network which is being developed. It is impossible that *pesantren* can prevail eternally without other parties' interferences. Moreover, in this globalized, information technology era, *pesantren* which were exclusive institutions now are becoming more inclusive. This is done to overcome the human resource shortage such as *pesantren* al-Aziziyah which sent their teachers to *pesantren* Nurul Falah Surabaya in order to deepen their knowledge and to sharpen their skills in reciting Alqur'an through the method of metode *Tilawati*. *Pesantren* Istiqomah Muhamadiyah Samarinda is also considered as *pe--san-tren* which has a mission to regenerate young *Muhammadiyah* cadres in order to produce complete human being with strong faith and piety along combined with competent future leaders.

Fourth, *Keempat*, apprenticeship. This means that teacher will be sent to other *pesantren* as apprenticeship activities. This activity is carried out based on target *pesantren's* request or the alma mater assignation, such as *pesantren* Al-Mu-jahidin and Darul Fatah which received apprentice teachers from *pesantren* As-Su-ni-yah, Kencong, Jember, East Java. Meanwhile, *pesantren* Syaichona Cholil in Samarinda obtained apprentice teacher from *pesantren* Sidogiri Pasuruan, *pesantren* Sarang Jawa Tengah, *pesantren* Kepang Bangkalan Madura and *pesantren* Syaichona Cholil Balikpapan. *Pesantren* Al-Husna Samarinda Seberang continuously connects and relates to *pesantren* in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, particularly *pesantren* Nurul

Muhibbin Barabai, *pe-san-tren* Ibnu Amin Pamangkih and *pesantren* Darussalam Martapura in order to overcome teacher shortage. So do *pesantren* Nurul Amin and Sabilal Rasyad, which maintain the mutual connection with *pesantren* Ibnu Amin Pamangkih and Darussalam, Martapura, South Kalimantan through teacher exchange.

The Consistency of *Pesantren* Network in Samarinda

The *pesantren* network flows in Samarinda generate diverse figures, i.e., geographical, genealogical, social organization, and scientific. As the flow is passed then it will be obvious whether it did change or not, which is suited to each *pesantren* characteristic. The result of this research shows that there are three forms of consistency:

First, precisely consistent. Some of the *pesantren* in Samarinda which are categorized as precisely consistent to the geographical network they belong to are, *pe-san-tren* Al-Husna (which consistently holds its inclination to be *pesantren salafiyah* and relates to *pesantren* Nurul Muhibin Barabai South Kalimantan), *pesantren* Nurul Amin, Hidayatul Islamiyah, Al-Adnan, Hidayatul Mub-ta-diin, Darul Hufadz al-Jawahir, Al-Mubarak and Hidayatullah.

Second, inconsistent. Some *pesantren* do not permanently consistent to the former type of *pesantren* they previously hold as reference within the network, such as in the case of *pesantren* Asa'diyah Air putih. Saad Id-jan Saleh, the founder, was the alumnae of *Pondok Pesantren* Modern Gontor Ponorogo. This *pe-san-tren* has a specific program of facilitating *santri's* Arabic and English language development. Meanwhile, the *pesantren* which was established by Saad Idjan Saleh does not develop language competency. This *pesantren* is characterized by combination between *salafiyah* and *khalafiyah* as well as formal education. *Pesantren* MIC Teknologi in Samarinda also has similar type. This *pesantren* was originally connected to *pesantren* As'adiyah Sengkang Suth Sulawesi which focuses on developing Islamic sciences. Nonetheless, the network flowed to Samarinda which was developed by the network actor, named Sagirah, and altered into technology based *pesantren*. This was done due to information technology needed by society.

Third, modification. This form has been largely applied in several *pesantren* in Samarinda, such as *pesantren* Da-rul Ihsan and Ar-Rahmah . It is implemented by maintaining the initial identity of the network as well as nurturing local wisdom.

The Network Implication in Samarinda

The form of the network greatly impact on the developemnt of *pesantren* In Samarinda, either in micro or micro scale. In micro scale, *pesantren* network can raise society's interest toward *pesantren* and empower the surrounding society. Meanwhile, in macro scale, the network contributes to the development of Islamic Education in Samarinda.

Above all, geographical network flow has affected the color and the character of *pesantren* education, as stated below:

First, South Kalimantan *pesantren* network has strengthened traditional Islamic education particularly in terms of religious pratices. The Islamic scholars, teachers, *kyai*, and *ustadz* originated from South Kalimantan have generated enormous influence in Islamic development. They engaged considerably in *pesantren*, mosque, and Islamic learning group. Second, the East Java *pesantren* network has resulted in two implications, namely coloring *pesantren* education which is characterized by traditional-tolerant and those tended to be modern *pesantren*. Third, Central Java *pesantren* network affect mostly on the development of the exclusive *pesantren*, focus on the upholding of Islamic preaching and preserving *sunnah* through *Jamaah Tablig*. Fourth, the South Sulawesi network especially *pesantren* Hidayatullah Balikpapan to Samarinda emphasizes on the development of exclusive, militant, puritan Islam. Fifth, South Sumatra *pesantren* network bring about exclusive education and strive for the values of caliphate system of life. Sixth, Middle East *pesantren* network acculturates Arab values and Indonesia local wisdom.

Conclusion

The results of the research indicate that there are four forms of *pesantren* network in Samarinda, namely, geographical, genealogical, social organization, and science network. The geographical network constitutes the foremost among other forms of *pesantren* network. This is due to the various

ethnics and cultures dwell in Samarinda. Therefore, Samarinda becomes the source of numerous *pesantren* network flows. In addition, geographical network has also provided considerable influence to the characters of *pesantren* in Samarinda.

Meanwhile, there are three models of *pesantren* network in Samarinda, namely, journey and Islamic preaching, alumnae empowerment, and apprenticeship. The network has three types of consistency namely, consistent, inconsistent, and modification.

Furthermore, the *pesantren* network suggests massive impact, i.e., 1) determining the color and the character of *pesantren* education, 2) enhancing people's interest toward *pesantren*, 3) changing society's attitude, 3) raising parents' awareness of the importance of Islamic education (*pesantren*), 4) developing Islamic education (*pesantren*). The *pesantren*, which hold the network firmly, steadily embrace their common character. For instance, South Kalimantan geographical network strengthen traditional Islam, East Java and Madura *pesantren* network build up traditional as well as modern Islam, Central Java *pesantren* network focus on Islamic preaching, South Sulawesi *pesantren* network concentrate on militant-puritan Islam, South Sumatra *pesantren* network contribute to the Islamic caliphate values, and Middle East network acculturate the Arabic and Indonesian values.

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