



Tracing the Traces of Kinship Politics (Anthropological Reflection)

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ABSTRAK The phenomenon of dynastic politics or kinship politics is not only found at the national level, but also occurs at the regional level down to the grassroots level. This paper is a literature study that uses qualitative methods with a descriptive approach from an anthropological historical perspective regarding the traces of dynastic/kinship politics in Indonesia. The results of this study found that the traces of dynastic politics in Indonesia appear to have existed since the royal era which was specifically carried out by the representatives of the king, namely royal officials. In the ethnography of Nordholt (1987) and Koentjaraningrat (1994), it is these royal representatives who actually apply kinship politics by mystifying themselves as minor kings by exploiting the people's belief that kings are incarnations of gods. Their position as deputy king is used as a legitimacy tool to implement dynastic politics, namely by making family members the successor to power as minor kings who also cannot be opposed by the people. In ethnography Shiraishi (2001) suggests the construction of 'father-son' relations in government during the New Order era. The relationship constructed with this 'father-child' pattern places the father in a powerful and superior position, while the child must become an obedient and 'good' person by following various rules and teachings set by the 'father'. The power relation in this context is centered on the paternal genealogy. It was here that the culture of paternalism developed rapidly and was accepted as a matter of course and considered common. 'Family' is constructed as a network, this network is continuously formed and expanded, so that no one can live without relying on personal relationships whose effects are also being felt to this day. Kata Kunci: <i>Dynastic Politics, Kinship, Politics</i>			

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INTRODUCTION

Discussion of dynastic politics or kinship politics has always been a topic that seems to never get old to be reviewed again, especially in the context of practical politics in Indonesia (Asman dkk., 2023). This topic is still relevant to be discussed again and will find momentum as the 2024 simultaneous election democratic party event or what is often referred to as a political year is getting closer (B. Beribe, 2023). Political dynasty is defined as an action taken by every politician who seeks to defend and maintain his political power by placing his family or relatives into the political circle of his work (Yeltriana dkk., 2023). Meanwhile, Herna (2017) states that there are different definitions between dynastic politics and political dynasties (Makniyah & Khotimah, 2023).

According to him, dynastic politics is more about the regeneration of power in which there are group interests which in this case are related by blood/kinship of a political elite to be able to maintain power (status quo). Meanwhile, a political dynasty is a political system in which there is a reproduction of power with the characteristics of power that are inherited (ascribed) which refers to blood relations (heredity) (Lumban Gaol, Hansrainer, dkk., 2023). The difference between the two is that a political dynasty is a system that has indeed regulated the change of power based on lineage as in a monarchy system. Meanwhile, dynastic politics is not a political system, but rather an effort made by an actor/political elite and their relatives to maintain the power they have achieved (achieved) in a way so that their descendants/relatives can become their successors (Hossain dkk., 2020). However, in this effort there are those who do it by breaking the rules and there are those who do it without violating the rules. In short, a political dynasty is a political system, while dynastic politics can be said to be an 'art' or strategy in politics whether it is practical politics or not.

Let's flashback a few years back regarding the bribery case involving the former chairman of the Constitutional Court (MK). As reported in the national media at the time, a head of the Constitutional Court was arrested by the KPK and it was proven in court that he had received bribes from several election dispute cases handled by him (Mustajab dkk., 2023). Although at that time the term was not popular with the term viral, the case went viral because it dragged several names of the 2014 election contestants. The relevance of the case in this article is that one of the figures who was also arrested in the bribery case was the husband of a mayor and the brother-in-law of a governor. (Ulum dkk., 2023) The case above then opens the topic of discussion regarding dynastic political practices that apparently exist in politics in Indonesia, both in practical politics and not.

Apart from the dynastic political cases that led to acts of violation of the law in the regional elections above, there are also patterns of kinship politics which do not violate the rules (Pamungkas & Halimah, 2023). Some examples are a child from a party elite who was elected to replace his parents as the general chairman of the party, there are those who were legally elected to become members of the council, legally elected to become regional heads following in the footsteps of their parents/relatives (Fuadi & Mirsal, 2023). I hope that the portraits of these prominent political party figures are enough to show that the kinship network in Indonesia's politics is still strong. This phenomenon also indicates an effort to 'inherit' political positions, both executive and legislative in the midst of a democratic system (Suryaningsih, 2021). However, it must be acknowledged that the 'inheritance' was in fact carried out legally through the people's vote in general elections.

The phenomenon of dynastic politics does not only occur at the national level, but also occurs in the regions (Mudinillah & Rizaldi, 2021). There are public officials in the regions who encourage their wives or children to take part in the Pilkada in order to take their place (Mutalib & Dylan, 2021). This option turned out to be quite successful, this was evidenced by the fact that a child from a former district head in a regency was able to win the votes and sympathy of the people and was able to win the elections for the position of district head (Arsul dkk., 2021). This victory certainly cannot be separated

from the popularity and success of his parents who previously served as Regent. Another supporting factor, of course, is utilizing the socio-political networks that have been built by their parents so that their successors can easily gain support from former supporters of their parents while in office (Gusvita & Alon, 2021). In addition, this success was also inseparable from the performance of his parents who were viewed favorably by the community while in office. These factors are the first steps and social capital to achieve a certain position and perpetuate power through family lineage.

Furthermore, at the grass root level or at the local level there are also dynastic political patterns. In several areas where the author lives, there are several Village Heads who encourage their wives or one of their relatives to run for Village Head election, and they are then elected (Rahmah & Martin, 2022). Meanwhile they (the village heads) advanced to a higher level to run for the district and provincial DPRD with political party vehicles that support them and the support of the masses who are still loyal (Afifah dkk., 2023). The events above clearly show that the victory of the Regent's wife to become the Regent's mother, the Regent's child to become the Regent, the Village Head's wife/child to become the Village Head (Amirudin dkk., 2022), was not obtained from an apparent support, but actually departed from a strong sense of trust. from members of the public who did feel the benefits when the elite was in power.

From the several examples above, at least it shows how dynastic politics or kinship politics are deeply rooted and appear to be common in our society at various levels (Yennizar dkk., 2022). The question that arises then is why these kinship political practices live and thrive in our society in general?.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper is a literature study that uses qualitative methods with a descriptive approach from an anthropological historical perspective regarding the traces of kinship politics in Indonesia so that a common thread is found about why kinship politics still exists and is deeply rooted in Indonesia today (Lumban Gaol, Morales, dkk., 2023). Historical data on patterns of kinship politics were taken from ethnographic works on anthropological research published two to three decades ago, in which there were discussions about the cultural aspects of society at that time and some time before (Muhammadong dkk., 2023). Ethnographic data which is heterogeneous in nature (covering several elements of culture) are parsed and reduced according to their relevance to the topic of discussion in this paper. Then, the data is presented diachronically to draw conclusions later.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Traces of Kinship Politics in the Pre and Early Independence Period

In Nordholt's (1987) ethnographic writing, it gives an example of the position and actions of the lurah. In traditional societies, where paddy cultivation is the main method of production, there are various groups of people. The most influential group at that time were the forerunners and the founders of the village and their descendants. The

forerunners are considered by the community as descendants of the oldest inhabitants of the village which is reinforced by the myth that they are nobles from one of the wandering kingdoms who later settled in the village (Koentjaraningrat: 1994). It was this myth that made the people respect it and made the forerunners of becoming influential groups at the local level at that time. Usually, the lurah comes from this group. They have land rights and the right to speak at village meetings. Previously in the 19th century, each village was still led by a demang, where each demat was appointed by the Sultan. Every year, every village is obliged to deliver tribute to the palace, which then passes on to the regency. Then during the Dutch colonial government, the demang lineage was replaced by a bekel to replace the demang's authority, each village was headed by a bekel.

Nordholt (1987) tells of a Demang who has four wives, each from a different village. When he died, the eldest sons of each wife became bekel in their own villages. This shows the kinship relationship that exists between the village heads (bekel). Then the Dutch made a rule that the village head must be elected by the male population of the village. In the election process, the male population must sit in a row behind the champion (village head candidate) they have chosen, and the champion who has the longest line is the winner, this selection procedure is called *ula-ula klabang*.

At that time there were no campaigns by means of money politics that could buy votes, but these champions offered more in the form of 'protection'. Before the election, the champions perform *tirakat* (meditate) and pray at the graves of their ancestors or the founders of the village. Jago, who received a revelation, felt that he would definitely win, so he dared to offer high bets in gambling as a sign of confidence in his victory. In the past until now, village head elections are still often characterized by the phenomenon of betting on village head elections, even though the form has changed. The betting itself actually impresses the people to choose a champion who dares to bet high. This shows that the value of the bet and the revelation that the champion gets is used as a tool of legitimacy as well as influencing citizens to vote for him.

During the war for independence, the lurah also played an important role in ensuring the security and conduciveness of their territory. The lurah is a figure who tries to protect the population and tries not to damage the village or feel the material and immaterial impacts of the fighting that took place between the two sides (the TNI and the Dutch army). It is this role that makes the lurah gain a place (sympathy) in the eyes of its citizens so that the lurah is highly respected. Apart from that, the respect of a lurah by its residents was inseparable from the philosophy of *manunggaling kawulo lan gusti* which was still firmly adhered to by the Javanese people at that time. Respect for the lurah is a transformation from the respect of citizens towards the king whose existence is represented by the lurah. This was because it was the king who appointed the lurah (demang) at that time.

In its development, according to Nordholt, the relationship between the lurah and its residents also seems less intense. Usually residents can only meet with the lurah when in the office. Those from the lurah who often have contact with residents are the village officials, and also through the PKK, while the lurah and carik (village secretary) are only

in the office. Based on the information Nordholt got from his informants, that's what made the lurah prefer the pamong desa from his family or someone close to him with the aim of avoiding bad possibilities such as fears of resistance from residents. In other matters, even the PKK group until now has always been chaired by the lurah's wife whose aim is none other than to help the lurah to more easily accommodate their aspirations.

From Nordholt's research, it shows that the reason why the lurah prefers village officials from carik to village pamong who come from their relatives is to ensure and convince them of the loyalty matters of carik and village pamong. Another reason is because of the notion that family or relatives are the only parties who are more trustworthy. Nordholt also gave examples of several variations of the relationship between the lurah and his subordinates. It was stated that there was a case of a lurah who himself did not have any kinship with the pamong desa, but instead there were family ties between the pamong desa. It even turned out that the carik had a family relationship with the pamong of his village. In this case, the relationship between the lurah and his subordinates was not very good, which was due to the circle of relatives where the lurah's position was outside the circle of relatives of his subordinates. This shows that the selection of apparatus based on family ties has the goal of maintaining government stability under the leadership of the lurah.

In the political, social, and cultural settings of the Javanese people during Nordholt's time, research showed that the social stratification system of the Javanese people at that time was actually open. The point is that the existing system allows the community to carry out vertical social mobility. This was none other than the role of the colonial party in changing the structure of Javanese society which was previously closed, where the position and social status of the people could not change. The Dutch changed the structure of Javanese society where the lurah/demang/bekel had to be elected by the people and were not exclusive to certain lineages.

Before the Dutch entered, Indonesian territory was controlled alternately by Hindu-Buddhist to Islamic kingdoms. During the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom, the king was seen as an incarnation of a god whose job was to maintain the balance of nature. The concept of the king as the incarnation of a god makes it possible for a king to establish his royal government on the basis of religious beliefs that are firmly held by his people (Koentjaraningrat, 1994). The people's strong belief in the religion they adhered to made the royal system and the position of the king, who was believed to be the incarnation of a god, so strong and became the center of all community activities at that time. Everything belongs to the king, so that the people are devoted to the king. One form of people's obedience to the king is manifested through obedience in giving tribute (offerings) in the form of agricultural products to the king. The king who is the center, is assisted by royal officials who can consist of members of the royal family, army officers who are recruited because of their supernatural powers, and religious leaders because of their obedience. One of them served as vice king to manage nature. They were the king's assistants who were delegated some of the king's powers, such as managing smaller areas, controlling land, and collecting and depositing people's taxes.

It was these representatives of the king who actually implemented the politics of kinship by mystifying themselves to become little kings by taking advantage of the people's belief that kings were incarnations of gods. Their position as representatives of the king appointed and trusted by the king is used as a legitimacy tool to implement dynastic politics, namely by making family members as successors to power as minor kings who also cannot be opposed by the people. Meanwhile, the people are hegemonized and accept that they are destined to become the lower class. These patterns were reproduced by local elites as a means of legitimacy to re-emphasize their lineage having the privilege/exclusivity to become leaders with a dynastic style.

One of the ways this was done was to show that his descendants were a royal family through genealogies that traced back to the great kings (Majapahit, Mataram, Singasari, Sriwijaya, Padjajaran and others) to highlight the exclusivity and superiority of his family. This technique is sometimes still used today in the same way, but by pulling the family tree down to major figures, be it national founding figures, religious leaders, traditional leaders, or local figures to show that they and their families deserve to be leaders. -leaders in their respective territories. This technique has proven to be effective to date as a legitimacy tool to gain people's votes and apply dynastic politics in regional election contestation.

Kinship Politics Legacy of the New Order

During the New Order government, in ethnography Shiraishi (2001) suggested the construction of a 'father-child' relationship in the New Order government. President Soeharto constructed relations with his ministers by considering them as 'children'. Consequently, the ministers and their aides will position Suharto as the 'father'. The relationship constructed with this 'father-child' pattern places the father in a powerful and superior position, while the child must become an obedient and 'good' person by following various rules and teachings set by the 'father'. In fact, without constructing a father-son relationship pattern, it is already clear how rigidly it has been regulated structurally regarding the flow of command and accountability (tasks and roles) between the President and his ministers. Unfortunately, the demands of this role as a child who must obey often run aground due to the inconsistency of the father's own attitude, which sometimes often fails to apply the rules he himself made. The father instead considers the position and facilities provided by the state as personal assets that can be used at will. This attitude then makes the children and families of officials feel that they are also entitled to government facilities that are used for personal gain.

Regarding state affairs, it is reduced to be like a family affair with the attitude of the father as something that cannot be denied and cannot be wrong in front of the children. The power relation in this context is centered on the paternal genealogy. It was here that the culture of paternalism developed rapidly and was accepted as a matter of course and considered common. This paternalistic power became the basis for the development of the mentality of fathers during the New Order era, who on the one hand were very generous but also corrupt on the other hand; on the one hand caring about the family but at the same time collusive; tolerant but also arbitrary. Generous, caring and tolerant attitude, at least

found in every advice and speeches of the New Order gentlemen in public. But behind all that, sometimes it is nothing more than rhetoric to cover up greed and arbitrariness.

Shiraishi (2001) in his writings about families in Indonesia during the New Order era, tells how important the relationship or network of 'family' is. He categorizes people into two categories: first are acquaintances, namely people who are members of the 'family' network, and unknown, namely people outside the home page, figures who have the potential to become 'pickpockets' which means having evil intentions. 'Family' here is more of a network, which is not only family members and relatives in the sense of biological and marital ties, but also friends, neighbours, co-workers and others. This network is constantly being formed and expanded, so that no one can live without relying on personal relationships.

The term family or extended family is often used in many institutions in this country, both public and private institutions. Within the institution there is a hierarchical connection between the father (superior) and the child (subordinate). This hierarchy was not fully utilized by the father to arbitrarily treat his subordinates. A good father certainly must have tolerance in the application of rules. If superiors always adhere strictly to laws and regulations with no regard for the needs of their subordinates, then they will not be loved and respected as fathers. The concept of such a leader is not something that has just been applied. Since the kingdom era in Java, even being a king cannot be completely arbitrary. If he wants to get the respect of his servants and people, he must also be tolerant and able to manage conflicts between his servants.

In traditional Javanese society, someone who has a high position is seen not only as a prominent, honorable and dignified person, but at the same time as an 'old man' who is a place to ask questions and ask for help. In short, it functions as a protector, both physically, mentally and socially for the surrounding community in general and for relatives in particular.

It seems that this kinship politics is still alive and well and cannot be separated from the response of the people. The community itself does not feel uneasy or disturbed by the behavior of the elites who practice kinship politics, which include their families, relatives, acquaintances, relations to occupy certain positions under their leadership or after their leadership. They (community) enjoy life under the leadership, they respect the leaders. As in the case of Ratu Atut, for example, they even demonstrated when Ratu Atut was sentenced to prison. Apart from that, it is clear that the victory of the Regent's wife to become the Regent's wife, the Village Head's wife to become the Village Head which I mentioned above did not show pseudo support from the community. But really a sense of trust that is quite sincere from the people. Maybe on the other hand, besides they have built a political dynasty or kinship in their government, they also pay attention to their citizens with various things such as facilities in the fields of health, the economy, employment, or education. So that people feel cared for and enjoy their leadership.

CONCLUSION

The several forms of kinship politics above show that patrimonial culture is still strong in Indonesia at the local, regional and national levels. Patrimonial is a form of political culture system model that has been rooted in Indonesia since the royal era to the modern political era. The centralization of power is the most important element in a patrimonial system, this is where the role of a very powerful (autocratic) person has a major contribution to the sustainability of this system. In traditional societies, there is still no form of cultural secularization or structural differentiation. In the form of cultural secularization, traditional societies still have clear boundaries between leaders and their subordinates or the community. It develops mystifications about the figure of a leader by involving forms of belief that develop in society at large. Such as leaders or kings who are considered as well as believed to be direct descendants of gods and the rise of mystical stories that glorify the strength of the leader with various kinds of myths and abilities. So that it certainly gives limits to ordinary people that they are indeed destined to be led. So in this case, the role of the king is a very important aspect for the continuity of a government.

On the other hand, the discussion above shows a pattern of patron-client relations in the context of the relationship between leaders and subordinates, and with the community. This pattern of relations in Indonesia is commonly referred to as the father-son relationship, in which the father shows his power and influence by building a large or extended family (Jackson, 1981: 13-14). After that, the father must be ready to ensure his responsibilities and establish a relationship with his subordinates personally. At a later stage, the client reciprocates by offering general support and assistance to the patron (Scott, 1993: 7-8). It can be concluded that until now the form of patrimonialism has only been transformed into a different form. With the existence of a partition that separates civil society in the policy-making process directly from politicians who work behind closed doors, the patrimonial system that exists in the Indonesian government will continue to grow. Because with this separation, group interests in the form of patron-client relations between leaders and elites become difficult to avoid.

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