

BEYOND KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION: PEDAGOGY AND IDEOLOGICAL FORMATION IN INDONESIAN REFORMIST PESANTREN

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ABSTRACT

Islamic education is increasingly recognized worldwide not merely as a method of transmitting religious knowledge but also as a vital space where ideology, moral authority, and religious subjectivities are actively shaped. In light of modernization and institutional reforms, exploring how pedagogical approaches influence religious identity has emerged as a pivotal concern in contemporary Islamic education scholarship. This study analyzes how *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) pesantren functions as an ideological–pedagogical system that reproduces a reformist Islamic orientation through the integration of *ta'lim*, *tarbiyah*, and *ta'dib*. Employing a qualitative case study design, data were collected through semi-structured interviews with teachers, administrators, and students, participant observation of classroom and dormitory life, and analysis of institutional documents. The findings reveal that pedagogy in Persis pesantren operates as a holistic and continuous process embedded in daily routines, disciplinary structures, and scriptural instruction. Through structured knowledge transmission, embodied moral training, and ethical regulation, students internalize doctrinal authority and develop a durable religious habitus that extends beyond institutional boundaries. The study concludes that pedagogy functions as a central mechanism of ideological reproduction and religious subject formation. These findings imply the need to conceptualize Islamic education as a practice-oriented and value-embedded process, offering a theoretical framework for understanding pesantren pedagogy within contemporary Indonesian and global Islamic educational contexts.

Keywords: Ideological Reproduction, Islamic Pedagogy, Pesantren Education, Reformist Islam, Religious Habitus

INTRODUCTION

Islamic education is increasingly conceptualized not merely as a site of knowledge transmission but as a formative arena in which religious identities, ethical orientations, and modes of Muslim subjectivity are actively constructed. Within contemporary educational discourse, Islamic schooling is expected to respond simultaneously to globalization, modernization, and digital transformation while preserving doctrinal coherence and moral authority (Halstead, 2021; Memon & Alhashmi, 2023; Sahin, 2018; Sahin, 2020; Biesta, 2015). Consequently, pedagogy can no longer be understood as a neutral or technical process; rather, it constitutes a value-laden and socially embedded practice through which learners internalize norms, negotiate authority, and position themselves within broader religious and social fields.

Indonesia provides a particularly significant context for examining these dynamics, as it hosts the largest Islamic education system globally. Among its institutions, pesantren represent

enduring centers of Islamic learning characterized by the integration of *ta'lim* (knowledge transmission), *tarbiyah* (moral–spiritual formation), and *ta'dib* (ethical discipline). This tripartite pedagogical model reflects a holistic educational philosophy that unites intellectual, moral, and spiritual development (Azra et al., 2020; Lukens-Bull, 2020; Sahin, 2020; Maslani et al., 2026). Such integration has historically enabled pesantren to maintain continuity while adapting to shifting sociopolitical conditions.

However, the post-1998 reform era has introduced new dynamics through the formal incorporation of pesantren into Indonesia's national education system. While this integration has enhanced institutional legitimacy and modernization, it has also generated tensions between traditional pedagogical authority and contemporary demands for accountability, standardization, and administrative governance (Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022; Malik, 2023). These tensions are particularly pronounced in reformist pesantren affiliated with *Persatuan Islam* (Persis), which promotes a scripturalist orientation emphasizing doctrinal purification and textual authenticity.

Despite extensive scholarship on pesantren, existing studies have largely focused on historical development, sociocultural roles, and institutional adaptation (Azra et al., 2020; Lukens-Bull, 2020; Pohl, 2006). Research on reformist movements such as Persis has predominantly examined theological discourse and sociopolitical engagement, leaving pedagogical processes underexplored (Hefner, 2003; Zarkasyi, 2013; Çelik, 2021; Rofiqi, 2026). More importantly, Islamic education research frequently treats pedagogy as a technical process rather than as an ideological mechanism through which religious habitus and subject positions are reproduced.

Addressing this gap, this study advances a theoretical framework that conceptualizes pedagogy as an ideological–pedagogical system. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of habitus and symbolic power, Althusser's concept of ideological interpellation, and Ricoeur's notion of narrative identity, the study examines how pedagogical practices in Persis pesantren reproduce reformist ideology and shape religious subjectivity. In doing so, it contributes to a practice-oriented reconceptualization of Islamic education as a central site of ideological production.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative research design to investigate Islamic education as a lived ideological–pedagogical practice embedded within contemporary social contexts. A qualitative approach enables in-depth exploration of meanings, interactions, and institutional processes through which religious knowledge, ideology, and subjectivity are constructed and reproduced (Janis et al., 2020; Mayring, 2019; Roller, 2019). Data were collected through prolonged field engagement at a *Persatuan Islam* (Persis) Islamic boarding school in West Java, including semi-structured interviews with school leaders, teachers, and students; participant observation of classroom instruction, religious routines, and disciplinary practices; and analysis of institutional documents such as curricula, school regulations, and pedagogical guidelines. This multi-source strategy allowed for triangulation and enhanced the credibility of findings. Consistent with methodological discussions in Islamic education research, the study maintains epistemological sensitivity to how moral orientation and religious identity are embedded in everyday pedagogical interactions.

Data were analyzed using a thematic and interpretive approach informed by the study's integrative theoretical framework. Initial coding was conducted to identify recurring patterns in pedagogical practices related to *ta'lim*, *tarbiyah*, and *ta'dib* (Sahin, 2020; Halstead, 2021). These codes were then interpreted through the lens of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and symbolic power, Althusser's notion of ideological interpellation, and Ricoeur's hermeneutics of narrative identity (Althusser, 1971; Bourdieu, 1990, 1991; Ricoeur, 1992; Memon & Alhashmi, 2023). This

analytical process enabled the study to move beyond descriptive accounts of pedagogy toward a critical understanding of how puritanical ideology is embedded in institutional routines, embodied in disciplinary structures, and internalized in the formation of religious subjectivities. Through this interpretive analysis, the research conceptualizes Persis pesantren as an ideological–pedagogical system in which educational practice functions as a central mechanism of ideological reproduction and institutional sustainability.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Triangulation between interviews, institutional texts, and observational data demonstrates a strong coherence between stated mission and enacted practice. The pesantren’s organizational structure, including hierarchical leadership, centralized curriculum control, and dormitory supervision, ensures uniform implementation of its ideological orientation. Observations of teacher meetings further reveal deliberate coordination in maintaining doctrinal consistency across subjects. Collectively, these findings indicate that Persis pesantren functions not merely as an educational institution but as an ideological–pedagogical system. The integration of governance, curriculum, and daily life structures creates a stable framework through which religious knowledge and reformist ideology are consistently transmitted and embodied.

Pedagogy as an Ideological–Pedagogical System: Structured Reproduction with Bounded Agency

The findings of this study show that pesantren pedagogy not only functions as a teaching practice, but also as a social architecture that systematically reproduces a particular ideological orientation. This process of reproduction takes place through the close integration of curriculum design that emphasizes textual authority, hierarchical authority relations between teachers and students, and the regulation of daily life that shapes the rhythm of religious experience. In this framework, pedagogy operates as a total pedagogical environment, not merely as an activity limited to the classroom. This is exemplified by a teacher’s statement indicating that pesantren pedagogy is designed to shape students’ modes of thinking, ensuring that they consistently refer back to the Qur’an and Sunnah as their primary sources. Such an approach underscores the pedagogical emphasis on fostering a strong Islamic foundation in students’ reasoning processes (Teacher-01, personal communication, March 2025).

Analytically, the data indicate that the objective of pedagogy does not stop at the transfer of knowledge, but is oriented toward the reconstruction of students’ epistemic frameworks. Thus, what is reproduced is not only the content of teaching, but also the way of knowing (mode of knowing). In this context, the Qur’an and Sunnah do not merely function as sources of reference but also as final epistemic authorities that determine the validity of all forms of knowledge. This condition gives rise to what can be described as epistemic centering of scripture, the concentration of all cognitive activities on textual legitimation. As a consequence, the possibility of alternative sources of authority, such as local traditions or non-textual cultural authorities, becomes limited.

Although this structure appears strong and comprehensive, interview data show that the process of ideological reproduction does not operate mechanically. A student stated that he still compares what is learned in the pesantren with the knowledge previously obtained in the family environment (Student-03). This statement indicates the presence of an internal cognitive space that is not entirely controlled by the institution. Within this space, students carry out a process of comparison between pre-existing belief systems and the new epistemic framework introduced by the pesantren.

This process shows the existence of epistemic agency, although in a limited form. Such agency does not appear as open resistance to the structure, but rather as disciplined internal

reflection. In other words, students continue to operate within the boundaries of legitimacy determined by the institution, even though mentally they carry out evaluation and adjustment of meaning. This condition can be interpreted as bounded agency operating within predefined structural constraints. While it does not explicitly oppose or challenge the framework, it nevertheless permits processes of interpretation and meaning selection to take place.

The relationship between structure and agency in this context is asymmetrical, but not absolute. Institutional structures function to determine the framework of legitimacy, control discursive expression, and limit the possibility of open deviation. However, student agency remains present at the cognitive and reflective level, which is manifested in the form of comparison, adjustment, and limited reinterpretation. This agency is not always visible in a performative way, but operates as an internal process in the formation of meaning.

Thus, pesantren pedagogy cannot be reduced to a system of indoctrination that completely eliminates the subject. On the contrary, it is more appropriately understood as a structured ideological field with controlled interpretive latitude. In this framework, structure, ideology, and social interaction form a dynamic field in which interpretation is possible, but remains within predetermined boundaries. Interpretation does not appear as unrestricted freedom, but as a conditioned practice. Students are able to think, compare, and reflect, but only insofar as they do not exceed the epistemic boundaries that have been legitimized by the institution.

Overall, these findings show that ideological reproduction in Islamic education does not operate through total determinism. Instead, it takes place through a combination of external regulation and the internalization of cognitive boundaries. The effectiveness of the system lies not in the elimination of agency, but in its direction and conditioning. Therefore, pesantren pedagogy operates as a system of ideological reproduction that does not negate agency but shapes and channels it through epistemic constraints, resulting in subjects who remain cognitively active while operating within a predetermined framework of legitimacy.

***Ta'lim*: Scriptural Authority, Epistemic Regulation, and Structured Knowledge Transmission**

At the level of *ta'lim*, instructional practices are not merely oriented toward the delivery of religious content, but function as a systematic process of epistemic regulation through which legitimate knowledge is defined, transmitted, and internalized. The pedagogical focus on Qur'anic and Hadith texts, interpreted through a reformist and scripturalist lens, indicates that learning is organized around a text-centered epistemology, where authority is derived from proximity to scriptural sources rather than from inherited or localized traditions.

Classroom observations demonstrate that lessons are structured around the prioritization of *dalil* (textual evidence), with a strong emphasis on methodological rigor in deriving religious rulings. This methodological emphasis is not incidental; rather, it constitutes a disciplinary framework that trains students to think within specific epistemic parameters. The repeated invocation of primary texts by teachers serves not only to convey content but also to normalize a hierarchy of knowledge in which scriptural sources occupy the highest position of legitimacy. This orientation is further reinforced by teachers' own understanding of their pedagogical role. As one instructor stated: "*Students must learn Islam from its sources, not from inherited habits that lack evidence*" (Dede Rosiddin, personal communication, April 2025). This statement reflects a deliberate effort to reposition authority away from tradition toward textual verification, thereby establishing what may be described as epistemic purification. In this process, practices that are not grounded in recognized textual evidence are implicitly or explicitly delegitimized.

Student accounts corroborate this orientation. One student reported, "*We are trained to justify our religious views using textual evidence, not just follow what people usually do*" (Student-03, personal

communication, April 2025). Such responses indicate that *ta'lim* actively cultivates a justificatory mode of reasoning, in which claims to religious truth must be anchored in scriptural reference. This represents a shift from habit-based religiosity toward evidence-based religiosity, aligning students' cognitive processes with the institutional epistemology. Document analysis further supports these findings. Instructional materials consistently foreground doctrinal clarity, often presenting religious issues in binary terms of valid versus invalid practices based on textual support. This suggests that knowledge transmission is structured not only to inform, but also to standardize interpretive outcomes, thereby reducing ambiguity in religious understanding.

Observational data also reveal that interpretive plurality is significantly constrained within classroom discourse. Alternative viewpoints that deviate from institutional doctrine are typically corrected or reformulated by teachers. This practice does not merely resolve disagreement; it actively delineates the boundaries of acceptable interpretation. As such, classroom interaction becomes a site of epistemic boundary maintenance, where the limits of legitimate knowledge are continuously reinforced. This dynamic can be understood through a Bourdieusian lens as the exercise of symbolic power. Teachers, as holders of institutional authority, possess the capacity to define what counts as valid knowledge and to impose this definition as legitimate. In doing so, they shape not only what students learn, but also how students come to recognize and accept certain forms of knowledge as authoritative.

Importantly, this process does not operate solely through external imposition. Over time, repeated exposure to structured argumentation and correction fosters what may be termed internalized epistemic discipline, whereby students begin to regulate their own reasoning in accordance with institutional standards. In this sense, *ta'lim* functions both as an external mechanism of control and as an internalized cognitive framework. Through the triangulation of interview data, classroom observations, and textual materials, *ta'lim* can therefore be conceptualized as an epistemological mechanism of ideological consolidation. It simultaneously produces cognitive alignment with reformist principles and establishes a stratified hierarchy of interpretive legitimacy within the pedagogical field. Knowledge transmission, in this context, is not neutral; it is an active process of shaping epistemic orientation, structuring both the content and the conditions of religious understanding. Hence, *ta'lim* operates as a structured epistemic regime that regulates how knowledge is authorized, transmitted, and internalized, thereby producing doctrinal coherence while delimiting the scope of legitimate interpretation.

***Ta'dib*: Ethical Discipline, Moral Internalization, and Institutional Regulation**

At the level of *ta'dib*, disciplinary practices extend beyond behavioral control and operate as a structured system of ethical formation through which norms are not only enforced but gradually internalized. The regulation of dress, speech, social interaction, and respect for authority reflects an institutional effort to organize everyday conduct into a coherent moral order. These regulations are codified in formal rulebooks, which specify both expected behaviors and corresponding corrective measures. However, the function of these rules is not limited to compliance; rather, they serve as instruments for cultivating ethical consciousness.

Observational data indicate that supervision is systematically implemented across both dormitory and classroom settings, creating what may be described as a total regulatory environment. Within this environment, student behavior is continuously monitored, yet enforcement is rarely framed in purely punitive terms. Instead, disciplinary actions are typically accompanied by moral explanation, suggesting that correction is intended to foster understanding rather than fear-based compliance. This orientation is clearly articulated by institutional actors. As one administrator explained, "*We correct students so they understand responsibility before Allah, not to control them*" (Muhammad Romli, personal communication, March 2025). This statement reflects a shift from disciplinary control toward moral pedagogy, in which

authority is legitimized through ethical reasoning rather than coercion. The emphasis on accountability before God reorients discipline from an external institutional demand to an internalized spiritual obligation, thereby strengthening its normative force.

Student narratives further support this interpretation. One student described disciplinary encounters as experiences that increased moral awareness rather than producing resentment, “*Being corrected here makes me more aware of my responsibilities, not afraid of punishment*” (Student-07, personal communication, April 2025). Such accounts indicate that disciplinary practices are experienced as formative rather than repressive. This suggests the presence of what may be termed affective compliance, where adherence to rules is mediated through moral understanding and emotional acceptance, rather than imposed through fear or resistance.

A significant dynamic observed in the data is the gradual transformation from external supervision to internal self-regulation. As students advance academically, direct monitoring by institutional authorities becomes less visible, while self-discipline and peer regulation become more prominent. Senior students frequently remind their peers of institutional norms and model expected behavior, indicating the emergence of distributed disciplinary authority within the student body. This shift reflects a successful process of ethical internalization, in which norms initially enforced through external mechanisms are reconstituted as internal standards guiding individual conduct. In this phase, discipline no longer depends on constant surveillance, as students begin to regulate themselves in accordance with institutional expectations. This dynamic resonates with the notion of self-governing subjects, where control operates through internalized norms rather than continuous external intervention.

This process can be interpreted through an Althusserian framework. The pesantren functions as an ideological apparatus that interpellates students into subjects who recognize themselves as morally accountable within a religious framework. Through repeated exposure to normative expectations, corrective practices, and moral reasoning, students come to identify with the values promoted by the institution. Discipline, in this sense, is not merely imposed; it is recognized, accepted, and reproduced by the subjects themselves. Importantly, this form of regulation does not eliminate agency, but rather reconfigures it. Students exercise agency within the parameters of internalized norms, engaging in self-monitoring and peer regulation as expressions of their moral commitment. This indicates that *ta’dib* operates not as a rigid system of control, but as a dynamic process of subject formation, in which regulation is transformed into ethical disposition.

Through triangulation of interviews, observational data, and institutional documents, *ta’dib* can therefore be understood as a disciplinary regime that converts external regulation into internal moral consciousness. It produces not only compliant behavior, but also ethically oriented subjects who actively participate in sustaining the institutional order. In this sense, discipline becomes both a pedagogical tool and a mechanism of ideological reproduction, ensuring continuity between institutional norms and individual conduct. Therefore, *ta’dib* operates as a process of ethical internalization in which institutional regulation is transformed into self-governed moral consciousness, enabling discipline to persist beyond direct supervision.

Construction of Religious Habitus and Subjectivity: Integrated Pedagogical Reproduction and Identity Formation

Integrating findings across *ta’lim*, *tarbiyah*, and *ta’dib*, this study demonstrates that the Persis pesantren functions as an integrated pedagogical system that systematically produces a relatively homogeneous religious habitus. This habitus is not formed through isolated instructional moments, but through the cumulative interaction of structured knowledge transmission, embodied moral training, and sustained ethical discipline. Together, these dimensions create a total formative environment in which cognitive, behavioral, and affective

aspects of religiosity are aligned within a coherent institutional framework. Empirically, students exhibit consistent patterns of doctrinal reasoning, moral regulation, and reformist self-identification. Their responses indicate that religious understanding is increasingly mediated through scriptural standards, particularly the Qur'an and Sunnah, rather than inherited communal practices. As one student noted, "*Now I evaluate practices based on Qur'an and Sunnah, not just tradition*" (Student-02, personal communication, April 2025). This statement reflects a significant epistemic shift from tradition-based authority to text-based evaluation, suggesting that the pesantren successfully reorients students' cognitive frameworks. Such reorientation is not merely intellectual, but extends into the restructuring of evaluative criteria through which students interpret religious life beyond the institution.

Institutional documents further corroborate this orientation by explicitly articulating the goal of producing graduates who are committed to reformist principles and scriptural authenticity. These formal objectives are operationalized in everyday pedagogical practices, indicating a high degree of alignment between institutional vision and implementation. In this sense, ideological formation is not incidental but programmatically embedded within the educational design. Observational data reveal that peer interaction plays a crucial role in reinforcing this alignment. Student discussions often reproduce shared interpretive boundaries, with deviations being gently corrected or redirected toward institutionally sanctioned interpretations. This dynamic suggests the emergence of a collectively sustained epistemic community, in which students actively participate in maintaining doctrinal coherence. As a result, habitus formation is not only vertically transmitted (from teacher to student), but also horizontally reinforced through peer engagement.

These processes can be understood as the formation of a religious habitus, namely a system of durable and transposable dispositions that guide perception, reasoning, and action. The consistency observed across students indicates that the pesantren successfully instills a shared set of dispositions that operate beyond conscious adherence to rules. These dispositions structure how students recognize legitimate knowledge, evaluate religious practices, and position themselves within broader Islamic discourses. At the same time, students' narratives point to a deeper transformation at the level of subjectivity. Several participants described their experience in the pesantren as reshaping their sense of self, particularly in terms of religious responsibility and moral accountability. This transformation aligns with Paul Ricoeur's concept of narrative identity, in which individuals construct and reconstruct their sense of self through engagement with meaningful interpretive frameworks over time. Within the pesantren context, institutional narratives, centered on scriptural authenticity, reform, and moral discipline, provide the symbolic resources through which students reinterpret their past and orient their future.

Importantly, this process involves not only the adoption of new beliefs, but also the reconfiguration of personal and social relationships. Students often reported reassessing family and community practices using standards acquired in the pesantren, indicating that habitus transformation extends beyond the institutional setting into broader social contexts. This suggests that the pesantren's influence operates translocally, shaping how students engage with religious diversity and difference in their home environments. Despite the apparent homogeneity, the production of religious habitus does not imply absolute uniformity. Rather, it reflects a regulated convergence, in which variation is possible but remains within clearly defined epistemic boundaries. Students may differ in emphasis, expression, or personal experience, yet their underlying frameworks of interpretation remain aligned with institutional doctrine. This condition reinforces the notion of a structured field of interpretation, where diversity exists, but is systematically bounded.

Overall, the findings indicate that the Persis pesantren operates as a comprehensive ideological-pedagogical system that integrates epistemic authority, moral formation, and

disciplinary regulation into a unified process of subject formation. Through the interplay of *ta'lim*, *tarbiyah*, and *ta'dib*, the institution not only transmits knowledge but also produces subjects who embody reformist Islamic principles in both thought and practice. This process ensures the reproduction of a coherent institutional identity while enabling its continuity within the broader landscape of contemporary Islamic education in Indonesia. Thus, the Persis pesantren produces a religious habitus through an integrated pedagogical system that aligns cognition, behavior, and identity, resulting in reformist Islamic subjectivities that are both internally coherent and socially extensible.

The findings of this study demonstrate that pedagogy in Persis pesantren cannot be reduced to a technical process of knowledge transmission. Rather, pedagogy operates as an ideological mechanism that shapes religious subjectivity through structured institutional practices. This interpretation supports contemporary scholarship in Islamic education that challenges assumptions of pedagogical neutrality and instead frames pedagogy as socially embedded, value-laden, and symbolically powerful (Sahin, 2020; Memon & Alhashmi, 2023). In Persis pesantren, education is integrated across classrooms, dormitories, ritual life, and peer interaction, indicating that pedagogy functions as a continuous formative system.

This total integration confirms that Islamic education operates within what may be described as a holistic moral ecology. Unlike fragmented instructional models, Persis pesantren situates learning within an immersive environment that fuses doctrine, discipline, and daily practice. Such a configuration aligns with Halstead's (2021) argument that Islamic education emphasizes moral formation as much as intellectual development. The findings, therefore, reinforce the view that pedagogy in Islamic institutions is inseparable from ethical and ideological commitments.

Theoretically, these patterns resonate strongly with Bourdieu's (1990) theory of practice, particularly his concept of habitus. Habitus is formed through repetitive, embodied, and structured experiences that gradually produce durable dispositions. In Persis pesantren, structured daily routines, ranging from prayer schedules to supervised conduct, systematically organize students' bodily comportment and temporal rhythms. Over time, these structured experiences cultivate patterned ways of perceiving and evaluating religious practice.

Importantly, habitus formation in this context is not incidental but intentional. Institutional routines are deliberately designed to align belief with behavior, reflecting a reformist emphasis on doctrinal purity and moral consistency. As Bourdieu (1991) argues, symbolic power becomes most effective when institutional norms are internalized as natural. The gradual transformation from externally supervised discipline to self-regulation observed in this study exemplifies this process of internalization.

The findings also illuminate the operation of symbolic power within pedagogical authority. Teachers in Persis pesantren function as custodians of legitimate interpretation, and their authority is recognized by students as morally and theologically justified. This recognition confirms Bourdieu's (1991) proposition that symbolic domination relies upon legitimacy rather than coercion. Students do not experience authority as imposed force but as rightful guidance.

From an Althusserian perspective, this dynamic may be understood as ideological interpellation (Althusser, 1971). Students are continuously "hailed" into particular subject positions, obedient, disciplined, and reformist Muslims, through routine pedagogical practices. Ideology operates effectively not through overt indoctrination but through normalized daily structures. The pesantren thus functions as an educational ideological apparatus, reproducing specific religious orientations through habitual practice (Althusser, 1971; Memon & Alhashmi, 2023).

The dimension of *ta'lim* illustrates this ideological function clearly. Instruction is structured around scriptural authority, emphasizing textual evidence (*dalil*) and doctrinal clarity.

This pedagogical orientation reinforces a hierarchy of legitimate knowledge and establishes boundaries of acceptable interpretation. In Bourdieusian terms, teachers accumulate and distribute religious symbolic capital by defining what constitutes authentic Islam (Bourdieu, 1991).

This finding extends previous scholarship on pesantren curriculum, which often highlights their adaptability and moderation (Azra et al., 2020; Lukens-Bull, 2020). While such portrayals remain valid in broader contexts, this study demonstrates that reformist pesantren like Persis cultivate ideological coherence through tightly regulated interpretive practices. Religious texts are transmitted within a controlled epistemological framework that limits interpretive plurality and reinforces doctrinal consistency. In this setting, pedagogical authority is exercised not only through curriculum content but also through disciplinary routines, teacher exemplarity, and institutional regulation of legitimate religious interpretation. Consequently, education functions not merely as a process of knowledge transfer but as a mechanism for shaping religious consciousness and maintaining organizational identity.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that reformist pesantren should not be homogenized as uniformly accommodative or pluralistic Islamic institutions. Instead, pesantren represent diverse educational formations shaped by different theological orientations, historical trajectories, and organizational networks. In the case of Persis, institutional modernization coexists with strong mechanisms of doctrinal regulation and scripturalist discipline aimed at producing particular forms of Muslim subjectivity grounded in textual authenticity and ideological loyalty. This suggests that pedagogy in Islamic education is inseparable from broader processes of authority formation, habitus reproduction, and the negotiation of orthodoxy within contemporary Muslim societies.

The practice of *tarbiyah* further reinforces ideological consolidation by embedding moral and spiritual discipline into the everyday structure of pesantren life. Values such as obedience, modesty, discipline, and religious commitment are not conveyed merely through verbal instruction or doctrinal explanation but are cultivated through repetitive participation in rituals, communal worship, organizational activities, and collective responsibilities. In this context, learning occurs through embodied experience in which students gradually internalize institutional norms as part of their daily habitus. Sahin (2020) argues that Islamic pedagogy becomes transformative when values are enacted and experienced rather than simply taught cognitively. The Persis case empirically substantiates this argument by demonstrating how repetitive moral practices produce durable religious orientations and shape students' ethical dispositions over time. Through continuous exposure to disciplined routines, ideology becomes normalized as an integral component of personal identity and social behavior.

Moreover, *tarbiyah* serves as a mechanism to align cognition with conduct within the reformist educational framework. In Persis pedagogy, religious knowledge is considered incomplete unless reflected consistently in visible moral behavior and ritual practice. Reformist ideology, therefore, emphasizes the inseparability of belief (*imān*), knowledge (*ilm*), and action (*amal*), making routine-based moral formation central to the preservation of doctrinal purity. Halstead (2021) similarly contends that Islamic education prioritizes ethical coherence as a marker of authentic religiosity, in which the credibility of faith is measured by disciplined conduct rather than by intellectual affirmation alone. Consequently, *tarbiyah* serves not only as moral cultivation but also as an ideological strategy that ensures religious principles are embodied in everyday life. This process strengthens institutional authority by producing subjects whose personal practices reflect the normative ideals promoted by the pesantren community.

The dimension of *ta'dib* introduces a further layer of ethical discipline within the pedagogical structure of reformist pesantren. Through behavioral regulations, corrective feedback, communal supervision, and the cultivation of proper *adab*, students are guided to

internalize norms governing speech, appearance, interaction, and religious conduct. Importantly, discipline is not experienced primarily as external coercion or punitive control, but as a socially normalized ethical expectation embedded within everyday institutional life. Repeated participation in regulated routines gradually shapes students' dispositions, making conformity appear natural and morally desirable. This process resonates with Bourdieu's (1990) conception of habitus, in which social norms become embodied through continuous practice rather than imposed solely through explicit repression. In this sense, *ta'dib* operates as a subtle pedagogical mechanism that forms ethical sensibilities while simultaneously reinforcing institutional authority.

Through *ta'dib*, ethical norms are progressively internalized as part of personal identity and religious self-understanding. Over time, students develop the capacity to monitor and regulate their own conduct even in the absence of direct supervision, indicating a transition from external discipline to self-discipline. This transformation demonstrates how pedagogical authority becomes embedded within the subject's consciousness, where obedience is sustained through internal moral commitment rather than institutional surveillance alone. Althusser's (1971) argument that ideology functions most effectively when individuals willingly enact its norms is particularly relevant here, as students come to perceive institutional expectations as expressions of their own authentic religiosity. Consequently, *ta'dib* not only regulates behavior but also produces self-governing religious subjects whose ethical practices continuously reproduce the ideological orientation of the pesantren.

When analyzed holistically, the integration of *ta'lim*, *tarbiyah*, and *ta'dib* demonstrates that ideological reproduction within reformist pesantren operates through mutually reinforcing pedagogical dimensions. *Ta'lim* functions to stabilize doctrinal understanding through structured transmission of authoritative religious knowledge, while *tarbiyah* cultivates moral and spiritual dispositions that align belief with everyday practice. At the same time, *ta'dib* reinforces ethical discipline by regulating conduct and embedding normative expectations into students' habitual behavior. These dimensions do not operate independently; rather, they interact continuously to produce a comprehensive educational environment in which cognition, morality, and discipline converge into a unified framework of religious formation. Consequently, ideology is reproduced not only at the level of intellectual conviction but also through embodied practice and ethical self-regulation.

This integrated pedagogical structure reveals that Islamic education in reformist pesantren extends beyond instructional activity toward the systematic formation of religious subjectivity. Sahin (2020) and Memon and Alhashmi (2023) argue that contemporary Islamic pedagogy should be understood as a transformative and value-oriented process rather than a merely technical mode of teaching. The Persis case supports this perspective by illustrating how educational practices collectively shape students' worldview, moral orientation, and patterns of social conduct. Through the interaction of doctrinal instruction, moral habituation, and ethical discipline, the pesantren constructs a coherent ideological–pedagogical system capable of sustaining institutional identity and ensuring continuity of reformist religious authority across generations.

The durability of this system becomes visible when students extend pesantren standards beyond institutional boundaries. Applying institutional norms to evaluate familial and community practices indicates that ideology transcends spatial confinement. Bourdieu (1990) describes this durability as the portability of habitus across social fields. Students carry reformist dispositions into broader religious life.

This extension of ideological perspective can also be understood through Ricoeur's (1992) hermeneutics of narrative identity, which emphasizes the importance of personal storytelling in shaping one's sense of self. Educational experience provides interpretive

resources that help students develop coherent and integrated self-understandings. By internalizing reformist standards and values, students re-narrate their life stories, positioning themselves as adherents of what they perceive as the “correct” form of Islam. This process reinforces their sense of existential meaning and purpose, while simultaneously aligning their personal narratives with doctrinal principles and religious expectations.

Within Indonesia’s post-reform educational landscape, these findings challenge prevailing narratives of pesantren modernization. Although formal integration into the national education system has bolstered institutional legitimacy (Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022), it has not diminished reformist commitments. Instead, this institutional formalization appears to heighten the necessity for distinct ideological boundaries. Reformist pesantren such as Persis illustrate that modernization can coexist with ideological consolidation; they demonstrate that institutional adaptation to administrative and curricular reforms does not conflict with maintaining strong doctrinal boundaries. This supports Memon and Alhashmi’s (2023) assertion that Islamic pedagogy navigates modernity through the reinterpretation of core principles rather than their abandonment.

Moreover, the findings indicate that pedagogy serves as a central arena for ideological negotiation within contemporary Islamic education. Rather than viewing ideology as an abstract doctrine, the study demonstrates how it manifests through embodied routines, institutional structures, and interpretive authority. This practice-oriented perspective enhances historical analyses of pesantren (Azra et al., 2020; Lukens-Bull, 2020) by emphasizing everyday pedagogical processes. From a theoretical standpoint, the research advances by integrating Islamic pedagogical concepts with sociological and philosophical theories of practice and ideology. Specifically, it connects concepts such as *ta’lim*, *tarbiyah*, and *ta’dib* with key ideas like habitus, symbolic power, interpellation, and narrative identity, thereby providing a multidimensional framework for understanding the formation of religious subjects.

Overall, the discussion affirms that Persis pesantren function as ideological–pedagogical systems that reproduce puritanical Islam through structured knowledge transmission, embodied moral training, and disciplined ethical formation. Pedagogy emerges not as a neutral vehicle of instruction but as a central mechanism of ideological production within contemporary Indonesian Islamic education.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that Persatuan Islam (Persis) pesantren function as integrated ideological–pedagogical systems in which *ta’lim*, *tarbiyah*, and *ta’dib* operate synergistically to produce religious subjectivity. Pedagogy emerges not merely as a mechanism of knowledge transmission but as a structured process of ideological reproduction that embeds doctrinal authority, moral discipline, and ethical self-regulation within students’ embodied practices. By producing a durable religious habitus, pesantren education extends its influence beyond institutional boundaries, enabling the continuity of reformist Islamic orientations within broader social contexts. Theoretically, this study contributes by integrating Islamic pedagogical concepts with sociological and philosophical theories of practice and ideology, offering a multidimensional and practice-oriented framework for understanding Islamic education. These findings suggest that future research should move beyond curriculum-centered analyses and instead examine the embodied, institutional, and ideological dimensions of pedagogy. Such an approach is essential for understanding how Islamic education negotiates modernity while sustaining doctrinal coherence in contemporary global contexts.

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