

WAHID HASYIM'S THOUGHTS (RELIGIOUS-RATIONAL) ABOUT EDUCATION AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Muhammad Syahdan Majid,¹ Ahmad Saufi Al Hadisi,² Abdul Rohman,³ Hasan Asy`ari Yusuf⁴

> Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Indonesia Email Corresponding: <u>20204011036@student.uin-suka.ac.id</u>

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Abstract

In the view of many education experts, Islamic education in Indonesia is still lagging compared to general education in several aspects. One of the reasons for this is that Islamic education's orientation is only on religion. There are three of Wahid Hasyim's thoughts to advance Islamic education in Indonesia: education, curriculum, and learning methods. This renewal became a spur in advancing Islamic education in Indonesia at that time, and this is what made the writer interested in elevating Wahid Hasyim's thoughts on Contemporary Islamic education. The research method used in this study is the Library Research method, namely activities related to collecting library information and reading and processing research. This study aims to find the relevance of Abdul Wahid Hasyim's (Rational-Religious) thoughts on Contemporary Islamic education. As a result, the authors found the relevance of Wahid Hasyim's thoughts through descriptive analysis, namely the latest learning methods and modern educational curricula.

Keywords: Wahid Hasyim, Islamic Education, Philosophy.

Abstrak

Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia dalam pandangan banyak pakar pendidikan masih tertinggal dibandingkan dengan pendidikan umum dalam beberapa aspek. Salah satu penyebab ini karena orientasi pendidikan Islam hanya agama saja. Terdapat tiga di dalam pemikiran Wahid Hasyim untuk memajukan pendidikan Islam di Indonesia antara lain adalah pendidikan, kurikulum, dan metode pembelajaran. Pembaharuan inilah yang menjadi pemacu dalam memajukan pendidikan Islam di Indonesia kala itu, hal inilah yang membuat penulis tertarik untuk merelevansikan pemikiran Wahid Hasyim Wahid Hasyim terhadap pendidikan Islam Kontemporer. Metode penelitian yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini merupakan metode Library Research yakni aktivitas yang berhubungan dengan metode pengumpulan informasi pustaka, membaca serta mengolah penelitian. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menemukan relevansi pemikiran Abdul Wahid Hasyim (Rasional-Religius) terhadap pendidikan relevansi pendidikan intertati metode pendekatan analisis deskriptif penulis menemukan relevansi pemikiran Abdul Hasyim yaitu metode pembelajaran yang terbaru dan kurikulum pendidikan yang modern.

Kata Kunci : Wahid Hasyim, Pendidikan Islam, Filsafat.

INTRODUCTION

The process of changing times from the 19th century to the 20th century has undergone many changes in Islam. Before the 19th century, Indonesian Muslims had strong relations with Indian Muslims. Still, in the process of entering the 20th century, these relations gradually disbanded, and then these relations shifted to Arab Muslims. It also causes the characteristics of Indonesian Islam, which is mystical-Sufism, to change into fiqh (Islamic law). This change in parts also revives their deviant habits regarding religious practices. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the Dutch secular education system instills the idea that Islam is an obstacle to development.

Education in Indonesia has been running on a dualism of education (general and religious). It has happened since the Dutch colonial government introduced a secular education system. In contrast, Islamic education represented by *pesantren* did not pay attention to general knowledge until Indonesia's independence, although at the beginning of freedom, it still inherited a dualistic education system.

Education is constantly being built and developed to produce the expected generation in this modern era. To produce students who are expected and superior, the educational process is also constantly evaluated and improved. However, on the other hand, Islamic education is faced with a formidable challenge, and changes occur in all aspects, including education. Until now, Islamic education has not found a concept following Islamic values itself.

Islamic education is not limited to the label "Islam" or Islamic institutions such as madrasas or Islamic boarding schools, nor is it learning religious sciences such as monotheism, interpretation, hadith, *fiqh*, etc. But Islamic education includes all thought processes, implementation, goals, vision, mission, curriculum, and subjects to learning methods.

In the view of many education experts, Islamic education in Indonesia is still lagging compared to general education in several aspects. This backwardness does not mean that there is no solution. Many leaders, thinkers, and observers who make innovations in Islamic education through thought and movement are not open to the changes offered by many observers of Islamic education. One of them is the offers from A. Wahid Hasyim in advancing education.

Wahid Hasyim is an influential scholar in Islamic education, especially in the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school. Some of the results of the renewal of Wahid Hasyim made him a person who has a significant role in the world of Islamic education, among the reforms in terms of educational goals, curriculum and teaching materials, and learning methods. Gait Wahid Hasyim himself in the world of education was widely seen when he founded a modern madrasa called Madrasah Nidzamiyah. This madrasa is a pioneer of Islamic education.

This study aims to trace Wahid Hasyim's thoughts about his breakthrough in developing Islamic education, which is still lagging behind general education. Then based on the author will describe the relevance of Wahid Hasyim's thoughts to Contemporary Islamic education. The approach in this study uses a historical process. Data collection was carried out by compiling a literature review on Wahid Hasyim's work about Islamic education.

Wahid Hasyim's Thoughts (Religious-Rational) About Education and Its Relevance to The Contemporary Islamic Education

METHOD

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RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Abdul Wahid Hasyim was born on Friday, 15 Rabi'ul Awal 1333 H to coincide with June 1, 1914 AD in Tebuireng Village, Jombang, East Java. He is the son of the famous charismatic cleric, the founder of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), namely Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari. He is the fifth child of Hasyim Asy'ari with Nyai Nafiqah, and he is the first son of 10 siblings.¹ His first name was Muhammad Asy'ari, but he was often sick, so his name was changed by Abdul Wahid. He preferred to write his name with A. Wahid and added his father's name behind him when he grew up, namely Hasyim. Then until now, he is known as A. Wahid Hasyim.²

Wahid Hasyim's educational career started at the age of five, he learned to read the Qur'an, and within two years, he was good at reading the holy book. When he was seven years old, he learned Arabic books from his father, including *Fathul Qorib*, *Minhajul Qawin*, and *Mutammimah*. At this age, he was already finished reading the Qur'an and started studying at the Tebuireng Islamic boarding school.³

Wahid Hasyim learned a lot of self-taught. He never received an education at the Dutch East Indies government school. During his studies at Islamic Boarding Schools and Madrasas, he studied many Arabic books by himself. Not only that, but he also studied Arabic poetry until he memorized and understood the meaning by heart. Besides that, he also kept his youth busy by learning. He visited many boarding schools as a place for his wandering in learning, including the Tebu Ireng boarding school owned by his father, the Siwalayan Panji boarding school, and Lirboyo. His goal to learn is like the goals of other *Ulama* Muslim figures, namely to seek blessings from the teacher.⁴

In 1932 Hasyim Asy'ari sent Wahid Hasyim went to Mecca to study and perform Hajj. In Arab, Indonesian pilgrims met with pilgrims from another country who even studied with the same teacher.

After returning from the holy land, Wahid Hasyim is active in the community. As the son of a famous *Kiai*, Wahid Hasyim grew and developed in an environment full of religious values.⁵ After returning from Makkah, he also practiced his knowledge at his father's boarding school. He founded the Nizhomiyah madrasa and managed it from 1935-to 1938. He then devoted his energy and thoughts to the development of the NU organization. In the same year, he married Solehah on Friday the 10th of Shawwal 1356 H or 1938. Solehah is one of

¹ Ahmad Zaini, K.H. Abdul Wahid Hasyim Pembaharu Pendidikan Islam dan Pejuang Kemerdekaan (Jakarta: Yayasan K.H.A. Wahid Hasyim dan Forum Indonesia Satu (FIS), 2003), 8.

² Aboebakar Atjeh, Sejarah Hidup K.H A. Wahid Hasyim (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng, 2015), 141.

³ Muhammad Rifa'i, Biografi Singkat Wahid Hasyim (Yogyakarta: Arruz Media, 2009), 23.

⁴ Muhammad Rifa'i, Wahid Hasyim Biografi Singkat 1914-1953 (Yogyakarta: Garasi, 2009), 23.

⁵ Rifa'i, 40.

the daughters of M. Bisri with his wife named Siti Nur Chadidjah. In his marriage, Wahid and Solehah were blessed with six children. Wahid Hasyim died on April 19, 1953, in a car accident in the Cimahi area, West Java.

Previously in 1936, after returning from Mecca, Wahid Hasyim founded the IKPI (student association). By being led by himself. In this organization, he provides a reading garden of 500 books. In 1938, Wahid Hasyim devoted much of his time to NU activities. The first position of Wahid Hasyim was the secretary to the management of the Cungkir Tebuireng Branch, then became a member of the Jimbang branch, and then he was elected as a member of the NU Executive Board in the Surabaya area. In 1940 he was elected to be a member of the Ma'arif (education) section of PBNU. From here, the struggle at NU began to increase a lot. Finally, in 1946 Wahid Hasyim was given the mandate as chairman of the PBNU Tanfidziyah, replacing Kiai Ahmad Shiddiq.

Previously Wahid Hasyim served as Minister of Religion in Mohammad Natsir's cabinet in 1950 after independence. At the same time, he was serving as a minister of religion. Wahid Hasyim produced several policies, including policies on the Hajj and the establishment of Islamic religious colleges. Concerning Islamic education policy, Wahid Hasyim created three types of Islamic educational institutions, and these were the forerunners of educational institutions managed by the Ministry of Religion. Wahid Hasyim's services in the Ministry of Religion are receiving education from PTAIN, PGAN (State Religion Teacher Education), and SGHAN (School for Teachers and Judges of State Religion) in Yogyakarta, Bukittinggi, Bandung, and Malang.

Wahid Hasyim's thoughts on education were born from his anxiety when he saw that Islamic education had not progressed compared to other teachings. As a figure who has a sense of responsibility for improving Muslim resources, Wahid Hasyim seeks to improve Islamic boarding school education. In his mind, there are three critical things in improving the quality of Muslims, namely physical, spiritual, and intellectual. As an Islamic cadre, apart from having physical and spiritual health, one should also have reason (sense) that is continually honed in such a way as to be able to provide solutions that are appropriate, fair, and follow Islamic teachings.⁶

Concept of Human and The Environment

In defining the reality of the world, human phenomena and natural phenomena. The existence of Islamic educational philosophy refers to religion and state philosophy. It tries to explain (1) the purpose, (2) the scope, and (3) the division of knowledge. The ideology that stands out in the thought of Islamic education, according to Rida, is divided into three, namely religious conservative, religious rational, and pragmatic instrumental. Wahid Hasyim stands on spiritual logic and pragmatic thinking since he relates the goals of education and learning to practical life. According to him, humans are Homo Educandus prone to being influenced (read: educated creatures. They are not passive creatures who tend to accept everything, nor are they aggressive creatures who want to dominate but not to be dominated.

⁶ Ahmad Tafsir, Filsafat Penidikan Islam; Integritas Jasmanai, Rohani dan Kalbu Memanusiakan Manusia (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2006), 170.

In Wahid Hashim's view that humans have Khalqiyah and Munazzalah *fitrah* that could be changed by the environment, including education. It is because humans are Homoeducandus who are prone to be affected.

In Wahid Hasyim's view that humans have the nature of Khalqiyah and Munazzalah, which can be changed by the environment, including education, humans are Homoeducandus. The latter is known to be very vulnerable to environmental impacts. Humans are God's design to become humans who think and feel. At the same time, Islamic education, especially Islamic boarding schools, is a tool to sharpen and grow thoughts about God's written and universal verses. In addition, pesantren must also be able to build the creed of monotheism so that humans can communicate with their God.

Based on QS. Ar-Rum verse 30 *fitrah* is divided into four, (1) fatalist-passive,(2) neutral-passive,(3) positive-active,(4) dualist-active. In his thinking, Wahid Hashim adhered to a positive-active theory. This theory assumes that positive human attitudes and behaviors are human nature raised from birth. Negative attitudes and behaviors are coincidental traits. In addition, the human person's ability is something that he can develop himself through education and practice. Based on this opinion, Wahid Hashim embraces convergent understanding, which means that humans can develop their potential through education.

The Purpose of Islamic Education

The purpose of education that Wahid Hashim raised in his day looks different from the thoughts of the scholars of that era. His views show that they were condemned by various parties, both the community and scholars. According to Wahid Hasyim, pesantren have a goal to integrate worldly interests such as life skills, social interaction, good morals, and the interests of the hereafter, namely achieving piety to Allah SWT.⁷

Pesantren education at that time was printing scholars, so the curriculum of various pesantren did not accept non-religious lessons because it was considered not in line with the original purpose of pesantren that make scholars. Seeing the tendency of the pesantren policy, Wahid Hashim had other alternatives for his students, so he hoped that some of the students did not become scholars.⁸ In addition, the public's view of scholars also experienced a narrowing of meaning at that time. Scholars are known as people who only understand religion but do not understand non-religious science.

However, Wahid Hasyim's thing above does not mean to understand that he is antireligious knowledge, but rather to provide an understanding of the different potentials of students, and it is also impossible to harmonize their potential into one goal model. On the other hand, Wahid Hasyim also hopes that some students will become *Ulama* by deeply studying religious knowledge.⁹

The alternative he proposes contains reasons that also need to be known, including: *first*, the Santri do not need to spend decades learning Arabic and accumulate from the *Kiai* of

⁷ Maragustam, "The Reformation of Pesantren Education System: The Study on Abdul Wahid Hasyim Thoughts the Perspective of Islamic Education Philosophy," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 5, no. 2 (16 Desember 2016): 325–46, https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2016.52.325-346.

⁸ Kurniawan Ehwan, Wahid Hasyim (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2011), 66.

⁹ M Solahuddin, Nahkoda Nahdliyyin: Biografi Rais Aam Syuriyah dan Ketua Umum Tanfidziyah Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) Sejak 1926 hingga Sekarang (Kediri: Nous Pustaka Ulama, 2013), 189.

various *pesantren. Second*, the students can also learn about Islam from books written by non-Arabs. *Third*, the students can focus their time on learning other knowledge and skills.¹⁰

Wahid Hasyim, through his thoughts on the purpose of Islamic education, hopes that when students leave the *pesantren*, they will become people who can adapt and have a dialogue with the community with the skills they have. Students are also expected to use their minds to provide solutions to the problems in their community.

Through the knowledge gained by the students, they hoped they would be able to live a prosperous independent life away from the burdens of others. Likewise, they expected to strive vigorously in the way of God. On the other hand, if students do not have adequate life skills, they will face various problems that hinder their existence as humans.¹¹

Wahid Hasyim's ideas above show the progressiveness of his thinking about the need for a balance between religion and non-religion both in theory and practice.

In a theoretical order, it is shown by integrating the two sciences in the structure of students' understanding as an inseparable unit. As for the practical order, it is hoped that through students' knowledge in the two sciences, they can be positively implied by the spread of intellectual religionists in the frame of struggle, development, and empowerment of the Indonesian people.¹²

So in his thinking about the purpose of Islamic education, we can see that Wahid Hasyim wanted students to be faithful and pious and become students who understand general science education.

Islamic Educational Curriculum

Before independence, the famous education system in Indonesia was a traditional education system that taught religion known as *Pesantren*. On the other hand, an education system adhered to Western education with non-religious education specifications. The two education systems have striking differences, both in terms of learning orientation to the quality of graduation. Other differences include *pesantren* who feel "comfortable" with religious and Sufistic communities. On the other hand, secular schools tend to be unable to provide spiritual thirst to their students, many indigenous to Islam.¹³

In this case, Wahid Hasyim tried to mediate the fundamental differences between the two education systems. It proves that he has a severe concern for the education of Indonesian Muslims. Wahid Hasyim's matter includes improving the weaknesses of Muslim education by updating the *pesantren* education system, which he considers less relevant to the development and needs of the times.

The realization of Wahid Hasyim's idea of educational reform was establishing an educational institution called Madrasah Nidzamiyah at the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School.¹⁴ This institution uses classrooms with a curriculum formulation of 70% general

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<sup>11</sup> Maragustam, "The Reformation of Pesantren Education System."
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¹⁰ Muzammil, "Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam Tradisionalis di Indonesia (Analisis Pemikiran Pendidikan K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim)," *Eduregilia* 1, no. 1 (2017): 111.

¹² Zaini, K.H. Abdul Wahid Hasyim Pembaharu Pendidikan Islam dan Pejuang Kemerdekaan, 250.

¹³Ibid. h. 112

¹⁴ Ehwan Kurniawan, Wahid Hasyim (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2011), 64-65.

subjects and 30% religious lessons.¹⁵ As explained above, in his view, even though all students are taught religion lessons comprehensively, most of them will not become *ulama*. Wahid Hasyim teaches his students practical skills to equip them in public life.

This institution's general subject matter includes arithmetic, history, geography, natural sciences, Indonesian, English, Dutch, and even German. Typing skills are also given to improve the quality of students' skills. Wahid Hasyim provided a variety of language learning materials, not only because these foreign languages were needed in the context of the struggle of a nation being colonized by foreign nations but also because Wahid Hasyim enjoyed learning these languages.

In addition, to developing the reading habit of students, Wahid Hasyim established supporting facilities in the form of a library. In this library, the majority of religious books are available. The available books are approximately 1000 titles consisting of popular texts and scientific works written in Arabic, English, Indonesian, Dutch, and Javanese. The library also subscribes to magazines and newspapers, such as *Panji Islam, Dewan Islam, Islam Bergerak, Berita Nahdhatul Ulama, Adil, Nurul Islam, Almunawwarah, Panji Pustaka, Pustaka Timur, Pujangga Baru,* dan *Penyebar Semangat.* The eleven journals represent the general views of traditionalists, modernists, and nationalists.¹⁶

The innovation carried out by Wahid Hasyim was something foreign among the *pesantren* at that time. The hatred of the *pesantren* towards the invaders made the *pesantren* forbid everything related to it.¹⁷ The efforts made by Wahid Hasyim were risky. There was a lot of opposition from the community and even from the Islamic boarding school *ulema* themselves. He is considered to have mixed up religious and worldly matters, and he is even supposed to have damaged the pesantren education system.¹⁸ Wahid Hasyim's efforts to reform the educational curriculum in the Tebuireng *pesantren* environment are none other than responding to the demands of the times and, at the same time, responding to public distrust of *pesantren*, which are considered conservative and unqualified.

Learning Methods

In his research cited by Muzammil, Clifford Geertz describes the world of *pesantren* as traditional education that is held without adequate management.¹⁹ The teaching is irregular, such as students may recite the Koran and may or may not. There is no fixed schedule for the event. Some students recite the Koran only for a week, two weeks, one or two months, but some recite the Koran for ten years or more. The age of the students who study varies from child to parent. The learning pattern is also not systematic because learning by reading in front of the *Kiai* or listening to the *Kiai*'s readings sequentially from beginning to end so that it takes years to finish just one book.

¹⁵ Rifa'i, Biografi Singkat Wahid Hasyim, 30–31.

¹⁶ Ahmad Zaini, K.H. Abdul Wahid Hasyim Pembaru Pendidikan Islam (Jombang: Pesantren Tebuireng, 2011), 38.

¹⁷ Zaini, 203.

¹⁸ Akhmad Halim, "Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Mengembangkan Lembaga Pendidikan di Pesantren Tebuireng" (Yogyakarta, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2008), 101.

¹⁹ Muzammil, "Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam Tradisionalis di Indonesia (Analisis Pemikiran Pendidikan K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim)," 119.

In general, the methods used in teaching classical books in Islamic boarding schools, *Kiai* usually use the *Wetonan*, *Sorogan*, and memorization methods. *Wetonan* or *Bandongan* is a lecture method where the students sit around the *Kiai*. A *Kiai* reads a book, and students listen to their respective books and take notes. *Sorogan* is a lecture method in which students face a *Kiai* one by one with the book to be studied. The texts studied were falsified by level. There are entry, intermediate and upper classes.

In addition to the two methods above, away has the most critical position in the *pesantren* world, namely the memorization method. There are certain lessons with specific materials required to be also memorized within a particular period. These memorizations are usually in *Nadzam* (poems) such as *Nahwu* rules like *Alfyah*.

Wahid Hasyim's proposal to change the learning method seems to be because he has relatively the same assessment as Clifford Geertz. After returning from Mecca, Wahid Hasyim proposed a method change to Hasyim Asy'ari because the existing teaching method was considered to only create uncertainty in the students.²⁰ The change in the method proposed by Wahid Hasyim is a change in the learning method that uses the *Sorogan* and *Wetonan* methods to be replaced with a systematic tutorial system in the form of tiered classes that are more systematic than in the past. Learning that was before only *Bandongan* or *Wetonan* was enriched with newer, modern, and fun methods such as discussion and question and answer. Reference books in learning are also fixed on the yellow book and from the various contemporary scientific literature.

Wahid Hasyim expects an active-dialogical teaching and learning process where the teacher is not placed as the only source of learning. The teacher's opinion is not an absolute truth, so the students can question or even refute his opinion.²¹

Wahid Hasyim's opinion applied to the Nizhamiyah madrasa, but a few years later, the *pesantren* was merged with the Salafiyah madrasa, which had previously been established in the Tebuireng pesantren.

The Relevance of Wahid Hasyim's Thoughts on Contemporary Islamic Education

Dutch secular education motivated Wahid Progress Hasyim to develop Islamic education by including general subjects in Islamic boarding schools. The same thing is happening today, the development of the times that shape the problems of education. Education is also to make breakthroughs to overcome these problems, giving rise to various kinds of thoughts issued by Islamic education thinkers, one of which is Wahid Hasyim. Although in its development, it was different between education at that time and now, in terms of the concept of thought, of course, the thoughts carried out by Wahid Hasyim were no different from today. The author finds the relevance between Wahid Hasyim's thoughts and Contemporary Islamic Education.

²⁰ Muzammil, 118.

²¹ Muzammil, 118.

Learning Method Update

The learning method, if implemented by the teacher correctly, will affect student learning outcomes.²² One of the initial steps taken by Wahid Hasyim in improving *pesantren* education was to update the *Sorogan* and *Bandongan* method with the tutorial method.²³ Based on Wahid Hasyim's thinking, the learning method plays an essential role in the learning process. The teacher's role in implementing suitable learning methods will also affect student learning outcomes in the learning process.

Modern Educational Curriculum

In following the times, the education system should also develop to keep up with the pace, one of which is updating the education curriculum. But in its development must still prioritize religion. This is also illustrated in Wahid Hasyim's policy of incorporating general science 30% and religious science 70% into the curriculum.²⁴ So that, on the other hand, the disciples in developing skills and on the other hand can also strengthen their relationship with Allah SWT. Curriculum development also cannot be separated from the development of methods in learning. It is interrelated so that if you experience development in the curriculum, it is also necessary to develop in the method. Each person's potential is different, and Wahid Hashim also explains this about human nature so that the need for freedom in the curriculum will support increasing human potential.

CONCLUSION

Wahid Hasyim's thoughts on contemporary Islamic education need to be considered because, in his thinking, there are various kinds of breakthroughs in the world of Islamic education as the first step to advancing Islamic education. It is being seen through his first breakthrough in the world of *pesantren*, which at that time was very far behind Dutch secular education. His breakthrough at that time could be one of the reasons for considering Wahid Hasyim's thoughts. In this study, Wahid Hasyim's thoughts on contemporary Islamic education are relevant, namely, the renewal of educational methods. Updating this method is one of the most appropriate steps in providing effective changes to the world of education. Westerners also apply even this in the world of education in Indonesia. School and in the family environment. Second, the modern education curriculum is also essential in Islamic education because Islamic education will be left behind if it does not keep up with the times, such as the modern education curriculum.

²² HD Ikawati, "Pengaruh Model Pembelajaran Take and Give Dalam Meningkatkan Hasil Belajar Siswa," *Jurnal Paedagogy*; A Mayanto, Z Zulfikar, dan A Faisal, "Pengaruh Metode Pembelajaran Dan Gaya Kognitif Terhadap Motivasi Dan Hasil Belajar Penjas," *Jurnal Ilmiah KONTEKSTUAL* ...; S Suhada, K Bahu, dan LN Amali, "Pengaruh metode pembelajaran mind map terhadap hasil belajar siswa," *Jambura Journal of Informatics*, (2020).

²³ Muzammil, "Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam Tradisionalis di Indonesia (Analisis Pemikiran Pendidikan K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim)," 118.

²⁴ Rifa'i, Wahid Hasyim Biografi Singkat 1914-1953, 30-31.

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