

Authority and knowledge in the pesantren-based madrasah curriculum: An archaeological and genealogical analysis of Michel Foucault

Ainun Hakiemah*, Zulkipli Lessy, Karwadi Karwadi

UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Submitted:
27-06-2026

Accepted:
06-08-2026

Published:
08-08-2026

Abstract: Pesantren-based Madrasah Aliyah has a strategic position as an institution that combines the national education system with the tradition of pesantren education. On the other hand, the standardization of the national curriculum, accreditation system, and administrative demands cause the autonomy space of Pesantren to be increasingly limited, giving rise to contestation between the interests of the state, the madrasah bureaucracy, and the kiai authority in determining the direction of the curriculum. This research is important to explain how the curriculum functions as an arena for power contestation as well as knowledge production through the perspective of archaeology and genealogy of Michel Foucault. The research uses an interpretive qualitative approach with a multi-locus study design on three Islamic boarding school-based MA in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The results of the study show that the curriculum is an arena for the production of power-knowledge that produces different configurations of power in each madrasah. MA Al-Jauhar and MA Sunan Pandanaran show the strengthening of the role of madrasahs as centers of knowledge production through curriculum synthesis, while MA As-Salafiyah maintains the epistemic dominance of *pesantren* through the substitution of state subjects with the yellow book. These findings confirm that curriculum implementation is a dynamic negotiation process between state standardization, madrasah autonomy, and pesantren authorities.

Keywords: Archaeology of knowledge, genealogy of power, madrasah curriculum

Abstrak: Madrasah Aliyah berbasis pesantren memiliki posisi strategis sebagai institusi yang memadukan sistem pendidikan nasional dengan tradisi pendidikan pesantren. Di sisi lain, standarisasi kurikulum nasional, sistem akreditasi, dan tuntutan administratif menyebabkan ruang otonomi pesantren semakin terbatas sehingga memunculkan kontestasi antara kepentingan negara, birokrasi madrasah, dan otoritas kiai dalam menentukan arah kurikulum. Penelitian ini penting untuk menjelaskan bagaimana kurikulum berfungsi sebagai arena kontestasi kekuasaan sekaligus produksi pengetahuan melalui perspektif arkeologi dan genealogi Michel Foucault. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif interpretatif dengan desain studi multi-lokus pada tiga MA berbasis pesantren di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kurikulum merupakan arena produksi kuasa-pengetahuan yang menghasilkan konfigurasi kekuasaan berbeda pada setiap madrasah. MA Al-Jauhar dan MA Sunan Pandanaran memperlihatkan menguatnya peran madrasah sebagai pusat produksi pengetahuan melalui sintesis kurikulum, sedangkan MA As-Salafiyah mempertahankan dominasi epistemik pesantren melalui substitusi mata pelajaran negara dengan kitab kuning. Temuan ini menegaskan bahwa implementasi kurikulum merupakan proses negosiasi dinamis antara standarisasi negara, otonomi madrasah, dan otoritas pesantren.

Kata kunci: Arkeologi pengetahuan, genealogi kekuasaan, kurikulum madrasah

This is an
open access
article under
the CC-BY-SA
license



*Corresponding author: ainunhakiemah@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

The pesantren-based madrasah curriculum is a meeting space between two forms of authority, namely state power manifested through national curriculum policies, and kiai moral authority that shapes the knowledge and character of students through binding kinship ties (Selamet et al., 2022). As part of the political process and not just a neutral

technical tool (Kingdon, 2014), curriculum becomes a medium in which state ideology determines the final meaning of education (Fernando & Sirozi, 2024; Latjompoh, et al., 2025), while local knowledge, namely the scientific tradition of pesantren and the wisdom of its community, seeks to maintain its autonomy in the face of policy uniformity (Muhyiddin et al., 2022). This tension between the authorities and the knowledge is evident since the madrasah was born as a hybrid form of pesantren and formal school, raising anxiety over the synchronization between state power and kiai power (Alhamuddin, 2025). Although since the 1950s, the national curriculum has tended to be uniform so that the space for local knowledge (read: pesantren) is limited (Amalina, 2024), the madrasah curriculum is still required to integrate local religious authorities with global demands (Muwaffaq & Iksan, 2023; Sholihin et al., 2026), while maintaining the sustainability of knowledge and character through pesantren values (Yani et al., 2025).

Historically, pesantren is an original Indonesian educational institution that has existed since before independence, with its own characteristics and education system that produces students who delve into religious knowledge (*tafaqquh fiddin*) through the uniqueness of the science of each kiai (Alwi, 2016). The Islamic education reform movement since the end of the 20th century has encouraged pesantren to modernize institutions, one of which is by organizing formal education in the form of madrasah, so that there is a proliferation of educational institutions that combine the tradition of pesantren with formal school structures (Bashori, 2017). Along with the expansion of formal madrasahs, the involvement of state policies in pesantren deepened, so that the authority over the curriculum that was originally completely in the hands of the kiai gradually shifted to the control of the state and its educational bureaucracy through the homogenization of the national curriculum (Qudsy, 2019). This shift raises fundamental tensions: on the one hand, pesantren are required to meet accreditation standards and national curriculum, while on the other hand they seek to maintain the authority of kiai as a center for academic and moral leadership based on the tradition of scientific *sanad* (Muhidin et al., 2025). Regulations that equate madrasah with state schools with Islamic characteristics encourage the integration of the pesantren education system into the national education system, but at the same time suppress the position of pesantren both in terms of form and content, so that it is partially uprooted from its original nature as moral guardians and holders of religious scientific authority. As a result, many graduates of pesantren-based madrasah no longer fully reach the degree of *tafaqquh fiddin*, because the knowledge transfer process is now dominated by the content of the formal madrasah curriculum, including the aspect of its religious content (Juliana et al., 2025; Rohani, 2024).

This condition encourages a number of pesantren to synthesize their madrasah curriculum according to their own peculiarities (Islam, 2021). This synthesis continues in the midst of state ties through integrated data systems such as EMIS (Education Management Information Sytem), madrasah digital report cards, madrasah self-evaluation, sympathy, and accreditation (Firmansyah et al., 2024; Ramadhina et al., 2024), thus giving rise to a power contest between the state, pesantren, and madrasah in the determination of the curriculum—a contest whose deviation deserves further research, considering that the madrasah curriculum, in contrast to the university curriculum, has a much narrower range of freedom. The dualism of leadership between the academic areas of madrasah and non-academic pesantren also makes it clear that there is more than one contestant for power

over the knowledge of students. This research limits the curriculum not just as a teaching tool as defined by Levey or Law No. 20 of 2003 but as a highly symbolic concept in Arthur Applebee's sense, namely understand curriculum as conversation and action (Menon & Castrillón, 2026), a living tradition related to the dynamics of knowledge in the pesantren-based madrasah education community.

Research on the curriculum of pesantren-based madrasah in recent years shows an increasingly strong tendency on the issue of curriculum integration, pesantren modernization, and the relationship between education authorities. As Islam found, the integration of the pesantren curriculum with the national curriculum improves the quality of madrasah education, but at the same time expands the dominance of national standards over the pesantren knowledge system (Islam, 2021). The state policies after the birth of the pesantren Law present a dilemma between institutional recognition and reduced independence of kiai in determining the direction of pesantren (Mumtaz et al., 2024). The modernization of the pesantren curriculum through the strengthening of madrasah and formal education expands the competitiveness of graduates, but at the same time raises tensions between the preservation of the tafaqquh fiddīn tradition and the demands of the national curriculum. On the other hand, recent research on the tension between national curriculum standards and pesantren traditions shows that the implementation of the national curriculum encourages the standardization of educational competence and accountability, but has the potential to shift the transmission of Islamic knowledge, adab, and kiai authority as the center of knowledge production in pesantren (Juliana et al., 2025). Other findings show that pesantren curriculum reform that integrates religious science, general science, and digital literacy results in curriculum designs that are more adaptive to social changes, but still leaves the problem of redistributing knowledge authority within pesantren (Sibromalisi et al., 2025).

The basic argument of this research is that the madrasah curriculum is an entrance to reveal power-knowledge relations that go far beyond the micro scale, namely the power relations of the state, pesantren, and madrasah. The curriculum is a tool for the state to produce a perspective in the global arena, as well as a space for each agent to place its interests, so that the contestation of the curriculum becomes the center of power reproduction—contestation is central to reproduction—which has implications for cultural studies, not just political science, because culture is essentially a way to maintain the power of a group of people. Pesantren, as the oldest educational institution in Indonesia with the peculiarities of the tradition of kiai, santri, prayer room, cottage, and yellow book as its own subculture (Dhofier, 2011; Wakhid, 2007), at the beginning of the establishment of the madrasah still dominated the curriculum through the power of the kiai (Azra, 1997; Daulay, 2007; Steenbrink, 1986; Subhan, 2012). However, the state curriculum regulations then dilute the transfer of knowledge to students, so that the culture of pesantren is vulnerable to threats to the existence of their knowledge. From here, the research problems are formulated: first, how the contestation of state power, pesantren, and madrasah is reflected in the curriculum structure, and which is more dominant; second, how the impact of the dominance of the contestation of the power of the curriculum is seen from the archaeology of Foucault's knowledge.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative-interpretive approach with a multi-locus study design in the three pesantren-based Aliyah Madrasah in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, namely MA al-Jauhar Gunung Kidul, MA Sunan Pandanaran Sleman, and MA as-Salafiyyah Sleman. This approach was chosen because the focus of the study is not on measuring variables, but on the meaning of texts, discourses, and curricular practices as the main data (Sugiyono, 2002). The analysis strategy used is the analysis of Foucauldian discourse which is directed at two layers of reading at once: archaeological reading of curriculum documents, subject structure, pesantren syllabus, and the Ministry of Religion's policy on Religious Madrasah Aliyah and Religious Programs; as well as a genealogical reading of the history of madrasah policy, the position of kiai authority, and disciplinary practices in dormitory life.

The primary data source comes from in-depth interviews with some of the people related to the research conducted. The Table 1 is the data code of the informants in the study.

Table 1. Informant code

Code	Informants
KM-01	Head of Madrasah MA Al-Jauhar Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta
KM-01	Head of Madrasah MA as-Salafiyyah Mlangi Yogyakarta
WK-01	Curriculum Representative of MA Sunan Pandanaran 2019/2020
WK-02	Curriculum Representative of MA Sunan Pandanaran 2020/2021

In addition, the policy document for the curriculum of pesantren-based madrasah (the national curriculum structure of the Ministry of Religion, the guidelines for Madrasah Aliyah Religious/Religious Programs, and the curriculum document of the pesantren curriculum), as well as Michel Foucault's primary works on archaeology and genealogy (Foucault, 2019). The curriculum structure studied is the 2013 curriculum so that the context of time in highlighting social reality and knowledge is at the time of the enactment of the 2013 curriculum. Secondary data sources include the results of previous research on the integration of pesantren and madrasah curriculum, both descriptive-empirical and those that use Foucauldian analysis knives, as comparative materials and arguments reinforcement. The profiles of the three madrasah are compiled based on the identification of the location and institutional affiliation of each madrasah to its parent pesantren; In-depth data on the structure of the real curriculum, internal documents, and daily practices in each madrasah requires further field exploration that is beyond the scope of this conceptual article, so the discussion is aimed at building an analytical framework that can be tested and further explored through field research on each locus.

Data collection was carried out through documentation studies and observations. Documentation studies are directed to examine various curriculum documents as a form of discourse that represents a certain knowledge construction. In-depth interviews were used to explore the views of education actors regarding the curriculum development process, consideration of subject selection, and distribution of authority in curriculum decision-making. Meanwhile, observations were made to understand educational practices that

show how power relations and knowledge production mechanisms are carried out in the institutional life of madrasas and pesantren institutions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Contestation of power in the curriculum in pesantren-based madrasah

Recent studies have shown that the state, through regulations, standardization of curriculum structures, and accreditation systems, retains dominant control over the madrasah curriculum even though the space for local autonomy has been opened up through local content policies (Rodliyah et al., 2024). This control is often confronted with the cultural base of pesantren that have their own logic and educational priorities, thus giving rise to a pattern of tactical resistance and curriculum synthesis in various pesantren in Indonesia as a strategy to survive the standardization of the state (Hanif et al., 2024). This kind of dynamic is consistent with the finding that the integration of the state curriculum into the pesantren education system is always colored by negotiations between administrative-bureaucratic interests and religious distinctiveness that the pesantren want to maintain (Islam, 2021; Juliana et al., 2025). To deepen our understanding of this empirical power contest, the following section presents the results of interviews with parties directly involved in the management of the curriculum in pesantren-based madrasah.

Head of Madrasah Informants:

"Basically, we still refer to the national curriculum as a standard that must be met. However, because MA Al-Jauhar is located in a pesantren environment, we develop or synthesize the curriculum to suit the vision and character of the institution. This development is mainly carried out by strengthening the content of tahfidzul Al-Qur'an as the main characteristic of education in pesantren. The identity of pesantren cannot be separated from the learning of the Qur'an. One of the characteristics that distinguishes us from public schools is the existence of a Qur'an memorization program. Therefore, we place tahfidz as an important part of the curriculum structure, not just as an additional activity, but as a core program that is integrated with the entire educational process." (Head of Madrasah/KM-01)

"We have increased the special time allocation for tahfidz, murojaah, and memorization deposits that are carried out every day. The academic schedule is arranged so as not to collide with memorization activities. In addition, subject teachers and tahfidz supervisors coordinate with each other so that academic development and student memorization achievements can run in a balanced manner. Our goal is to produce graduates who not only master general science according to national standards, but also have strong religious competence through memorization of the Qur'an. Thus, graduates of MA Al-Jauhar have the character of a pesantren that is maintained even though they follow the formal education system." (KM-01)

"Strengthening the content of tahfidz has a positive impact on the character and learning culture of students. The memorization program becomes an identity that is inherent in all students so that the academic atmosphere in

the madrasah is more religious and disciplined. Through this curriculum synthesis, MA Al-Jauhar is able to maintain the character of the pesantren while meeting the demands of the national curriculum. For us, the success of madrasah is not only measured by academic achievement, but also by students' ability to memorize the Qur'an as a characteristic of pesantren education." (KM-01)

"We do not apply Islamic Religious Education subjects as stipulated in the national curriculum. Subjects such as the Qur'an Hadith, Aqidah Akhlak, Fiqh, and Islamic Cultural History are not taught in the form of national subjects. Instead, we use books that have long been the main reference for pesantren education. For us, the yellow book reflects more of the scientific tradition of the Islamic boarding school and is more in line with the vision of the institution." (Head of Madrasah/KM-02)

"For the field of Qur'an Hadith, we use Bulughul Maram as the main book. We develop the field of Akidah Akhlak through the learning of Tahliyah wa Targhib and Jawahirul Kalamiyyah. Meanwhile, the subject of Fiqh was replaced by the learning of Matan Abu Shuja'. In addition, we also added the subject of NU-an as a strengthening of the Akidah Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah An-Nahdliyyah. All of these subjects are part of the madrasah curriculum structure and have their own time allocation." (KM-02)

"We view that the purpose of pesantren education is not only to meet national curriculum standards, but also to maintain the tradition of transmission of classical Islamic science. These books have been the main source of learning in pesantren for many years and are considered more in-depth in shaping the religious competence of students. Therefore, our curriculum structure is arranged so that the identity of the pesantren remains the main orientation of education." (KM-02)

Curriculum Representative Information:

"In our madrasah, the curriculum is designed to be able to accommodate the different abilities of students, especially in the tahfiz Al-Qur'an program. From the beginning, we map the ability to read the Qur'an and the potential for each student's memorization. The results of the mapping are the basis for determining the learning path to be taken. Students who have the ability to read the Qur'an well and have high memorization potential will take part in an intensive tahfiz program. The target is to complete the memorization of the Qur'an during the three-year study period at Madrasah Aliyah. This program is supported by more intensive study schedules, murojaah, and mentoring so that they can still follow general subjects without reducing their memorization achievements." (Curriculum Representative/WK-01)

"Based on the evaluation we have conducted for several years, the curriculum structure that we synthesized as a madrasah based on pesantren gives more satisfactory results than when only using the national

curriculum. The integration between the academic curriculum, tahfidz programs, and boarding life coaching makes student achievements more balanced, both in terms of academics, the ability to memorize the Qur'an, and character formation. This model is also more in line with the vision of madrasas in producing graduates who excel in science while having strong religious competence." (WK-01)

"MA Sunan Pandanaran continues to use the Madrasah Curriculum set by the Ministry of Religion as the basis for the implementation of education. However, as a madrasah that is in the tahfidz pesantren system, we do not implement it in its entirety without modifications. We synthesize the curriculum with the needs and character of the pesantren through the addition of local content and the strengthening of the tahfidzul Al-Qur'an program. This synthesis is carried out so that the goals of national education are still achieved, but the identity of the pesantren as an institution that prints the memorization of the Qur'an is also maintained." (WK-02)

Based on Table 2 and the curriculum structure and KMA (Dicree of The Minister of Religius Affairs) by the state, several things can be known. First, the government sets a curriculum that must be implemented by each madrasah but the state also provides space for madrasah to increase or decrease subjects according to characteristics (moving lesson hours) with a maximum of six hours of lessons in the Local Content (*Mulok*) room even though this space is more focused on the local government area of the madrasah (Kosim et al., 2023). This means that state power in the curriculum is still dominant in the competition for the power to manage the curriculum structure. Second, if it is associated with the learning instructions for boarding MA, it seems that some pesantren based madrasah do not refer to this technique (Jasuli et al., 2026). It is possible that there is a tendency of the guidelines for boarding MA and not oriented pesantren so that it is less of a reference for pesantren that have madrasah or for madrasah that regulate their curriculum (Suhendi et al., 2026).

Based on Table 2, it appears that the determinant of the curriculum is still dominant in the power of the state even though there is a 'democratic space' for madrasah. The democratic space or freedom space provided by the state to accommodate the peculiarities of madrasah is still considered not optimal for some private madrasah based on pesantren (Juliana et al., 2025; Musgamy et al., 2026). The discussion shows that there is a contest of power in the curriculum in madrasah where the state uses its power for the madrasah through the provisions it sets and the madrasah also puts itself in the contestation space, by not necessarily accepting the whole of what is determined by the state (Arifin, 2023).

The explanation also strengthens what Foucault said that the determination of a provision from the state means that there is a seeding of power by the state. That the curriculum applies as a tool of state power and society (read: madrasah) should accept the rule as a consequence of the consensus between the state and the community as well as a consequence of the acceptance of rights as citizens. In addition, the provisions of the curriculum indirectly show the seeding of knowledge, the seeding of knowledge based on an 'instruction' from what is stated in the curriculum so that it is clear that knowledge and power are mutually beneficial, influencing each other. In Indonesia, knowledge and power

in the curriculum are not only seen in the curriculum structure but also in the curriculum support tools such as the establishment of syllabus for school/madrasah students, the establishment of textbooks, and so on. It is increasingly clear that the closeness between power and knowledge occurs in education in Indonesian madrasah (Biesta, 2021; Peters & Jandrić, 2018).

Table 2. Summary of findings based on data sources

Dimensions of Curriculum Contestation	Source of Informant	Key Findings
Dominance of the State Curriculum (Formal Power)	KM-01, KM-02, WK-02	Madrasah formally remain subject to state authority by referring to the Madrasah/national Curriculum of the Ministry of Religion as a mandatory standard. It represents state power that demands uniformity and accountability of formal education standards.
Resistance and Negotiation of pesantren Authorities	KM-01; KM-02; WK-02	The state curriculum is not adopted in its entirety, but is synthesized with the interests of the kiai/pesantren authority. This shows the negotiation of power between state authorities and local religious authorities, in which pesantren maintain their autonomy through the development of local content.
Contestation in the Realm of Religious Knowledge	KM-02	The national version of PAI (Islamic Religious Education) subjects (Al-Qur'an Hadith, <i>Akidah Akhlak, Fikih</i>, SKI) was replaced by the yellow book: - Al-Qur'an Hadis → Bulughul Maram - <i>Akidah Akhlak</i> → Tahliyah wa Targhib & Jawahirul Kalamiiyyah - Fiqh → Matan Abu Syuja' - Addition to NU-an as a strengthening of the Akidah Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah An-Nahdliyyah This is a form of epistemological contestation: state-sanctioned knowledge is "defeated" by the legitimacy of the scientific tradition of pesantren that is considered more authoritative by the local community.
Strengthening Identity through Tahfidz as a Core Curriculum	KM-01	Tahfidzul Qur'an is placed as a core program that is integrated into the curriculum structure, not an additional activity, complete with special time allocation (murojaah, daily deposit) and coordination of tahfidz instructors. This strengthening is a symbol of the symbolic power of pesantren to redefine the standard of educational success outside the framework of the state.

The Socio-Cultural Impact of Contestation	KM-01	Strengthening tahfidz forms a more religious and disciplined learning culture. The success of madrasah is measured not only by national academic achievements, but also by memorization of the Qur'an (emphasizing the shift in the measure of success from state standards to pesantren standards).
Differentiation and Stratification of Students	WK-01	Mapping of reading ability and memorization potential of the Qur'an was carried out to determine the learning path (regular vs intensive tahfidz with a target of 3 years of khatam). This mechanism shows how pesantren authorities manage and distribute curriculum resources based on individual capacity, as a form of micro-power in student management.
Legitimacy of Synthesis Models through Internal Evaluation	WK-01	Internal evaluation shows that the synthesis curriculum model (academic, tahfidz, and boarding life) gives more satisfactory results than the pure national curriculum. This claim of success serves to legitimize the bargaining position of pesantren in maintaining the autonomy of their curriculum before state authorities.

If traced to the history of the meeting of pesantren and madrasah (formal), there is a tendency for kiai, as a representation of pesantren, to have flexibility, independence, in determining the curriculum for their madrasahs (Rusydiyah & AR, 2020; Solichin, 2018). The awareness of pesantren of the importance of educational reform due to the increase in colonial schools and the Islamic reform movement made pesantren change direction not only to provide religious lessons but also to include non-religious subject matter by organizing formal madrasah in pesantren as well as the recommendation from the state which continued with the determination of the decision to carry out thirty percent of general subjects and seventy percent of religious subjects (Juliana et al., 2025). Assuming that if you do this, there will be a bright spot for the achievement of students (*santri*) on religious abilities that are the characteristics of pesantren.

In the current curriculum discourse with the synthesis of the curriculum carried out by pesantren-based madrasah, there are new things when compared to the discourse in previous times. This new invention is not a new invention because it covers the entire discourse journey. For example, in the early days of the establishment of formal madrasahs in pesantren, the dominance of pesantren in the management of the madrasah curriculum was still very strong. In contrast to today, where the madrasah curriculum is determined by the state to technical matters such as determining the curriculum structure, textbooks, and so on which are then related to other state programs, such as administrative reports, report cards, diplomas, accreditation, and so on (Musgamy et al., 2026). Madrasah in pesantren which then satisfies pesantren with its religious peculiarities is then addressed by incorporating subjects that are peculiarities of pesantren into the formal education system in madrasah (Islam, 2021). The presentation is proof that pesantren respond to the madrasah curriculum in accordance with the conditions that occur based on the history of madrasah and pesantren from the beginning to the present.

The pattern of pesantren resistance to the national curriculum in order to maintain their own curriculum model is also widely found in various pesantren in Indonesia, which shows that curriculum synthesis and modification are not a single case but a survival strategy that is commonly carried out by pesantren in the face of state standardization (Hanif et al., 2024). As some of the following madrasah synthesize the curriculum between those set by the state and the pesantren policy, including:

First, MA al-Jauhar Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta. This MA synthesizes the curriculum by increasing the content of tahfidzul Qur'an, this is because the pesantren is characterized by students who memorize the Qur'an. This shows that the power of pesantren is involved in the curriculum synthesis policy made by madrasah, especially the involvement of pesantren in laying down the mindset, the basis of thinking about the peculiarities of pesantren for madrasah. This then became the basis for the idea to include tahfidz content in the curriculum at MA al-Jauhar. This tahfidz curriculum is different from that launched by the ministry of religion that oversees the madrasah. The tahfidz curriculum was launched by the Ministry of Religion of the province of Yogyakarta with a defined syllabus, thematic, and using allocations from local content. Although these provisions are not required to be followed by all madrasahs. If it is associated with Foucault's power, that as long as there are rules or provisions that apply in it, there is a contestation of power in it (Foucault, 1980; Shodikin et al., 2026). As for the perspective of the tahfidz curriculum at MA al-Jauhar which follows the provisions of the tahfidz curriculum of its pesantren, it shows that there is a power contest from the pesantren and madrasah.

Second, the tahfidz curriculum at MA al-Jauhar broadly has similarities with the tahfidz curriculum at MA Sunan Pandanaran especially in terms of time allocation and achievement targets. Because of the peculiarity of the Sunan Pandanaran Islamic boarding school in tahfidzul Qur'an, this MA makes a curriculum that can accommodate students to complete the memorization of the Qur'an within three years for students who have good memorization and reading skills, but for those who do not meet these criteria, it will be directed to regular classes that also continue to memorize the Qur'an even though the target is only 6 juz in 3 years. In these 3 years, it turns out that the structure created or synthesized by the pesantren-based madrasah shows more satisfactory results than using the National curriculum.

From this, it can be said that from the structure of the tahfidz curriculum in the two madrasah shows that the dominance of the power contest is in the madrasah and pesantren and not the state. Madrasah is also said to be a contestant because it is indeed the one that determines the allocation, achievement targets, binding tahfidz rules and implementation, although partially, and the evaluation is carried out by the madrasah. If we look at the seeding of knowledge, it appears that there is a tendency for pesantren power to enter the curriculum in madrasah compared to the state. This is if viewed from the subject of Tahfidz. The curriculum as a power tool for pesantren-based madrasah also appears clearly in the subject of Dalail, reading the book Dalailul Khoirot. Although in the same upbringing with MA Sunan Pandanaran (MASPA), this subject does not appear in the curriculum structure at MASPA. The tendency to contest power in the madrasah area is getting stronger in MA Sunan Pandanaran with the entry of madrasah diniyah with the material of classical books (yellow books) which is the authority of the pesantren managed by the policy and its implementation by the madrasah, MASPA. The yellow book itself is part of the body of

scientific knowledge of pesantren that are distinctive and have high academic value in the oldest Islamic educational tradition in Indonesia, so that when its management moves to the realm of madrasah, it means a transfer of control over one of the scientific cores of the pesantren itself.

The teaching of the Quran and the yellow book, which are characteristic pesantren, has shifted in the madrasah area and is not dominant in pesantren (Puput Lestari, 2022). The shift of scientific authority from pesantren to formal madrasah institutions is also recorded as a general trend in the transformation of traditional Islamic education in Indonesia, where the institutionalization of the yellow book into the formal curriculum has implications for the shift of the locus of scientific control (Taqiyuddin et al., 2025). This shows that in the curriculum at MA Sunan Pandanaran, there is a power contest between the state, pesantren, and madrasah. The dominance of madrasah tends to strengthen in MASPA compared to in MA al-Jauhar. This kind of tension reflects a broader struggle between pesantren and madrasah in determining the future direction of Islamic education in Indonesia, where formal madrasah have the potential to take over the scientific function that was originally the exclusive domain of pesantren.

Third, in contrast to MA as-Salafiyyah, this madrasah in its curriculum structure appears that the power contest is more dominant in its pesantren. In addition to the absence of Islamic Religious Education (PAI) subjects set by the state and replaced by book subjects, by referring to the scientific field of PAI in the Ministry of Religion, it can be an indication of positivity towards the peculiarities of as-Salafiyyah Pesantren, namely book boarding schools (Foucault, 1980). The subject of the Qur'an Hadith was replaced by the book of Bulughul Maram, the Subject of Akidah Akhlak with the book of Tahiyah wa Targhib, Jawahirul Kalamiyyah, and the Subject of Fiqh was replaced by the book of Abu Syuja'. There is another addition of subjects for Akidah Akhlak, which is replaced by NU-an, Nahdlatul Ulama. The PAI subjects at MA al-Jauhar and MA Sunan Pandanaran were not eliminated or replaced but the time allocation was reduced from what should be listed in the Curriculum Structure set by the state. The rest of the allocation is then used for learning allocations for subjects that are typical of pesantren, tahfidz and books. This shows that the power of the state in the curriculum is not necessarily accepted by the three pesantren-based madrasah. This is to provide room for power to manage subjects that are peculiar in each Islamic boarding school that oversees them. In addition, if you look at the total hours of lessons in madrasah, the three MA above have differences where MA al-Jauhar in one week has 51 hours of lessons including subjects that are the hallmarks of the pesantren, namely tahfidz and the book of Dalail, MA Sunan Pandanaran has 57 hours of lessons including the subjects of Tahfidz and the classic book (madrasah diniyah material), and MA as-Salafiyyah has 40 hours of lessons in one week.

As presented in Table 3, the most striking difference between the three madrasah is not in the existence or absence of the curriculum synthesis, but in who is the dominant manager: MA Al-Jauhar and MA Sunan Pandanaran maintain the state PAI subjects while adding the content of the pesantren as a supplement managed by the madrasah, while MA As-Salafiyyah replaces the total of the state PAI subjects with the study of the yellow book managed by the authorities pesantren. This configuration confirms the finding that the power-knowledge contest does not run uniformly, but depends on the extent to which each

madrasah allows the authority of the pesantren to penetrate the formal curriculum structure.

Table 3. Comparative analysis of power-knowledge configuration in three madrasah curriculum structures

Analysis Aspect	MA Al-Jauhar	MA Sunan Pandanaran	MA As-Salafiyyah
Total class hours/week	51 hours	57 hours	40 hours
Status of national PAI subjects (KMA 184/2019)	Retained, allocated reduced	Retained, allocated reduced	Completely replaced by the yellow book
Typical content of the added pesantren	Tahfidz Qur'an, the book of Dalailul Khoirot	Tahfidz Qur'an, madrasah diniyah (classic book)	Bulughul Maram, Tahiyah wa Targhib, Abu Syuja', NU-an
Dominant actors in knowledge production	Madrasah	Madrasah (most powerful)	Pesantren

Based on Permendikbud No. 36 of 2018, subjects at the high school level should meet a minimum of 42 hours of lessons in one week, even according to KMA No. 184 of 2019 must meet a minimum of 51 hours of lessons in one week. This means that there is a power contest in the curriculum in the three madrasah, both from the state, madrasah and pesantren. If you look at the overall class hours at MA as-Salafiyyah, this shows that there is a tendency for the transfer of knowledge to be more dominated in the pesantren area, supported by the existence of PAI subjects which are replaced by classical book material. From this, the archaeology of knowledge in as-Salafiyyah has a tendency to dominate the power of knowledge more in the area of the pesantren than in the madrasah. As for state power, although not fully followed, it still plays a role in the power contest for the curriculum in the Supreme Court as-Salafiyyah.

The strengthening of the power of madrasah knowledge is based on areas that change the mindset, there is a tendency in madrasah, especially in MA al-Jauhar and MA Sunan Pandanaran because the academic area seen from the curriculum structure is very dominant in madrasah. The strengthening of power in madrasah is also increasingly visible when studied with Foucault's power analysis technique (Foucault, 1980), namely: first, the arrangement of power. The use of Foucault's concepts of archaeology and genealogy to read how a religious institution shapes and maintains its discourse and identity, as applied to other Islamic organizations in Indonesia, shows that the mechanism of power always operates through institutionally produced narrativ. In this case, the three madrasah above carry out strategies both intentionally and unintentionally. In terms of intentionality, it is clear how the madrasah synthesizes the curriculum structure to follow the curriculum structure set by the state, both in whole and in part, by adding subjects that are characteristic of the pesantren. The determination of the curriculum structure is carried out systematically and measurably in accordance with state regulations. In other words, the arrangement of the curriculum in madrasah is carried out systemically and with better and measurable management and administration, especially in MA Sunan Pandanaran and MA

al-Jauhar compared to their pesantren. In addition, there is also a learning strategy for student achievement as expected by each madrasah.

Second, the practice of discipline at MA Sunan Pandanaran and MA al-Jauhar is carried out by madrasah and not in the area of pesantren such as rules (sanctions) for students who do not meet the minimum completeness criteria, including not meeting the memorization targets, assessment of all subjects and student attendance, recruitment and regulations for teachers including tahfidz teachers and madrasah diniyah are markers of the strengthening of madrasah power both in traditional theory and power in the Foucault sense (Foucault, 1980). Although in terms of the hierarchy of power in traditional political theory, madrasah are actually at the lowest hierarchy compared to the state and pesantren, but in the regulation of knowledge it is in the hierarchy of power that is decisive, especially in MA Sunan Pandanaran and MA al-Jauhar. Third, which government technique regarding this, it can be known that students who do not meet the memorization target, for example, are considered incapable in memorization whose final is not to move up in class. This means that there are students who are able and incapable, who go up and don't go up, and so on. In this third technique, which is clearly seen in the curriculum structure, namely at MA Sunan Pandanaran. This is because in the MA there is a superior class where the class has a different curriculum structure from other regular classes. Indirectly, it can be interpreted that there are students who are capable or smart and there are students who are weak in ability, or there are students who are superior and those who are not superior. This distinction based on the achievement of targets and placement in the superior versus regular class is in line with the mechanism of normalization and hierarchy that Foucault referred to as disciplinary techniques in educational institutions (Foucault, 1980).

The impact of the dominance of the contestation of the power of the curriculum based on Foucault's archaeology of knowledge

As shown in Table 3, the power-knowledge configuration in the three madrasah is not uniform, and this difference can be explained by two interrelated layers of contestation. The contestation of power in the madrasah curriculum based on pesantren actually operates in two interrelated layers, not two separate domains. The first layer is a macro contest between the state and madrasah as institutions, which operate through a governmentality mechanism in the form of regulations, standardization, and an accreditation or assessment system (Musgamy et al., 2026). The second layer is a micro-contestation that is typical of pesantren-based madrasah, namely between the madrasah/state bureaucracy and the kiai cultural authority (Rusydiyah & AR, 2020; Solichin, 2018), which operates through the mechanism of body discipline in the dormitory, the pesantren truth regime, and the process of subjectivation of students. These two layers simultaneously form what in Foucault's archaeological framework calls the diniyyah-'ammah discursive formation, an epistemic division between religious and general science that is constantly reproduced whenever the national curriculum is updated and whenever the pesantren adapts itself to those changes (Foucault, 1980; Shodikin et al., 2026).

Based on Foucault's archaeology of knowledge, each dominant episteme of a period will determine the boundaries of legitimate discourse to be discussed, taught, and evaluated (Almas, 2024). When this principle is applied to the three pesantren-based madrasah above, it appears that the dominance of the curriculum's power contest does not result in a single

episteme, but rather three different episteme variants depending on which actor most strongly penetrates the formal structure of the curriculum. From this point, the impact of domination in question can be traced sequentially, starting from the formation of new epistemes, shifts in the locus of scientific control, power-truth relations, reproduction of scientific traditions, to the direction of curriculum policy in the future.

First, at the level of episteme formation, the dominance of madrasah in managing the curriculum at MA Al-Jauhar and MA Sunan Pandanaran (through mapping the abilities of students, scheduling tahfidz, to the system of class promotion based on memorization achievements) shows how the administrative power of madrasah produces a new episteme of "educational success" that is no longer purely based on state standards. This new episteme is consistent with the finding that power relations in Islamic educational institutions always produce their own constructs of knowledge, which go hand in hand with and are in tension with the formal authority over them (Rusydiyah & AR, 2020). The episteme is then institutionalized through disciplinary techniques (superior classes, sanctions for those who do not meet the memorization KKM) which Foucault calls a mechanism of normalization of power (Permana et al., 2024).

Second, the new episteme that is formed in turn shifts the locus of scientific control itself. In the Supreme Court As-Salafiyyah, the dominance of pesantren that completely replaces the state PAI subjects with the yellow book shows that scientific control actually returns to the pesantren, not to the madrasah or remains in the hands of the state. This pattern strengthens the argument that the decolonization of knowledge based on local intellectual traditions of pesantren still maintains its autonomy in the face of scientific hegemony brought by the modern education system (Dwi Jaka Anandika Kutsi & Zainal Arifin, 2024). Thus, the same common thread, namely the curriculum ruler who determines the episteme, is now moving in different directions depending on which actor is dominant in each institution.

Third, this shift in the locus of control has direct implications for the power-truth relationship. Foucault asserts that power and truth produce each other, so that what is considered right in an educational discourse is actually the result of the power relations that surround it (Sunaryo, 2023). In the context of the third madrasah, the "truth" about the indicators of the success of pesantren education (including whether it is national academic grades, memorization achievements, or mastery of the yellow book) is determined by the actors who win the power contest in each institution, as also emphasized in the study of power relations and knowledge construction in educational institutions (Siswadi, 2024).

Fourth, because the truth of education is determined by the winner of the power contest, the next impact is felt on the pattern of reproduction and transformation of the scientific tradition of the pesantren itself. When the institutionalization of the yellow book shifts to the realm of formal madrasah (such as in the madrasah diniyah at MA Sunan Pandanaran), there is a transfer of control over one of the scientific cores of the pesantren to the madrasah bureaucratic structure, in line with the findings of the transformation of the relationship between kiai and santri in the midst of the institutional modernization of the pesantren (Rohani, 2024). The subsequent impact is the weakening of the autonomy of the kiai as the sole holder of scientific authority, replaced by madrasah management that is more systemic, measurable, and administratively oriented (Tusadia & Khoiri, 2023).

Fifth, the series of impacts described ultimately boils down to the same point, namely the policy direction of pesantren-madrasah in Indonesia in the future must accommodate three interests at once, namely national quality standards, religious identity of pesantren, and the demands of adaptation to changing times, including digital transformation that is now beginning to affect the learning patterns of the yellow book and tahfidz. A study of the concept of madrasah curriculum, schools, and pesantren in Indonesia confirms that the future of the pesantren curriculum is largely determined by the extent to which this power negotiation results in a sustainable synthesis model, not just a momentary compromise (Kusuma et al., 2024; Muzakky et al., 2023).

In the end, that any state-mandated curriculum policy for pesantren-based madrasah cannot be understood solely as a technical-administrative policy, but rather as part of a broader power-knowledge operation, which will always be met with negotiation, adaptation, or tactical resistance by pesantren, in accordance with their respective positions of power (Hanif et al., 2024; Rodliyah et al., 2024). The subjects resulting from this process (the students) are subjects who must learn to navigate two regimes of truth simultaneously (Islam, 2021), and their success is measured not by a single standard, but by two standards that are sometimes in line and sometimes affirming each other. Awareness of the dynamics of this kind of knowledge is important for madrasah curriculum policy makers, so that the policies formulated are not only oriented towards administrative uniformity, but also consider the diversity of local power configurations that live in each pesantren.

CONCLUSION

The curriculum of Madrasah Aliyah based on pesantren is not just an administrative device to regulate the learning process, but is an arena for power contestation and knowledge production. Through Michel Foucault's archaeological approach of knowledge, it is found that there is a discursive formation that forms a double episteme between religious knowledge (diniyyah) and general knowledge ('ammah). The structure of the national curriculum, Islamic boarding school subjects, the yellow book, and the tahfidz program function as archives that represent certain knowledge regimes. Thus, the curriculum is not neutral, but reflects epistemological choices regarding knowledge that is considered valid, valuable, and worthy of being inherited to students. From a genealogical perspective, the power relationship in the madrasah curriculum based on pesantren takes place in a complex manner through negotiations between the state, the madrasah bureaucracy, and the kiai authority. The state exercises governmentality through curriculum regulation, accreditation, evaluation systems, and educational administration tools, while pesantren maintain their epistemic legitimacy through the yellow book, tahfiz, the *sorogan-bandongan* method, and dormitory life systems. In MA Al-Jauhar and MA Sunan Pandanaran, madrasah are not only the implementers of state policies or an extension of pesantren, but also appear as centers for curriculum regulation, student discipline, and the development of special pesantren programs. On the contrary, MA As-Salafiyah shows the dominance of pesantren authorities that remain strong through the substitution of state subjects with the study of classical books. This variation emphasizes that the power in the curriculum does not work singularly and hierarchistly, but is relational, contextual, and constantly reproduced according to the historical configuration of each institution.

Using the knife of archaeological and genealogical analysis of Foucault, this study shows that the dominance of the contestation has a multi-layered impact: starting from the formation of a new episteme about "educational success" that is no longer purely based on state standards, the shifting of the locus of scientific control between madrasah and pesantren, the formation of power-truth relations that determine the indicators of educational success in each institution's version, to the transformation of reproductive patterns the scientific tradition of pesantren that weakened the autonomy of the kiai was replaced by more systemic and administrative madrasah management. The implication is that the curriculum policy of pesantren-based madrasah in the future can no longer be understood solely as a technical-administrative policy, but as part of a broader power-knowledge operation, which will always be faced with negotiation, adaptation, or tactical resistance from the pesantren. Therefore, the formulator of madrasah curriculum policies needs to consider not only the national administrative uniformity, but also the diversity of the configuration of local powers that live in each pesantren, so that three interests at once, namely national quality standards, the religious identity of the pesantren, and the demands of adapting to the times can be accommodated in a sustainable manner.

REFERENCES

- Alhamuddin. (2025). Islamic Character Education in Indonesian National Curricula: A Critical Policy Analysis of the 2013 and Merdeka Frameworks. *Tarbiyah Islamiyah: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 15(1), 27–38. <https://doi.org/10.18592/jtipai.v15i1.16437>
- Almas, A. F. (2024). Sosiologi Pendidikan Michel Foucault: Kritik dan Dialog antara Ideologis dengan Praksis Pendidikan. *Nusantara: Jurnal Pendidikan Indonesia*, 4(2), 383–394. <https://doi.org/10.14421/njpi.2024.v4i2-4>
- Alwi, B. M. (2016). Pondok Pesantren: Ciri Khas, Perkembangan, dan Sistem Pendidikannya. *Lentera Pendidikan: Jurnal Ilmu Tarbiyah Dan Keguruan*, 16(2), 205–219. <https://doi.org/10.24252/lp.2013v16n2a8>
- Amalina, A. (2024). Dampak Kebijakan Perubahan Kurikulum 2013 ke Kurikulum Merdeka. *JAMP: Jurnal Administrasi Dan Manajemen Pendidikan*, 7(1), 127–137. <https://journal-fip.um.ac.id/index.php/jamp/article/view/1466>
- Arifin, H. N. (2023). Problematika Implementasi Kurikulum Merdeka di MA Al-Amin Tabanan Tahun Pelajaran 2023/2024. *Widya Balina*, 8(2), 909–918. <https://doi.org/10.53958/wb.v8i2.382>
- Azra, A. (1997). Pesantren: Kontinuitas dan Perubahan. In *Nurcholish Madjid, Bilik-bilik Pesantren; Sebuah Potret*. Paramadina.
- Bashori, B. (2017). Modernisasi Lembaga Pendidikan Pesantren. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Mamangan*, 6(1), 47–60. <https://doi.org/10.22202/mamangan.v6i1.1313>
- Biesta, G. (2021). *World-Centred Education*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003098331>
- Daulay, H. P. (2007). *Sejarah Pertumbuhan dan Pembaruan Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*. Kencana Prenada Media Group
- Dhofier, Z. (2011). *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kiai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*. LP3ES
- Fernando, D. A., & Sirozi, M. (2024). Pengertian “Politik Pendidikan” dan Perbedaannya

- dengan “Pendidikan Politik” dan “Politisasi Pendidikan.” *JlIP - Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan*, 6(12), 10994–11000. <https://doi.org/10.54371/jiip.v7i3.2314>
- Firmansyah, A., Syahputra, A., Riduan, R., & Suratman, S. (2024). Implementasi Sistem Informasi Manajemen di MTS Negeri 1 Paser Dalam Meningkatkan Kualitas Pendidikan. *J-CEKI: Jurnal Cendekia Ilmiah*, 4(1), 1534–1544. <https://doi.org/10.56799/jceki.v4i1.6317>
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Pantheon Books
- Foucault, M. (2019). *Arkeologi Pengetahuan* (Nurhadi, Ed.; I. R. Muzir, Trans.). Basabasi
- Hanif, M., Mukroji, Suwito, H., Mubaroq, A. C., & Dharin, A. (2024). Pesantren Resistance to Indonesia’s National Curriculum to Defend Its Curriculum Model. *Revista de Gestao Social e Ambiental*, 18(7), 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.24857/rgsa.v18n7-049>
- Islam, M. (2021). Management of Islamic Boarding School Curriculum Integration in Improving the Quality of Madrasah Education. *Halaqa: Islamic Education Journal*, 5(1), 63–71. <https://doi.org/10.21070/halaqa.v5i1.1325>
- Kingdon, J. W. . (2014). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*. Pearson Education Limited.
- Jasuli, Fauzi, I., & Saeed, A. (2026). Curriculum Instability and the Future of Islamic Education in Indonesia: Lessons from the Decentralized Education System in the United States. *MUMTAZ: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 6(1), 145–172. <https://doi.org/10.69552/mumtaz.v6i1.3747>
- Juliana, J., AR, M., & Saiful, S. (2025). Modern Islamic Boarding Schools as Pillars of Contemporary Islamic Education: A Historical Review and Curriculum at Dayah. *Tafkir: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Education*, 7(1), 47–62. <https://doi.org/10.31538/tijie.v7i1.2364>
- Kosim, M., Muqoddam, F., Mubarak, F., & Laila, N. Q. (2023). The dynamics of Islamic education policies in Indonesia. *Cogent Education*, 10(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2023.2172930>
- Kusuma, M. G., Musthofa, F. Z., & Khuriyah. (2024). Konsep Kurikulum Madrasah, Sekolah, Dan Pesantren Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Media Akademik*, 2(11), 1–20. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.62281/v2i11.899>
- Dwi Jaka Anandika Kutsi, & Zainal Arifin. (2024). Dekolonialisasi Pendidikan: Studi Kritis Hegemoni Keilmuan Barat di Pesantren Modern. *Jurnal Partisipatoris*, 5(1), 157–171. <https://doi.org/10.22219/jp.v5i1.38807>
- Latjompoh, M., Gonibala, A., Ahmad, J., Al-Zou’bi, R. M., Alanazi, A. A., Fitriani Nasir, N. I. R., & Damopolii, I. (2025). Meaning-Based Learning: Integration of Islamic Values to Empower Students’ Moral Sensitivity in Science Learning. *Educational Process International Journal*, 17(1), e2025398. <https://doi.org/10.22521/edupij.2025.17.398>
- Menon, K., & Castrillón, G. (2026). Complicated conversations or convoluted archetypes? Higher education curriculum in South Africa. *Journal of Education*, (104), 224–242. <https://doi.org/10.17159/2520-9868/i104a11>
- Muhidin, N., Aminudin, A., & Rahmah, A. Q. N. (2025). Peranan Pondok Pesantren dalam Sistem Pendidikan Nasional. *JIEP: Journal of Islamic Education Papua*, 2(2), 82–94. <https://doi.org/10.53491/jiep.v2i2.1248>
- Muhyiddin, D. S., Ridwan, W., Ruswandi, U., & Erihadiana, M. (2022). Model Pembelajaran

- Dan Pengembangan Kurikulum Multikultural Di Sekolah, Madrasah Dan Pesantren. *Edumaspul: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 6(1), 1185–1195. <https://doi.org/10.33487/edumaspul.v6i1.3548>
- Mumtaz, N. M., Muafiah, E., & Witro, D. (2024). Educational Policy Analysis: Examining Pesantren Policies and Their Implications on the Independence of Kyai and Pesantren in the Contemporary Era. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 21(2), 287–306. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v21i2.9612>
- Musgamy, A., Rappe, R., R., Abd. R., Afiif, A., Muslimin, A. A., & Nadirah, S. (2026). Quality Governance and Institutional Negotiation in Indonesian Islamic Higher Education under Globalised Policy Regimes. *International Journal of Learning, Teaching and Educational Research*, 25(3), 1011–1032. <https://doi.org/10.26803/ijlter.25.3.45>
- Muwaffaq, A., & Iksan, I. (2023). Policy Study of Local Content Curriculum in Madrasah. *EduLine: Journal of Education and Learning Innovation*, 3(3), 339–343. <https://doi.org/10.35877/454RI.eduline1882>
- Muzakky, R. M. R., Mahmuudy, R., & Faristiana, A. R. (2023). Transformasi Pesantren Menghadapi Era Revolusi Digital 4.0. *ALADALAH: Jurnal Politik, Sosial, Hukum Dan Humaniora*, 1(3), 241–255. <https://doi.org/10.59246/aladalah.v1i3.371>
- Permana, G. S., Irawan, I., & Priatna, T. (2024). Hegemoni Kekuasaan Penguasa terhadap Pendidikan Bermoral dalam Tataran Ontologis, Epistemologis dan Aksiologis. *Sinar Kasih: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Dan Filsafat*, 2(3), 123–131. <https://doi.org/10.55606/sinarkasih.v2i3.362>
- Peters, M. A., & Jandrić, P. (2018). Discourse, genre and curriculum. *Open Review of Educational Research*, 5(1), 164–178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23265507.2018.1555487>
- Puput Lestari. (2022). Tradisi Penulisan Dan Pengajaran Kitab Pesantren: Proses Membangun Otoritas Dalam Kitab Kuning. *Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner*, 7(2), 81–101. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jkii.v7i2.1331>
- Qudsy, S. Z. (2019). Pesantren Online: Pergeseran Otoritas Keagamaan di Dunia Maya. *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses*, 2(2), 169–187. <https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v2i2.2010>
- Ramadhina, M. S., Hifni, H., & Suratman, S. (2024). Implementation of madrasah self-evaluation and electronic-based madrasah work and budget plan at Madrasah Aliyah Fathurrahman Batu Sopang. *Cahaya Pendidikan*, 10(2), 152–163. <https://doi.org/10.33373/chypend.v10i2.7000>
- Rodliyah, St., Khusnuridlo, Moh., Fauzi, I., & Baharun, H. (2024). Optimizing the quality of Islamic Senior High School graduates through curriculum management of vocational programs based on *pesantrens* in East Java, Indonesia. *Cogent Education*, 11(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2024.2423437>
- Rohani, R. (2024). Transformasi Relasi Kyai dan Santri Dalam Tradisi Pesantren (Kajian Sosiologi Pendidikan di Pondok Pesantren Al-Iman Bulus Purworejo). *Manarul Qur'an: Jurnal Ilmiah Studi Islam*, 24(2), 24–42. <https://doi.org/10.32699/mq.v25i2.8208>
- Rusydiah, E., & AR, Z. T. (2020). Relasi Kuasa Kiai Pesantren dan Pejabat Publik dalam Merumuskan Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam di Madura (Analisis Teori Kekuasaan Michel Foucault). *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)*, 10(1), 27–50.

- <https://doi.org/10.15642/jrp.2020.10.1.27-50>
- Selamet, S., Ahmad, N., & Suhartini, A. (2022). Internalisasi Doktrin Kiai di Pondok Pesantren Miftahul Huda II Bayasari, Jatinegara, Ciamis. *Cakrawala: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 17(1), 17–26. <https://doi.org/10.31603/cakrawala.6202>
- Shodikin, E. N., Sa'adi, & Hariyadi, R. (2026). Genealogi Kuasa Dan Pengetahuan: Dekonstruksi Peran Madrasah Sebagai Instrumen Hegemoni Ideologi Negara Pada Masa Dinasti Abbasiyah. *Educational: Jurnal Inovasi Pendidikan & Pengajaran*, 6(2), 978–989. <https://doi.org/10.51878/educational.v6i2.10078>
- Sholihin, S., Syarif, Z., Hasan, N., & Haryanto, R. (2026). Integrating Islam and science in curriculum and instruction: A case study at Al-Falah pesantren, Pamekasan. *Journal of Research in Instructional*, 6(2), 480–497. <https://doi.org/10.30862/jri.v6i2.42>
- Sibromalisi, Cholid, N., & Hamzah, G. (2025). Ketegangan Antara Standar Kurikulum Nasional Dan Tradisi Pesantren Dalam Pendidikan Islam Formal Di Indonesia. *Pendas: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Dasar*, 10(04), 269–288. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.23969/jp.v10i04.39228>
- Siswadi, G. A. (2024). Relasi Kuasa Terhadap Konstruksi Pengetahuan Di Sekolah Perspektif Michel Foucault Dan Refleksi Atas Sistem Pendidikan Di Indonesia. *Sang Acharya: Jurnal Profesi Guru*, 5(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.25078/sa.v5i1.3405>
- Solichin, M. M. (2018). Interrelation Kiai Authorities, Curriculum and Learning Culture in Pesantren Indonesia. *TARBIYA: Journal of Education in Muslim Society*, 5(1), 86–100. <https://doi.org/10.15408/tjems.v5i1.7781>
- Steenbrink, K. A. (1986). *Pesantren, Madrasah, dan Sekolah; Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Abdurrahman, Trans.). LP3ES
- Subhan, A. (2012). *Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Abad ke-20: Pergumulan antara Modernisasi dan Identitas*. Kencana Prenada Media Group
- Sugiyono, S. J. (2002). *Tubuh yang Rasis: Telaah Kritis Michel Foucault atas Dasar-dasar Pembentukan Diri Kelas Menengah Eropa*. Pustaka Pelajar
- Suhendi, S., Sarbini, Nurjanah, R., Munawaroh, A. H. E., & Abdurrahman, I. (2026). Boarding School Education in Indonesia: A Conceptual Analysis of the Differences between Boarding Schools and Islamic Boarding Schools in the Perspective of Contemporary Islamic Education. *Intiqad: Jurnal Agama Dan Pendidikan Islam*, 18(1), 17–38. <https://doi.org/10.30596/intiqad.v17i2.27564>
- Sunaryo, S. (2023). (Inter-) Relasi Kekuasaan dan Kebenaran Menurut Michel Foucault. *Dekonstruksi*, 9(03), 31–35. <https://doi.org/10.54154/dekonstruksi.v9i03.164>
- Taqiuddin, T., Iwan, I., & Aspandi, A. (2025). The Transformation Of Traditional Islamic Boarding Schools Into Integrated Pesantren: Curriculum, Governance, And Technological Adaptation. *Pedagogik: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 12(1), 160–177. <https://doi.org/10.33650/pjp.v12i1.10408>
- Tusadia, A., & Khoiri, Q. (2023). Relasi Pendidikan Islam, Politik dan Kekuasaan. *Journal on Education*, 5(2), 4796–4804. <https://jonedu.org/index.php/joe/article/view/1214>
- Wakhid, A. (2007). *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Esai-esai Pesantren*. LKiS
- Yani, M. T., Tamsil, Setyowati, R. R. N., Jatmiko, B., & Ridlwan, A. A. (2025). Transformation of local wisdom values to build elementary and secondary school students' characters: a case study in Serang Regency, Banten Province, Indonesia. *Cogent Education*, 12(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2025.2532225>