

# CURRICULUM AS A MIRROR OF IDEOLOGICAL AFFILIATION: Rethinking Pesantren Typologies in the Landscape of Indonesian Islamic Organizations

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**Abstract:** The traditional classification of pesantren into salaf, khalaf, or mixed categories no longer captures the rich diversity of contemporary Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. This study proposes a revised typological framework that considers the ideological and organizational affiliations of pesantren—such as NU) Muhammadiyah, Persis, Shia, and LDII. Employing qualitative library research, the analysis draws from institutional records, curriculum documents, and scholarly literature. Findings reveal that each affiliation manifests distinct educational visions: NU emphasizes tafaquh fi al-din through classical texts; Muhammadiyah blends national education with reformist Islam; Persis promotes rationalism and anti-madhhab discourse; Shia pesantren foreground philosophy and logic; and LDII implements a closed, tiered system. The study argues for redefining pesantren typology through ideological and pedagogical lenses, offering a more accurate framework for scholars, educators, and policymakers engaging with Indonesia’s pluralistic Islamic education landscape.

**Keywords:** Curriculum, Pesantren Typology, Islamic Education, Indonesian Islamic Organizations, Religious Affiliation.

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Article history	Submitted: March 02, 2025   Revision : May 24, 2025   Accepted : June 20, 2025   Published : June 30, 2025
How to cite article	Hidayati, Zuhriyyah, Achmad Maulidi, Khoirun Niam, Husniyatus Salamah Zainiyati. "CURRICULUM AS A MIRROR OF IDEOLOGICAL AFFILIATION: Rethinking Pesantren Typologies in the Landscape of Indonesian Islamic Organizations." <i>Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies</i> 9, no. 1 (2025): 201-233. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v9i1.24574">http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v9i1.24574</a>

## Introduction

Pesantren is an Islamic educational institution that has strong roots in the history and culture of Islam in Indonesia. In its historical trajectory, pesantren not only became a place for the transmission of classical Islamic sciences, but also developed into a center for moral, social, and leadership development of the ummah.<sup>1</sup> Along with the complexity of social change and the challenges of modern times, pesantren show strong adaptability through the diversification of education and learning models, especially in curriculum aspects.

Although many studies have been conducted related to pesantrens, studies on pesantren tend to be general, focusing on classic typologies such as *salafiyah*, *khalafiyah*, or a combination of pesantren. In fact, in the last two decades there have been the emergence of pesantren with a *hybrid* or combination model,<sup>2</sup> entrepreneur pesantren,<sup>3</sup> pesantren of science,<sup>4</sup> ecopesantren,<sup>5</sup> to pesantren based on digital technology<sup>6</sup> which integrates religious education with modern science and *soft skills*. In some studies, it is also mentioned that there is a naming pesantren of salafi-jihadis which,<sup>7</sup> if analyzed with the old typological glasses, is not well accommodated. Meanwhile, on the other hand, the dimension of religious institutional affiliation—such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, the Persatuan Islam (Persis), Shia, and the Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII)—is still rarely systematically examined as a typological foundation that affects the learning curriculum. In fact, this affiliation is not only symbolic, but also forms the epistemological orientation, teaching methods, curriculum content, and educational goals embraced by each pesantren.

In this context, there is a conceptual gap that is important to be bridged, namely the lack of comparative studies on the pesantren learning curriculum based on organizational affiliation.

Existing research generally only highlights traditional content (*kitab kuning*), the integration of science and religion, or institutional transformation, without looking at how ideological and institutional affiliations contribute to the structure and content of the curriculum systematically.<sup>8</sup> As a result, the understanding of the internal dynamics of pesantren is often generalist, even simplistic.

To answer this gap, an approach is needed that examines the learning curriculum as a mirror of the affiliation of religious organizations that oversee pesantren. Several approaches that may be taken, such as a descriptive study of the curriculum of each pesantren, qualitative-comparative studies across organizational affiliations, and an ethnographic approach in looking at value- and ideological-based learning practices.

Of these alternatives, the cross-affiliation comparative-qualitative approach is considered the most effective because it allows for a more in-depth and contextual reading of the curriculum used in pesantren from different affiliation backgrounds. The curriculum in this case is not understood simply as a formal document or syllabus, but as a manifestation of educational ideology and organizational values.<sup>9</sup>

This research offers theoretical and methodological novelty in the development of pesantren typologies, by focusing on the learning curriculum as the main basis of classification, presenting cross-affiliation studies, including groups that are relatively rarely discussed in the academic literature, and also juxtaposing the dimensions of ideology, institutional structure, and pedagogical practice in one integrated analysis. With this approach, it is hoped that a typology of pesantren can be built that is more relevant to the contemporary context of Islamic education in Indonesia.

Some previous studies have indeed reviewed the curriculum of Pesantrens, such as the Steenbrink study<sup>10</sup> about modern

Islamic education, or Zamakhsari Dhofier<sup>11</sup> about the tradition of the NU pesantren. Azra<sup>12</sup> also reviewed Islamic education reform in Indonesia. However, these studies have not explicitly dissected the relationship between institutional affiliation and the learning curriculum comparatively.

This study is expected to contribute as a conceptual framework, namely offering a new approach in understanding the pesantren curriculum based on ideological and institutional affiliations. In addition, this study is also empirical because it provides relevant field data to map learning practices in various pesantrens. Thus, this research not only expands academic understanding of pesantrens, but also contributes to strengthening a plural, dynamic, and quality-oriented national Islamic education system.

From the above presentation, this study will answer the question *How can the typology of the pesantren learning curriculum be constructed based on the affiliation of religious organizations (NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Shia, and LDII) through the study of literature and documents?* From these questions it will be developed into several discussions, namely: *First*, What are the general and specific characteristics of the learning curriculum of each affiliated pesantren as reflected in official documents, scientific literature, and previous studies, *Second*, How do ideological and organizational affiliations affect the structure, content, and orientation of the learning curriculum in academic discourse and institutional documentation, and *Third* What are the main similarities and differences between the five affiliates of pesantren in terms of curriculum and learning approaches according to library sources.

## Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with the type of library research, which aims to explore, describe, and analyze the construction of the pesantren learning curriculum based on the affiliation of religious organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Persis, Shia, and the Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII).<sup>13</sup> This approach was chosen because the main focus of the research does not lie in the collection of field data, but in the interpretation of written documents that represent the values, ideology, and educational direction of each pesantren. Literature studies allow researchers to understand the meaning contained in the curriculum structure as a product of socio-religious dynamics, through a critical study of literature, educational policies, curriculum texts, and previous research results<sup>14</sup>.

Data collection is carried out through the search and selection of academic literature, pesantren curriculum documents, and official sources of religious organizations. These sources were then analyzed using the qualitative analysis method as developed by Creswell<sup>15</sup>, which includes the process of organizing data, thorough reading, thematic coding, pattern identification, and interpretation of meaning. The codes that emerge from the document are classified into themes such as educational objectives, curriculum content, learning methods, and the influence of affiliation ideology on curriculum design. Through this stage, the researcher builds a typological narrative that is not only descriptive, but also interpretive, in order to capture the complexity of pesantren curriculum thinking in the framework of institutional affiliation.

The validity of the data is maintained by using source triangulation techniques and critical tracing of the credibility of the literature, paying attention to the context, publisher, and

ideological position of the source. To avoid interpretive bias, the researcher tries to maintain a reflective position on the partiality of the analysis, while presenting rich and contextual descriptions so that readers can capture the depth of the reality of the education being studied. This validity strategy is in line with qualitative research guidelines that emphasize integrity, transparency, and depth of analysis as key pillars in producing meaningful findings.<sup>16</sup>

## **Results and Discussion**

From the analysis of the documents carried out, there are several pesantren curriculums that will be presented. The selection of the document is considered to represent a certain affiliation/organization that is the basis for the establishment and implementation of learning of a pesantren.

### **Nahdlatul Ulama Affiliates**

What is meant by Nahdlatul Ulama affiliated pesantren is traditional pesantren that carry out their studies on sciences based on the teachings of Ash'ariyah and Sufism. Traditional pesantrens are the forerunners of all pesantrens in Indonesia. The pattern of traditional pesantren education is very unique and has become a character that cannot be left from every traditional educational character, this character is usually found in pesantrens in Java, (especially in Central Java and East Java). The peculiarity of the character of this traditional pesantren is a characteristic that becomes a tradition and a content of ideas in the development of diversity and the development of institutional traditions in the pesantren world

These traditional pesantrens are also the forerunners of the establishment of NU, where the founders of NU are the caregivers of these traditional pesantrens. Therefore, in this

discussion, it must be emphasized that in fact these pesantrens already existed before the establishment of NU itself. Imam Bawani stated that traditional pesantrens will be identical to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).<sup>17</sup> So, it can be said that this “NU” pesantren has existed for a long time before NU was born.<sup>18</sup> Such as the Tebuireng pesantren which was established in 1899, the Tambakberas pesantren which was established in 1838, the Lirboyo pesantren which was established in 1910, the Langitan pesantren which was established in 1852, all of these pesantrens were established before NU was born. However, because of the existence of scientific paths and also sanad that are often networked, these pesantrens have the same ideology, which later is often referred to as NU pesantrens.

The curriculum of these pesantrens makes classical Islamic books (*kitab kuning*) used as a subject of study, as well as a means of levelling students’ ability to learn. For example, in fiqh, the curriculum starts from the books *Mabadi’ al-Fiqhiyah*, *Tqrib*, *Fath al-Qarib*, *Fath al-Muin*, and so on. These books are made in tiered classes for pesantrens with a class model or presented in the form of *bandongan*.

The *kitab kuning* that is the subject of study in pesantrens is inseparable from Islamic sciences, such as monotheism, jurisprudence, Sufism, tafsir, hadith, and *date* (history), in ten of the sciences of tools such as nahwu, Sharaf, balaghah, and others. These books consist of three patterns, basic (*matn*), intermediate (*syarah*), and big book (*hasiyah*).<sup>19</sup> However, the curriculum of the pesantren does not have rigid and rigid standards. The implementation of learning is adjusted to the existing circumstances of the pesantren. The following is an example of a curriculum at the NU Pesantren:

Table 1. NU Pesantren Curriculum

Study Materials	Pesantren			
	Langitan	Lirboyo	Al-Falah Ploso	Sidogiri
Tauhid	<i>Kifayah al-Awam</i>	<i>Kifayahul 'Awam</i>	<i>Jaubarotut taubid</i>	
Fiqih	<i>Fath al-Mu'in 1-2</i>	<i>Fath al-Mu'in 1-2</i>	<i>Fath al-Qarib</i>	Fiqh Shafi'i with the material of <i>Fathul Mu'in</i> and <i>Tanwirul-Qulub</i> , Hanafi Fiqh with the material of <i>Matnu Kanzid-Daq'iq</i> , Maliki's fiqh with the material of <i>Al-Iryad</i> , Hanbali Fiqh with <i>Al-Umdab</i> material
Ushul Fiqh	<i>Syarb Nadm Waraqat</i>	<i>Al-Waroqot</i>	<i>Syarb Nadm Waraqat</i>	<i>Ghâyatul-Wushûl</i>
Akhlak Tasawuf	<i>Syarb Al-Hikam</i>	<i>Ta'limul Muta'allim</i>		<i>Syarbul-Hikam</i>
Tafsir	<i>Rawa'î al-Bayan</i>	<i>Tafsirul Jalalain</i>		<i>Muqathafâtul-Tafsîr</i> , <i>Tafsîr Âyâtîl-Tarbiyah</i> , <i>Tafsîr Âyâtîl-Mu'âmalah</i> , dan <i>Tafsîr Âyâtîl-Da'wah</i>
Ulum al-Tafsir	<i>Fayd al-Khobir</i>	<i>Itmam ad-Dirayah</i>		<i>Zubdatul-Itqân fî 'Ulûmil-Qur'ân</i>
Hadis	<i>Hujjab Abl al-Sunnah</i>	<i>Riyadlus Solihin</i>		<i>Riyâdbush-shâlihîn</i>
Ulum al-Hadist	<i>Mushtalah al-Hadits</i>	<i>Al-Qovaidul Asasiyah Fi Ilmi Hadist</i>	<i>Mustbolah Hadist</i>	<i>Al-Manhalul-Lathîf</i>
Tarikh	<i>Tarikh Tasyri'</i>	<i>Manaqib A'immatil Arba'ah</i>		<i>Syarî'atullâh al-Kbâlidab</i> <i>At-Tajridush-Sharîh</i> <i>Wafâ'ud-Dîn</i>

Source: <https://sidogiri.net/staging/madrasah/>, <https://alfalahploso.net/pendidikan/misriu/>, <https://lirboyo.net/pelajaran-alijah/><sup>20</sup>

From the table above, it can be seen that there is a similarity in the selection of books which in itself shows the similarity of the basics/ideology of the pesantren of the pesantren in the subject of fiqh, for example, the four Pesantrens chose the book of *Fath al-Mu'in* as their curriculum. The Book of *Fath al-Mu'in* is a book of fiqh of the Shafi'i school by Zain ad-Din 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Malibari, one of the scholars from Malibar, India. The book of *Fath al-Mu'in* is one of the books that is often used as a reference by followers of the Shafi'i school containing the science of jurisprudence from the chapter of prayer to chapter *'i'taq* (freeing slaves). Thus, it can be concluded that these pesantrens in fiqh adhere to the Shafi'i school because the main teaching material is the book of *Fath al-Mu'in*. There is something interesting in the Sidogiri pesantren in fiqh teaching materials that present teaching materials from four schools. With this wider teaching material, it is hoped that students can be broader in mastering fiqh science in a variety of ways.

Meanwhile, for tawhid teaching materials, the book used is book of *Kifayatul Awam* which is one of the advanced tawhid knowledge materials. Therefore, this book is generally used as a follow-up lesson for pesantren students after successfully understanding the basic books of monotheism correctly. The author of this book is Shaykh Muhammad bin Shafi'i al-Fudholi is a follower of tauhid *ahlus sunnah wal-jama'ah*<sup>21</sup>.

Another characteristic is the study of Sufism morals. From the table above, it can be seen that the book used in NU pesantrens is *Syarh al-Hikam* by Sheikh Ahmad Ibn 'Athoillah al-Sakandari. Ibn 'Athoillah was a disciple of Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Ali al-Anshari al-Mursi who was a direct disciple of Abi al-Hasan al-Syadzili, the founder of the Syadziliyah order. This book is a book of morality combined with Sufism as well as philosophical Sufism.<sup>22</sup> This book is also the choice of several

pesantrens in the routine *wetonan* pesantren *program* which is usually read by caregivers for students and the general public such as Bahrul Ulum and Tebuireng Jombang pesantrens.

### **Muhammadiyah Affiliates**

Pesantrens affiliated with Muhammadiyah are pesantrens that were indeed established by Muhammadiyah. Some Muhammadiyah pesantrens are indeed owned by individuals or the caregivers/founders, but the number is small. In contrast to NU pesantrens, pesantrens affiliated with Muhammadiyah do not have a curriculum with a system of mastery of the *kitab kuning* in stages. Muhammadiyah pesantrens have since its inception taught the national curriculum outside of their informal religious teachings.

The management model of the Muhammadiyah pesantren is *top-down*, namely the managerial supervision of the pesantren, be it the curriculum, the recruitment of teachers and administrators, and direct funding is carried out by the central management. Meanwhile, the implementation of its operations is supervised by the branch management. The caregiver or the leader of the Muhammadiyah pesantren does not have the power to do things outside the supervision of the Muhammadiyah management. The leaders of the pesantren are also elected every four years.<sup>23</sup>

The curriculum of the Muhammadiyah pesantren uses the madrasah curriculum by adding the pesantren curriculum which contains al-Islam and Muhammadiyah materials, Arabic and English, regeneration, and others. The educational curriculum is taught in stages in semesters and in stages according to the level of education of each one, including: tsanawiyah level and aliyah level. The distribution is adjusted to the class division system, namely: from grade VII to grade IX for the tsanawiyah level and from grade X to grade XII for the aliyah level.<sup>24</sup>

The use of the *kitab kuning* is relatively rarely used in Muhammadiyah pesantrens. In some Muhammadiyah pesantrens on the island of Java, recitation with the *kitab kuning* is used, but it is not officially determined by Muhammadiyah. Therefore, there is no recitation of the *kitab kuning* in stages in the Muhammadiyah pesantren.

Among the *kitab kuning* used by the Muhammadiyah pesantrens is the book used as a reference by the Muhammadiyah Tarjih Council. Among these books are the study of tafsir using *Tafsir Ibn Katsir*, *Tafsir al-Manar*, *Tafsir al-Maraghi*, hadith using the book *Bulugh al-Maram*, *Riyadh al-Shalihin*, *Kutub al-Sittah*, and *Arba'in Nawawi*. In the discussion of fiqh, Muhammadiyah pesantrens use Ibn Hanbal's fiqh as a reference, such as the books by Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyah, *Subul al-Salam*, and *al-Muntaqa* by Ibn Taymiyyah,<sup>25</sup> tauhid menggunakan kitab *al-Tauhid* karya Muhammad ibn Abd Wahhab dan *Syahrh al-Aqidah al-Thahawiyah*.<sup>26</sup>

### **Shia-affiliates**

There are not many Shia-affiliated pesantrens that openly refer to themselves as Shia pesantren because *their* concept of *taqiyah*.<sup>27</sup> There are at least two large Pesantrens that openly refer to themselves as Shia pesantrens, namely the al-Hadi Pekalongan pesantren and the YAPI Bangil pesantren. Some institutions that are similar to Shia-affiliated pesantrens are SMA Plus Muthahhari, ICAS/IC, Lazuardi School, ST Madina Ilmu, and Madrasah Nurul Iman, Sorong.

The curriculum of Shia pesantrens in Indonesia tends to follow the Shia Imamiyah school, namely the Al-Hadi Pekalongan pesantren<sup>28</sup> and YAPI Bangil. The study of this pesantren of course uses books or references from the Shia school, especially Shia Imamiyah. Even if there is a book from the Sunni, it is used as a comparison only. Among the books studied at YAPI Bangil are as follows:

Table 2. YAPI Bangil Pesantren Curriculum

Material	Book	Author
Akidah	Al-Aqaid Islamiyah (?), Amuzesye Aqayid	Ayatullah Taqi Mishbah Yazdi
Fiqh	Al-Fiqh 'ala al-Madhahib al-Khamsah	Syaikh Jawad Mughniyah
Ushul Fiqh	Al-Halaqat	Muhammad Baqir Shadr
Figih Argumetatif	Fiqh Istidlali	Syaikh Baqir Irwani
Filsafat Islam	Bidayah al-Hikmah	Sayyid Husain Thabathabai
Nahwu	Alfiyah ibn Malik	Ibn Malik

From the table above, it can be explained that the theology of the Shia pesantren in YAPI Bangil follows the official sect in Iran, namely Shia Imamiyah. This Shia Imamiyah believes in the twelve Imams after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, namely: Imam Ali bin abi Talib (d.40 AH/661 AD), Imam Muhammad Hasan Bin Ali (d.49 AH/669 AD), Abu Abdillah al-Husain Bin Ali (d.61 AH/680 AD), Imam Ali bin Husain Zainal Abidin (d.95 AH/714 AD), Imam Muhammad bin Ali al-Baqiras (d.115 AH/733 AD), Imam Jafar bin Muhammad al-Shadiq (d.148 AH/765 AD), Imam Musa bin Jafar al-Kadzim (d.183 AH/799 AD), Imam Ali bin Musa al-Ridha (d.203 AH/818 AD), Imam Muhammad bin Ali al-Jawad (220 AH/835 AD), Imam Ali bin al-Hadi ((d.254 AH/868 AD), Imam Hasan Bin Ali al-Ashkari (d.260 H/874 AD) and Imam Muhammad Bin Hasan al-Mahdi al-Muntazhar as. The last Imam is believed to have experienced the occult (disappearance) in 392 AH/940 AD, and will come one day to fight all evil and falsehood in all corners of the earth.<sup>29</sup>

For fiqh materials, Shia-affiliated pesantrens usually use fiqh madzhab Ja'fari. Therefore, the books listed in the table are fiqh of five madhhabs, namely 3 Sunni madhhabs plus one Ja'fari madhhab.

What is interesting from the explanation of the table above is the existence of Islamic philosophy material in the curriculum of Shia-affiliated pesantrens. The students of the Shia pesantren were indeed given philosophy material with the logic of mantiq as an introduction. The Islamic philosophy taught is usually the transcendent philosophy (*hikmah al-mutaaliyah*) founded by Mulla Sadra. This philosophy not only uses the power of reason and intuition, but also bases itself on sacred texts.<sup>30</sup> Mullah Sadra's thought has been passed down from generation to generation until it became an official thought in the modern world and became the inspiration of Ayatollah Ali Khomaeni in establishing the Islamic Republic of Iran and the concept of *wilayat al-faqih*. From Imam Khomaeni emerged contemporary Muslim philosophers such as Murtadha Muthahhari, Mehdi Hairi Yazdi, Husein Thabathabai, and M. Baqr Sadr. The thoughts of these philosophers are preserved in Shia pesantrens to this day.

### **LDII Affiliates**

There is not much information related to the curriculum of LDII-affiliated pesantrens LDII, which has the doctrine of tri-success, believes that every individual must have the character of pious fakih, moral karimah, and be self-reliant/not become a parasite. These three characters are the main goals of LDII-affiliated pesantren education. In order to meet the standards of piety and faqih, pesantren regulates various levels of structured education. The learning activities of the curriculum are divided into six classes, namely: (1) Reading Class, (2) Pegon Class, (3)

Slow Class, (4) Speed Class, (5) Pre-Screening Class, and (6) Screening Class.<sup>31</sup> Each class is designed to develop the necessary competencies so that students can meet the set criteria.

In his learning, the main book that is officially used is *Kutub al-Sittah*, therefore, LDII in ancient times was called Darul Hadis. In addition to *Kutub al-Sittah*, the LDII pesantren also uses a concise hadith collection consisting of 12 chapters.

As for its implementation, students must first take part in the preparation stage which contains the teachings of morals and reading the basic Quran, as well as the knowledge of *tajwid*. At this stage, students are also taught *thaharah* and several ways to worship. The next stage is a follow-up debriefing from the previous stage which contains advanced fiqh and advanced reading of the Quran. The next stage is the implementation stage where students will be assigned to several regions to practice the material that has been obtained. The last stage is the stage of scientific improvement where this stage is filled by ustaz, missionaries, and other teachers.<sup>32</sup>

### **Persis Pesantren**

The Islamic Unity pesantren (Persis) is present as one of pesantren entities that has distinctive, sharp, and consistent curriculum characteristics in an effort to purify Islamic teachings from elements that are considered *bid'ah*, *khurafat*, and *taklid*. Since its inception by reformers such as Ahmad Hassan and Mohammad Natsir, Persis has taken a firm position as an Islamic intellectual movement that places the Qur'an and Hadith as the main sources of education, with an argumentative textual approach and free from the dominance of certain sects.<sup>33</sup>

The curriculum of the Persis pesantren is systematically built on three main foundations: mastery of Qur'anic interpretation, understanding of authentic hadith, and reasoning of ushuliyah

(legal *istinbath* method). The books taught are strictly selected based on their authority and authenticity. In the study of *tafsir*, for example, rational-reformist works such as *Tafsir al-Manar* by Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridha are used, which are in line with the spirit of *tajdid*. As for the study of *hadith*, primary texts such as *Bulugh al-Maram*, *Umdat al-Ahkam*, and *Kutub al-Sittah* are mandatory references (<https://persis.or.id/>).

The pedagogical approach at the Persis pesantren emphasizes classical learning combined with interactive dialogue and argumentative exercises. Open discussion and scientific debate are not only allowed, but are seen as an effective method to test the validity of opinions based on *shari'i* postulates. This is intended so that students not only understand the text, but also be able to convey and maintain it scientifically and systematically.<sup>34</sup>

One of the uniqueness of the Persis pesantren lies in its commitment to rationality and anti-dogmatism. Unlike traditional Pesantrens that use the *kitab kuning* of *madhhab* as the core of teaching, the Persis pesantren chooses to criticize classical Islamic content selectively, even rejecting the authority of certain *madhhab* if it is not in line with a strong *nash*. Students are educated to do *tahqiq*, not just *taqlid*.<sup>35</sup> Thus, the curriculum is not only conservative or transmissive, but progressive and critical of the heritage of Islamic thought.

The main goal of education at the Persis Pesantren is to produce *da'wah* cadres who excel in argumentation, are firm in the faith of monotheism, and are pure in the practice of worship. The character of the students is formed through the strengthening of the *aqidah* of *tauhid* (without compromising on the elements of *shirk*), the practice of scientific debate, and the understanding of basic logic (*mantiq*) as a tool for thinking. *Tawhid* education is not only a subject, but a key value framework in the entire curriculum structure.<sup>36</sup>

In practice, the curriculum of the Persis pesantren does not stand in a vacuum. It responds to the challenges of the times with a rational approach, without sacrificing the purity of revelation. This can be seen from the efforts to integrate general and vocational education in several educational units under Persis. Pesantrens not only produce scholars, but also Muslim scholars who are able to stand in the midst of modern society without losing their ideological identity.<sup>37</sup>

Through a solid curriculum structure, a critical epistemological approach, and the courage to take a firm stance against deviations from teaching, the Persis pesantren has proven its contribution to the map of Islamic education in Indonesia. It became the locomotive for the pesantren model that was clean from syncretism, but open to rationality and contextualization of da'wah in the modern era.

*Manhaj* (curriculum) of Persis 27 Situaksan Bandung refers entirely to the educational curriculum of the Persis by giving a large portion and adding weight to *the material on al-'ulumus-syar'iyah* and Arabic. The *al-'ulumul-insaniyyah* and *al-kauniyyah* are given in an extracurricular format. Excluding English which is included in the intracurricular considering that the study of Islamic religion today requires competence in understanding the references of Islamic studies in English. In more detail, the intracurricular and extracurricular formats are: *First*, intracurricular subjects consist of tahsin and tahfizh, tafsir of the Qur'an, knowledge of the Qur'an, *mushthalah hadith*, tauhid, *Riyadlus-Shalihin*, *Bulughul-Maram*, *Ushul-Fiqh*, Arabic (*Qawa'id*, *Hiwar*, *Balaghah*), and English. The extracurricular subjects consist of: Indonesian, Science, Social Studies, mathematics, *fara'idl*, sirah nabawiyyah and Islamic history, sports, martial arts, hisab, precision, fiqh siyasah, manthiq, and education. In addition, extracurricular education activities will also be supplemented with *polar and* mass communication (rhetoric and journalism) (<https://pesantrenpersis27.com/>).

## **Curriculum Differentiation Based on Organizational Affiliation**

An analysis of the curriculum of pesantren affiliated with Islamic organizations shows that each affiliation develops a distinctive curriculum approach, rooted in their respective theological, historical, and social identities. NU pesantren, for example, builds a curriculum system based on *tafaqquh fi al-din* with the main teaching resource in the form of the classic *kitab kuning* that is read in stages and in depth. In this case, the NU pesantren maintains a rich scientific tradition of turats with a sufistic and legalistic approach from the Shafi'i school.<sup>38</sup>

Apart from that, Muhammadiyah pesantren prioritize the integration of general and religious curricula with modern and systemic education management. The national curriculum is used as the main foundation, while Islamic lessons are arranged through a thematic approach and are not centered on the *kitab kuning*. This reflects the reformist orientation of Muhammadiyah which from the beginning rejected taklid and tried to adapt Islamic education to the demands of modern times.<sup>39</sup>

On the other hand, Shia pesantren such as YAPI Bangil show a very systematic curriculum structure, with an emphasis on Islamic philosophy, logic, and jurisprudence of the Ja'fari school. The implementation of this curriculum is based on the Hausa education system which is the standard model in Iran and the global Shia world. This approach emphasizes rationality, argumentation, and the ideology of imamah as the main framework of education (Rahman, 2020).

Meanwhile, LDII Pesantrens display a rigid, multi-tiered, and internal cadre-based curriculum typology. Their curriculum is designed to form the ideal character of the LDII version: *alim-faqih*, moral, and independent. The books taught are focused on selected hadiths (*Kupol al-Sittah*) and are delivered in a tiered class system. This curriculum is very closed and internal,

with the aim of maintaining the continuity of the organization's ideology (Aly & Romadlon, 2024). The Persis pesantren emphasizes a rational, scriptural, and anti-madhab approach through the study of books such as *Bulugh al-Maram* and *Tafsir al-Manar*.

This differentiation marks a shift in educational orientation from just delivering knowledge towards strengthening ideological identity. This means that the curriculum is not only an instructional tool, but also an instrument of ideological formation that is rooted in the history, scientific network, and vision of certain Islamic movements.<sup>40</sup>

### **Religious Ideology as the Basis of the Curriculum**

One of the important findings is that the pesantren curriculum is not only a pedagogical tool, but an ideological reflection of the managing organization or its founder. In the context of NU pesantren the ideology of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* became the basis for learning, which was manifested in the selection of books from Shafi'iyah and Sufi scholars. NU pesantren education is oriented towards madzhab Shafi'i in fiqh, Ash'ariyah in monotheism, and Sufism in the spiritual dimension. Books such as *Fath al-Mu'in* and *Syarh al-Hikam* are not only teaching texts, but also the cultivation of moderate values, tawassuth, and obedience to the authority of salaf scholars. This strengthens the position of NU pesantren as a center for the preservation of traditional Islam with a moderate and contextual approach.<sup>41</sup>

Muhammadiyah, on the other hand, holds the principle of *tajdid* (renewal) and *progressive Islam*. This orientation is reflected in the selection of teaching materials based on tafsir-hadith, such as *Tafsir al-Maraghi*, *Bulugh al-Maram*, books by Ibn Qayyim, and Ibn Taymiyyah, modern fiqh, and strong integration with the formal curriculum. The ideology of rationalism and purification of teachings is the common thread that colors

the development of the curriculum, as articulated in the Tarjih system.<sup>42</sup>

Syiah memosisikan kurikulum sebagai instrumen transmisi ideologi imamah dan filsafat transsendental dari Mulla Sadra, Muhammad Baqir al-Shadr, dan Ayatullah Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, yang menegaskan otoritas Ahlul Bait dan doktrin Imamiyah. Penguatan logika dan filsafat sejak dini bertujuan membentuk kader yang tidak hanya paham agama, tetapi juga mampu berpikir kritis dalam kerangka revolusi teologis-politik. Ini selaras dengan pendekatan pendidikan Islam di Iran pasca-Khomeini.<sup>43</sup>

On the contrary, LDII constructs the curriculum as a mechanism to strengthen internal loyalty and reproduction of cadres. LDII pesantren builds a curriculum structure based on the tri of success (*alim-faqih*, akhlak karimah, independent) with an emphasis on understanding hadith and da'wah practice. The curriculum does not only teach religious knowledge, but at the same time disciplines doctrine, strengthens systems, and limits outside influences. In this context, pesantren are an important tool in forming a closed but well-organized LDII society.<sup>44</sup>

As for Persis prioritizes the purification of monotheism from the elements of bid'ah and superstition. The Kitab *al-Tauhid*, *Tafsir al-Manar*, and mantiq training are tools for the formation of rational understanding and scientific arguments in defending beliefs.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, the ideological basis not only compiles a map of the content of the curriculum, but also shapes the way of thinking, learning strategies, and the direction of the regeneration of each Pesantren. Ideology is an integrative factor as well as the main differentiator between Pesantrens.

## **The Difference Between Pedagogical Approach and Curriculum Management**

The pedagogical approach has also experienced a striking differentiation. NU pesantrens are generally flexible and informal. The learning process still relies on the emotional closeness between the students and the kiai, with classic recitation methods such as *bandongan* and *sorogan* where the teacher-student relationship is charismatic and informal. The learning process is not always class-based, but more fluid and contextual according to the direction of the kiai. This system emphasizes *scientific manners* and *sanad* as the central value of education.<sup>46</sup>

Muhammadiyah, on the other hand, adopts a modern classical approach with a top-down managerial system by the center, with the head of the pesantren being selected periodically. This system ensures uniformity of curriculum and managerial discipline, but reduces cultural flexibility. The duties of pesantren caregivers are limited by the structural role of the organization, including in the selection of curriculum and teaching staff. This shows the decralization of the position of the kiai, who functions more as an institutional manager than a charismatic figure.<sup>47</sup>

LDII features a structured learning system based on classes and stages. Each student is required to follow the curriculum in order and meet the internal graduation requirements. In this case, LDII is more pragmatic by emphasizing the stages of systematic regeneration from the basics to field deployments. Learning is designed to be outcome-based and focuses on mastering practical worship practices and practical da'wah. This system tends to be rigid and exclusive, but it is able to guarantee doctrinal homogeneity in the long run.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile, Shia pesantrens combine a classical approach with an academic system. The curriculum structure is divided

based on scientific stages and philosophical scientific logic, which allows students to understand methodologically and historically their teachings. This approach reflects the philosophical and ideological hauzah tradition that integrates the classical approach with the systematics of the Ja'fari school, where philosophy, ushul fiqh, and theology are presented in a gradual and argumentative manner.<sup>49</sup>

Persis encourages dialogical methods, scientific debate, and rhetorical strengthening as the main approaches. This is designed to form students who are able to think logically, critically, and are able to face da'wah challenges argumentatively.

### **Implications for the Construction of a New Typology of Pesantrens**

From the various findings above, it can be concluded that the typology of Pesantrens based on the affiliation of Islamic organizations presents a more representative framework in understanding the diversity of contemporary Pesantrens. Classical typologies such as salaf-khalaf or salaf-modern are not enough to accommodate this dynamic. On the other hand, ideological-pedagogical typologies that emphasize affiliations, teaching resources, learning methods, and educational orientation have become more relevant to the current context.<sup>50</sup>

This research suggests that the new typology of pesantren should consider the dimension of affiliation and epistemology as the basis for classification. This means that the preparation of typologies is not enough based on institutional structures or learning methods, but must pay attention to the source of scientific authority, ideological base, and long-term educational strategies. In this way, the pesantren typology model can be a more accurate analytical tool in understanding the diversity and dynamics of Islamic education in Indonesia

This typology is also useful practically for the community in choosing pesantren according to the values and educational needs of children. For example, families who want a classical-based education can choose the NU pesantren while those who want a modern approach can choose the Muhammadiyah pesantren. Those who want to delve into philosophy and spirituality can choose a Shia pesantren, and those who want an internalistic curriculum can access the LDII pesantren. Meanwhile, people who want dialogical science can choose the Persis Pesantren. In addition, for researchers, mapping like this opens up space for the development of cross-disciplinary studies between education, sociology, and Islamic theology.

If made in a matrix, the comparison between the pesantrens above is illustrated in the following table:

Table 3. Comparison between Pesantrens

Aspects	NU	Muhammadiyah	Syiah (YAPI)	LDII	Persis
Ideological Foundations	Asy'ariyah-Syafi'iyah-Tasawuf	Tajdid-Non-Mazhab	Imamiyah-Ja'fariyah-Wilayat Faqih	Sunni, Fokus Hadis & Fikih Praktis	Pure tauhid, Anti-Taqlid
Main Book	<i>Kitab kuning</i> (Fath al-Mu'in, Hikam)	Tafsir Ibnu Katsir, Arba'in Nawawi	Al-Halaqat, Bidayah al-Hikmah	Kutub al-Sittah, Hadis Praktis	Bulugh al-Maram, Tafsir al-Manar
Approach	Traditional, bandongan, sorogan	Modern, classic	Argumentative, Islamic Philosophy	Tiered, regeneration	Argumentative, rational, tahqiq
Curriculum Management	Kiyai Autonomy	Top-down (center-to-branch)	Centralized and ideological	Ideology of Shia Imamiyah	Systematic, intracurricular-extracurricular
Educational Objectives	Tafaquh, social service	Muhammadiyah Cadre Regeneration	Ideologisasi Syiah Imamiyah	Three Successes (Alim, Akhlak, Independent)	Rational, anti-heretical da'wah cadres

## **Conclusion**

The findings in this article indicate that the traditional classification of pesantren that only refers to the categories of *salaf*, *khalaf*, or combination is no longer adequate in understanding the diversity and dynamics of contemporary Islamic education in Indonesia. In the current context, where the national education system demands an inclusive, adaptive, and value-based approach, the typology of pesantren built on ideological and pedagogical affiliations is becoming more relevant and functional. This approach not only offers a more representative conceptual framework for pesantren-based mapping, but also provides practical implications for the community in choosing educational institutions according to children's values and needs, as well as for policy makers to design Islamic education policies that are contextual, plural, and responsive to diversity. In addition, this typology also has a strategic contribution in responding to the challenges of the era of globalization and digitalization of education while maintaining the ideological character of each institution, as well as opening up interdisciplinary research opportunities that examine the relationship between education, ideology, and social transformation. Thus, this affiliation-based typology model not only reflects the complex reality of Islamic education, but also provides direction for the development of a more moderate, progressive, and contributory pesantren curriculum to the strengthening of the national education ecosystem.

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