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TARBIYATUL MU'ALLIMIN WAL MU'ALLIMAT AL-ISLAMIYAH (TMI) IMPLEMENTATION, PESANTREN HABITUS, AND STUDENT DEVELOPMENT AT AL-GHUROBA ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL, SORONG REGENCY, EASTERN INDONESIA

Zhaahir Awalun Ismail[1], Abdul Azis Khoiri[2], Rosdiana[3]
[1,2,3,] Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sorong, Indonesia
e-mail: [1]awalun42@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT
This study analyzes the implementation of the Tarbiyatul Mu'allimin wa al-Mu'allimat al-Islamiyah (TMI) curriculum and its role in shaping pesantren habitus and student development at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School, Sorong Regency, Eastern Indonesia. Employing a qualitative case study design, data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis involving pesantren leaders, teachers, and students. Data were analyzed using an interactive model of reduction, display, and conclusion drawing, with validity ensured through triangulation. The findings demonstrate that TMI implementation in a peripheral pesantren context operates not merely as a curricular model but as an adaptive educational system that reproduces institutional habitus through discipline, value internalization, and communal learning. The integration of TMI with the national curriculum does not dilute pesantren identity but represents a form of adaptive enactment that preserves ideological continuity while ensuring regulatory legitimacy. This hybrid configuration contributes to holistic student development, reflected in strengthened academic competence, religious character, and learner independence. Situated in Eastern Indonesia, the study highlights how pesantren educational quality emerges as a processual construct shaped by negotiation between tradition, state regulation, and local socio-cultural realities. Theoretically, this research advances the discourse on Islamic boarding school education by positioning TMI as a cultural-habitus-forming system rather than a fixed curricular template. Practically, it underscores the importance of reflective and context-sensitive curriculum governance for sustaining pesantren educational quality in peripheral regions.

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INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding school education as an educational institution based on religious traditions has undergone a significant transformation from a classical curriculum to a curriculum that is more systematic and relevant to the dynamics of modern education (Juliana, Muhammad Ar, 2026). In Indonesia, Islamic boarding schools not only play a role in teaching yellow books but also in the formation of character, pedagogical competence, and generic skills of graduates (Salsabila et al., 2021). The Tarbiyatul Mu'allimin Wal Mu'allimat Al-Islamiyah (TMI) educational model, which emphasizes the integration of religious knowledge and pedagogical skills for prospective Islamic educators, is increasingly being adopted by Islamic boarding schools to address the need for professionalism in Islamic boarding school educators (Achsin et al., 2021; Anwar et al., 2024).

The TMI curriculum is designed to produce Muslim educators who are able to master religious knowledge and are competent in teaching practice (instructional competence) (Maarif et al., 2022; Sri Minarti, Firda Sibtur Rohimiya, 2022). The TMI approach emphasizes the balance between cognitive, affective, and psychomotor dimensions, and places experiential learning as the primary medium for character formation in educators (Klebanova, 2022). Study Aini & Majid, (2025) has shown that the implementation of TMI has the potential to improve the quality of education at the level of Islamic educational institutions through curriculum development, innovative learning methods, and increasing the professionalism of teaching staff. However, most existing studies have focused on Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in Java and Madura, with their relatively homogeneous socio-cultural contexts. These findings indicate that TMI is generally effective in improving pedagogical competence and learning quality, but they lack exploration of diverse local geographic and cultural contexts, such as those found in Islamic boarding schools in Eastern Indonesia (Fahrudin & Malik, 2025; Zakariyah et al., 2022).

The quality of Islamic boarding school education is often measured through learning outcomes, graduate competencies, and the suitability between the curriculum and community needs (relevance to societal needs) (UNESCO, 2019). Global studies note that the integration of values-based curriculum and pedagogical skills can strengthen graduates' competitiveness in local and global contexts (Yarriswamy, 2025). In Indonesia, challenges in implementing the Islamic boarding school curriculum include limited trained human resources, inadequate learning infrastructure, and a gap between curriculum theory and classroom practice (Aggisni et al., 2024; Fahrurrozi et al., 2024; Ibnu Azka, Siti Nurhalisa, 2024). Previous studies indicate that the effectiveness of the TMI curriculum is strongly influenced by institutional leadership, operational standards, and the continuity of teacher training (Badrun, 2024). However, empirical studies examining the implementation of the TMI curriculum outside Java remain limited, particularly those that assess its impact using measurable educational quality indicators.

This gap becomes more significant in peripheral regions such as Eastern Indonesia, where Islamic boarding schools operate within heterogeneous socio-cultural environments. Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School in Sorong Regency represents such a context. Located in a culturally diverse border region, the pesantren faces distinctive demographic realities that differ from those of TMI-based institutions in western Indonesia. These conditions require curriculum adaptation in terms of pedagogical strategies, language use, and community relevance. Despite the expansion of the TMI model, systematic research evaluating its implementation in Papua and West Papua is still scarce. Existing studies tend to be descriptive and rarely connect curriculum implementation with operational indicators of educational quality. In this study, educational quality is conceptualized through four dimensions: graduate competence, character formation, leadership development, and contextual curriculum relevance. The absence of studies that integrate these indicators highlights a conceptual

tension between the normative ideals of the TMI curriculum and the realities of its implementation in peripheral educational settings.

Based on this gap, the central research question of this study is: How is the TMI curriculum implemented in a peripheral pesantren context, and to what extent does it contribute to measurable educational quality? More specifically, the study examines how local socio-cultural dynamics shape curriculum adaptation and influence the realization of TMI's educational objectives. Positioning itself within discussions on curriculum contextualization and pesantren habitus, this study aims to provide an empirical and conceptual contribution by analyzing the implementation of the TMI curriculum at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School, Sorong Regency. By linking curriculum practice with contextual educational quality indicators, this research seeks to bridge the gap between the normative framework of TMI and its lived realities in Eastern Indonesia.

METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design to in-depth explore the implementation of the Tarbiyatul Mu'allimin Wal Mu'allimat Al-Islamiyah (TMI) curriculum and its contribution to educational quality at the Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School in Sorong Regency (Hendri Poltak, 2023). A qualitative case study was chosen because curriculum implementation is a complex socio-pedagogical process shaped by institutional culture, actor interactions, and local context, which cannot be adequately captured through quantitative measures. This design allows for a holistic examination of the relationships between curriculum policies, pedagogical practices, educational actors, and the pesantren's socio-cultural environment. This research was conducted over four months, from September to December 2025, from inception to final verification of the findings. Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School was purposefully selected because of its location in Eastern Indonesia, a region still underrepresented in pesantren studies.

This institution has officially adopted the TMI curriculum, making it relevant for examining how a standardized pesantren curriculum is implemented in a multicultural and marginalized context. The surrounding socio-cultural diversity provides an important analytical lens for understanding curriculum adaptation and contextual educational challenges in Southwest Papua. Informants were selected through purposive sampling based on their direct involvement in curriculum planning, implementation, and evaluation. Participants included Islamic boarding school leaders, curriculum coordinators, TMI teachers (ustaz), final-year students, and alumni. A total of 15 informants were involved. Data saturation was determined analytically through iterative comparison of interview data; saturation was deemed achieved when no new conceptual categories or thematic variations emerged across stakeholder groups, particularly regarding curriculum adaptation, instructional practices, and perceived educational outcomes.

Data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews lasting between 45 and 90 minutes per session. Interviews were conducted in several rounds to allow for clarification and thematic deepening. This was complemented by limited participant observation of classroom teaching, dormitory routines, and curriculum-related activities to capture naturally occurring practices. Document analysis was also conducted on curriculum guidelines, syllabi, teaching schedules, evaluation reports, and institutional archives to contextualize interview findings within policy and organizational frameworks. Data analysis followed an interactive and iterative process that combined open coding, axial coding, and thematic synthesis. Initial open coding was used to identify recurring concepts from field notes and interview transcripts. These codes were then grouped through axial coding to develop broader analytical categories, such as curriculum adaptation, institutional habitus, leadership influence, and perceived educational quality. Finally, thematic analysis was used

to generate interpretive patterns linking curriculum implementation to contextual quality indicators. Analysis was conducted cyclically alongside data collection to allow emerging insights to inform subsequent interviews.

To ensure reliability, this study employed several validation strategies, including triangulation of data sources (leaders, teachers, students, alumni), methodological triangulation (interviews, observations, documentation), and member checking with key informants to verify interpretive accuracy. An audit trail documenting field decisions, coding development, and analytical reflections was maintained to enhance transparency. Researcher reflexivity was explicitly incorporated to minimize interpretation bias. Researchers took reflective field notes documenting positions, assumptions, and interactions during data collection and analysis. Periodic reflective evaluations were conducted to critically assess how the researcher's background and expectations may shape interpretations, thereby strengthening analytical rigor and credibility. This study adhered to established ethical standards in qualitative research. All participants received a detailed explanation of the study's purpose and procedures and provided informed consent before participating. Anonymity was ensured through the use of pseudonyms, and all data was stored securely. The research process was conducted with due regard for institutional dynamics to avoid psychological, social, or organizational harm, while maintaining academic integrity and objectivity.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section describes the research findings related to the implementation of the Tarbiyatul Mu'allimin Wal Mu'allimat Al-Islamiyah (TMI) Curriculum at the Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School in Sorong Regency and its implications for improving the quality of Islamic boarding school education. The findings are presented based on the results of interviews, observations, and documentation studies that reflect the actual practice of curriculum implementation in the institutional context of Islamic boarding schools.

Implementation of the TMI Curriculum in the Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School Education System

Analysis of interview and field data revealed four major themes regarding the implementation of the TMI curriculum at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School : (1) institutional identity and Gontor lineage, (2) hybrid curriculum integration, (3) adaptive institutional strategy, and (4) cadre-oriented educational goals.

Institutional Identity and Gontor Lineage

The first dominant theme concerns the institutional identity of Al-Ghuroba as part of the Gontor alumni network. Informants consistently emphasized that the adoption of the TMI curriculum is rooted in ideological and genealogical ties to the Darussalam Gontor educational tradition. According to AFH (Head of Curriculum) :

> "*Since the founders are Gontor alumni, the educational direction naturally follows the TMI model. It is not only about curriculum structure, but also mindset, discipline, and the pesantren system itself*" (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)

> This perspective was reinforced by (SYK), Director of the TMI Curriculum, who emphasized that the adoption of the TMI system reflects an intentional effort to preserve pedagogical lineage rather than merely adopting a ready-made curriculum:

"*TMI is not just a curriculum package that can be transferred technically. It carries a philosophical foundation. When we implement TMI, we are actually continuing an educational tradition that shapes how teachers think, how students live, and how the institution is managed*" (Interview, SYK, Director of the TMI Curriculum, 2025)

SYK further explained that institutional identity is reproduced through everyday practices embedded in the boarding system :

"*What makes TMI strong is not the document, but the ecosystem. The discipline, the language culture, the teacher-student relationship all of these form a living system. That is why pesantren adopting TMI usually share a similar character, even in different regions*" (Interview, SYK, Director of the TMI Curriculum, 2025).

These statements suggest that curriculum adoption is not merely technical but represents the reproduction of institutional habitus. The TMI model shapes governance, pedagogical orientation, and daily boarding practices, aligning Al-Ghuroba with the broader ecosystem of modern pesantren inspired by Gontor. The convergence of views between AFH and SYK also strengthens the analytical claim that TMI implementation operates at the level of institutional identity formation rather than procedural curriculum adoption.

Hybrid Curriculum Integration

The second theme highlights the hybrid nature of curriculum implementation. While structurally aligned with TMI, the curriculum is not implemented in a fully autonomous form due to institutional constraints. Al-Ghuroba has not yet obtained muʻādalah status, requiring compliance with national education standards.

AFH explained :

"*We cannot implement TMI purely because administratively we are still under the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Religious Affairs. So, we combine it with the national curriculum*." (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)

This institutional negotiation was also confirmed by (AFA), a senior Madrasah Aliyah teacher, who described how the hybrid model operates at the classroom level :

"In practice, we do not see TMI and the national curriculum as two opposing systems. What we do is layering them. The national curriculum provides the formal structure subjects, assessments, and administrative standards while TMI shapes the learning ethos, discipline, and boarding culture" (Interview, AFA, MA Teacher, 2025)

AFA further emphasized that the integration process requires pedagogical flexibility from teachers:

"*As teachers, we must translate both frameworks simultaneously. For example, we follow national competency standards, but the teaching approach still reflects TMI values such as discipline, language immersion, and character formation. So, the hybrid model actually demands more creativity, not less*" (Interview, AFA, MA Teacher, 2025)

He also noted that this dual structure is perceived as a pragmatic adaptation rather than a compromise :

"*If we insist on implementing TMI in a fully independent way, institutionally it would be difficult. But if we only follow the national curriculum, we lose the pesantren identity. So, this integration becomes a middle path that allows us to remain recognized by the state while preserving our educational character*" (Interview, AFA, MA Teacher, 2025)



Figure 1. Al-Ghuroba Modern Islamic Boarding School Annual Calendar, Sorong, 2024-2025

Document analysis confirmed that pesantren subjects were integrated with state-mandated subjects, resulting in a dual curriculum structure. The convergence between administrative compliance (as described by AFH) and pedagogical enactment (as explained by AFA) indicates that hybridization operates at both institutional and classroom levels. This hybrid model therefore reflects a deliberate institutional negotiation between maintaining pesantren identity and fulfilling regulatory requirements.

Curriculum Adaptation as Institutional Strategy

Rather than being perceived as a dilution, the integration of TMI with the national curriculum emerged as an adaptive strategy. Informants described this hybrid model as a pragmatic response to policy realities while maintaining the philosophical core of the TMI system.

Based on an interview with MFA, a Madrasah Aliyah teacher, said :

"*The substance is still TMI. What has changed is only the administrative format. In practice, the values, discipline, and boarding system remain the same*" (Interview, AM, MA Teacher,2025)

This interpretation was further elaborated by (AM), also a Madrasah Aliyah teacher, who emphasized that the hybrid model should be understood as a layered implementation rather than a compromise :

"*If we only look at the documents, it might seem like a blended curriculum. But in reality, what has changed is mostly the formal structure. The spirit of education how students are trained, how discipline is established, how teachers interact with students remains very much TMI*" (Interview, AM, MA Teacher, 2025)

AM argued that teachers consciously maintain philosophical continuity despite administrative adjustments :

"*We are aware that nationally we must adhere to certain standards, but internally we still adhere to the TMI orientation. For example, lesson planning may follow the national template, but classroom culture, language discipline, and dormitory supervision still follow the pesantren tradition*" (Interview, AM, MA Teacher, 2025)

He also highlighted that the hybrid model reflects institutional maturity rather than structural weakness :

"*I don't think this is a dilution but an evolution. Pesantren today cannot stand outside the system, especially in regions like Papua. So the challenge is not choosing one model, but how to integrate the two without losing identity. That's where TMI's strength lies flexible but principled*" (Interview, AM, MA Teacher, 2025)

This demonstrates that curriculum implementation operates at multiple levels : formal adherence and informal cultural continuity. The convergence of teachers' narratives suggests that the TMI curriculum persists as a lived pedagogical ethos even when administratively embedded within the national framework. These findings reinforce the idea that the implementation of the pesantren curriculum is shaped by structural flexibility, particularly in remote areas where institutional legitimacy often depends on regulatory alignment.

Cadre Formation and Moral Protection

The final theme concerns the teleological orientation of the TMI curriculum. Informants strongly emphasized that educational objectives extend beyond academic achievement toward moral formation and cadre development.

AFH stated :

"*Our goal is not just academic success. We want to shape character and prepare cadres who can continue the mission of Islam*" (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)

This orientation is closely linked to the perception of pesantren as protective socio-moral spaces. Several informants described the boarding environment as a safeguard against negative external influences :

"*Outside interactions today are very complex. The pesantren becomes a controlled environment where values can be instilled continuously*" (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)

This reflects a moral-communitarian understanding of educational quality, where discipline, spirituality, and collective identity are prioritized alongside intellectual development**.**

Leadership-Oriented Educational Outcomes

A related subtheme emerging from cross-informant analysis is leadership formation. The TMI curriculum is perceived as a long-term investment in producing community leaders grounded in Islamic values.

An alumnus AFS noted :

"*We are trained not only to understand religion but to be ready to serve society. Leadership here is formed through daily discipline and responsibility*"(Interview, AFS, Alumnus, 2025)

This perspective positions TMI implementation as a strategic instrument for sustaining the social relevance of pesantren. Leadership is conceptualized not merely as formal authority but as moral and religious influence embedded in community life.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the implementation of the TMI curriculum at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School is shaped by a dynamic interplay between institutional identity, regulatory structures, and socio-religious aspirations. While structurally hybrid, the curriculum retains its ideological core through the reproduction of pesantren habitus and value-based pedagogy. These findings suggest that in peripheral contexts, curriculum implementation is less about strict replication and more about adaptive continuity balancing standardization with contextual negotiation.

Student Response and Participation to the TMI Curriculum

The following table summarizes the responses of students and alumni to the implementation of the TMI curriculum.

Table 1. Responses from Students and Alumni

No	Informant Name	Status/Class	Learning Experience with TMI Curriculum	Lessons/Activities That Most Help Understanding Islam	Impact on Discipline and Morals
1	Nova Hidayat	Alumni	The TMI curriculum is considered fun, structured, and combines theory and practice so that it is easy to apply in everyday life.	Study of yellow books and the habit of daily worship that strengthens the understanding of fiqh, faith, and morals	Building discipline, patience, and responsibility
2	Afriansyah Fahri Shaleh	Alumni	TMI curriculum is easy to understand and the material is delivered well	Fiqh lessons and outdoor learning	Helping to build morals and discipline
3	Abdur Rahman	Class 6 TMI (3 MA)	The learning experience is quite good, covering both Islamic boarding school and general subjects, as well as improving language skills.	Lessons in monotheism, fiqh, sermons, general studies, and learning morals and manners	Improving discipline and morals
4	Davi Fabrinsky Dwi Putra	Class 6 TMI (3 MA)	The learning system is considered appropriate and supports the	Lessons on monotheism, jurisprudence, and ushul fiqh	Helping to improve discipline and morals

			Islamic boarding school education process.		
5	M. Raka Al-Badar	Class 6 TMI (3 MA)	The TMI curriculum is very useful, especially in mastering Arabic and English as provisions for the future.	Lessons on Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic history, ushul fiqh, as well as daily book and habit activities	Improving discipline and morals through memorization, tarbiyah, and learning of manners
6	Adli Dwi Sentosa	Class 5 TMI (2 MA)	TMI curriculum helps achieve long-term educational goals, including further study abroad.	Arabic, nahwu, sharaf, hadith, and yellow book studies	Improving discipline and morals
7	Alief Muh. Arafat Rahamyamte	Class 5 TMI (2 MA)	The TMI curriculum is considered effective in increasing religious understanding.	Teaching and learning processes and religious activities such as studies	Helping to improve the discipline and morals of students

The table shows the consistent positive perceptions of students and alumni regarding the implementation of the Tarbiyatul Mu'allimin Al-Islamiyah (TMI) Curriculum at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School. In general, the TMI Curriculum is understood as a structured, easy-to-understand learning system that balances theory and practice. These findings indicate that the curriculum serves not only as an academic tool but also as a mechanism for character development through the instilling of worship habits, time discipline, and the internalization of moral values.

Furthermore, core Islamic subjects such as fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), tauhid (monotheism), ushul fiqh (Islamic principles), as well as book study and practice-based learning activities emerged as the components that contributed most to students' religious understanding. The curriculum's impact on improving discipline and morals was also evident across all informants, both active students and alumni, confirming the TMI curriculum's role in shaping a pesantren habitus oriented toward responsibility, independence, and leadership.

Challenges of TMI Curriculum Implementation

The interviews reveal that the implementation of the Tarbiyatul Mu'allimin al-Islamiyah (TMI) curriculum at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School is shaped by structural and contextual challenges. AFH acknowledged that the curriculum has not yet been implemented in its original form, but emphasized that this condition reflects contextual adaptation rather than institutional weakness.

> "*It is not that we are not serious about implementing TMI. On the contrary, we are fully committed. But we must be realistic in recognizing that Sorong is very different from Java, where TMI was originally developed and firmly established*" (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)

The primary challenge lies in socio-cultural differences between Eastern Indonesia and the Javanese context where TMI originated. AFH explained that variations in students' social background, mentality, and habit formation require gradual curriculum enactment.

> "*If we imposed exactly the same approach used in Java, it would not be realistic. Their mentality, habits, and social environment are distinct. Therefore, the implementation must be gradual and adaptive*" (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)
> Importantly, this adaptation is not framed as a decline in standards but as a phased strategy toward quality equivalence.

> "*The quality standard remains the same. Our ultimate goal is equivalent to TMI boarding schools in Java. What differs is the process and the pace*" (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)

Institutional Strategies for Adaptive Implementation

To address these challenges, the pesantren developed institutional strategies focusing on infrastructure, extracurricular enrichment, and human resource strengthening. AFH highlighted the importance of contextualizing institutional practices while maintaining TMI's philosophical core.

> "*We adopt extracurricular models from Gontor and other alumni boarding schools, but we adjust them to our local conditions*" (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)

> Human resource policy emerged as a key adaptive mechanism. The pesantren prioritizes teachers with direct TMI experience to ensure value continuity.

> "Teachers who have experienced the TMI system firsthand can authentically transmit its values and culture. They are the key to maintaining consistency" (Interview, AFH, Head of Curriculum, 2025)

Evaluation as a Cultural and Formative Process

Beyond structural adaptation, the interviews highlight evaluation as a central mechanism sustaining curriculum integrity. SYK emphasized that TMI functions not merely as a curricular framework but as a system of cultural formation.

> "*TMI is not just about subjects. It is a system for forming culture and character. Discipline and leadership grow through continuous processes*" (Interview, SYK, Director of the TMI Curriculum, 2025).

Evaluation practices follow a formative cycle involving planning, implementation, and reflection.

> "*We assess how well the system works, identify weaknesses, and improve continuously. It is an ongoing process*" (Interview, SYK, Director of the TMI Curriculum, 2025).

> The success indicators therefore extend beyond academic outcomes to character and leadership formation.
> "*When students develop independence, responsibility, and leadership, that shows the system is working*" (Interview, SYK, Director of the TMI Curriculum, 2025).

Character Formation and the Making of Pesantren Habitus

The findings further show that curriculum implementation is closely linked to character education and habitus formation. The use of oral, written, practical, and field-based assessments

reflects an authentic evaluation model balancing cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains. This multidimensional approach reinforces long-term character formation rather than short-term academic performance.

A crucial insight emerges from the challenges faced by new students during early habituation. Initial resistance to discipline gradually transforms into acceptance and internalization, indicating that pesantren habitus is formed through structured repetition, role modeling, and environmental immersion. What begins as perceived coercion evolves into collective awareness, demonstrating that habitus formation is inherently iterative and processual.

Analytical Implication

Taken together, these findings demonstrate that the implementation of the TMI curriculum at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School is not a linear replication of an established model, but a negotiated process shaped by local realities. Curriculum adaptation, formative evaluation, and structured habituation operate as interrelated mechanisms that sustain pesantren identity in a peripheral context. This dynamic interplay provides an empirical basis for further theoretical discussion on curriculum adaptation, character education, and institutional habitus in Islamic boarding school studies.

DISCUSSION

This discussion interprets the findings on the implementation of the Tarbiyatul Mu'allimin Wal Mu'allimat Al-Islamiyah (TMI) Curriculum at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School by situating them within broader debates on educational quality, curriculum contextualization, and faith-based schooling. Rather than viewing curriculum implementation as a purely local phenomenon, this section highlights its theoretical contribution, global relevance, and structural tensions.

Implementation of the TMI Curriculum from the Perspective of Developing the Quality of Islamic Boarding School Education

This study examined the implementation of the TMI curriculum in a peripheral pesantren context and revealed that educational quality emerges through a dynamic interplay between institutional tradition, regulatory structures, and local socio-cultural realities. Rather than functioning as a fixed pedagogical template, the TMI curriculum operates as an adaptive framework shaped by negotiation and contextual translation. The findings confirm that the TMI model promotes a multidimensional understanding of educational quality encompassing academic competence, character formation, discipline, and leadership development. This supports the "quality-as-process" perspective in educational theory, which emphasizes institutional culture and formative learning cycles over purely outcome-based metrics (Gleeson et al., 2025). Similar patterns have been observed in global research on faith-based and residential schooling, where immersive environments produce holistic educational outcomes through value-driven institutional ecosystems (Arif et al., 2025; Bantugan, 2025; Nopsuwan & Division, 2025). A central contribution of this study lies in identifying curriculum hybridization as a key mechanism of implementation. The integration of the TMI curriculum with national standards reflects not a deviation but an adaptive institutional strategy. This finding aligns with curriculum enactment theory, which posits that curricula are continuously reinterpreted within socio-political contexts (Hussain et al., 2024; Priestley & Philippou, 2018). In peripheral regions, such hybridization becomes a survival strategy that enables institutional legitimacy while preserving pedagogical identity.

However, the findings also reveal structural tensions. The hybrid model exposes a persistent negotiation between state regulation and pesantren autonomy. While regulatory alignment enhances institutional recognition and graduate mobility, it simultaneously introduces the risk of bureaucratic homogenization. This tension mirrors global patterns in faith-based education, where integration into national systems often reshapes governance structures and pedagogical authority. Thus, the study

contributes empirically to debates on how religious educational institutions maintain normative distinctiveness within modern regulatory regimes. Another key insight concerns the formation of pesantren habitus. The effectiveness of the TMI curriculum is closely tied to the production of disciplined, value-oriented dispositions through repetitive practices and communal living structures. This reinforces sociological perspectives that view boarding education as a total pedagogical environment. However, the data also indicate transitional resistance among new students, highlighting that habitus formation is uneven and contingent. This nuance challenges overly affirmative narratives about boarding school discipline and underscores the need to consider differential adaptation processes.

Importantly, the study identifies limitations in the transferability of canonical pesantren models. While the TMI curriculum carries strong symbolic authority rooted in its genealogical origins, its implementation in Eastern Indonesia requires substantial contextual adaptation. This supports global scholarship on policy borrowing and educational transfer, which emphasizes localization as a necessary condition for sustainability (Crossley, 2019; Steiner-khamsi, 2016). The findings therefore challenge universalist assumptions about curriculum replication and reinforce the importance of contextual pedagogy (Arif, 2025). A critical dimension emerging from the analysis is the potential path dependency associated with strong reliance on a single institutional lineage. The symbolic centrality of the Gontor tradition, while providing ideological coherence, may constrain pedagogical innovation if not critically negotiated. This highlights a broader theoretical dilemma in tradition-based education: how to sustain continuity without inhibiting epistemic diversification. Sustainable curriculum development requires a reflexive balance between canonical inheritance and contextual innovation.

This study offers three main theoretical contributions. First, it advances the concept of adaptive curriculum enactment by demonstrating how standardized religious curricula are dynamically reinterpreted in peripheral contexts. Rather than being implemented linearly, the TMI curriculum is enacted through processes of negotiation, hybridization, and localization. Second, it enriches sociological discussions on educational habitus by showing how pesantren environments cultivate moral and leadership dispositions through immersive institutional culture (Fauzi et al., 2025). The findings extend habitus theory by highlighting the temporal and contested nature of disposition formation, particularly in culturally diverse student populations. Third, the study contributes to comparative education and Global South scholarship by positioning pesantren as significant actors in alternative education discourse. It demonstrates how Islamic boarding schools negotiate modernity, tradition, and regulation simultaneously, offering insights into non-Western models of holistic education.

The findings suggest that strengthening pesantren education requires policy frameworks that recognize contextual diversity rather than imposing uniform standardization. Supporting adaptive curriculum models, especially in peripheral regions, may enable faith-based institutions to maintain identity while engaging constructively with national systems (Kausar et al., 2025). For researchers, the study highlights the importance of examining curriculum implementation beyond metropolitan centers. Peripheral educational institutions provide critical sites for understanding how global educational ideas are translated, resisted, and reconfigured in localized settings. Overall, the implementation of the TMI curriculum at Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School illustrates a dialectical process in which educational quality is continuously negotiated rather than statically achieved. The curriculum's strength lies in its capacity for adaptive continuity, yet its sustainability depends on the ability of institutions to critically engage with tradition, regulation, and contextual change. By foregrounding this dynamic interplay, the study moves beyond normative accounts and repositions the TMI model as a living pedagogical tradition shaped by ongoing negotiation across local, national, and global educational landscapes.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion above, this study demonstrates that the implementation of the TMI curriculum in a peripheral pesantren context functions not merely as a curricular model but as an adaptive educational system that shapes institutional habitus through discipline, value internalization, and communal learning. The main contribution of this research lies in showing that the effectiveness of the TMI curriculum is not determined by strict replication of its original model, but by its capacity for contextual enactment. In the case of Al-Ghuroba Islamic Boarding School, curriculum hybridization with national standards emerges as a strategic form of adaptive continuity that preserves institutional identity while ensuring structural legitimacy.

The findings reposition pesantren educational quality as a dynamic and processual construct shaped by negotiation between tradition, regulation, and local socio-cultural realities. This study therefore contributes to expanding the discourse on Islamic boarding school education by highlighting adaptive curriculum enactment as a key mechanism for sustaining holistic educational quality in peripheral regions. Practically, the study underscores the importance of reflective curriculum governance in pesantren education. Institutional quality development should prioritize formative evaluation, educator exemplarity, and value-based habituation rather than administrative compliance. At the policy level, the findings support the need for flexible regulatory frameworks that enable contextual innovation without undermining national education standards, particularly for Islamic boarding schools operating outside metropolitan centers.

This study has several limitations. First, the analysis primarily reflects internal institutional perspectives and does not fully incorporate external stakeholder voices such as parents, community actors, or policymakers. Second, the focus on a single case limits broader generalization across diverse pesantren ecosystems. Future research should therefore pursue multi-site comparative studies across regions to examine variations in TMI enactment and its long-term educational outcomes. Further inquiry is also needed to investigate the relationship between TMI-based education and alumni trajectories, particularly in leadership formation, civic engagement, and societal impact. Such directions would deepen understanding of how pesantren education contributes to broader educational transformation in the Global.

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