

# Implementation of the Al-Salaf al-ṣāliḥ Curriculum and Santri Religious Attitudes in Pesantren

**Muhammad Hambal Shafwan**

Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya  
[muhammadhambalshafwan@um-surabaya.ac.id](mailto:muhammadhambalshafwan@um-surabaya.ac.id)

**Asrori**

Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya  
[asrori@fai.um-surabaya.ac.id](mailto:asrori@fai.um-surabaya.ac.id)

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## Abstract

Pesantren play a central role in Islamic education in Indonesia by transmitting religious values and shaping students' religious identity through curricula rooted in classical Islamic traditions. One of the dominant models is the Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ curriculum, which emphasizes theological orthodoxy, textual memorization, and moral discipline. However, empirical evidence regarding its effectiveness in shaping students' religiosity in contemporary contexts remains limited. This study investigates the correlation between the implementation of the Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ curriculum and the religious attitudes of students (santri) at Pesantren Tunas Santri Lamongan, Indonesia. Using a quantitative correlational design, data were collected from 120 santri selected through stratified random sampling using standardized instruments measuring curriculum implementation and five dimensions of religiosity. The results indicate high levels of curriculum implementation ( $M = 4.21$ ;  $SD = 0.43$ ) and student religiosity ( $M = 4.08$ ;  $SD = 0.49$ ). Pearson correlation analysis shows a significant positive relationship ( $r = 0.624$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), while regression analysis reveals that curriculum implementation explains 39% of the variance in religious attitudes ( $R^2 = 0.390$ ). These findings suggest that the Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ curriculum contributes substantially to ritualistic and ideological dimensions of religiosity, though its impact on intellectual and experiential dimensions remains limited. The study recommends curriculum enrichment through reflective and contextual approaches to better address the challenges of pluralistic and digital societies.

**Keywords:** *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ*, Curriculum implementation, Religious attitudes, *Santri*, Pesantren education

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, possesses a rich and diverse tradition of Islamic education.<sup>1</sup> Among the educational institutions in this tradition, *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) play a central role as agents in the transmission of Islamic values, morality, and spirituality.<sup>2,3</sup> They also function as institutions for the holistic formation of *santri* (students') character and religious identity.<sup>4,5</sup>

One of the dominant curricular orientations in traditional *pesantren* is the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* Curriculum, which is rooted in the religious understanding and practices of the earliest generations of Muslims—namely, the *ṣaḥābah* (Companions), *tābi'īn* (Followers), and *tābi' al-tābi'īn* (Followers of the Followers).<sup>6</sup> The theological foundation of this curriculum derives from the prophetic hadith: “The best of people are those of my generation...”, and is reinforced by scholars such as Ibn Taymiyyah, who emphasized the importance of adhering to the methodology of the *Salaf* for an authentic understanding of Islam.<sup>7</sup>

This curriculum is implemented through a structured and rigorous engagement with classical Islamic texts, commonly known in the *pesantren* tradition as *kitāb kuning* (the yellow books). These texts serve not only as repositories of doctrinal knowledge but also as pedagogical tools for moral and spiritual formation. Among the core texts widely used are *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* by al-Zarnūjī,<sup>8</sup> which outlines the ethics of seeking knowledge and the virtues of student discipline; *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī,<sup>9</sup> a monumental work that synthesizes jurisprudence (*fiqh*) with Sufism to promote internal purification and ethical refinement; and *Uṣūl al-Thalāthah* by Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb,<sup>10</sup> which reinforces the theological foundation of *tawḥīd* (the oneness of God) as the basis of faith and practice.

<sup>1</sup> S. Makruf, J., & Asrori, “In the Making of Salafi-Based Islamic Schools in Indonesia,” *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 60, no. 1 (2022): 227–64, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.601.227-264>.

<sup>2</sup> A. Asrori, “Model Kurikulum Pesantren Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia: Analisis Anatomi Kurikulum Pondok Pesantren Wali Barokah Kediri,” *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam Al-Thariqah* 9, no. 2 (2024): 272–95, [https://doi.org/10.25299/althariqah.2024.vol9\(2\).19773](https://doi.org/10.25299/althariqah.2024.vol9(2).19773).

<sup>3</sup> H. Azra, “Islamic Education in Indonesia,” in *International Handbooks of Religion and Education*, ed. R. Daun, H., Arjmand, vol 7 (Springer, Cham, 2018), 763–780, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64683-1\\_32](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64683-1_32).

<sup>4</sup> Robert W. Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 13–35, <https://doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824832803.003.0001>.

<sup>5</sup> T. Singkhala, S., Asrori, A., Samaalee, A., Anwar, S., & Tobroni, “Internalization of Rabbani Character at Maahad Darulrahmah Pattani Thailand,” *Ar-Fachruddin: Journal of Islamic Education* 1, no. 1 (2024): 20–32, <https://doi.org/10.7401/cc2wy988>.

<sup>6</sup> Nurul Yaqin, “The Moderate Islamic Construction of the Al-Salaf Al-Ṣāliḥ in Akidah at Tunas Santri Islamic Boarding School, Lamongan,” *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 7, no. 7 (2024): 5803–8, <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v7-i07-133>.

<sup>7</sup> Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmū' Al-Fatāwā*, Vol. 4 (Madīnah: Majma' al-Malik Fahd, 2004), 95–102.

<sup>8</sup> Burhān al-Dīn Al-Zarnūjī, *Ta'lim Al-Muta'allim Ṭarīq Al-Ta'allum* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2005), 20–35.

<sup>9</sup> Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm Al-Dīn*, Jilid 1 (Kairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 45–70.

<sup>10</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Uṣūl Al-Thalāthah* (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1992), 10–25.

The emphasis of this curriculum lies not merely in cognitive mastery of religious sciences, but in the holistic development of the student's character known in Islamic pedagogy as *adab*.<sup>11,12</sup> It aims to cultivate spiritual discipline, ethical integrity, and theological clarity, forming *santri* (students) who are not only knowledgeable in Islamic doctrines but also anchored in piety (*taqwā*) and socially responsible behavior. Through methods such as memorization (*ḥifẓ*), guided commentary (*sharḥ*), and dialogical engagement (*mujālasah*), this curriculum seeks to transmit a lived tradition of Islam rooted in both scholarship and exemplary conduct.

A considerable body of research has examined the role of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in shaping the religious character and identity of Muslim students in Indonesia. Jamhari Makruf and Saifudin Asrori, in their research, identified several key conclusions regarding Salafi-oriented *pesantren* such as As-Sunnah and Al-Muttaqin: (1) The schools maintain a highly textualist approach to interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith, with minimal engagement in contextual analysis or critical examination of *hadith matn* (content) and *isnad* (chain of transmission); (2) Their theology is characterized by a theocentric doctrine of *tawhid*, which leads to a detachment from local religious traditions and frequent labeling of certain practices as *bid'ah* (innovation) or *shirk* (polytheism) when deemed inconsistent with *Salafi* beliefs; (3) The field of Sufism within these *pesantren* remains underdeveloped, with Sufism being narrowly understood as *zuhd* (asceticism or simple living), and lacking exploration of its *irfani* (gnostic) or *falsafi* (philosophical) dimensions. As a result, expressions of faith and worship are predominantly framed within a strict *sharī'ah*-based perspective.<sup>13</sup> Azmil Tayeb<sup>14</sup> and Hefner<sup>15</sup> further demonstrated that *pesantren* education fosters a synthesis between classical Islamic heritage (*turāth*) and modern national contexts, thus contributing to Indonesia's pluralist and civil society frameworks. In a similar vein, studies conducted by Tan<sup>16</sup> and Herbst<sup>17</sup> have emphasized the pivotal role of religious education in fostering democratic citizenship

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<sup>11</sup> T. Hendawi, M., Al Murshidi, G., Asrori, A., Muhammad Fazlurrahman Hadi, Huda, M., & Lovat, "The Development of Islamic Education Curriculum from the Quranic Perspective," *Ar-Fachruddin: Journal of Islamic Education* 1, no. 2 (2024): 93–123, <https://doi.org/10.7401/hms52091>.

<sup>12</sup> H. Anwar, S., Asrori, A., Zarkasyi, A., & Umami, "Educational Values in the Hadiths: An Analysis of the Book Jami' Al-Ulum Wa Al-Hikam by Ibn Rajab Al-Hanbali," *Bunayya: Islamic Education and Teaching Journal* 1, no. 4 (2024): 22–41, <https://journal.zamronedu.co.id/index.php/bunayya/article/view/58>.

<sup>13</sup> Hajam, "Pemahaman Keagamaan Pesantren Salafi: Studi Komparatif Pondok Pesantren As-Sunnah Kalitanjung Dan Al-Muttaqin Gronggong Kab. Cirebon," *Holistik* 15, no. 2 (2016): 265–85, <https://doi.org/10.24235/holistik.v15i2.331>.

<sup>14</sup> Azmil Tayeb, *Islamic Education in Indonesia and Malaysia: Shaping Minds, Saving Souls* (London: Routledge, 2020), 8–10.

<sup>15</sup> Robert W. Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*.

<sup>16</sup> Charlene. Tan, "Reform and Its Discontents: Muslim Religious Schools in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Religions* 7, no. 7 (2016): 86, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel7070086>.

<sup>17</sup> JH. Herbst, "Controversies on Public Religious Pedagogy: Religious Education in Times of Post-Democratic Populism, Global Warming and Economization of Education," *Journal of Religious Education* 68 (2020): 29–41, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40839-020-00094-7>.

and enhancing interreligious tolerance within multicultural societies. In their view, religious education functions not merely as a means of doctrinal transmission, but also as a vehicle for shaping individuals capable of coexisting harmoniously amid diverse beliefs and cultural backgrounds.

In fact, the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* Curriculum, deeply rooted in seminal texts like *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, and *Uṣūl al-Thalāthah*, provides a robust framework for cultivating students' intellectual, ethical, and spiritual faculties through memorization (*ḥifẓ*), dialogical engagement (*muḥālaṣah*), and inner discipline (*riyāḍah naḥsiyyah*). Yet, there remains a notable gap in empirical studies that quantitatively assess the relationship between the implementation of this classical curriculum and the religious attitudes of students in contemporary contexts. Given the increasing pressures of value disruption, digital culture, and religious plurality, it is crucial to understand whether and how such a traditional curriculum continues to shape students' religiosity meaningfully and constructively.<sup>18</sup>

This study seeks to address this gap by analyzing the correlation between the implementation of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* Curriculum and students' religious attitudes at Pesantren Tunas Santri Lamongan. It aims to provide not only theoretical insights but also practical implications for curriculum development that balances fidelity to Islamic tradition with responsiveness to modern societal demands.

This study seeks to address this gap by analyzing the correlation between the implementation of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* Curriculum and students' religious attitudes at Pesantren Tunas Santri Lamongan. Beyond addressing an empirical gap, this study contributes to pesantren curriculum studies by providing evidence-based insights into the effectiveness and adaptability of classical Islamic curricula in contemporary contexts. At the theoretical level, it also contributes to the development of religiosity theory in Islamic education by demonstrating the differentiated influence of curriculum implementation on ritualistic, ideological, intellectual, and experiential dimensions of students' religiosity.

## METHOD

This study adopts a quantitative approach with a correlational design to examine the relationship between the implementation of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum and the religious attitudes of students (*santri*) at Pesantren Tunas Santri Lamongan. A correlational approach is appropriate for measuring the strength and direction of relationships between variables, particularly in Islamic educational settings.<sup>19</sup>

The population of this study includes all students enrolled at Pesantren Tunas Santri Lamongan during the 2024/2025 academic year. Using a stratified random sampling technique, a total of 120 students across three educational levels (elementary,

<sup>18</sup> Moh Miftachul Choiri Litha Kurnia Nurhidayah, "The Influence of Islamic Boarding School Environment And Ta'lim Muta'alim on Morals Towards Teachers: The Role of Self-Awareness," *Abjadiah: International Journal of Education* 9, no. 3 (2024): 609–21, <https://doi.org/10.18860/abj.v9i3.28629>.

<sup>19</sup> W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 7th ed. (Boston: Pearson Education, 2014), 205–2010.

intermediate, and advanced) were selected as respondents. This technique was used to ensure adequate representation of diverse student backgrounds.<sup>20</sup>

The *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* Curriculum Implementation Scale (ASCIS) was developed based on key indicators of the *manhaj salaf*, such as emphasis on Islamic monotheism (*tawhid*), use of classical texts (*turāth*), and the strengthening of ethics and manners.<sup>21,22</sup> This instrument consisted of 20 items measured on a 5-point Likert scale. The Religious Attitude Scale (RAS) was adapted from Glock<sup>23</sup> and Saroglou<sup>24</sup> five dimensions of religiosity: ideological, ritualistic, experiential, intellectual, and consequential. This scale comprised 25 items, also using a 5-point Likert scale.

Both instruments underwent expert validation in the fields of curriculum studies and Islamic psychology, and were pilot-tested on 30 students. Item validity was examined using corrected item–total correlation analysis, with items considered valid if the correlation coefficient exceeded the minimum threshold of 0.30.<sup>25</sup> All items met this criterion and were retained for further analysis. The results showed high internal consistency with Cronbach’s Alpha coefficients of 0.87 for ASCIS and 0.90 for RAS.<sup>26</sup>

The questionnaires were administered directly to selected respondents under researcher supervision to ensure accurate and honest responses. Ethical research practices were observed through informed consent and the confidentiality of respondents’ identities.<sup>27</sup>

Data were analyzed using descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation) to determine the central tendencies of each variable. Further analysis was conducted using Pearson’s product-moment correlation to identify the relationship between curriculum implementation and religious attitudes, followed by simple linear regression analysis to examine the predictive power of the independent variable.<sup>28</sup> All analyses were conducted using SPSS version 26, with a significance level set at  $p < 0.05$ .

<sup>20</sup> C. N. Creswell, J. W., & Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2018), 145–80.

<sup>21</sup> Azra, “Islamic Education in Indonesia.”

<sup>22</sup> Hilman Latief, “Transmission of Salafi Thought in Indonesian Islamic Education,” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 41, no. 1 (2022): 3–27, <https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034221078320>.

<sup>23</sup> Glock & Stark, *Religion and Society Intension*. California: Rand Mc Nally Company (California: Rand Mc Nally Company, 1969).

<sup>24</sup> Vassilis Saroglou, “Believing, Bonding, Behaving, and Belonging: The Big Four Religious Dimensions and Cultural Variation,” *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 42, no. 8 (2011): 1320–1340, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022111412267>.

<sup>25</sup> A. Aldridge, V. K., Dovey, T. M., & Wade, “Assessing Test-Retest Reliability of Psychological Measures: Persistent Methodological Problems,” *European Psychologist* 22, no. 4 (2017): 207–18, <https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000298>.

<sup>26</sup> Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*.

<sup>27</sup> S Stoyanovich, J., Abiteboul, S., Howe, B., Jagadish, H. V., & Schelter, “Responsible Data Management,” *Communications of the ACM* 65, no. 6 (2022): 66–74, <https://doi.org/10.1145/3488717>.

<sup>28</sup> Raihani, “Curriculum Construction in Indonesian Pesantren: A Comparative Study,” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 44, no. 4 (2014): 583–602, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2013.821317>.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Result

This section presents the results of descriptive statistics, Pearson correlation, and linear regression analysis between the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum implementation and the religious attitudes of santri at Pesantren Tunas Santri Lamongan.

**Table 1.** Descriptive Statistics of Curriculum Implementation Subdimensions (n = 120)

No	Curriculum Dimension	Mean	SD	Category
1	<i>Aqidah Salafiyah</i> (Theological orthodoxy)	4.45	0.36	Very High
2	Use of Classical Texts ( <i>Kitab Kuning</i> )	4.38	0.40	Very High
3	<i>Adab</i> and Manners (Behavioral norms)	4.22	0.45	Very High
4	Rejection of <i>Bid'ah</i> (Doctrinal purity)	4.07	0.50	High
5	Contextualization of Scripture	3.69	0.55	Moderate
Overall Implementation Score		4.21	0.43	Very High

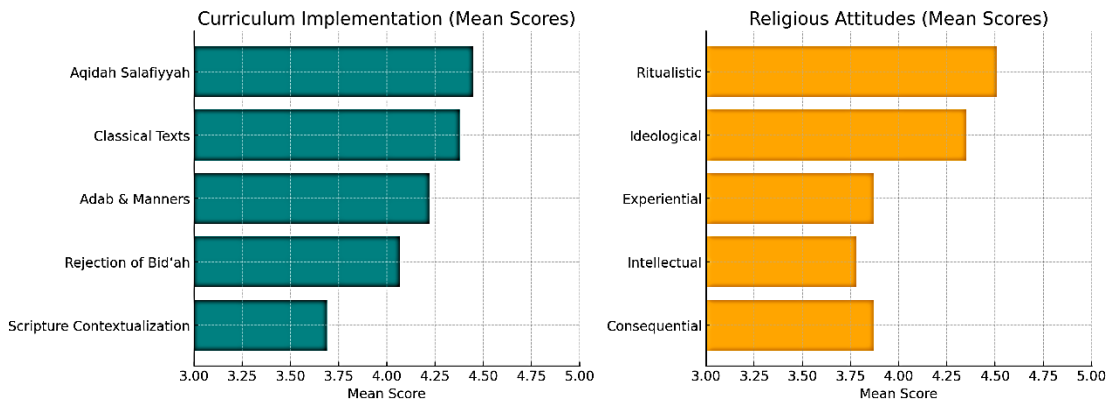
Descriptive statistical analysis revealed that the implementation of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum at Pesantren Tunas Santri Lamongan scored an overall mean of 4.21 (SD = 0.43) on a 5-point Likert scale, indicating a very high level of implementation. The dimensions that received the highest mean scores included the use of classical Islamic texts (*turāth*) and the emphasis on monotheism (*tawhid*), while lower scores were observed in aspects related to critical thinking and contextual interpretation of the Qur'an.

**Table 2.** Descriptive Statistics of Religious Attitude Subdimensions (n = 120)

No	Dimension of Religious Attitudes	Mean	SD	Category
1	Ritualistic (prayer, fasting)	4.51	0.33	Very High
2	Ideological (doctrinal belief)	4.35	0.39	Very High
3	Experiential (spiritual experience)	3.87	0.46	High
4	Intellectual (religious knowledge seeking)	3.78	0.49	Moderate
5	Consequential (moral and social behavior)	3.87	0.42	High
Overall Religious Attitude Score		4.08	0.49	High

In terms of students' religious attitudes, the average score was 4.08 (SD = 0.49), suggesting that most students demonstrated strong religiosity. Among the five dimensions measured, the ritual and ideological dimensions ranked highest, while the intellectual and experiential dimensions received comparatively moderate scores.

**Figure 1.** Mean Scores of Curriculum and Religious Attitude Dimensions



This visual shows the dominant emphasis in the curriculum on aqidah salafiyah, classical texts, and behavioral norms. In contrast, moderate attention is given to contextualization of scripture. On the right, students show strong ritualistic and ideological religiosity, but less in intellectual or experiential dimensions.

**Table 3.** Pearson Correlation between Curriculum Implementation and Religious Attitudes

Variable Pair	r	Sig. (2-tailed)	Interpretation
Curriculum Implementation ↔ Religious Attitudes	0.624	0.000	Strong and Significant Correlation

A Pearson correlation analysis showed a positive and statistically significant relationship between the implementation of the curriculum and students' religious attitudes ( $r = 0.624$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This correlation indicates that higher levels of curriculum implementation were associated with higher religious attitudes among students.

**Table 4.** Simple Linear Regression Summary

Model	R	R <sup>2</sup>	F	Sig.	Interpretation
Curriculum → Attitudes	0.624	0.390	75.61	0.000	39% of the variance in religiosity explained

Further, a simple linear regression analysis demonstrated that the implementation of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum significantly predicted religious attitudes ( $R^2 = 0.39$ ,  $F(1,118) = 75.61$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), suggesting that 39% of the variance in students' religious attitudes could be explained by the quality of curriculum implementation.

## Discussion

The findings of this study demonstrate a strong and statistically significant relationship between the implementation of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum and the



religious attitudes of santri at Pesantren Tunas Santri Lamongan. The very high level of curriculum implementation, particularly in the dimensions of *aqidah salafiyah*, the use of classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*), and the cultivation of *adab*, reflects the core pedagogical tradition of pesantren as institutions devoted to the transmission of orthodox theology and moral discipline.<sup>29</sup> This confirms earlier observations that pesantren education is fundamentally oriented toward preserving doctrinal continuity and ethical formation through authoritative religious instruction.<sup>30</sup>

The dominance of ritualistic and ideological dimensions of religiosity among santri corresponds closely with the curriculum's emphasis on theological orthodoxy and ritual correctness. From the perspective of the multidimensional theory of religiosity, strong institutional religious socialization tends to prioritize belief and ritual dimensions as primary indicators of religiosity.<sup>31</sup> In pesantren, this pattern is reinforced through repetitive worship practices, textual mastery, and the central authority of the *kyai*, which together shape a disciplined and conformist religious habitus.<sup>32</sup>

However, the relatively moderate scores observed in the intellectual and experiential dimensions of religiosity suggest that critical engagement with religious knowledge and reflective spiritual experience receive less emphasis within the curriculum.<sup>33</sup> This finding resonates with critiques from contemporary Islamic education scholars who argue that traditional pesantren curricula often privilege *taqlid* and textual transmission over critical reasoning (*ijtihad*) and contextual interpretation of religious texts.<sup>34</sup> While such an approach is effective in safeguarding doctrinal purity, it may limit the development of analytical religious understanding and personal spiritual depth among santri.<sup>35</sup>

### Contribution to Knowledge

This study offers a significant contribution to the existing literature by providing quantitative empirical evidence of the relationship between the implementation of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum and multidimensional religious attitudes in a pesantren context. Previous studies on Salafi-oriented or traditional pesantren education have

<sup>29</sup> Zamaksyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai*, 10th ed. (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2019), 45–47.

<sup>30</sup> Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 23–26.

<sup>31</sup> R. Glock, C. Y., & Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), 20–25.

<sup>32</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Di Tengah Tantangan Millenium III* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2000), 88–90.

<sup>33</sup> M Hadi, A., Syairozi, I., & Oktapiani, "Revitalizing Pesantren Education to Foster Religious Moderation in Indonesia," *At-Ta'dib* 19, no. 2 (2024): 241–50, <https://doi.org/10.21111/attadib.v19i2.12858>.

<sup>34</sup> Robert W. Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, 67–70.

<sup>35</sup> C. Plummer, K. J., Griffiths, C. P., Ventura, B., Sorensen, S., & Ames, "Enhancing Doctrinal Discernment: Exploring the Use of Decision Models in Faith Education," *Religious Education* 120, no. 3 (2025): 259–276, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344087.2025.2463263>.



largely relied on qualitative, descriptive, or ideological analyses.<sup>36</sup> By contrast, this study demonstrates statistically that curriculum implementation explains 39% of the variance in students' religiosity, thereby offering measurable proof of curricular impact.

Moreover, the novelty of this research lies in its differentiated analysis of religiosity dimensions. Rather than treating religiosity as a monolithic construct, this study reveals that curriculum strength does not translate uniformly across all dimensions of religious attitude. This nuanced finding advances pesantren studies by moving beyond binary assessments of curriculum effectiveness and toward a more precise understanding of how specific curricular emphases shape particular forms of religiosity.

### Relation to Previous Studies

The findings of this study support earlier research indicating that pesantren education is highly effective in cultivating strong ritual observance and ideological commitment among santri.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, the results challenge the implicit assumption—often present in normative Islamic education discourse—that intensive religious curricula automatically foster holistic religious maturity. In contrast to the integrative ideals of Islamic education proposed by scholars such as al-Attas and Langgung,<sup>38</sup> the moderate intellectual and experiential religiosity identified in this study suggests that the realization of comprehensive Islamic educational goals remains partial.

Thus, this study extends previous scholarship by empirically demonstrating that curriculum effectiveness in pesantren is dimension-specific rather than universal. This insight calls for a critical reassessment of curriculum orientation, particularly in responding to contemporary social realities that demand interpretive flexibility, ethical reasoning, and spiritual resilience.<sup>39</sup>

### Implications for Future Pesantren Curriculum Design

The findings of this study carry important implications for the future development of pesantren curricula. While the strengths of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* tradition—especially in *aqidah*, *adab*, and mastery of classical texts—should be preserved, curriculum designers may need to integrate more contextual, dialogical, and reflective pedagogical approaches.<sup>40</sup> Incorporating contextual tafsir, problem-based *fiqh*, and interdisciplinary religious inquiry could enhance intellectual religiosity without undermining theological orthodoxy.

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<sup>36</sup> Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local Development," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 1 (2007): 83–94, <https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201x-2006-045>.

<sup>37</sup> Nur Cholis Majid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren, Sebuah Potret Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), 54–56.

<sup>38</sup> Hasan Langgung, *Asas-Asas Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Husna Baru, 2003), 101–4.

<sup>39</sup> M. Falikul Isbah, "Pesantren in the Changing Indonesian Context: History and Current Developments," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.21043/QIJIS.V8I1.5629>.

<sup>40</sup> Muhaimin, *Paradigma Pendidikan Islam* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2012), 149–51.

In line with modern curriculum development theories that emphasize balance between preservation and transformation,<sup>41</sup> pesantren curricula can evolve toward a more integrative model that nurtures ritual devotion, doctrinal clarity, critical understanding, and lived religious experience.<sup>42</sup> Such a curriculum would better equip santri to engage constructively with pluralistic societies while remaining firmly rooted in Islamic tradition.

## CONCLUSION

This study makes a clear scientific contribution to Islamic education and pesantren curriculum studies by providing quantitative empirical evidence that the implementation of the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum significantly shapes students' religiosity in a structured and differentiated manner. The findings confirm that the curriculum is highly effective in strengthening ritualistic and ideological dimensions of religiosity, reflecting its strong emphasis on theological orthodoxy (*tawḥīd*), classical textual mastery (*turāth*), and moral discipline (*adab*). This demonstrates that the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum functions as a powerful mechanism of religious socialization that reinforces belief conformity and ritual consistency within the pesantren tradition.

At the same time, the study offers an important conceptual insight by revealing that curriculum effectiveness is not uniform across all dimensions of religiosity. The relatively moderate influence on intellectual and experiential dimensions indicates that preservation-oriented curricula do not automatically foster critical religious reasoning or reflective spiritual depth. This finding challenges normative assumptions in Islamic education discourse and advances religiosity theory by showing that different curricular emphases produce different religious outcomes. Consequently, this research reframes the *Al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* curriculum as pedagogically effective yet selectively formative, providing a strong empirical basis for future curriculum refinement that balances doctrinal continuity with intellectual engagement and lived religious experience.

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