

The Functional Crisis of Madrasah: Between State Standardization and the Instrumentalization of Religious Identity in Indonesia

Chodijah Asy Syarifah¹, Evi Nurdiana², Roibin³, Muchammad Aqib Junaidi⁴

^{1,2,3}Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Indonesia

⁴Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia

Email: chodijahsyarifah21@gmail.com

Abstract

Madrasahs, as Islamic social institutions in Indonesia, face increasingly complex challenges due to the influence of state education policies and the dynamics of religious identity. This study aims to analyze changes in the functions of madrasahs through three main aspects: shifts in religious traditions resulting from educational standardization; disruptions to institutional functions caused by the exploitation of religious identity for purposes other than education; and the ability of madrasahs to maintain their roles and identities. The study employs a qualitative approach using a literature review analyzed through qualitative content analysis and interpretive analysis, drawing on the perspectives of Pierre Bourdieu, Talcott Parsons, and the theory of institutional resilience. The research findings indicate that, first, educational standardization policies have driven a shift in the orientation of madrasahs from a pesantren-based scholarly tradition toward meeting academic and administrative standards; second, the use of religious identity for purposes beyond educational functions has the potential to weaken the role of madrasahs in preserving shared values and social integration; third, pesantren-based madrasahs demonstrate adaptability through the strengthening of scholarly traditions, curriculum integration, and the leadership of kiai who are responsive to change. This study confirms that the function of madrasahs continues to undergo adjustments in the interplay between state policy, socio-religious dynamics, and the evolving traditions of Islamic education within society.

Keywords: *Madrasah; Social Institution; State Standardization; Identity Instrumentalization; Institutional Resilience*

Abstrak

Madrasah sebagai pranata sosial Islam di Indonesia menghadapi tantangan yang semakin kompleks akibat pengaruh kebijakan pendidikan negara dan dinamika identitas keagamaan. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis perubahan fungsi madrasah melalui tiga aspek utama, yaitu pergeseran tradisi keagamaan akibat standarisasi pendidikan, gangguan fungsi kelembagaan karena pemanfaatan identitas keagamaan di luar tujuan pendidikan, serta kemampuan madrasah dalam mempertahankan peran dan identitasnya. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kepustakaan yang dianalisis melalui analisis isi kualitatif dan analisis interpretatif dengan memanfaatkan perspektif Pierre Bourdieu, Talcott Parsons, dan teori resiliensi kelembagaan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa: 1) kebijakan standarisasi pendidikan mendorong perubahan orientasi madrasah dari tradisi keilmuan berbasis pesantren menuju pemenuhan standar akademik dan administrasi; 2) pemanfaatan identitas keagamaan untuk kepentingan di luar fungsi pendidikan berpotensi melemahkan peran madrasah dalam menjaga nilai bersama dan integrasi sosial; 3) madrasah berbasis pesantren menunjukkan kemampuan beradaptasi melalui penguatan tradisi keilmuan, integrasi kurikulum, dan kepemimpinan kiai yang responsif terhadap perubahan. Penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa fungsi madrasah terus mengalami penyesuaian dalam hubungan antara kebijakan negara, dinamika sosial-keagamaan, dan tradisi pendidikan Islam yang berkembang di masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: *Madrasah; Pranata Sosial; Standarisasi Negara; Instrumentalisasi Identitas; Resiliensi Kelembagaan*

A. Introduction

Throughout the history of Islam in Indonesia, madrasah have served not merely as educational institutions, but as social institutions that shape religious sensibility, scholarly authority, and the collective identity of the Muslim community.¹ Rooted in the pesantren tradition, madrasah evolved into institutions that integrate educational functions with the cultivation of communal religious life. However, as madrasah became increasingly integrated into the national education system, they encountered the challenge of diminishing autonomy in determining the direction and character of their institutional identity.² This condition raises fundamental questions regarding the capacity of madrasah to preserve their identity as Islamic educational institutions amid the imperatives of state standards and regulatory frameworks. Simultaneously, madrasah face various ideological pressures that seek to appropriate them as vehicles for the construction of particular identities.³ Consequently, madrasah find themselves navigating between state demands that privilege uniformity of governance and the interests of groups that emphasize distinctive identity, rendering the sustainability of their social and religious functions an increasingly pressing concern for scholarly inquiry.

Several prior studies have addressed the subject of madrasah. First, Hafid et al. argue that madrasah play a strategic role as modern Islamic educational institutions by enhancing academic quality, infrastructure, and human resources to meet the demands of contemporary society.⁴ Second, Komariah and Purwanto maintain that madrasah contribute to the formation of student character through habituation, role modeling, and the integration of Islamic values into both learning processes and daily behavior in school and family settings.⁵ Third, Irawan et al. contend that religious traditions within madrasah effectively advance Islamic education by strengthening students' understanding, habituating religious practice, and cultivating religious character, notwithstanding certain implementation challenges.⁶ Fourth, Purwanto argues that madrasah serve a multifaceted role as centers of Islamic education that reinforce character,

¹ Basinun, "Dinamika Madrasah Dan Pranata Sosial," *At-Ta'lim : Media Informasi Pendidikan Islam* 17, no. 2 (2018): 191, <https://doi.org/10.29300/attalim.v17i2.1410>.

² Jamiluddin Yacub Damanhuri, "Pranata-Sosial Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia: Sekolah, Madrasah, Dan Pesantren," *ISLAM EDU: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Agama Islam* 2, no. 1 (2024): 1–13, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.51614/islam.edu.v2i01.447>.

³ Azfa Nabil Shafi, Hilalludin Hilalludin, and Adi Haironi, "Pendidikan Dan Pranata Sosial: Membentuk Masyarakat Masa Depan," *Jurnal Nakula : Pusat Ilmu Pendidikan, Bahasa Dan Ilmu Sosial* 2, no. 5 (2024): 157–64, <https://doi.org/10.61132/nakula.v2i5.1038>.

⁴ Ali Hasanuddin Hafid, Zakki Fuad, Mas'ud, "Peran Madrasah Dalam Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Di Era Peradaban Modern," *FIKRUNA: Jurnal Ilmiah Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 4, no. 2 (2022): 87–97, <https://doi.org/10.56489/fik.v5i1.78>.

⁵ Siti Komariyah and Purwanto, "Peran Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Dalam Pendidikan Karakter," *PREMIERE : Journal of Islamic Elementary Education* 5, no. 1 (2023): 22–36, <https://doi.org/10.51675/jp.v15i1.475>.

⁶ Kukuh Adi Irawan et al., "Peran Madrasah Diniyah An Nur Dalam Pengembangan Pendidikan Islam Melalui Tradisi Keagamaan," *Fitrah: Journal of Islamic Education* 2, no. 1 (2021): 52–65, <https://doi.org/10.53802/fitrah.v2i1.50>.

tolerance, educational access, Islamic identity, and the preservation of Islamic culture and scholarship.⁷ Fifth, Maulidiah et al. assert that madrasah are mission-driven to integrate Islamic knowledge with general education in order to produce students who are faithful, morally grounded, and capable of responding to social challenges and contemporary developments.⁸

Furthermore, Kunthi and Istiqlaliah's findings demonstrate that education grounded in Islamic values effectively forms students' religious character through habituation, role modeling, and a supportive educational environment that promotes the internalization of moral virtues in everyday life.⁹ Nuraisyah and Mu'alimin argue that the integration of local values in madrasah education strengthens student character, social cohesion, and cultural identity, while positioning education as an agent of social transformation.¹⁰ Huri and Yacub, in their study, maintain that the internalization of Islamic values in education effectively shapes students' religious, moral, and social character through instruction, role modeling, and behavioral habituation within the educational environment.¹¹

The preceding body of research demonstrates that scholarly inquiry into Indonesian madrasah has predominantly positioned these institutions as successfully fulfilling their functions in education, religious formation, and social integration, thereby accentuating their positive contributions rather than critically examining the challenges they encounter. Most studies have also been confined to limited institutional levels and have not sufficiently employed a social institution framework to explain the functional transformation of madrasah within a broader context. As a consequence, scholarly attention to the impact of state education standardization and the instrumentalization of religious identity on the trajectory of madrasah development has remained comparatively limited. Departing from this research gap, the present study approaches madrasah as a social institution that undergoes continuous processes of functional adjustment and negotiation. Theoretically, this inquiry integrates habitus theory, structural functionalism, and institutional resilience theory to explain the changes, challenges, and adaptive capacities of madrasah, while simultaneously offering a more comprehensive conceptual model of madrasah dynamics within the context of contemporary Indonesia.

⁷ Edy Purwanto and Zikriadi Zikriadi, "Peran Madrasah Sebagai Institusi Pendidikan Islam," *JUPEIS : Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Ilmu Sosial* 4, no. 3 (2025): 626–36, <https://doi.org/10.57218/jupeis.vol4.iss3.1810>.

⁸ Nur Afifah Maulidah, Diaman, and Nanang Kosim, "Hakekat Dan Misi Pendidikan Madrasah Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Kolaboratif Sains* 5, no. 11 (2022): 772–79, <https://doi.org/10.56338/jks.v5i11.2977>.

⁹ Yulianisa Dewi Kunthi and Hulailah Istiqlaliah, "Peran Madrasah Diniyah Dalam Mengembangkan Kecerdasan Spiritual Siswa," *An-Nuha* 4, no. 1 (2024): 74–87, <https://doi.org/10.24036/annuha.v4i1.436>.

¹⁰ Rizqiani Nuraisyah and Mu'alimin Mu'alimin, "Tinjauan Literatur: Integrasi Nilai Lokal Dan Peran Pranata Sosial Dalam Pendidikan Di Madrasah," *Journal of Creative Student Research* 2, no. 6 (2024): 63–70, <https://doi.org/10.55606/jcsr-politama.v2i6.4570>.

¹¹ Daman huri, "Pranata-Sosial Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia: Sekolah, Madrasah, Dan Pesantren."

B. Methode

This study employs a qualitative approach using library research methodology, with an emphasis on conceptual and theoretical analysis drawn from a range of relevant scholarly sources. This approach was selected because the issue under investigation pertains to the functional transformation of madrasah as a social institution, a phenomenon that is broad in scope and not confined to any single institutional context. Accordingly, a critical review of extant scholarship constitutes the most appropriate analytical strategy. The study focuses on three interrelated dimensions: changes in religious habitus resulting from state education standardization, institutional dysfunction arising from the instrumentalization of religious identity for particular ends, and the capacity of pesantren-based madrasah to adapt to various forms of change. These three dimensions are analyzed as an integrated whole to elucidate the processes of transformation, the challenges encountered, and the strategies for institutional sustainability within the context of Islamic education in Indonesia.

The data sources for this study consist of both primary and secondary materials. Primary data comprise policy documents directly pertaining to the organization of madrasah, namely: Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System,¹² Government Regulation Number 55 of 2007 on Religious Education and Religious-Based Education, and the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 184 of 2019 on the Madrasah Curriculum. These documents serve to illuminate policy directions and the process of state standardization in madrasah education. Secondary data consist of books, journal articles, and other scholarly works related to madrasah and social institutions.

Data analysis in this study employs qualitative content analysis and interpretative analysis. Qualitative content analysis is applied to identify, categorize, and map the principal themes within the literature and policy documents examined — particularly those concerning madrasah standardization, the instrumentalization of religious identity, and institutional adaptation. This stage aims to systematically identify tendencies in the scholarly treatment of madrasah across the existing research. Interpretative analysis is subsequently employed to discern the meanings and interrelationships among findings through three theoretical frameworks: Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory, applied to explain transformations in religious practice,¹³ Talcott Parsons's structural functionalism, employed to understand changes in institutional function,¹⁴ and institutional resilience theory, utilized to account for madrasah's

¹² Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional, Lembaran Negara RI Tahun 2003 Nomor 78.

¹³ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, Terj. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

¹⁴ Nurul Awwaliyah Aspan, "Madrasah Sebagai Sistem Sosial Perspektif Talcott Parsons," *Rabbani: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 2, no. 1 (2021): 56–71, <https://doi.org/10.19105/rjpai.v2i1.4337>.

adaptive capacities. Through this approach, the study not only describes the phenomena under observation but also elucidates the processes and factors shaping the functional transformation of madrasah as a social institution within the context of contemporary Islamic education

C. Discussion

1. State Standardization and the Functional Shift of Madrasah as a Social Institution

Historically, madrasah developed as a social institution that not only carried out educational functions but also shaped patterns of religious practice, collective identity, and the scholarly authority of the Muslim community.¹⁵ Rooted in the pesantren tradition, madrasah served as a space for the transmission of values, the cultivation of moral character, and the reinforcement of the relationship between ulama and society. From the colonial period through the early years of independence, madrasah grew as a form of adaptation to modern education while simultaneously functioning as a means of preserving Islamic identity. Although they gradually gained formal recognition after independence through successive educational policies, madrasah continued to occupy an intermediate position between the demands of general education and the mission of religious instruction. This condition demonstrates that, from the outset of their development, madrasah functioned not merely as educational institutions, but as custodians of the continuity of the Islamic scholarly tradition within the life of the community.¹⁶

A pivotal transformation occurred when the state commenced the integration of madrasah into the national education system. The Joint Ministerial Decree (SKB Tiga Menteri) of 1975 marked the inception of this process by formally equating madrasah with general schools through curricular alignment.¹⁷ This integration was subsequently reinforced by a series of regulatory instruments, including Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System and its various implementing regulations. From that point onward, madrasah were no longer positioned solely as religious educational institutions, but were also designated as formal educational units obliged to fulfill national education standards.¹⁸ While this integration afforded madrasah greater formal recognition, it

¹⁵ Basinun, "Dinamika Madrasah Dan Pranata Sosial."

¹⁶ Mad Sobirin et al., "Sejarah Kebangkitan Dan Perkembangan Madrasah Di Indonesia," *Scaffolding: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam Dan Multikulturalisme* 4, no. 3 (2023): 525–39, <https://doi.org/10.37680/scaffolding.v4i3.1989>.

¹⁷ Yoga Anjas Pratama, "INTEGRASI PENDIDIKAN MADRASAH DALAM SISTEM PENDIDIKAN NASIONAL (Studi Kebijakan Pendidikan Madrasah Di Indonesia)," *Al-Tadzkiyyah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 10, no. 1 (2019): 95–112, <https://doi.org/10.24042/atjpi.v10i1.3838>.

¹⁸ Afni Lindra Helmi Rostiana Dasopang, Iswantir Iswantir, Siti Khamim, Nuryanti Siregar, "Eksistensi Madrasah Di Indonesia Pasca Keluarnya Undang Undang No 20 Tahun 2003 Tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (SISDIKNAS)," *Innovative: Journal Of Social Science Research* 4, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.31004/innovative.v4i1.8081>.

simultaneously amplified the state's influence in determining the direction of institutional governance, curriculum, and the metrics of educational achievement that madrasah are required to meet.

From the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu, this transformation may be understood as a shift in the social field that shapes the religious habitus of the madrasah community. Whereas the formation of values had previously occurred through the pesantren tradition — which emphasized moral exemplarity, mastery of classical texts, and the scholarly relationship between teacher and student — the standardization of education has progressively reoriented institutional priorities toward academic achievement and formal performance indicators.¹⁹ This shift is manifest in the dominance of general subject matter and the heightened demands of administrative compliance and accreditation. As a result, the formation of character and the deepening engagement with the Islamic scholarly tradition are no longer the sole primary orientation. Madrasahs continue to teach religious subjects; however, the space for cultivating the Islamic scholarly tradition in depth has become increasingly constrained relative to the demands of meeting national education standards.²⁰

This shift has also affected the sources of authority operative within the madrasah environment. Before the integration of madrasah into the national education system, institutional legitimacy derived primarily from community trust, the scholarly competence of the ulama, and the continuity of the pesantren tradition. Following the increased role of the state in regulating education, however, madrasah quality has come to be measured through an array of formal indicators, including the implementation of the national curriculum, teacher certification, institutional accreditation, and students' academic achievement.²¹ This transformation has not eliminated the role of the ulama within madrasah, but it has altered their position and the scope of their influence in institutional governance. Whereas the scholarly authority of the ulama formerly constituted the primary basis for decision-making, that authority must now operate alongside the rules and administrative mechanisms established by the state. As a

¹⁹ Sobirin et al., “Sejarah Kebangkitan Dan Perkembangan Madrasah Di Indonesia.”

²⁰ Eva Nurazizah, Gita Astria, and Faelasup Faelasup, “Sejarah Perkembangan Pendidikan Islam Di Nusantara: Studi Literatur Tentang Pondok Pesantren Dan Madrasah,” *Jurnal Miftahul Ilmi: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 2, no. 3 (2025): 117–31, <https://doi.org/10.59841/miftahulilmi.v2i3.161>.

²¹ Sutrimo Purnomo Adrian Muhammad Fahrezy, Ersi Nastiar Ramdani, Mila Amirotnun Nisa, “Transformasi Madrasah: Kurikulum, Pengelolaan, Dan Posisinya Dalam Sistem Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia,” *ILUMINASI: Journal of Research in Educatio* 4, no. 1 (2026): 43–62, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.54168/iluminasi.v4i1.544>.

consequence, significant changes have occurred in the processes through which religious knowledge is developed, transmitted, and recognized within the madrasah environment.²²

In the long term, the process of standardization presents madrasah with a fundamental dilemma. On one hand, state recognition affords madrasah greater opportunities for development and a position of parity with general schools. On the other hand, the imperative to meet national education standards risks diminishing the distinctiveness of madrasah as social institutions rooted in the pesantren tradition and in the religious life of the community. As a result, madrasah are compelled to perpetually negotiate the balance between the necessity of adapting to the modern education system and the endeavor to preserve their Islamic identity.²³ This challenge makes evident that the functional transformation of madrasah is not merely a curricular matter, but is part of a broader process pertaining to the relations among the state, education, and the continuity of the Islamic scholarly tradition in Indonesia.

2. Instrumentalization of Religious Identity and Institutional Dysfunction of Madrasah

In addition to contending with the pressures of state education standardization, madrasah also face the appropriation of religious identity for purposes that extend beyond their educational mandate. This condition risks compromising madrasah's role as institutions entrusted with forming and transmitting religious values to their students. Within the framework of Talcott Parsons's structural functionalism, every social institution fulfills the function of sustaining the values and norms that undergird collective life. As constituent parts of the educational system, madrasah are ideally expected to fulfill the functions of socialization, character formation, and the sustained inculcation of religious values.²⁴ However, these functions are susceptible to disruption when madrasah become entangled in political, ideological, or sectarian interests that are incongruent with educational objectives. Consequently, the institutional orientation of madrasah risks shifting away from educational development and religious formation toward interests that lie beyond their primary mandate as Islamic educational social institutions.²⁵

The instrumentalization of religious identity within the madrasah environment can occur through several mechanisms, including the introduction of curricular content that

²² Rizki Syahputra M. Rezki Andhika, Syaibatul Hamdi, Jailani, Suroto, Ajidan, "Ulama, Madrasah Dan Legitimasi Kekuasaan: Dinamika Otoritas Keilmuan Dalam Sejarah Islam," *Moderation: Journal of Religious Harmony* 1, no. 2 (2024): 63–78, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.47766/moderation.v1i2.4833>.

²³ Muhammad Ikbal Hidayatullah, Abdullah Idi, Karoma, Andre, Afriansyah, "Madrasah Dan Pranata Sosial: Tinjauan Sosiologi Pendidikan Islam," *Jurnal Pendiidkan Indonesia:Teori, Penelitian Dan Inovas* 4, no. 6 (2024): 14–21, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59818/jpi.v4i6.991>.

²⁴ Aspan, "Madrasah Sebagai Sistem Sosial Perspektif Talcott Parsons."

²⁵ Hidayatullah, Abdullah Idi, Karoma, Andre, Afriansyah, "Madrasah Dan Pranata Sosial: Tinjauan Sosiologi Pendidikan Islam."

reflects the interests of particular groups, the appointment of individuals with specific organizational affiliations to strategic positions, and the mobilization of alumni networks to advance social and political interests outside the domain of education. This condition indicates that madrasah do not invariably function solely as spaces of education and religious formation, but may also become arenas in which various interests compete to influence their direction and institutional orientation.²⁶ Within the framework of structural functionalism, this situation may be understood as a disruption to the functions of the social institution, insofar as madrasah — which are designed to serve as instruments of social cohesion and custodians of religious values — risk undergoing a functional displacement. Consequently, madrasah's capacity to sustain social integration, instill shared values, and strengthen community cohesion may be impaired should interests extraneous to educational objectives increasingly predominate.²⁷

One significant consequence of this condition is the erosion of madrasah's role in fostering social integration within the diverse Muslim community. As a social institution, madrasah are fundamentally oriented toward instilling shared values and reinforcing bonds among individuals and groups within society.²⁸ However, when madrasah come to be perceived as representative of particular group interests, their capacity to serve as an open and inclusive common space accessible to individuals from diverse religious backgrounds is correspondingly diminished. In such circumstances, madrasah risk being understood more frequently as markers of group identity than as institutions that bridge differences. This condition suggests that numerous madrasah reform initiatives have thus far concentrated predominantly on institutional, curricular, and governance dimensions, while questions regarding the direction of values, educational orientation, and the actors who influence the transmission of religious values have not received adequate scholarly attention.²⁹

This condition further demonstrates that the challenges confronting madrasah do not originate solely from internal institutional factors, but also from the high degree of public trust vested in their social role and authority. As religious educational institutions that command strong legitimacy within the community, madrasah frequently attract various interests seeking to exploit this influence for purposes that transcend the

²⁶ Viola Cempaka, "Politik Dan Inovasi Pendidikan Madrasah," *PESHUM: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial Dan Humaniora* 4, no. 6 (2025): 9446–58, <https://doi.org/10.56799/peshum.v4i6.11139>.

²⁷ Hasanuddin Hafid, Zakki Fuad, Mas'ud, "Peran Madrasah Dalam Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Di Era Peradaban Modern."

²⁸ Damanhuri, "Pranata-Sosial Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia: Sekolah, Madrasah, Dan Pesantren."

²⁹ Ainun Hakiemah and Siswoyo Aris Munandar Sudirman, "Distingsi Dan Identitas Islam Pada Madrasah: Tinjauan Kebijakan Kurikulum Madrasah," *MANAGERIA: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 5, no. 1 (2020): 19–40, <https://doi.org/10.14421/manageria.2020.51-02>.

educational domain. The greater the public trust that madrasah command, the greater the likelihood of efforts to associate them with political, ideological, or partisan agendas. Accordingly, the challenges facing madrasah are not merely managerial in nature, but also concern the imperative to preserve their independence, integrity, and public credibility.³⁰ This is essential to ensure that madrasah's function as educational and religious-formation institutions is sustained and remains impervious to short-term interests that may diminish their social role within the community.

3. Resiliensi Kelembagaan dan Reformulasi Fungsi Pranata Madrasah

Notwithstanding the pressures of educational standardization and the various interests that extend beyond educational functions, a considerable number of pesantren-based madrasah demonstrate robust capacity to preserve their institutional roles and identity.³¹ This capacity is reflected in a range of adaptive strategies that enable madrasah to accommodate change without forfeiting their Islamic character. In this context, institutional resilience may be understood as the capacity of madrasah to respond to external demands in a constructive manner while sustaining their primary function as institutions of education and religious formation. Technological advancement, curricular change, and heightened demands for educational quality collectively constitute factors that impel madrasah toward continuous transformation.³² Consequently, the capacity for adaptation has ceased to be an elective consideration and has become an indispensable condition for the institutional sustainability of madrasah in the face of increasingly complex social and educational change.

Among the most widely documented forms of resilience is the development of curriculum integration models. Within this framework, madrasah continue to implement the national curriculum in accordance with governmental regulations while simultaneously reinforcing Islamic learning through pesantren-based activities, ma'had programs, classical text study (*kajian kitab*), and religious instruction conducted outside formal instructional hours. This approach enables madrasah to satisfy regulatory requirements while simultaneously preserving the Islamic scholarly tradition that constitutes their institutional identity. Through this framework, general education and

³⁰ Hakiemah and Sudirman.

³¹ Syarifudin Ahmad Yasin, Muhammad Dodi Alfiansyah, Lalu Muhammad Fahmi Wirasaputra, Syamsul Arifin, "Dinamika Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Pendidikan Islam Transnasional Di Indonesia Serta Tantangan Bagi Madrasah Dan Pesantren," *Jurnal Ilmiah Profesi Pendidikan* 11, no. 2 (2026): 1622–1629, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.29303/jipp.v11i2.4978>.

³² Adrian Muhammad Fahrezy, Ersi Nastiar Ramdani, Mila Amirotnun Nisa, "Transformasi Madrasah: Kurikulum, Pengelolaan, Dan Posisinya Dalam Sistem Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia."

religious education are not positioned as antithetical but rather as mutually reinforcing elements in the formation of students' academic competence and religious character.³³

Beyond curriculum integration, the resilience of madrasah is further sustained by strengthening scholarly communities among teachers, *kiai*, graduates (*alumni*), and various Islamic educational institutions. The diverse educational networks developed within pesantren and religious institutional environments indicate that the sustainability of madrasah depends not solely on state policy but also on the capacity of the Islamic educational community to preserve scholarly traditions and to construct enduring support systems.³⁴ The presence of such communities plays a vital role in enhancing the quality of instruction, ensuring the continuity of Islamic values, and reinforcing the scholarly authority that organically grows from the living Islamic educational tradition within wider society.

The success of these strategies cannot be disentangled from the role of the *kiai* as a social and religious leader. In many pesantren-based madrasah, the *kiai* functions not merely as a teacher but as a mediator between the Islamic scholarly tradition and the demands of the modern educational system. Through adaptive leadership, the *kiai* can maintain equilibrium between meeting national education standards and preserving the religious values that define the character of madrasah. This role enables madrasahs to retain formal recognition from the state without wholly relinquishing the scholarly tradition that constitutes the source of their legitimacy and public trust.³⁵

This study demonstrates that madrasah, as an Islamic social institution in Indonesia, has undergone significant functional transformation in response to multiple pressures that have shaped the direction of its development. First, national education policies evolving from the Joint Ministerial Decree (SKB Tiga Menteri) of 1975 through Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System have impelled madrasah to align with formal education standards, thereby reorienting institutional focus away from an exclusive reliance on the pesantren-based scholarly tradition toward the fulfillment of state-prescribed academic and administrative standards. Second, the instrumentalization of religious identity for purposes beyond educational functions has the potential to undermine madrasah's role in instilling religious values and reinforcing social integration

³³ Rohmad Rohmad et al., "Maintaining Islamic Values in the Modern World: The Role of Informal Education and Socio-Cultural Dynamics in Rural East Java," *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan* 17, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v17i1.6645>.

³⁴ Amirul Muttaqin et al., "Examining the Model for Forming Religious Character Education through Santri Behavior Traditions in Islamic Boarding Schools," *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan* 16, no. 4 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v16i4.6181>.

³⁵ Muttaqin et al.

within the community. Third, amid these multifarious pressures, pesantren-based madrasahs demonstrate considerable adaptive capacity through the reinforcement of pesantren traditions, the development of curricula that integrate general and religious education, and the central role of *kiai*, teachers, and educational communities in preserving the sustainability of madrasah's identity and socio-religious functions.³⁶

D. Kesimpulan

This study demonstrates that madrasah, as an Islamic social institution in Indonesia, has undergone significant functional transformation in response to multiple pressures that have shaped the direction of its development. First, national education policies evolving from the Joint Ministerial Decree (SKB Tiga Menteri) of 1975 through Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System have impelled madrasah to align with formal education standards, thereby reorienting institutional focus away from an exclusive reliance on the pesantren-based scholarly tradition toward the fulfillment of state-prescribed academic and administrative standards. Second, the instrumentalization of religious identity for purposes beyond educational functions has the potential to undermine madrasah's role in instilling religious values and reinforcing social integration within the community. Third, amid these multifarious pressures, pesantren-based madrasahs demonstrate considerable adaptive capacity through the reinforcement of pesantren traditions, the development of curricula that integrate general and religious education, and the central role of *kiai*, teachers, and educational communities in preserving the sustainability of madrasah's identity and socio-religious functions.

From a theoretical standpoint, this study contributes to the field through its deployment of three mutually complementary perspectives: Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory, Talcott Parsons's structural functionalism, and the concept of institutional resilience. These three frameworks are employed to understand madrasah as a social institution that undergoes continuous change and adjustment in response to state policy, religious identity dynamics, and the demands of the social environment. This approach complements prior studies that have generally positioned madrasah as stably functioning institutions, without substantively examining the factors that drive their functional transformation. Furthermore, the study proposes an analytical framework that understands the development of madrasah through three sequential stages: functional shift, institutional dysfunction, and institutional resilience. From a practical standpoint, the findings of this study are intended to serve as a basis for consideration by the government, madrasah and pesantren administrators, and the broader

³⁶ Basinun, "Dinamika Madrasah Dan Pranata Sosial."

community in formulating policies capable of preserving educational quality while simultaneously maintaining the distinctive character and identity of madrasah as Islamic educational institutions.

This study is subject to several limitations that warrant acknowledgment. As a conceptual library research inquiry, it does not incorporate field data; consequently, the findings require further empirical validation across diverse madrasah contexts. Furthermore, although the literature reviewed endeavors to encompass scholarly developments over the past decade, it is possible that relevant studies have not been comprehensively accounted for. The simultaneous deployment of multiple theoretical frameworks also risks constraining the depth of engagement with each perspective. Future research is therefore recommended to conduct fieldwork in pesantren-based madrasah through case study or ethnographic approaches, in order to enrich the conceptual findings generated herein. Subsequent inquiries may also examine more thoroughly the relationship between madrasah administrators and educational policy, as well as conduct inter-regional comparative analyses to understand the variation in adaptive strategies and institutional resilience among madrasah confronting social and educational change.

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