

CURRICULUM INTEGRATION AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL IDENTITY IN INDONESIAN MADRASAHs: A POST-REFORM ANALYSIS

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Abstract

Curriculum integration in Indonesian madrasahs has been promoted as a strategic policy to align Islamic education with the national education system in the post-Reform era. While this integration aims to strengthen institutional legitimacy and improve competitiveness, it also raises critical questions regarding the epistemological orientation and identity of madrasahs. This study examines curriculum integration in Indonesian madrasahs as an epistemological issue rather than merely a technical or administrative arrangement. Employing a qualitative library research design with a philosophical-analytical approach, this study analyzes national education policy documents—particularly Law Number 20 of 2003 and the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs (KMA) Number 183 of 2019—alongside relevant scholarly literature on Islamic education reform. The findings indicate that the frequently cited 70:30 proportion between general and religious subjects does not represent an explicit regulatory mandate, but rather functions as an analytical abstraction derived from the structural organization of the madrasah curriculum. Interpreted through Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas’s framework of the de-secularization (Islamization) of knowledge, the study reveals an epistemological tension in which general sciences tend to assume a dominant structural position, potentially positioning religious knowledge as supplementary. This condition reflects an identity dilemma shaped by the interaction between Islamic worldview-based education and policy-driven standardization. The study concludes that sustainable curriculum integration in madrasahs requires an epistemological foundation rooted in tawhid and adab to support holistic human development and prevent epistemological fragmentation.

Keywords: Curriculum Integration; Madrasah Education; Epistemology; Islamization of Knowledge; Post-Reform Indonesia

A. Introduction

Islamic education in Indonesia has long faced a fundamental challenge in the form of a dichotomy between religious knowledge and general or secular sciences. This separation became increasingly pronounced during the New Order era, when Islamic educational institutions such as madrasahs and pesantren were often marginalized and perceived as second-class institutions, considered less relevant to the demands of the modern labor market. Such perceptions created an urgency for curriculum reform, not

only as a response to the dynamics of the times, but also as a strategic effort to restore dignity and strengthen the role of Islamic educational institutions within national education (Miftahuddin, 2023). In this regard, political and policy dynamics have significantly influenced the direction and governance of Islamic education across different periods in Indonesia (Munah et al., 2022).

One of the major political turning points was the Reformasi of 1998, followed by decentralization and broader policy restructuring across sectors, including education. A key milestone in this context was the enactment of Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System, which formally recognized madrasahs as an integral part of the national education system. This recognition strengthened the institutional position of madrasahs within formal schooling, while also encouraging curriculum alignment with national standards. At the same time, curriculum reform has been framed as central to preparing competent human resources capable of competing in contemporary and global contexts, making curriculum design a strategic instrument of national development (Alhomairi, 2018).

In the madrasah context, this integration is closely linked to the implementation of the Ministry of Religious Affairs' curriculum policy, including the Keputusan Menteri Agama (KMA) No. 183 of 2019 on Islamic Religious Education and Arabic for madrasahs (Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 2019). While integration aims to place madrasahs on an equal footing with general schools, it also introduces pressures for standardization that may reshape the epistemological orientation of learning. Recent scholarship indicates that policy-driven integration may generate a gap between intended goals and ground realities, including the persistence of dichotomies between modern sciences and Islamic values and the risk of fragmented graduate competencies (Subhan et al., 2024). In parallel, studies on the evolution of Islamic educational institutions highlight that the transition from traditional forms (surau/pesantren) to modern madrasahs often changes management and learning strategies, sometimes at the cost of the institution's original identity (Sumanti et al., 2024).

These dynamics cannot be reduced to technical issues of subject distribution alone. They reflect a deeper epistemological problem concerning how knowledge is classified, prioritized, and legitimized within the integrated curriculum. When religious knowledge is positioned as complementary rather than foundational, madrasahs may face

an identity dilemma in which their distinctive role as Islamic educational institutions becomes increasingly blurred. This condition is also shaped by the broader regulatory environment in Indonesia, where state regulation seeks to standardize governance and public administration, sometimes extending secular administrative logics into religious and educational institutions (Ropi, 2017). Against this backdrop, the central problem of curriculum integration in madrasahs should be examined not only as a policy matter but as an issue of worldview and the philosophy of knowledge.

In this regard, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas's concept of the de-secularization (Islamization) of knowledge provides a relevant analytical framework. Al-Attas argues that the crisis of Islamic education is rooted in the adoption of secular epistemologies that separate knowledge from its metaphysical and ethical foundations (Al-Attas, 1999). From this perspective, the challenge for madrasahs is not simply how to "add" religious subjects alongside general sciences, but how to ensure that all fields of knowledge are taught within an Islamic worldview and ethical orientation. Therefore, this study examines curriculum integration in Indonesian madrasahs as a site of epistemological tension between Islamic and secular conceptions of knowledge. Specifically, it explores how curriculum integration is structured and justified within post-Reform education policies, what epistemological orientations are reflected in the dominance of general sciences, and how al-Attas's framework can be used to interpret the identity dilemma faced by madrasahs.

B. Methods

This study employs a qualitative library research design with a philosophical-analytical approach. Rather than generating empirical field data, the research focuses on critical analysis of policy documents and scholarly literature relevant to madrasah curriculum integration and Islamic educational thought. This approach is appropriate given the study's objective to examine curriculum integration not as a technical arrangement of subjects, but as an epistemological issue concerning the classification, orientation, and legitimization of knowledge within Islamic education.

The primary sources of this study consist of national education policy documents, particularly Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System and the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs (KMA) Number 183 of 2019 concerning Islamic

Religious Education and Arabic in madrasahs. These documents are treated as authoritative texts that structure and legitimize curriculum integration in madrasah education. In addition, secondary sources include peer-reviewed journal articles and academic works that discuss madrasah curriculum development, integration policies, and epistemological debates in Islamic education, as well as classical and contemporary writings on the philosophy of Islamic knowledge.

Data collection was conducted through systematic document selection and close reading. Relevant texts were identified based on their direct discussion of curriculum integration, the relationship between religious and general sciences, and the philosophical foundations of Islamic education. The selected documents were then examined to identify recurring concepts, policy rationales, and underlying assumptions regarding knowledge orientation within the madrasah curriculum.

Data analysis followed an interpretive and thematic procedure. First, policy texts were analyzed to identify how curriculum integration is structured and justified within the national education framework. Second, scholarly literature was examined to capture dominant interpretations and critiques of curriculum integration in madrasahs. Third, these findings were interpreted using Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas's concept of the de-secularization (Islamization) of knowledge as an analytical lens. This framework was used to assess whether curriculum integration reflects an Islamic epistemological orientation or reproduces a secular logic of knowledge organization.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Post-Reform Transformation of the Islamic Education Curriculum and Institutional Dualism

The post-Reform transformation of Islamic education (1998–present) marks a significant phase in the history of Indonesia's national education system. This period is characterized by strategic efforts to eliminate the long-standing dichotomy between Islamic education and general education that had been deeply entrenched since the New Order era. The primary legal foundation for this transformation was the enactment of Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System, which explicitly positioned madrasahs on an equal footing with general schools while requiring compliance with National Education Standards

However, the implementation of this policy faces complex challenges in the era of regional autonomy. As highlighted by Hutapea, Husnaini, and Murad (2021), the decentralization of education often shifts the focus from ideological foundations to administrative and managerial compliance. This shift creates a new form of institutional dualism, evident in curriculum implementation, where madrasahs are structurally required to allocate a greater proportion of instructional time to general subjects.

This tendency can be traced to the structure of the Madrasah Curriculum as regulated through the Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs (KMA) Number 183 of 2019, particularly in the arrangement of subject groups and learning time allocation across educational levels. Although the regulation does not explicitly prescribe a fixed numerical ratio, several studies interpret the cumulative learning load of general subjects and religious subjects as reflecting a tendency toward a heavier allocation for general subjects than religious subjects, often interpreted as an approximate 70:30 proportion, particularly at the secondary level (Baiti & Miftahuddin, 2019).

It is important to note that this proportion is not uniform across all madrasah levels and does not appear as a single explicit clause within the regulation. Rather, it emerges from an analysis of the official curriculum structure, including the grouping of compulsory subjects, weekly instructional hours, and the categorization of religious and general knowledge domains as outlined in the official curriculum documents. Therefore, the 70:30 ratio in this study should be understood as an analytical abstraction derived from curriculum structure, rather than a rigid or universally applied numerical mandate.

In practice, this policy has generated tension between the ideal objectives of Islamic education and the demands of the national system. As a result, while madrasahs have gained formal legitimacy, they simultaneously face epistemological pressures. The secular-instrumental orientation of the national paradigm has shifted learning priorities toward cognitive mastery, often at the expense of character formation. Consequently, the space for developing Islamic sciences and the values of *ta'dib*, as emphasized by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, has become increasingly limited.

Thus, the post-Reform transformation of Islamic education reveals a profound paradox: efforts to dismantle the divide between Islamic and general education have instead produced a new form of dualism not between religious and worldly knowledge, but between value-based idealism and systemic pragmatism. Madrasahs are therefore

confronted with the significant challenge of preserving their identity as institutions of ta'dib amid the pressures of modernization and increasingly technocratic global demands.

Tabel 1.
 The Shift in Madrasah Identity Post-Reform

Aspect	Before Reform Era	After Reform Era (Law No. 20/2003)	Implications for Madrasahs
Legal Status of Madrasahs	Considered Non-Formal Institutions	Recognized as Part of the National Education System	Increased Formal Legitimacy
Curriculum Orientation	Dominance of Religious Sciences	Dominance of general subjects over religious subjects (often approximated as 70:30)	Emergence of a New Dualism
Educational Objectives	Strengthening Spirituality and <i>Adab</i>	Academic and Global Competencies	Shift in Educational Values
Main Challenges	Knowledge Dichotomy	Structural Integration	Epistemological Identity Crisis

Source : Synthesized from Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System and Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs (KMA) No. 183 of 2019; interpreted through secondary analyses

2. The Identity Dilemma of Islamic Education in the Post-Reform Era

In the post-Reform era, Islamic education in Indonesia has been confronted with a complex identity dilemma. On the one hand, the forces of modernization and globalization demand that Islamic educational institutions become more open, responsive, and competitive in an ever-changing world. On the other hand, there is growing concern that these modernization processes may erode the spiritual values and philosophical foundations that constitute the very essence of Islamic education (Hidayat et al., 2025). This erosion is not merely accidental but stems from a fundamental clash of paradigms. As elucidated by Nurviana & M. Husnaini (2025), modern Western education tends to be anthropocentric and rational-secular, viewing moral values as social agreements. In contrast, Islamic education is theocentric, where values are absolute and grounded in Revelation. When madrasahs unthinkingly adopt modern standards without this philosophical filter, the "erosion" mentioned by Hidayat becomes inevitable.

In this context, the ideas of Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas become increasingly important as a reflective foundation. For al-Attas, education must be grounded in the principle of tawhid and oriented toward the cultivation of adab or ta'dib as its primary objective. Education should not be viewed merely as a practical process of knowledge transmission, but rather as a comprehensive effort to shape individuals of noble character who understand the proper place of knowledge within the framework of faith and morality (Al-Attas, 1999). He strongly rejects the separation between religious and general knowledge, arguing that all knowledge originates from and ultimately returns to God. Therefore, al-Attas emphasizes the importance of the *Islamization of knowledge*, namely the effort to reorganize the curriculum so that every field of study leads learners toward recognition of God and the strengthening of moral character.

Within this study, the identity dilemma described above is not treated as a speculative or abstract concern, but as an analytical category derived from a synthesis of policy analysis and critical literature on Islamic education reform in Indonesia. The tension between modernization demands and the preservation of Islamic educational values consistently appears in studies examining curriculum reform, institutional governance, and learning orientation in madrasahs. Therefore, the concept of "identity dilemma" in this discussion functions as an interpretive framework to read patterns and tendencies identified across existing scholarly works, rather than as a normative judgment detached from empirical and documentary analysis.

In this sense, the madrasah curriculum should function not simply as a collection of subjects, but as an instrument for the holistic and balanced formation of students' personality, intellectual capacity, and spirituality. If al-Attas's perspective were applied to contemporary madrasahs, curriculum development should prioritize the integration of revealed sciences such as *fiqh*, *tafsir*, and *hadith* with the cultivation of moral character or *adab*, rather than merely increasing the number of hours allocated to religious subjects. However, numerous studies on madrasah reform in Indonesia indicate a strong tendency toward full adaptation to the national education system through the implementation of standardized curricula and uniform basic competencies. As a result, an identity dilemma often emerges in which madrasahs become hybrid institutions, positioned between their traditional religious mission and the state's demands for modern competencies. The central challenge lies in how madrasahs can preserve their core values of adab while

simultaneously meeting national standards and responding to the needs of the labor market and contemporary society (Delvia et al., 2025).

Since the Reformasi of 1998 to the present, Islamic education in Indonesia has faced increasingly complex identity issues. The decentralization of the education system, greater freedom in religious discourse, and global pressures to master 21st-century skills have given rise to diverse forms of Islamic education, ranging from traditional madrasahs to integrated Islamic schools. Consequently, there has been ongoing tension between efforts to maintain the distinctive religious character of madrasahs and governmental demands for accountability, certification, and the implementation of nationally standardized competency-based curricula. In practice, many madrasahs have experienced a shift in orientation, as documented in various studies on madrasah governance and curriculum implementation, whereby management practices, teaching materials, and evaluation systems place greater emphasis on cognitive achievement, while the dimension of adab formation tends to be marginalized (Budiono et al., 2023).

From the perspective of global curriculum studies, globalization requires education systems to be more flexible, adaptive, and oriented toward cross-disciplinary skills and international standards. Nevertheless, curriculum literature also underscores the importance of preserving local values and contextual relevance as a counterbalance to these global forces. Accordingly, an ideal form of synthesis can be articulated as follows: first, maintaining al-Attas's concept of adab as the foundational value guiding the formulation of learning objectives; second, developing syllabus designs that integrate global competencies such as critical thinking, collaboration, and digital literacy with moral character formation; and third, enhancing the capacity of madrasah teachers through pedagogical training that effectively links values education with authentic assessment (Syafa'ati & Muamanah, 2020).

However, technical synthesis alone is insufficient. A deeper epistemological foundation is required to ensure this integration does not become superficial (Husnaini et al., 2020), proposes a model of religious character education that integrates multicultural awareness with spiritual piety to form *Ulul Albab*. This model resonates with Al-Attas's concept of *ta'dib*, suggesting that madrasahs can adapt to global challenges without losing their ethical and theological identity. Accordingly, the identity dilemma of post-Reform madrasahs should be understood not as a binary opposition between tradition and

modernity, but as a layered tension produced by structural integration, epistemological assumptions, and policy-driven curriculum reform.

Table 2.
 Dimensions of Identity Conflict in Post-Reform Madrasah

Dimension	Islamic Value Orientation	National System Orientation	Perceived Impact
Educational Goals	Formation of an <i>adab</i> -centered human being (<i>ta'dib</i>)	Enhancement of global competitiveness	Value tension
Curriculum Approach	<i>Tawhid</i> and <i>adab</i>	Cognition-based competencies	Reduction of spiritual aspects
Learning Evaluation	Moral–spiritual assessment	Academic and administrative assessment	Imbalance in student development
Institutional Identity	Religious institution	Modern educational institution	Ambiguity of madrasah identity

Source: Conceptual synthesis based on curriculum policy analysis and critical studies on Islamic education reform in Indonesia, interpreted through the framework of Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas.

3. Analysis of Curriculum Modernization and the Identity Crisis

Changes in Islamic education following the Reform era have not only affected institutional structures but have also penetrated the core of the system, namely the curriculum. Efforts to modernize the madrasah curriculum, which were initially intended to serve as a bridge between Islamic values and the demands of modern times, have instead generated new challenges in preserving the authenticity of Islamic educational identity. This modernization has introduced a rational–instrumental mindset into curriculum design, whereby educational success is increasingly measured by competency attainment and alignment with labor market needs, rather than by the moral and spiritual formation of learners. Within this framework, the madrasah curriculum has experienced a displacement of values from an orientation toward *adab* to an emphasis on formal standards (Audi et al., 2024). This phenomenon is not limited to formal schools but also affects traditional institutions. As observed by Sabri et al., (2022), the modernization of Islamic education often triggers a functional shift in traditional institutions (like *Surau*), where the deep transmission of Islamic values is gradually eroded by formalization and

administrative demands. Consequently, the divine values that constitute the foundation of Islamic education have become progressively marginalized in classroom practice.

In this study, the modernization of the madrasah curriculum is analyzed as a policy-driven process whose impacts are identified through a synthesis of regulatory analysis and critical educational literature. The use of terms such as “rational–instrumental orientation” and “displacement of values” does not function as a moral judgment, but as analytical constructs to describe recurring patterns documented in studies on curriculum reform, governance, and learning evaluation in Islamic education institutions. Accordingly, the identity crisis discussed here is understood as an outcome of structural and epistemological shifts rather than as an abstract or normative claim.

The increasing prominence of general curricula within madrasah has acquired a strong legal foundation in the post-Reform era, as reflected in a series of regulatory frameworks governing decentralization, standardization, and curriculum alignment. First, the enactment of Law Number 22 of 1999 on Regional Governance (Regional Autonomy) initiated a process of decentralization. While this policy aimed to empower local governments, in practice, it created significant administrative burdens. As noted by Hutapea, Husnaini, and Murad (2021), education policy in the era of regional autonomy often forces institutions to focus on managerial compliance and bureaucratic standardization, which can overshadow ideological substance. This dynamic indirectly compelled madrasahs to align themselves rigidly with the standards of general schools to ensure survival and funding.

Second, the passage of Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System legitimized this standardization process. From Tilaar’s (2004) critical perspective, such standardization is not merely a mechanism for quality improvement, but also a means through which the state exercises control over the direction of education in accordance with its national development vision. This reality indicates that post-Reform curriculum reform in madrasahs has unfolded within the logic of state-led development, in which education is viewed primarily as an instrument for achieving economic and political objectives, rather than as a medium for forming the *insan kamil* (the complete human being) as envisioned in Islamic educational ideals. It should be noted, however, that this shift does not occur uniformly across all madrasahs. Variations in institutional capacity,

leadership orientation, and local religious culture produce different degrees of accommodation or resistance toward administrative and competency-based demands.

A curriculum that once emphasized spiritual cultivation and moral character is now increasingly directed toward fulfilling administrative requirements and measurable performance indicators (Asrofi & Adibah, 2025). Consequently, the divine values that constitute the foundation of Islamic education have become progressively marginalized in classroom practice. Teachers and madrasah administrators are often preoccupied with accreditation and certification demands, while moral and spiritual development gradually fades into the background.

This situation has given rise to an identity crisis within Islamic education. Rather than bringing unambiguous progress, modernization has produced tension between the necessity of adapting to globalization and the obligation to preserve core Islamic values. Madrasahs now stand at a crossroads: whether to fully conform to modern educational paradigms or to maintain the originality of Islamic epistemology. Some institutions have chosen a middle path by integrating Islamic values into the national curriculum, while others seek to formulate alternative curriculum models that are more contextual and rooted in the legacy of classical Islamic scholarship. These debates underscore that the transformation of the madrasah curriculum is not merely a technical adjustment, but a fundamental issue that touches upon the ideological and philosophical foundations of Islamic education in Indonesia.

Table 3.
 Policy Framework and Structure of Integrated Madrasah Curriculum

Aspect	Traditional Islamic Education Paradigm	Post-Reform Modernization Paradigm	Philosophical Consequences
Primary Objective	Formation of the <i>insan kamil</i>	Enhancement of economic competencies	Loss of the spiritual essence of Islamic education
Epistemological Foundation	Revelation and <i>tawhid</i> -based values	Rational–instrumental reasoning	Secularization of knowledge
Criteria of Success	Morality and <i>adab</i>	Accreditation and test results	Displacement of values
Role of the Teacher	<i>Murabbi</i> (spiritual mentor)	Academic instructor	Degradation of spiritual function

Source: Analytical synthesis based on curriculum policy documents, interpreted through philosophical analysis of curriculum orientation.

4. The Identity Crisis in the Perspective of the Islamization of Knowledge According to Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas

The phenomenon of curriculum reform in madrasahs, which seeks to integrate religious knowledge with general sciences, has not always proceeded smoothly. This integration project often generates epistemological tensions, particularly between the secular Western paradigm of knowledge and the Islamic paradigm grounded in the value of *tawhid*. In practice, the dominance of general sciences frequently obscures the fundamental orientation of Islamic education. Spiritual values that should serve as the very (spirit) of the educational process are gradually replaced by a pragmatic orientation that emphasizes functional and utilitarian outcomes. This phenomenon reflects clear symptoms of an identity crisis within modern Islamic education.

In this study, the Islamization of Knowledge (IOK) framework proposed by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas is employed as a philosophical lens for interpreting curriculum reform, rather than as an empirical model for measuring policy outcomes. The concept of “identity crisis” discussed in this section therefore functions as an epistemological diagnosis, derived from the misalignment between curriculum orientation and the Islamic worldview, as identified through critical engagement with educational literature and policy analysis.

The identity crisis arising from the unequal 70:30 curriculum composition can be examined through the perspective of the Islamization of Knowledge (IOK) framework proposed by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas. According to al-Attas, the root problem faced by the Muslim ummah does not lie in Western technological advancement itself, but in the philosophical foundations that produce such technology namely, the secularization of knowledge. Contemporary studies reaffirm that Al-Attas’s concept is highly relevant today; as noted by Kamalia (2025), Islamization is not merely about adding religious verses to general science, but fundamentally restructuring the worldview to remove secular elements that separate knowledge from the Divine. General sciences adopted uncritically from Western civilization inevitably carry a secular worldview. This necessitates a critical filter. Resisting Western epistemological hegemony requires more

than adaptation; it demands a reconstruction of science grounded in Revelation to counter the secular dichotomy. As emphasized in the writings of Miftahul Jannah (2022), al-Attas highlights the fundamental distinction between modern Western science, which is imbued with secular assumptions, and the Islamic intellectual tradition, which is firmly rooted in spirituality. The solution proposed by al-Attas is the process of dis-secularization of knowledge, that is, the effort to remove elements of Western civilization that are incompatible with Islamic values.

This distinction is further sharpened by the argument that the Western educational paradigm is inherently *anthropocentric* (centered on human reason and empirical evidence), whereas the Islamic paradigm is theocentric (centered on God as the source of truth) (Nurviana & M. Husnaini, 2025). The solution proposed by al-Attas is the process of *dis-secularization* of knowledge, or the effort to remove these anthropocentric elements that are incompatible with Islamic values before they are taught to students. When madrasahs adopt a curriculum structure in which general sciences occupy a dominant proportion without undergoing epistemological purification, the potential for an identity crisis becomes increasingly pronounced. The ultimate goal of Islamic education the formation of *adab* gradually shifts toward the mere achievement of technical skills and worldly competencies. In the Western epistemological framework, the secularization of knowledge entails separating knowledge from revelation, interpreting nature in purely profane terms, and rejecting absolute values in favor of relativism. This mode of thinking is often unconsciously absorbed into the curriculum of general sciences and stands in direct contradiction to the principle of *tawhid* as the foundation of the Islamic worldview (Abrori & Nurkholis, 2019). It is important to emphasize that al-Attas's critique is not directed at general sciences per se, but at the secular worldview embedded within them when they are transmitted without philosophical reorientation. From this perspective, the problem lies not in the presence of modern sciences in the madrasah curriculum, but in the absence of a guiding Islamic epistemology that situates such knowledge within the framework of *tawhid* and *adab*.

Al-Attas firmly asserts that knowledge which has lost its transcendent dimension is incapable of guiding human beings toward true recognition of God and the proper order of His creation (Huringiin & Azfathir, 2018). Therefore, even though madrasahs may appear successful in producing graduates who excel academically and professionally,

such success must be approached with caution if it is not balanced by the cultivation of *adab* and spiritual consciousness. To bridge this gap, the curriculum must aim to produce *Ulul Albab*, individuals who are not only intellectually capable (*fikr*) but also spiritually connected (*dzikr*) in every scientific endeavor (Husnaini et al., 2020). Without this integration, the identity crisis experienced by madrasahs will persist as a fundamental epistemological problem—namely, the erosion of the Islamic worldview at the very core of the educational curriculum.

Table 4.
 Shifts in Curriculum Orientation of Madrasahs Before and After Reform

Aspect	Secular Western Knowledge Paradigm	Islamic Knowledge Paradigm (al-Attas)	Implications for the Curriculum
Source of Knowledge	Reason and empiricism	Revelation and reason as a divine trust	Must be integrated
Purpose of Knowledge	Control of nature and worldly utility	Knowing God and upholding <i>adab</i>	Focus on <i>ta'dib</i>
Core Values	Relativism, value-neutrality	<i>Tawhid</i> and absolute truth	Knowledge must be dis-secularized
Impact of the 70:30 Curriculum	Dominance of worldly sciences	Reduction of religious sciences	Epistemological identity crisis

Sources: Philosophical synthesis based on Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas's theory of the Islamization of Knowledge (Attas, 1999), interpreted in relation to Indonesian curriculum policy and contemporary Islamic education studies.

D. Conclusion

This study concludes that curriculum integration in Indonesian madrasahs in the post-Reform era constitutes a significant institutional transformation driven by national education policies. The formal recognition of madrasahs within the national education system through Law Number 20 of 2003 and the implementation of KMA Number 183 of 2019 have strengthened their legal and administrative position. However, this integration has simultaneously introduced structural pressures that influence curriculum orientation, particularly through the increasing emphasis on general sciences to meet national standards and competitiveness demands. The frequently cited 70:30 proportion between general and religious subjects should therefore be understood not as a rigid

numerical mandate, but as an analytical abstraction derived from the structural organization of the curriculum. The central issue lies not in the ratio itself, but in the epistemological orientation implied by curriculum structure, which risks positioning religious knowledge as supplementary rather than foundational.

From an epistemological perspective, curriculum integration in madrasahs cannot be reduced to a technical alignment of subjects. Using Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas's framework of the de-secularization (Islamization) of knowledge, this study interprets the current condition of madrasah curriculum integration as an identity dilemma shaped by the tension between Islamic worldview-based education and policy-driven standardization. While integration aims to modernize and enhance institutional relevance, it may reproduce secular logics of knowledge organization if not grounded in an Islamic philosophical foundation. Therefore, this study emphasizes that sustainable curriculum integration in madrasahs requires an epistemological orientation rooted in tawhid and adab, ensuring that the integration of religious and general sciences supports holistic human development rather than leading to epistemological fragmentation.

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