From Personal Recruitment to Institutionalized Cadre Formation: Ikatan Pelajar Persis and the Making of the ROFI (Ar-Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi) System in West Java, 2010–2024

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Abstract

This article reconstructs how Ikatan Pelajar Persis (IPP), the student organization of the reformist association Persatuan Islam (Persis), turned the recruitment of young cadres from a matter of personal networks into a tiered, institutionalized system known as ROFI (Ar-Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi) in West Java between 2010 and 2024. Studies of Indonesian Islamic student organizations have concentrated on other movements, and the scholarship on Persis has privileged its founders, ulama, and pesantren; the cadre formation of Persis students has not been examined historically. Using heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography, the study draws on statutes, cadre manuals, work reports, dated visual documents, and ten oral-history interviews conducted in November and December 2025. It shows that IPP emerged from a long genealogy of student bodies, from Rijalul Ghad and Ummahatul Ghad (1943) to the congress in Garut that declared IPP on 23 September 2010. ROFI then developed in three phases: experimental formulation based on personal recruitment (2010–2014), formalization through a division of labour between central and district leaderships (2015–2021), and institutionalization after IPP became an autonomous body of Persis on 25 September 2022, culminating in the 2024 sequence of Ta'aruf, ROFI I–III, and Training for Trainers. Read through Parsons's functional framework and tested against oral and documentary evidence, the article argues that ROFI became the main mechanism through which Persis reproduces its intellectual and organizational identity among students, while persistent gaps between design and practice reveal the agency of local actors and the fragility of organizational memory.

Keywords: *Persatuan Islam; Ikatan Pelajar Persis; cadre formation; ROFI; Islamic student organizations; West Java; oral history*

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Introduction

Cadre formation is one of the conditions on which the survival of any movement depends. An organization that cannot prepare its next generation risks a break in leadership, an erosion of identity, and a weakening of the values that justify its existence. In Islamic mass organizations, cadre formation has never been limited to formal training; it also takes place through study circles, preaching, publishing, and the everyday work of running an organization, all of which shape the knowledge, attitudes, and loyalties of members. The cadre manual of Ikatan Pelajar Persis (IPP) itself opens by stressing that such formation requires a systematic and measurable pattern if it is to produce cadres who serve both the organization and the wider community.[1]

Persatuan Islam (Persis), founded in Bandung on 12 September 1923 by a group of Muslim traders led by Haji Zamzam and Haji Muhammad Yunus, is a particularly instructive case. From its beginnings the organization made learning the core of its reformist programme. It sought to return religious understanding and practice to the Qur'an and Sunnah, opposed practices it regarded as superstition and unwarranted innovation, and pursued this agenda through study forums, preaching, magazines, books, and public debate.[2] Federspiel located the strength of Persis in its rational style of argument and its systematic educational activity, which produced ulama, teachers, preachers, and intellectuals who carried the reform movement forward.[3] Tiar Anwar Bachtiar likewise treats education and cadre formation as the means through which the values of *tajdid* (renewal), doctrinal purification, and intellectual tradition were handed down from one generation to the next.[4] More broadly, Azyumardi Azra has observed that Indonesian modernist organizations turned their schools into the principal vehicles of intellectual reproduction and leadership formation.[5]

Within this tradition, the formation of young cadres acquired a specific institutional form long before IPP existed. The Persis pesantren, developed from 1936, were charged with preparing teachers and propagandists of the organization, and in 1943 Rijalul Ghad (for male students) and Ummahatul Ghad (for female students), hereafter RG-UG, were established as internal pesantren organizations in which students practised leadership, preaching, and organizational management.[6] Yet RG-UG remained confined to individual pesantren. As the number of schools and alumni grew, students in different pesantren, those enrolled in non-Persis schools, and

[1] Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, *Manhaj Kaderisasi Ikatan Pelajar Persis Masa Jihad 2024–2026* (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, 2024), introduction. Documents issued by the central leadership are hereafter cited as PP IPP.

[2] Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900–1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), 95–102; Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia Abad XX*, trans. Yudian W. Asmin and Afandi Mochtar (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1996), 23–35.

[3] Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 84–109.

[4] Tiar Anwar Bachtiar, *Sejarah Persatuan Islam: Pembaharuan, Purifikasi, dan Perjuangan* (Bandung: Persis Press, 2018), 41–58, 301–315.

[5] Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Reformis: Dinamika Intelektual dan Gerakan* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 1999), 176–183.

[6] Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili Ikatan Pelajar Persis Masa Jihad 2024–2026* (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, 2024), 4.

graduates who had left the pesantren environment were not connected through any common organizational channel. IPP, declared in 2010, was the institutional answer to this problem, and its cadre-formation system, named Ar-Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi ("those firmly grounded in knowledge," after Qur'an 3:7) and abbreviated ROFI, became its central instrument.

The existing literature offers useful comparisons but leaves this development unexplained. Alghozali's study of the main cadre training of the Nahdlatul Ulama student association (IPNU) in Yogyakarta shows that cadre training reconstructs identity and builds ideological awareness rather than merely transmitting organizational knowledge.[7] Hidayat and Irpinsyah analyse the tiered curriculum of IPNU, from Makesta and Lakmud to Laknas, as a managed process of planning, organizing, implementing, and evaluating ideological formation.[8] Cholis examines how a Hidayatullah-affiliated college plans, implements, and evaluates the formation of "militant" cadres in a boarding environment,[9] while Rahmawati describes madrasah and pesantren as systems that cultivate preachers through habituation, discipline, and example.[10] Closest to the present subject, Fauzan, Fata, and Basit trace how cadre formation in Persis moved from a cultural, teacher–student pattern towards more structured formal and informal channels, while concluding that the organization still lacks an integrated cadre system across its components.[11] None of these studies, however, addresses IPP, and none treats student cadre formation in Persis as a historical process with its own chronology, actors, and turning points.

The research gap, then, is twofold. Empirically, the transformation of IPP's cadre formation from personal recruitment into a tiered system has not been reconstructed, and much of the evidence for it survives only in the memories of former leaders and in scattered internal documents. Conceptually, cadre formation in Islamic student organizations has mostly been analysed in managerial or sociological terms, as a programme to be evaluated, rather than as a process of institutionalization bound up with legitimacy, leadership succession, and the reproduction of a religious movement. This article addresses both dimensions by asking two questions: how did IPP emerge and develop in West Java out of the cadre tradition of Persis, and how did it build, formalize, and institutionalize the ROFI system between 2010 and 2024?

The period begins with the formal founding of IPP in 2010 and ends in 2024, when the sixth IPP congress (Muktamar VI) adopted a more complete set of

[7] Ahmad Mirshad Alghozali, "Pembentukan Kepemimpinan dalam Organisasi Keagamaan: Analisis Latihan Kader Utama Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama, Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Indonesia* 5, no. 1 (2024): 80.

[8] Rendi Rahmad Hidayat and Irpinsyah, "Manajemen Kurikulum Kaderisasi Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama dalam Pencegahan Paham Radikalisme pada Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama," *Al-Basyar: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam* 2, no. 1 (2023): 35.

[9] Moh. Nur Cholis, "Manajemen Kaderisasi dalam Mencetak Kader Organisasi Militan," *J-MPI (Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam)* 6, no. 1 (2021): 45.

[10] Rukhaini Fitri Rahmawati, "Kaderisasi Dakwah melalui Lembaga Pendidikan Islam," *TADBIR: Jurnal Manajemen Dakwah* 1, no. 1 (2016): 154.

[11] Pepen Irpan Fauzan, Ahmad Khoirul Fata, and Gun Gun Abdul Basit, "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan: Studi Kritis atas Persatuan Islam," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 19, no. 2 (2020): 247–278.

institutional and cadre-formation instruments after the organization had become autonomous. Within it, three phases are distinguished: initial formulation (2010–2014), formalization (2015–2021), and autonomy and institutionalization (2022–2024). West Java is the appropriate frame because most of the decisive events took place there: Garut hosted the first student forum in 1993 and the founding congress in 2010, Tasikmalaya the 1996 meeting of RG-UG leaders, and Sumedang the creation of the Majelis Presidium in 2008, while the district leaderships of Bandung, Bandung Regency, West Bandung, Garut, Tasikmalaya, Cianjur, Ciamis, and other areas became the main arena in which ROFI was tried and refined.

The article's contribution lies in offering the first historical reconstruction of IPP and ROFI grounded in systematically criticized oral testimony, organizational documents, and dated visual sources. Its novelty is to read cadre formation as institutionalization, tracing how a regeneration practice dependent on friendship and individual initiative became a system with levels, curricula, administrative standards, and a designated managing body, and to show where that system remained fragile.

Method

This study employs the historical method in its four conventional stages: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography.[12]

Heuristics

Three bodies of sources were assembled. The first consists of organizational documents issued by the central leadership of IPP: the statutes (*Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, QA-QD), the Broad Outlines of Organizational Direction (GBHO), and the cadre manual (*Manhaj Kaderisasi*) for the 2024–2026 term; the draft work programme for 2024–2026; the work report presented to the second national working meeting for the 2021–2023 term; an undated general work report containing the decisions of Muktamar VI and membership figures; and the work programmes of earlier terms obtained from the organization's archive. The second consists of internal narrative writings by IPP actors, notably Ryan Alviana's account of the founding of IPP and its sister organization IPPi, written in 2022.[13] The third consists of ten oral-history interviews conducted by the first author between 10 November and 6 December 2025 with Ryan Alviana (chair of the Majelis Presidium), the six general chairs who led IPP from 2010 to 2026, the officer responsible for cadre formation in the first two terms, the current head of cadre formation, and a former general chair of the Persis university-student association (Hima Persis). Nine interviews were

[12] Louis Gottschalk, *Mengerti Sejarah*, trans. Nugroho Notosusanto (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1985); Wasino and Endah Sri Hartatik, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah: Dari Riset hingga Penulisan* (Yogyakarta: Magnum Pustaka Utama, 2018), 5–6.

[13] Ryan Alviana, "Bagaimana Sejarah Pendirian IPP-IPPi" (internal document, Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, Bandung, 2022). Other internal writings consulted include Farhan Fuadi Rahman, "Apa Itu Ikatan Pelajar Persis" (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, 2013); Andi Muhammad Nurdin, "Apa Kabar Amanahku?" (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, 2014); Husna Hisaba Kholid, "Karakteristik Ar-Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi: Kajian Semantik QS. Ali Imran: 7" (internal document, Bandung, n.d.); and Birri Rahman, "Mendalami Makna Ar-Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi" (internal document, Bandung, n.d.).

conducted face to face in Jakarta or Bandung and one online. These were supplemented by dated photographs, posters, and social-media screenshots documenting the founding process and individual ROFI activities.

Source Criticism

External criticism established the provenance of each source. The statutes, GBHO, and cadre manual are official products of the organization's deliberative forums and are authentic as normative texts; the work reports and programmes derive from the archive of the central leadership. The internal writings were authored by participants in the events they describe, which makes them authentic but also unreviewed and self-interested. Internal criticism weighed content against position. The founders' testimony is liable to emphasize the legitimacy and success of the founding; that of former general chairs may defend the policies of their own terms; that of serving officers tends to be programmatic rather than evaluative. Normative documents describe ideals rather than practice.

Oral testimony was therefore treated as historical evidence produced in the present about the past, shaped by memory, hindsight, and the narrator's current standing.[14] The dates of the interviews (2025) are kept distinct throughout from the dates of the events narrated (1993–2024). Each substantive claim was cross-checked against at least one other interview or a document, and where narrators disagreed, as they did over the year of a ROFI II session and over the length of several leadership terms, the disagreement is reported rather than resolved by fiat. Dated visual documents were used to test recollections, with the caveat that a poster attests to a planned event while only a photograph of the event itself attests to its execution.

Interpretation and Historiography

Interpretation draws on the structural-functionalism of Talcott Parsons. Parsons conceived a social system as a structure of interrelated parts that must meet four functional prerequisites: adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latent pattern maintenance (AGIL).[15] In this framework ROFI can be read as the institutional mechanism through which IPP adapts to generational change, pursues its goal of forming "Ar-Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi" cadres, integrates individuals into a shared normative order, and transmits Persis values to the next generation. Because a functionalist reading tends to presuppose equilibrium, it is used here heuristically and deliberately tested against evidence of conflict, local improvisation, and failure. Finally, historiography is understood not only as the writing of a narrative but as critical reflection on how the subject has been written about,[16] which allows the findings to be positioned within the historiography of Persis and of Indonesian Islamic student movements.

[14] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[15] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1951), 5–29; Talcott Parsons, *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 17–36.

[16] Wasino and Hartatik, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah*, 13.

Results

Persatuan Islam and the Genealogy of a Student Movement, 1943–2010

The pesantren of Persis were conceived from the outset as centres of cadre formation. The pesantren regulation (*Qonun*) of 1936 assigned them the mission of preparing teachers and "propagandists" of Persatuan Islam and expected graduates to found branches of the organization in their home areas where none existed.[17] The creation of RG-UG in 1943 institutionalized this mission inside the pesantren. Through study circles (*halaqah*), speech training (*muhadharah*), religious study, sport, art, and the management of student affairs, RG-UG linked classroom learning to organizational experience and gave students an early apprenticeship in leadership.[18] Its limitation was structural: each RG-UG operated within a single pesantren, according to that institution's own traditions and capacities, and no mechanism coordinated them.[19] Ryan Alviana recalls that pesantren graduates possessed strong learning and commitment, but that communication and coordination among students across institutions remained minimal, so that their potential could not be gathered into a collective movement.[20]

The search for a wider framework unfolded over nearly two decades. In 1993 a forum of Persis students met in Garut; the statutes call it the Forum Silaturahmi Komunikasi Pelajar Persis, whereas Ferdiansyah remembers it as the Forum Silaturahmi Kader.[21] It was a gathering rather than an organization, but it opened a space in which students from different pesantren could compare experiences and recognize that the problems of cadre formation could not be solved by any one institution. In 1996 the central leadership of Pemuda Persis convened RG leaders at the Persis pesantren in Benda, Tasikmalaya. The meeting adopted a basic charter for RG-UG (*Nizham Asasi* and *Nizham Dakhili*) and agreed to establish communication forums for Persis students at district, provincial, and national levels.[22] According to Ferdiansyah, the national forum never became a mass movement and functioned chiefly as a channel of communication.[23] The tiered forums thus provided organizational experience without binding authority, and cadre formation continued to depend on conditions in each pesantren.

Pressure for a formal organization grew in the 2000s. The statutes record that K.H. Shiddiq Amin, who led Persis from 1997 to 2009, was concerned that some students were joining other organizations whose religious outlook diverged from that of Persis, and that Ustadz Entang Mukhtar argued that it was time for Persis to have

[17] PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 4.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Bachtiar, *Sejarah Persatuan Islam*, 286–291.

[20] Interview with Ryan Alviana, Chair of the Majelis Presidium of IPP, Jakarta, 10 November 2025;

[21] PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 5; Interview with Ferdiansyah, Sixth General Chair of IPP (2024–2026), Bandung, 6 December 2025. Both sources date the forum to 1993; only Ferdiansyah names Garut as its venue.

[22] PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 5; Alviana, "Bagaimana Sejarah Pendirian IPP-IPPi."

[23] Interview with Ferdiansyah, 6 December 2025; consistent with the interview with Alviana, 10 November 2025.

a national student organization.[24] At the first National Gathering of Persis Students (Silatnas I), held at the Cibubur campsite in 2005 alongside the Persis congress in Jakarta, the idea of founding IPP was formally voiced.[25] Andi Muhammad Nurdin recalls a further attempt to bring the matter to a Persis forum in Benda, Tasikmalaya, which failed because the proposal was considered premature and was not on the official agenda.[26] In his account, students acquired religious knowledge and familiarity with Persis in the pesantren but had no organization suited to their age, so that many encountered the organization only on entering university or youth bodies.[27] Lamlam Pahala, who then led Hima Persis, saw a student organization as the missing link between pesantren education and the student, youth, and leadership tiers of Persis; through Hima Persis he had experienced the anomaly of receiving invitations from other student organizations that Persis had no body to answer.[28]

The decisive step came at Silatnas II in 2008, at the Kiara Payung campsite in Sumedang, where a Majelis Presidium of 48 RG-UG leaders from Persis pesantren across Indonesia was formed to gather student aspirations and design the new organization, facilitated by the central leaderships of Hima Persis and Himi Persis.[29] Debate was intense. Some students and pesantren leaders held that RG-UG and the existing forums were sufficient, and feared that a new body would overlap with RG-UG, diminish its standing, or become an extension of Hima Persis.[30] The initiators answered that the two bodies would differ in scope: RG-UG would continue to manage student life within each pesantren, while IPP would gather students across pesantren and schools. Contemporary social-media posts of Hima Persis document this phase, including a "first consolidation of Ikatan Pelajar Persis" in May 2009, preparations for "the declaration of the Majelis Presidium of Ikatan Pelajar Persis" in July 2009, and a meeting of students and university students on 9 September 2009 described as "the third meeting after Silatnas 2" (Table 2). A meeting of the Majelis Presidium at the Persis headquarters on Jalan Viaduct, Bandung, in 2009 agreed to establish IPP without further delay; leaders of RG-UG in Tasikmalaya, Garut, Ciganitri, Bandung, and elsewhere coordinated, as Andi recalls, largely by text message.[31] The third National Jamboree of Persis Students at Pesantren Persis 84 Ciganitri in 2010 agreed to hold a congress, which convened in Garut on 22–23 September 2010 and was opened by the general chair of Persis, Prof. Maman Abdurrahman. On 23 September 2010 Ryan Alviana, for the Majelis Presidium, and Andi Muhammad Nurdin, elected as first general chair, declared the founding of IPP.[32]

[24] PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 5.

[25] Ibid., 5–6.

[26] Interview with Nurdin, 20 November 2025; consistent with the interview with Alviana, 10 November 2025.

[27] Interview with Nurdin, 20 November 2025.

[28] Interview with Lamlam Pahala, Former General Chair of Hima Persis, Jakarta, 10 November 2025; Interview with Ferdiansyah, 6 December 2025.

[29] Interview with Alviana, 10 November 2025; corroborated in the interview with Nurdin, 20 November 2025.

[30] Interview with Nurdin, 20 November 2025;

[31] Interview with Nurdin, 20 November 2025;

[32] Alviana, "Bagaimana Sejarah Pendirian IPP-IPPi"; PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 6.

Institutional Architecture

By the end of the period under study, IPP was governed by four interlocking instruments: the QA-QD as its constitution, the GBHO as its strategic direction, the *Manhaj Kaderisasi* as the guide to cadre formation, and the *Program Jihad* as the operational plan of each leadership term.[33] The GBHO defines IPP as a cadre organization that prepares students to continue Islamic preaching and to lead the nation, in keeping with the character of Persis.[34] Leadership is tiered from the central leadership (Pimpinan Pusat, PP) through provincial (Pimpinan Wilayah, PW) and district leaderships (Pimpinan Daerah, PD) to units in pesantren and schools.[35] The 2024–2026 work programme requires each department to state targets, indicators, schedules, beneficiaries, and budgets,[36] while the congress (*muktamar*) elects the central leadership and a national working meeting (*Muskernas*) evaluates programmes between congresses.[37] The cadre manual makes the integration of structure and formation explicit, defining cadre formation as a systematic process moving from introduction to the organization through character formation and competence building to leadership development.[38] This architecture, however, was the outcome of the process examined below rather than its starting point. Table 1 summarizes the successive leaderships through which it was built.

Table 1. General chairs of IPP and phases of cadre formation, 2010–2026

Term	General chair	Forum of election	Phase of ROFI
2010–2013	Andi Muhammad Nurdin	Congress I, Garut, 22–23 September 2010	Consolidation; personal recruitment; ROFI conceived
2013–2015	Husna Hisaba Kholid	Congress II, Pesantren Nurul Fikri, Lembang, 2013	ROFI I for candidates (from late 2013); ROFI II tested
2015–2017	Birri Rahman	Muktamar III, Soreang, 2015	Formalization; streamlined structure; ROFI II at Cihamerang
2017–2019	Arman Nur Hakim	Not specified in sources	Expansion; PP as steering committee; ROFI II at Padalarang

[33] PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, foreword.

[34] Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, *Garis Besar Haluan Organisasi Ikatan Pelajar Persis Masa Jihad 2024–2026* (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, 2024), chap. 2, art. 3.

[35] Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, *Laporan Program Kerja Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis Masa Jihad 2024–2026* (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, 2024), preamble.

[36] Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, *Draft Program Jihad Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis Masa Jihad 2024–2026* (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, 2024).

[37] Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, *Laporan Program Kerja Musyawarah Kerja Nasional II Masa Jihad 2021–2023* (Bandung: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, 2023), preamble.

[38] PP IPP, *Manhaj Kaderisasi*, chap. 1.

2020–2024	Rifqi Rifyal Rizaldi	Muktamar V, 2020	Pandemic adaptation; PW West Java; autonomy (2022)
2024–2026	Ferdiansyah	Muktamar VI, Garut, 28 February–1 March 2024	Institutionalization; BPT; Ta'aruf–ROFI III–TOT

Initial Formulation, 2010–2014

The first leadership faced the task of making a new organization exist. Its programme concentrated on publicizing IPP, forming district leaderships, clarifying its relationship with RG-UG, and preparing basic organizational instruments.[39] In West Java, activity first developed through a Greater Bandung region, which around 2011–2012 was divided into district leaderships for the city of Bandung, Bandung Regency, and West Bandung Regency.[40] Expansion outpaced capacity: several districts lacked cadres who understood leadership, administration, or programme planning, and some soon fell inactive. Husna Hisaba Kholid recalls that IPP was still seen as a mere community of Persis students and that it lapsed into inactivity for roughly six months to a year during the transition between the first and second leaderships, owing both to the personal commitments of officers and to weak institutional support from parts of Persis.[41]

Recruitment in these years was personal. The first board was staffed largely by chairs and officers of RG-UG from various pesantren, and Andi drew in friends with whom he had worked in RG, among them Zamzam, Husna, Trias, Farhan, and Alan.[42] There was no selection, training, or tiered progression; social proximity and prior experience were the decisive criteria. This was a realistic choice for an organization that needed people familiar with Persis traditions and inter-pesantren networks, and the work of overcoming resistance, forming districts, and negotiating with pesantren itself functioned as a practical, if unplanned, form of cadre formation.

The idea of formal cadre training emerged midway through the first term, once the number of officers and districts made personal recruitment insufficient to secure a shared understanding. According to Zamzam Aqbil Raziqin, discussions held at Andi's residence produced a three-level scheme named Ar-Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi I, II, and III, shortened to ROFI I, II, and III.[43] Some officers had encountered the training model of Pelajar Islam Indonesia (PII), and this experience was discussed and adapted; the choice of a Qur'anic name, and of *tauhid* (the doctrine of divine unity) and "IPP studies" as compulsory subjects, expressed the intention to give the system an identity rooted in Persis. At this stage, however, the scheme was a framework only, without a manual, competence standards, evaluation, or trained implementers.

In 2012 a three-day "Training ROFI I" was held at Pesantren Persis 50 Lembang for central and district officers. Zamzam insists that it was not cadre training for

[39] PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 6–7.
[40] Interview with Birri Rahman, Third General Chair of IPP, Bandung, 25 November 2025;
[41] Interview with Kholid, 10 November 2025;
[42] Interview with Kholid, 10 November 2025;
[43] Interview with Raziqin, 15 November 2025;

candidates but preparation of the officers who were to run ROFI I in their districts: "training ROFI I itu bukan pengkaderan, tapi persiapan pengurus IPP di daerah-daerah untuk melaksanakan ROFI I" (the ROFI I training was not cadre formation but the preparation of IPP officers in the districts to carry out ROFI I).[44] The name caused confusion, since some districts took the event to be a level of cadre training in its own right, and the central leadership had to clarify that districts were to hold ROFI I for candidates, not "Training ROFI I." A banner photographed at Batujajar, West Bandung, still announces a "Training ROFI 1" held by the regional IPP-IPPi leadership on 5–7 August 2014 (Table 2), which suggests that the confusion persisted for some time.

ROFI I for prospective members began in late 2013 and continued in 2014. Zamzam recalls central officers travelling to support sessions in Garut, Tasikmalaya, Cianjur, Bandung, and Ciamis.[45] The sources give no list of dates, cohorts, participants, or venues, so the total number of sessions cannot be established; the most that can be said is that ROFI I was held repeatedly in at least five districts from late 2013. Its intended ethos was persuasive. ROFI I was meant to build loyalty to IPP and Islamic brotherhood between officers and participants in "an atmosphere of persuasion, like an elder sibling to a younger one."[46] In practice, some districts ran it like a basic leadership training (*Latihan Dasar Kepemimpinan*), with harsh discipline and a distance between committee and participants. In the absence of a detailed written guide and with limited central supervision, district officers interpreted the concept through their own prior organizational experiences.

Husna Hisaba Kholid, elected at the second congress in Lembang in 2013, gave cadre formation a stronger intellectual orientation. With Zamzam he compiled a reading curriculum of works by A. Hassan, Isa Anshary, Mohammad Natsir, Endang Saifuddin Anshari, and histories of Persatuan Islam, intended as compulsory reading after ROFI so that formation would not end with the formal event.[47] The division of labour also took shape: ROFI I became the responsibility of district leaderships, while ROFI II, aimed at preparing district delegates for central positions, was run by the central leadership because provincial structures were still weak; completion of ROFI II began to serve as a requirement for certain central posts.[48] Husna recalls only one ROFI II during his term, at a location he associates with Ustadz Amung, without a precise year, and states that ROFI III was never held. Birri Rahman likewise believes that ROFI II existed under Husna but cannot specify its time or place.[49] Husna also acknowledges that the history of ROFI was never systematically recorded and that many records of officers and activities have been lost.[50]

[44] Interview with Raziqin, 15 November 2025;
[45] Interview with Raziqin, 15 November 2025;
[46] Interview with Raziqin, 15 November 2025;
[47] Interview with Kholid, 10 November 2025;
[48] Interview with Kholid, 10 November 2025;
[49] Interview with Kholid, 10 November 2025;
[50] Interview with Kholid, 10 November 2025;

Formalization, 2015–2021

Formalization in this phase did not mean that IPP possessed a complete manual. It meant that ROFI was accepted as the path into the organization, that responsibilities were divided between district and central leaderships, that completion of a level became a requirement for office, and that sessions were held routinely. Birri Rahman was elected at Muktamar III in Soreang in 2015. About a month after his installation, Persis recognized IPP as an institution (*lembaga*) within the organization, although not yet as an autonomous body equal to the others; this gave IPP a firmer footing in approaching pesantren.[51]

Birri judged that the many departments and leadership levels created earlier had overstretched a young organization. He reduced the central board to the essential officers and to about five departments, among them education and preaching, cadre formation, and communication and information, explaining that "bidang di pimpinan pusat itu hanya lima" (there were only five departments in the central leadership).[52] The streamlining concentrated scarce people on cadre formation. ROFI was held in almost all active districts, and the city of Bandung, Bandung Regency, West Bandung, Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis held district congresses and ROFI on a fairly regular basis.[53] Birri and other officers also visited pesantren in Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis to explain the status of IPP, using a recorded explanation from the Jam'iyyah department of the Persis central board to answer doubts about its legality and its relation to RG-UG.[54] The cadre manual was reworked through evaluations of curriculum, levels, cadre profile, and philosophical foundations, and the two levels were differentiated: ROFI I as basic formation in the districts, instilling loyalty, militancy, and organizational awareness; ROFI II as advanced formation preparing cadres for central responsibilities.[55]

Dated documents allow some of these activities to be fixed. A poster announces ROFI I on 5–6 March 2015 at At-Qornul Manazil, Pesantren Persis 84 Ciganitri, with the theme of forming an "Arrosikhuna fil 'ilmi generation" devoted to the Qur'an and Sunnah and listing five subjects: *tauhid*, leadership, Persis history, adolescent problems, and IPP studies (Table 2). Another, issued by the Garut district, announces ROFI I on 3–4 November 2016 under the slogan "Mencetak Kader Militan yang Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi" (forming militant cadres grounded in knowledge), open to Mu'allimin students in their first and second years. The career of Rifqi Rifyal Rizaldi illustrates how ROFI I functioned as an entry point: he took his first ROFI I in Garut in late 2015, became chair of the Garut district in 2016–2017 while still in the second year of Aliyah, and led weekly visits to some 27 Persis pesantren in Garut over that term.[56]

The case of ROFI II at Cihamerang shows how memory and documents must be weighed. Birri recalls a single ROFI II at Cihamerang, Banjaran, around 2016 or 2017,

[51] Interview with Rahman, 25 November 2025;
[52] Interview with Rahman, 25 November 2025;
[53] Interview with Rahman, 25 November 2025;
[54] Interview with Rahman, 25 November 2025;
[55] Interview with Rahman, 25 November 2025;
[56] Interview with Rizaldi, 3 December 2025;

in which he served on the committee and in which officers who had not yet completed ROFI II acted as committee members and participants at once; the programme included lectures, simulations, group discussions, and presentations of ideas. Arman Nur Hakim refers to the same location and format but dates it to 2015 and remembers six participants, five male and one female, with IPP and IPPi cadres trained together because advanced cadres were few.[57] A poster and a photograph of the event banner resolve the question of date in Birri's favour: ROFI II was held at Pesantren Persis Cihamerang, Banjaran, Bandung Regency, on 29–30 April and 1 May 2016 (21–23 Rajab 1437), under the theme "Optimalisasi Kader 'Ibadurrahman sebagai Sikap Integritas Berjam'iyyah" (Table 2). The same visual record contains an announcement of a further ROFI II in Bandung on 17–19 February 2017. Because only the announcement survives, this second session cannot be counted as confirmed, but its existence cautions against the narrators' shared assumption that only one ROFI II took place under Birri.

Under Arman Nur Hakim (2017–2019), cadre formation became more extensive. The central leadership acted as steering committee, author of the concept, and provider of instructors, while district leaderships served as organizing committees responsible for venues, participants, and logistics. Central officers travelled, often in their own vehicles, to accompany sessions in nearly every active district.[58] Arman recalls one ROFI II at MTs Persis Padalarang with more than thirty participants, possibly followed by a second, though only the first is firmly remembered; the evidence therefore supports one confirmed session.[59] A poster further announces a ROFI II at the Persis central office in Bandung on 22–25 December 2019 on "optimizing the critical capacity of Persis students" in "the era of digitalization" (Table 2).

Standardization of method still lagged behind formal acceptance. Ferdiansyah, who took ROFI I in Tasikmalaya around 2017, remembers marching drills, movement between activity posts, discipline training, loyalty building, and pre-dawn waking, a regime quite unlike the persuasive, sibling-like relationship envisaged by the designers.[60] Two structural debates also surfaced. One concerned the place of university students on the central board: an organization of school students needed experienced people to run national affairs, yet a board dominated by university students risked eroding its identity. The other concerned RG-UG, for which Birri's leadership proposed a "commissariat" formula under which RG-UG officers would keep their internal role while representing IPP in wider networks. In the same years IPP began to appear in the wider field of Islamic student organizations, communicating with Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah, PII, IPNU, and IPPNU, attending a forum at the Muhammadiyah central office in Jakarta and later hosting a meeting of student organizations at Ciganitri.[61]

Muktamar V in 2020, which elected Rifqi Rifyal Rizaldi, was held under COVID-19 restrictions. Commission sessions could not be completed, so new cadre-formation

[57] Interview with Rahman, 25 November 2025; Interview with Hakim, 29 November 2025.
[58] Interview with Hakim, 29 November 2025;
[59] Interview with Hakim, 29 November 2025;
[60] Interview with Ferdiansyah, 6 December 2025;
[61] Interview with Rahman, 25 November 2025;

instruments were not adopted and the new board continued to use the guidelines developed under Birri while studying their revision.[62] With pesantren dormitories closed and students learning from home, ROFI sessions designed for three days, or two days and a night, were shortened, participation was limited, and some districts proposed holding ROFI online, a proposal hampered by poor connectivity, weak supervision, and the difficulty of forming discipline at a distance.[63] Several districts became inactive. Rifqi estimates that over his whole term each district held ROFI I on average once, in West Bandung, Sumedang, Bandung Regency, the city of Bandung, Garut, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis, and that ROFI II was held once.[64] For 2015–2021, then, ROFI I can be described only as a recurring district-level activity whose total cannot be computed, while at least two ROFI II sessions, at Cihamerang in 2016 and at Padalarang, are confirmed.

Autonomy and Institutionalization, 2022–2024

After the pandemic, the central leadership reactivated dormant districts and created a provincial leadership for West Java so that it could concentrate on national expansion.[65] The work report records a consolidation of IPP-IPPi cadres in West Java on 15 November 2022, the first provincial congress on 18 November, the declaration of the provincial leadership on 27 November, and its installation on 24 December 2022, together with consolidation in Banten and contacts for a new district in Tasikmalaya Regency.[66] A poster and a photograph of participants place a ROFI II in West Bandung Regency on 21–24 September 2023 (Table 2); this is probably the single session Rifqi recalls, held after autonomy, although the sources do not allow certainty. The provincial tier then assumed responsibility for ROFI II, clarifying the sequence of ROFI I at district level, ROFI II at provincial level, and an advanced level for central cadres.[67]

The pivotal event was the recognition of IPP as an autonomous body of Persatuan Islam at the sixteenth Persis congress (Muktamar XVI) in Soreang on 25 September 2022.[68] The campaign had been contested. Within IPP and among its seniors some urged immediate autonomy while others thought the existing status adequate, and internal studies and consultations with districts found that the lack of autonomous status repeatedly hindered acceptance in pesantren and among local Persis leaders.[69] Rifqi's board coordinated with IPPi, lobbied local leaders, and secured the backing of Barisan Muda Persatuan Islam and of Persis delegates from Gorontalo. Opponents feared that an autonomous IPP would rival or replace RG-UG. When deliberation failed to produce consensus, the congress voted; Rifqi remembers

[62] Interview with Rizaldi, 3 December 2025;
[63] Interview with Rizaldi, 3 December 2025;
[64] Interview with Rizaldi, 3 December 2025;
[65] Interview with Rizaldi, 3 December 2025;
[66] PP IPP, *Laporan Program Kerja Muskernas II*, sections on consolidation and the West Java provincial leadership.
[67] Interview with Rizaldi, 3 December 2025;
[68] PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 6.
[69] Interview with Rizaldi, 3 December 2025;

more than one hundred votes in favour and 33 against, figures that remain a recollection because the minutes of the vote are not available.[70]

Membership recovered in the following years. The work report counts 301 cadres in 2022, 378 in 2023, and 395 in 2024, distributed across the West Java provincial leadership and district leaderships in the city of Bandung, Bandung Regency, West Bandung, Garut, the city and regency of Tasikmalaya, Cianjur, Subang, Sumedang, Ciamis-Banjar, and Jakarta.[71] The report does not state how many of these cadres had completed ROFI I or ROFI II, so the figures measure organizational reach rather than training output.

Muktamar VI, held in Garut from 28 February to 1 March 2024, translated autonomy into institutional form. It redefined IPP as an autonomous organization in line with the Persis decision, set membership from junior secondary students up to third-year university students or a maximum age of 23, and elected Ferdiansyah of Pesantren Persis 182 Rajapolah as general chair on 1 March 2024.[72] It established departments of education and preaching, organization and institutions, cadre formation, human-resource development, communication and information, and economy and social affairs, each with expert staff, and set terms of two years for the central, eighteen months for the provincial, and one year for the district leaderships.[73] Most importantly for cadre formation, it created a Training Management Board (Badan Pengelola Training, BPT) as a semi-autonomous body to manage, monitor, and accompany cadre training, and extended the sequence to Ta'aruf, ROFI I, ROFI II, ROFI III, and a Training for Trainers (TOT).[74] The cadre manual defines Ta'aruf as introduction, ROFI I as the phase of ideologization for district cadres, ROFI II as the phase of transformation for prospective provincial leaders, and ROFI III as the phase of dynamization preparing central cadres; it requires each district to hold ROFI I at least once per term and assigns BPT responsibility for instructors, implementation, evaluation, certification, data, and post-training formation.[75] A Branch Coordinating Body (Badan Koordinator Cabang, BKC), run by school students and linking schools within a subdistrict, was created below the districts. The congress also adopted the QA-QD, replacing the earlier *Nizham Asasi* and *Nizham Dakhili*, together with manuals on administration, attributes, the creation and suspension of leadership levels, cadre formation, reading and writing (*Qira'ah wa Kitabah*), and working meetings, and it recommended expansion into Banten and East Java, political education for students, and scholarships for active cadres of limited means.[76]

These instruments define a design whose implementation was still incomplete when this research was conducted. The head of cadre formation for 2024–2026, Fathi Yakan Alfawwaz, explained in December 2025 that only ROFI I and ROFI II had so far been implemented, that ROFI III was planned for the following year, and that BPT

[70] Interview with Rizaldi, 3 December 2025;

[71] Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Persis, "Laporan Kerja Ikatan Pelajar Persis" (internal report, Bandung, n.d.), section "Jumlah Sebaran Kader di Daerah."

[72] PP IPP, "Laporan Kerja Ikatan Pelajar Persis"; PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 7.

[73] PP IPP, "Laporan Kerja Ikatan Pelajar Persis," section on the decisions of Muktamar VI.

[74] Ibid.

[75] PP IPP, *Manhaj Kaderisasi*, sections on the phases and flow of cadre formation and on the BPT.

[76] PP IPP, *Qaidah Asasi dan Qaidah Dakhili*, 7 and "Rekomendasi Hasil Muktamar VI."

instructors were to be recruited from cadres who had completed ROFI II and TOT. He estimated five to ten ROFI I sessions and two ROFI II sessions, in Tasikmalaya and Bandung, during roughly the first year and a half of the term, and noted that some pesantren still refused IPP.[77]

Table 2. Dated visual documents relating to the founding of IPP and to ROFI activities, 2009–2023

Date of event (date posted)	Document and issuer	Content relevant to this study	Evidential value
May 2009 (posted 9 July 2009)	Social-media post, Hima Persis	"Konsolidasi Pertama Ikatan Pelajar Persis"	Hima Persis facilitation of the founding
(posted 10 July 2009)	Social-media post, PP Hima Persis	"Persiapan Deklarasi Majelis Presidium Ikatan Pelajar Persis"	Preparatory phase of the Majelis Presidium
9 September 2009 (posted 13 February 2010)	Social-media post, Hima Persis	Gathering of Persis school and university students, "third meeting after Silatnas 2"	Continuity of consultations after 2008
5–7 August 2014	Photograph of banner, IPP-IPPi Region of West Bandung Regency	"Training ROFI 1," Batujajar	Persistence of the term "Training ROFI"
5–6 March 2015	Poster	ROFI I at At-Qornul Manazil, Pesantren Persis 84 Ciganitri; five subjects listed	Early ROFI I curriculum
29 April–1 May 2016	Poster; photograph with event banner	ROFI II, Pesantren Persis Cihamerang, Banjaran, Bandung Regency	Dates the Cihamerang ROFI II to 2016
3–4 November 2016	Poster, IPP-IPPi Garut	ROFI I for Mu'allimin students, years 1–2	District-level ROFI I
(posted 13 November 2016)	Social-media post, IPP Kota Bandung	First plenary meeting on outreach and ROFI I	District planning of ROFI I
17–19 February 2017	Poster ("coming soon")	ROFI II, Bandung	Announcement only; execution unconfirmed

[77] Interview with Fathi Yakan Alfawwaz, Head of Cadre Formation, PP IPP (2024–2026), Bandung, 6 December 2025.

22–25 December 2019	Poster, PP IPP	ROFI II, Persis central office, Bandung	Announcement only; execution unconfirmed
21–24 September 2023	Poster; photograph of participants, PP IPP	ROFI II, West Bandung Regency	ROFI II under the 2020–2024 leadership

Discussion

The findings support reading the history of IPP as a process of institutionalization in which cadre formation moved from the margins of organizational activity to its centre. In Parsonian terms, the trajectory can be traced across all four functional prerequisites. Adaptation is visible in the organization's response to changes in its environment: the spread of Persis schools beyond the reach of RG-UG, the competition of other student organizations for Persis students, and, most abruptly, the pandemic, which forced shorter sessions, smaller groups, and experiments with online formats. Goal attainment is embodied in the ideal of the Ar-Rasikhuna fil 'Ilmi cadre and in the progressive specification of what each level should achieve, from loyalty and organizational awareness in ROFI I to analytical and conceptual capacity in ROFI II. Integration was achieved by linking levels of training to levels of office, so that completion of ROFI II became a credential for central positions and a hierarchy of senior, junior, and alumni could be understood as a differentiation of roles rather than personal patronage.[78] Latent pattern maintenance is evident in the reading curriculum of A. Hassan, Isa Anshary, Mohammad Natsir, and Persis history, through which ROFI transmitted the intellectual identity of Persis rather than generic leadership skills. ROFI thus worked on two registers that Merton would call manifest and latent: openly, it produced religious and organizational competence; less visibly, it reproduced solidarity and loyalty to the *jam'iyyah*.[79]

The clearest evidence for this reading is the pattern of leadership mobility. Birri Rahman began in a district structure before becoming secretary-general and then general chair; Arman Nur Hakim took ROFI, was active in a district, joined the central board, and then led the organization; Rifqi Rifyal Rizaldi moved from district chair to an apprenticeship in the provincial coordinating body and the central board before his election; Ferdiansyah progressed from member to district leader, central cadre officer, and general chair. Where the first leadership had been assembled from friends and RG-UG networks, the later ones emerged from a path that ran through the cadre system itself. Continuity and change are both at work here. The values transmitted, rooted in the Persis emphasis on learning, did not change; what changed was the mechanism of transmission, from personal trust to a codified sequence.

A purely functionalist account would nevertheless obscure the most instructive features of this history. Institutionalization was neither smooth nor driven by an abstract need for equilibrium. It was contested at every stage: by those who feared that IPP would displace RG-UG, by those who doubted the need for autonomy, and

[78] Parsons, *Societies*, 25–45.

[79] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, enlarged ed. (New York: Free Press, 1968).

in a congress that resolved the matter only by vote. It also depended on the agency of a small number of young actors who designed ROFI in a private residence, travelled to pesantren to argue for IPP's legitimacy, and drove to district sessions in their own cars. Above all, the repeated gap between design and practice, visible in the leadership-training style of ROFI I in some districts in 2013–2014 and again in Tasikmalaya around 2017, shows that local officers translated central concepts according to their own experiences, sometimes drawn from other organizations. These variations should be read not as deviations from a functional norm but as evidence that the system was created through negotiation between the centre and the districts. The 2024 apparatus of BPT, certification, and standardized instructors is in this sense a response to a decade of uneven practice, and its own implementation, with ROFI III still pending in late 2025, remains a work in progress.

These findings speak directly to the existing literature. Studies of IPNU depict mature, tiered systems whose curricula can be analysed as managed programmes;[80] the history of IPP shows how such a system is built from scratch by a younger organization operating within a parent movement that was itself ambivalent about it. Cholis's analysis of cadre formation in a boarding college assumes institutional control over the cadre's environment;[81] IPP, by contrast, had to form cadres across institutions it did not control, which explains both the importance of persuasion and the persistence of local variation. Rahmawati's emphasis on habituation within pesantren culture helps explain why RG-UG was effective within each pesantren,[82] but not why something beyond it was needed. Finally, the conclusion of Fauzan, Fata, and Basit that Persis lacks an integrated cadre system across its components[83] finds partial confirmation and partial qualification here: the protracted struggle over IPP's status confirms the difficulty of integration, while the post-2022 linkage of ROFI levels to the leadership tiers of IPP, and the movement of IPP alumni into Hima and Himi Persis, Pemuda and Pemudi Persis, legal-aid bodies, media, and Persis schools and pesantren, indicate that at the student level an integrated path has begun to take shape. That alumni trajectory cannot be attributed to ROFI alone, since cadres were also formed by pesantren, RG-UG, families, and other organizational experience.[84]

Historiographically, the study shifts attention within the scholarship on Persis. Classic accounts by Noer and Federspiel and more recent work by Bachtiar centre on the founders, ulama, ideas, and pesantren of Persis;[85] the student tier appears, if at all, as a by-product of pesantren education. By reconstructing the student organization as an actor with its own genealogy, conflicts, and periodization, this article extends the history of Persis into the post-New Order decades and into a generation whose agency has scarcely been documented. It also exposes a methodological problem that the history of youth organizations shares with other recent organizational histories: the

[80] Hidayat and Irpinsyah, "Manajemen Kurikulum Kaderisasi," 35; Alghozali, "Pembentukan Kepemimpinan," 80.

[81] Cholis, "Manajemen Kaderisasi," 45.

[82] Rahmawati, "Kaderisasi Dakwah," 154.

[83] Fauzan, Fata, and Basit, "Pola Kaderisasi Gerakan Islam Puritan."

[84] Interview with Ferdiansyah, 6 December 2025;

[85] Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam*, 215–221; Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, 84–109; Bachtiar, *Sejarah Persatuan Islam*, 286–310.

scarcity of archives. The disagreements among narrators over dates and terms, and the absence of committee decrees, participant lists, and certificates for most sessions, mean that oral testimony must carry much of the evidential weight. The dated posters and photographs used here show that the visual record circulated on social media can partly fill this gap, correcting, for example, the date of the Cihamerang session, but they also show its limits, since an announcement does not prove that an event took place. The fragility of organizational memory is thus not only a constraint on the historian but part of the history itself, and one of the conditions that made the codification of 2024 necessary.

Conclusion

This article set out to explain how IPP emerged from the cadre tradition of Persis and how it built the ROFI system in West Java between 2010 and 2024. On the first question, it has shown that IPP was the culmination of a long genealogy rather than a sudden creation. The pesantren mission defined in 1936 and the RG-UG organizations of 1943 established a tradition of student leadership confined to individual pesantren; the forum of 1993 in Garut, the tiered communication forums agreed at Benda in 1996, the national gatherings of 2005 and 2008, and the Majelis Presidium of 48 RG-UG leaders progressively turned this tradition towards a cross-institutional organization, declared in Garut on 23 September 2010. Thereafter IPP passed through consolidation, the formation of district and provincial leaderships, administrative ordering, external networking, pandemic adaptation, and the struggle for autonomy, moving from a body dependent on personal initiative to an organization with a defined structure, guidelines, and status within Persis.

On the second question, the article has shown that ROFI developed in three phases. Between 2010 and 2014 recruitment was personal and ROFI I, II, and III existed as a scheme under experimentation; the 2012 Training ROFI I at Lembang prepared officers rather than training candidates, and ROFI I for candidates began only in late 2013. Between 2015 and 2021 ROFI was formalized through a reworked manual, a division of labour between central and district leaderships, and the linkage of training levels to office, while methods remained uneven and the pandemic forced improvisation. After IPP became autonomous on 25 September 2022, Muktamar VI in 2024 codified a complete sequence of Ta'aruf, ROFI I–III, and TOT under a Training Management Board. IPP thus transformed a simple pattern of recruitment into a tiered system of regeneration, even though incomplete archives, unequal instructor capacity, variable methods, and weak post-training formation persisted.

The contribution of the study lies in reconstructing, for the first time, the history of IPP and ROFI from criticized oral testimony and organizational and visual documents, and its novelty lies in interpreting cadre formation as a contested process of institutionalization through which Persis reproduces its intellectual identity among students, shaped as much by the agency of young actors and the gaps between design and practice as by the functional needs of the organization.

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