

Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah in Islamic Education (Ethnographic Study of Educational Orientation and Power)

Wachid Nurhidayat

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Jl. Laksda Adisucipto,
Sleman, DIY, Indonesia
dr.wachidhidayat82@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: *As an organization that has been around for a long time, it cannot be denied that Al-Irsyad continues to experience changes in line with the social, economic and political dynamics that occur in Indonesia. The division peaked in 2007, then splitting the organization into the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah. This phenomenon is interesting, so the aim of this research is to look further at changes in the orientation of Al-Irsyad's Islamic education. This study uses qualitative ethnographic methods. Most of the data was obtained from observations and interviews in the field, which were then supported by secondary data from various sources. Data analysis using the Spradley model includes domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, componential analysis, and model analysis. The results of the study show that the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institutions in identifying themselves, each institution carries out different strategies as a manifestation of educational orientation based on the interpretation of Mabadi Al-Irsyad. Islamic educational institutions under the auspices of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah gave rise to schools with a modern-exclusive style, and educational institutions under the aegis of the Al-Irsyad Association had a more puritanical-inclusive kind. The differences in values that are the guidelines or ideologies of each institution are formed over time and social, political, economic and cultural dynamics.*

Sebagai salah satu organisasi yang telah berdiri cukup lama, tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa Al-Irsyad terus mengalami perubahan seiring dengan dinamika sosial, ekonomi, dan politik yang terjadi di Indonesia. Perpecahan memuncak 2007, kemudian memecah organisasi menjadi Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad dan Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah. Fenomena ini menarik sehingga menjadi rujukan penelitian ini melihat lebih jauh perubahan orientasi pendidikan Islam Al-Irsyad. Studi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif etnografi. Sebagian besar data didapatkan dari hasil observasi dan wawancara di lapangan yang kemudian didukung dengan data sekunder dari berbagai sumber. Analisis data menggunakan model Spradley meliputi analisis domain, analisis taksonomi, analisis komponensial, dan analisis model. Hasil dari studi menunjukkan lembaga Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad dan lembaga Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah dalam mengidentifikasi diri, masing-masing lembaga melakukan strategi yang berbeda sebagai perwujudan dari orientasi pendidikan yang didasarkan atas interpretasi mabadi Al-Irsyad. Lembaga-

lembaga pendidikan Islam dibawah naungan Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah memunculkan sekolah yang bercorak modern-eksklusif, dan lembaga pendidikan dalam naungan Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad lebih bercorak puritan-inklusif. Perbedaan nilai-nilai yang menjadi pegangan atau ideologi dai masing-masing lembaga terbentuk seiring berjalannya waktu dan dinamika sosial, politik, ekonomi, dan budaya.

Keywords: *Power Relations, Educational Orientation, Al-Irsyad, Islamic Education.*

Received: October 17, 2023; Revised: December 27, 2023; Accepted: January 31, 2024

I. INTRODUCTION

Al-Irsyad, founded at the beginning of the 20th century by Sheikh Surkati, has focused itself as a different religious institution in education, with mabadi Al-Irsyad as a reference in the movement in the field of education. However, this institution needed more time to expand its activity in the political area. Al Irsyad was an official member of the federated political organization, namely MIAI, during the end of the *Dutch East Indies* government and a member of the Masyumi organization after independence (Afriani, 2019; Hidayat & Supriadi, 2019).

However, the development of the movement's wings in the political field lasted only a short time. Later, the organization experienced a shock to the point that it developed into a religious organization such as NU and Muhammadiyah when it decided to return to focusing on education. The peak of the split within the Al-Irsyad institution then gave rise to two institutions, namely the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah, officially in 2007. The splitting of Al-Irsyad into two institutions also shows a shift in educational orientation as it was the initial basis for the Al-Irsyad institutional movement, namely mabadi Al-Irsyad as taught by Sheikh Surkati (Murdiah & Patahuddin, 2022; Nasihin et al., 2022; Sormin et al., 2022).

This problem is interesting when Sheikh Surkati's *mabadi*, which should be the guide and basis for living life for the Irsyadi, no longer functions properly. The Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution is more open to educational developments. Hence, applying *mabadi* values is looser and tries to identify itself as a modern educational institution. Meanwhile, educational institutions under the umbrella of the Al-Irsyad Association try to maintain the pure teachings of Mabadi Al-Irsyad, prioritize religious education and strive to produce graduates who are more focused on spiritual values. Therefore, Al-Irsyad Association institutions are often considered more conservative and unfamiliar with educational modernization.

However, this issue becomes more attractive to research when looking at the facts in the field, which show that educational institutions under the Al-Irsyad Association, with its conservative label, attract more students and are more developed than those under the Al-Irsyad umbrella. Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah is more familiar with educational modernization.

Much research has been carried out regarding the Al-Irsyad educational institution, which is now divided into the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah, starting from its history and development; movement dynamics, organizational travel; divisions within institutions; implementation of the curriculum in each educational

institution in the current context; and so forth. Hussein Badjerei, in his book "Al-Irsyad Fills the History of the Nation", has discussed the journey of the Al-Irsyad institution from its founding to the New Order era. This book also reveals the context of Indonesian society at that time, starting from the rise of the Islamic world with the emergence of various reformer figures, the political reorientation of the Dutch East Indies government, and the Arab diaspora in Indonesia.

There is also (Suryana, 2017) who sees the Al-Irsyad institution as a reformist institution which focuses on the role of Sheikh Surkati, who is trying to reform and purify Islam in Indonesia through education (Supriatna et al., 2021). The study took the period from the emergence of the Islamic renewal movement in Indonesia until just before independence. Likewise, Delia Noer revealed the history of Al-Irsyad as a renewal movement in Indonesia. Natalie-kesheh also revealed the journey of the Hadrami organization and the emergence of Al-Irsyad, which was considered related to the era of revival or nahdah for Hadramis in general in Indonesia in colonial period (Iskandar & Firdaus, 2020; Mobini-Kesheh, 1999; Noer, 1996; Prayogi & Al-Asyari, 2021).

From various previous studies related to the Al-Irsyad educational institution, at the Al-Irsyad Association institution and the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution, it can be seen that so far, many have focused more on the dynamics of the development of the Al-Irsyad organization until it later experienced a split, as well as the implementation of the value of education or teachings in one school or one institution only. Therefore, this study attempts to describe the phenomenon between Al-Irsyad educational institutions, both within the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institutions, with the existence of a power relationship in academic activities at each institution, which is seen through strategies implemented to survive and develop to date.

II. METHOD

This study uses qualitative ethnographic methods. Analysis of power relations in the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah educational institutions. Qualitative research must be carried out systematically using a series of procedures previously determined to obtain answers to questions by gathering evidence to produce findings that have not been discovered and determined previously and can be applied (Hashemnezhad, 2015). The ethnographic approach aims to describe the cultural characteristics of individuals or groups of people who are members of an artistic community group (Tuffour, 2017). This approach is used because it is supported by latent data or facts that are visible in the field, in this case, what school life is like at the two Al-Irsyad educational institutions, namely at the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah.

Data collection techniques were carried out by conducting observations and interviews. Observations are carried out by observing the physical condition of the school, teaching and learning activities and other activities at school, as well as interactions that occur in the school environment. Meanwhile, interviews were carried out to obtain primary data to combine with data obtained from observations. Interviews were conducted with school figures, especially the curriculum section, through structured interviews. Apart from interviews, researchers also used archival data from schools and related institutions, such as bulletins, and data from internet sources from associated institutions.

Data analysis techniques using the Spradley qualitative research model include domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, componential analysis, and model analysis. Domain analysis is obtaining a general and comprehensive picture of the research object or social situation being studied. To find out the structure of taxonomic analysis, namely describing the selected domains in more detail, to find their internal structure. Carried out with focused observation. Analysis of all collected data based on predetermined fields. Componential analysis is an analysis that looks for specific characteristics in each internal structure by contrasting elements. In componential analysis, what is sought to be organized into domains is not similarities within fields but rather those that have differences or contrasts. Model analysis looks for relationships between parts and how they relate to the whole, and it is then expressed in research themes.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A Glance at the Development and Changes in Views of the Al-Irsyad Movement

So far, it has been widely stated that the origins of the Central Java political movement began with the establishment of the *Sarekat Dagang Islam* (SDI) in Surakarta at the beginning of the 20th century, although the initial aim was to create competitiveness between local batik traders and Chinese traders who the Dutch supported. This organization is seen as the beginning of a movement that later brought about Islamic reform based on its activity, which ignited religious enthusiasm. However, before that, the *Al-Jamiat Al Khair* organization, better known as *Jami'at Khair*, first emerged as an Islamic organization, with most of its drivers being Arabs. It was from *Jami'at Khair* that the Al-Irsyad or al-*islah wal irsyad* movement emerged, founded by Sheikh Surkati, who disagreed with the ideology brought by *Jami'at Khair* (Iskandar & Firdaus, 2020).

Al-Irsyad became one of the Islamic organizations that influenced the modern Islamic movement along with *Jami'at Khair*, the Islamic Association, Muhammadiyah, *Sarekat Islam*, and the Ulama Association at that time. Social inequalities in society powerfully drove the appearance of Al-Irsyad in the modern Islamic movement in the archipelago due to the political exploitation of the Dutch colonial government as well as a response to the resistance shown by the Dutch Colonial government to the Islamic education system in Indonesia (Nursanti, 2019).

In particular, this organization is present to bridge cultural and religious issues between Hadrami people and Indigenous people in Indonesia, which is related to the point of the presence of Hadrami people in Indonesia, whose position is considered higher because they have the lineage of Rasulullah and *karomah*. Al-Irsyad generally ignores the value of *nassab* exclusivity (Anshari & Fahrudin, 2020). His thoughts were then expressed in *mabadi*, which generally adhered to the Al-Qur'an, Hadith and Salaful Ummah. Through the educational institutions that became the arena of Al-Irsyad's movement, Sheikh Surkati's religious thoughts became widely known. They made him appear as a figure who opposed blind faith and emphasized the importance of returning to the sources of Islamic teachings, namely the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. Therefore, implementing *ijtihad* for Ahmad Surkati is necessary for Muslims.

As a reformist Islamic organization, Al-Irsyad relies on basic principles, namely the principles of *Mabadi* Al-Irsyad as the first value system of Sheikh Surkati. *Mabadi* is the plural of the singular phrase *mabda*, which means principles, principles, attitudes or rules. This principle is the foundation and guideline for all Al-Irsyad members and a

tool for interpreting reformist Islamic teachings championed by Sheikh Surkati. Initially, the malady code had 5 points of material formulated in 1914; in 1938, the material was added to 9 points. In 1970, through the 30th Al-Irsyad congress in Bondowoso, these points were changed to 7 points, and finally, in 2000, at the 37th congress, these *mabadi* points were reaffirmed. Based on Al-Irsyad AD-ART data, *mabadi* items have been added (Miftahuddin & Sudrajat, 2017).

First, Al-Irsyad has two sources of reference for understanding the teachings of the Islamic religion, namely the Al-Qur'an and the Sunnah. In understanding it, Al-Irsyad used *qias*, *ijma* ulama, and *istislah* as consideration tools. *Second* is *tawhid*, namely believing in the Islamic creed, worshipping Allah alone and avoiding shirk, heresy, superstition and *khurafat*. *Third*, *ubuddiyah*, namely only carrying out worship by the guidance and recommendations of the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah and avoiding things that are heretical, such as religious activities not based on the commands of Allah and the Messenger.

Fourth, ethics and morals, by having morals and ethics that are by Islam and avoiding customs, morals and ethics that are different from Islamic teachings. *Fifth*, *musawah*, or viewing fellow Muslims as equals and not discriminating. This principle rejects all forms of human exploitation and upholds human rights. *Sixth* is science, namely expanding and deepening knowledge for worldly welfare that Allah approves. This principle emphasizes rationality in approaching a problem, especially in the academic world and using it for human welfare. Seventh is modernity. This principle encourages organizations to take advantage of modern tools and current administrative systems as long as they do not conflict with the teachings of the Koran and Sunnah. Eighth, *ukhuwah Islamiyyah* encourages organizations to be active in organizational activities and establish relationships with other organizations.

The value system contained in Mabadi Al-Irsyad becomes the way of life of every Irsyadi in their activities both religiously and in daily life, including in the implementation of Islamic education, which has been the field of movement for the Al-Irsyad organization since the beginning. Al-Irsyad leader Geys Amar S.H. (1982-2000) interpreted the points above as a description; they contain guidelines and prohibitions. In monotheism, Irsyadi should unite with God and worship Allah alone, so they must stay away from the tradition of visiting graves to obtain blessings, reading *manakib* or histories of people who are considered holy to keep away evil, and it is forbidden to carry amulets embedded with monotheism sentences. This value also applies to distancing oneself from *bid'ah*, namely worship that was not taught by the Apostle, such as reading *talqin* to corpses, reading the intention of the *ushalli* prayer clearly, paying *fidyah* to pay off fasting and prayer debts, standing during the reading of the Prophet's birthday, and reciting *tahlil* to people who have died.

Judging from the historical sequence up to its founding, the Al-Irsyad organization is the most essential form of Hadrami reformism. Social relations between Hadrami communities themselves are determined based on caste, which is defined through descent which determines their socio-religious structure, namely the sayyid group (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad Saw. who came from Iraq) and the non-sayyid group. The Sayyid group has a high position in the caste and plays a leadership role in the religious field.

Meanwhile, non-Sayyid groups are in a less advantageous position socially. The sayyid group views traditional stratification as essential in social relations, while the non-

sayyid group does not see this. The differences in interpretation regarding the *nassab* issue triggered a split within the Al-Irsyad organization (Suryana, 2017). Even though this split had emerged in the 1940s, it became more visible in 2007 when the Al-Irsyad organization officially split into Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah, as two opposing groups, namely puritan-inclusive and modern-exclusive. Differences in interpretation of Shaykh Surkati's teachings eventually crystallized into values that conflicted between the Puritan-inclusive and modern-exclusive camps (Kasasi, 2021).

The situation at the management level of the Al-Irsyad organization, which is divided into various interests, has given rise to conflicts which can be described as "growing power within power" and very fundamental differences in the interpretation of Al-Irsyad *mabadi* (Miftahuddin & Sudrajat, 2017). As a result of this conflict, in 2007 there were two Al-Irsyad organizations. The first group, the Al-Irsyad Association, tends to adhere to the teaching values of Shaykh Surkati Mabadi' Al-Irsyad who accepts the inclusiveness of *nassab* but still adheres to the Al-Qur'an, hadith and *salaful umah*. Meanwhile, the second group, Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah, believes that *nassab* still has a special place and also that modernism in the world of education is critical by keeping abreast of developments with the times while still adhering to the Al-Qur'an, hadith and sunnah.

The differences in interpretation of Mabadi Al-Irsyad that occur in the two institutions show that, on the one hand, the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution tends to interpret *mabadi* as a value system that is shackled and conservative because it is not friendly to change, especially in the field of education. So with new values in the world of education, the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution tends to abandon *mabadi* values and direct its movement towards modernization which is considered to have a better education system. Meanwhile, the Al-Irsyad Association interprets *mabadi* as a value system that cannot be abandoned, so its educational activities tend to be more conservative.

So, here it can be said that the divisions within Al-Irsyad came from issues based on differences in the interpretation of *mabadi* values, which then spread to technical topics such as curriculum, subjects, etc. So next, this research will look at the power relationship between the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institutions in educational activities in Central Java.

Educational Orientation of the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah

Implementing educational strategies or educational orientation carried out by the Al-Irsyad Association and the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution reflects the ideology and values that guide and form the basis for educational activities. From the data obtained in the field, it is known that the application of Mabadi Al-Irsyad values in the Al-Irsyad Association schools remains the fundamental value of the movement which is always fought for and used as the basis for restoring the original goals of Sheikh Surkati's teachings through the Al-Irsyad institution.

Therefore, sometimes this institution is seen by Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah people as a conservative institution. Meanwhile, the educational strategy of promoting and accommodating modern values carried out by the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah school tends to show an effort to escape from *mabadi* values which impose many limitations on various new values. One of the differences in the interpretation of *mabadi* values in the two institutions can be seen in the clothing styles of female students. At Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah schools, female students wear a hijab or headscarf that covers the head and

chest area as is typical for women's private parts and are not required to wear a veil, while at Al-Irsyad Association schools they are required to wear a *syar'i hijab*, and some require wearing an attribute in the form of a cover.

The differences between these institutions which are then labeled conservative or puritan-inclusive and modern or modern-exclusive institutions can also be seen from the arrangement and comparison of the number of teaching hours between religious subjects and general science subjects. For example, in Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Boarding School (AABS) which is managed by LPP Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Purwokerto, the ratio of learning implementation for religious matters and general subjects applied at the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Boarding Middle School level School (AABS) is 38 to 36, where the number of lesson hours for Arabic is 1/3 more than for English. However, the comparison between religious and general subjects' hours is almost equal. SMA Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Boarding School (AABS) also provides superior programs such as applying Arabic in everyday life, tahfidz 30 Juz, overseas study programs, etc.

Meanwhile, at the senior secondary school at the Al-Irsyad Tenggara Islamic Boarding School, the ratio of teaching hours between general subjects and religious subjects is 9 to 15, where far more religious subjects are taught. Although English is also emphasized at this school, it is in a smaller portion than Arabic. On the other hand, learning religious or *diniyyah* materials is taught using Arabic as the language of instruction by competent teaching staff.

Sheikh Surkati's teachings in education also emphasize the importance of learning Arabic. This language is considered a central language and must be restored to its position as the primary language in the educational environment because it is the primary tool for studying the Al-Qur'an and hadith as well as a language for carrying out daily worship so that every *Irsyadiyah* must master it.

Indirectly, these two institutions have goals not only in the religious field but also in the academic field and character formation. However, in the Al-Irsyad Tenggara Islamic Boarding School, the vision and mission do not specifically link themselves to the values of modernity because they are under an institution based on puritanical-inclusive values. This is different from the Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Boarding School (AABS), which initially aimed to form technocratic and scientific candidates.

From this example, the two institutions' goals can be seen through their educational activities. However, the different strategies of the two institutions in educational activities can also be seen as efforts made to gain support from the masses and students. Even though they indirectly aim to attract students who can revive institutions and foundations, the two institutions bring Islamic education activities to Indonesian society with different approaches. Even though they implemented educational strategies that tended to be more progressive and modern, educational institutions under Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah developed slower than happened at Al-Irsyad Association schools.

The difference in development can be seen from the number of existing educational institutions. The Central Java region has 16 educational institutions under the Al-Irsyad Association, while Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah only has eight academic institutions. This reality represents the success of the Puritan-inclusive group in exercising hegemony through the interpretation and pure values of the teachings of Mabadi Al-Irsyad. With its ability to adapt through a mixture of a modern education system and the importance

of Mabadi Al-Irsyad, the Puritan-inclusive group succeeded in developing a distinctive conservative religious-based educational institution amid the rising wave of Islamism.

On the other hand, the modern-exclusive group needed to strengthen the value system in their educational institutions. Mixed values cause modern-exclusive educational institutions to avoid apparent distinctiveness and standing points so that they can exercise hegemony, both for people who want to go to school, the education service, and society in general. As a result, the values-based contestation movement in Al-Irsyad's educational institutions was won by puritan-inclusive groups who used values as a dominative tool, especially in the Central Java region.

Power Relations in Educational Activities

Foucault believes that in a network of power, there is knowledge that operates not neutrally but politically. So that in an organization, the energy that exists is not visible but will work within the organizational system itself (Ahmad, 2017; Hoddin, 2020; Ikhwan, 2021). The method implemented in an organization or institution will show the direction and goals that the organization wants to achieve. In this context, the educational activities carried out by the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institutions, the power will lie in the strategies that emerge from each institution in carrying out educational activities in schools related to the application of the principles of Mabadi Al-Irsyad (Luhukay, 2022; Saragih & Ningrum, 2023).

By taking the example of the education system implemented by the Al-Irsyad Tenggara Islamic Boarding School and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Boarding School (AABS), it can be seen how the strategies implemented have shown the basis and direction of the educational activities carried out by each institution. However, both educational institutions are private institutions under different foundations. So both of them also need sources that can revive these institutions, which are only financial backers and students who attend schools under the auspices of these educational institutions. Therefore, such a strategy is implemented to achieve a goal both ideologically and practically.

As the aim of the Al-Irsyad Association, which aims to restore Mabadi Al-Irsyad in its educational institutions, tends to prioritize the application of *mabadi* values in its education system. So it appears to be a conservative institution because it does not fully implement the modern curriculum as the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution does. This can be seen in the number of subjects applied in educational institutions under the umbrella of the Al-Irsyad Association, which tends to have more religious subjects than general subjects. This differs from the education system under the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution, which tends to adopt the national curriculum, so the comparison between religious subjects and general subjects is relatively balanced.

In the school context in this research, Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Boarding School (AABS), seen from the vision, mission and goals of the school as well as various other school programs, tends to educate its students to become scientists, like state schools in general. In contrast to schools under the Al-Irsyad Association, which emphasize education with *mabadi* values through the teachings of Shaykh Surkati, *mabadi* values tend not to be stressed in Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah Boarding School (AABS).

In its development, in general, there is a tendency for Al-Irsyad Association schools which apply a curriculum that is considered conservative with more emphasis on education on *mabadi* values to be superior and more advanced compared to schools

from Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah, which places more emphasis on education. The application and emphasis of *mabadi* values in schools from these two institutions is a form of power relationship that is implemented as a strategy by each school and as a form of manifestation of the knowledge of each party to achieve specific goals.

IV. CONCLUSION

The differences in values that form the basis of the ideology of the Al-Irsyad Association and Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah were developed over time, and the social, political, economic and cultural dynamics of Indonesian society became the background for the founding of these organizations. These differences embody a knowledge system that manifests itself in strategies for carrying out Islamic education activities in the Central Java region. The method implemented in educational activities is related to the ideology that is the basis of the movement of each institution. Implementing this strategy reflects the existence of power relations between each institution so that educational activities in their schools remain alive. Each institution has the power to interpret Sheikh Surkati's teachings as stated in Mabadi Al-Irsyad in carrying out educational activities to give rise to schools with a modern-exclusive style under the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution and schools with a more puritan-inclusive style under the Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyyah institution. under the Al-Irsyad Association institution. These two institutions have the power to carry out their educational activities by implementing different strategies from each other as an embodiment and self-identification of the values they fought for as children of the Al-Irsyad institution founded by Sheikh Surkati.

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