

Between holistic integration and the risk of “ayatization”: anatomy of the hidden curriculum in integrated Islamic schools

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Abstract

This study examines the hidden curriculum in the Integrated Islamic School Network (*Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, JSIT) to fill the literature gap related to the practical integration of science and religion. The focus of the analysis is directed at two key elements, namely *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* and the *Halaqah* (Islamic Personal Development) system. Through a qualitative approach and document analysis with the stages of skimming, reading and interpretation combined with Emilio Betti's objective hermeneutics of JSIT's official documents and various empirical literature (2019-2025), this research produced three main findings. First, the JSIT curriculum structure fuses the national curriculum and its peculiarities, making Islamic Religious Education (IRE) a paradigm that frames science and humanities. Second, *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* functions as an Outcome-Based Education (OBE) framework to achieve complete graduate standards. Third, *Halaqah* and the *Mutaba'ah Yaumiyah* instrument are effective as hidden curriculums that objectify spiritual values into empirically measurable behavioral indicators. In conclusion, JSIT succeeded in ending the dualism of education in Indonesia. However, these efforts leave epistemological challenges in the form of the risk of superficial scientific "ayatization," as well as cultural challenges that demand strong synergy with family supervision.

Keywords: halaqah, integrated Islamic school, muwashafat, Outcome-Based Education (OBE), tarbiyah

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji *hidden curriculum* pada Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu (JSIT) untuk mengisi kekosongan literatur terkait integrasi sains dan agama secara praksis. Fokus analisis diarahkan pada dua elemen kunci, yaitu *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* dan sistem Halaqah (Bina Pribadi Islami). Melalui pendekatan kualitatif dan analisis dokumen dengan tahapan *skimming*, *reading* dan *interpretation* dipadu dengan hermeneutika objektif Emilio Betti terhadap dokumen resmi JSIT serta berbagai literatur empiris (2019-2025), penelitian ini menghasilkan tiga temuan utama. Pertama, struktur kurikulum JSIT meleburkan kurikulum nasional dan kekhasan, menjadikan Pendidikan Agama Islam (PAI) sebagai paradigma yang meringkai sains dan humaniora. Kedua, *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* difungsikan sebagai kerangka *Outcome-Based Education* (OBE) untuk mencapai standar lulusan yang utuh. Ketiga, Halaqah dan instrumen *Mutaba'ah Yaumiyah* efektif menjadi *hidden curriculum* yang mengobjektifikasi nilai spiritual menjadi indikator perilaku yang terukur secara empiris. Kesimpulannya, JSIT berhasil mengakhiri dualisme pendidikan di Indonesia. Namun, upaya ini menyisakan tantangan

epistemologis berupa risiko "ayatisasi" sains yang superfisial, serta tantangan kultural yang menuntut sinergi kuat dengan pengawasan keluarga.

Kata kunci: halaqah, muwashafat, Outcome-Based Education (OBE), sekolah Islam terpadu, tarbiyah

1. Introduction

Historically, education in Indonesia has often been colored by dichotomy and even conflicts between the general education system and religion. Religious educational institutions such as pesantren and madrasah are generally perceived to be only oriented on Islamic academics, while schools are believed incapable to provide a solid spiritual basis in their students (Wahdi et al., 2024). This gap became a driving force for the formation of Integrated Islamic Schools (*Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, SIT). SIT is not merely an alternate or supplementary choice for educational institutions, but a reaction to the expectations of the urban Muslim middle class who want a harmonious balance between competitive academic accomplishment and strong religious character (Marwazi & Husnul Abid, 2021).

The Integrated Islamic School Network (*Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu*, JSIT) which is influenced by the teachings of Hasan al-Banna has changed the traditional view of Islamic Religious Education (IRE) (Syafitri, 2022). Islamic Religious Education (IRE) in conventional schools is taught as a subject with restricted hours, while in SIT it is the main paradigm that runs across all subjects (Khoiriyati & Daulai, 2023; Syarifah et al., 2024). The teaching of science, social sciences and humanities is no longer isolated from religious studies and is now framed within the perspective of monotheism. Just as Ibn Rushd's thought on the unity of truth, religion and science should not conflict because they are like sisters (Purnomo et al., 2025). The SIT curriculum combines the requirements of national accreditation standards and JSIT license with eleven principles that emphasize the integration of Islamic values, leadership, and student development (Azizah & Hariadi, 2025). The combination of the national curriculum and the unique JSIT curriculum creates the school's learning ecosystem, which allows Islamic values to be instilled in every academic activity.

The Integrated Islamic Schools have grown very fast, but the academic research related to SIT are still limited and mainly fall into two views. The first study seems to provide a more significant part of socio-political critique by considering SIT as a middle-class exclusive institution (Kasiman et al., 2022; Puspitasari et al., 2020), whereas the second study is more inclined to assess technical issues, such as curriculum management and the full-day school system (Azizah & Hariadi, 2025; Marwazi & Husnul Abid, 2021). Thus, there is still a considerable gap in the research on how the theoretical principles of this movement are converted into an Outcome-Based Education curriculum and how scientific and religious values are concretely integrated in the field.

This article aims to fill this gap by examining the hidden curriculum of JSIT. The main focus of the discussion was directed to two key elements that are the spirit of SIT education namely *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* (ten indicators of the ideal Muslim personality according to Hasan al-Banna, which serve as standards for student's character and cognitive competencies) and the *Halaqah* system or Islamic Personal Development (*Bina Pribadi Islami*, BPI) (Harisnur & Suriana, 2021). *The Halaqah* system is a place for intensive and measurable character building to cover the deficiencies of standard classroom learning methods (Fauzan, 2020; Irawan et al., 2023; Muthmainnah, 2023; Rizki Febrian & Yozi, 2023). From this research, this article contends that the appeal and success of SIT is not based on the grandeur of its architectural installations but on its capacity to provide an

educational model that combines academic brilliance and religion in an organized and cultural manner.

2. Research Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with an analytical document design. This study presents written documents and empirical literature as objects of discourse, which are analyzed structurally and philosophically through three stages of skimming, reading and interpretation, using two methods, namely Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis (Bowen, 2009) unlike traditional literature reviews which are descriptive in nature. In particular, this study employs Emilio Betti's framework of the Objective Hermeneutics (Betti, 2015a, 2015b) at the level of interpretation. The purpose of this research is to reveal the anatomy of the hidden curriculum and the epistemology of the Islamic Religious Education (IRE) in the Integrated Islamic School Network (JSIT).

The primary data of this study are the official and normative documents issued by JSIT centre, namely the Book of Quality Standards for the Characteristics of Integrated Islamic Schools (JSIT Indonesia, 2023b), *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* guide (JSIT Indonesia, n.d.-a), and guidelines for the implementation of Islamic Personal Development (BPI) or *Halaqah* (JSIT Indonesia, n.d.-b). Secondary data were taken from curated academic literature such as reputable journal articles, theses, and dissertations published between 2019 and 2025 that contain empirical reports on the implementation, social engineering, and evaluation of the SIT curriculum in several regions of Indonesia (e.g., case studies from SMPIT Al-Uswah (Syarifah et al., 2024), SDIT Al-Qalam (Muthmainnah, 2023), and SMAIT Granada (Fauzan, 2020).

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Results

Based on the review of official documents of the Quality Standards of Integrated Islamic Schools (JSIT Indonesia, 2023b) and various empirical literature on curriculum implementation in various institutions under the auspices of the Integrated Islamic Schools Network (JSIT), the data findings in this study are grouped into three main aspects, namely (1) curriculum integration structure, (2) *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* as an outcome standard, and (3) *Halaqah* as a method of praxis and affective evaluation.

3.1.1. Curriculum Integration Structure in the Integrated Islamic Schools

Data from curriculum documents shows that SIT does not use a substitute system, but an integration system between the National Curriculum (Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and/or Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education of the Republic of Indonesia Content Standards) and the JSIT Curriculum (JSIT Indonesia, 2023b). The integration places Islamic Religious Education (IRE) not only as a stand-alone subject, but also as a basic paradigm that frames broader disciplines (science, humanities and skills) (JSIT Indonesia, 2023a).

Field data from several implementation reports (e.g., at SMPIT Al-Uswah and SMAIT Granada) suggest that the elaboration of Learning Objectives (LO) in general topics needs to be infused with Islamic principles (Fauzan, 2020; Syarifah et al., 2024). For example, in the Natural Sciences (Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam, IPA) subject, the formulation of learning outcomes is required administratively to connect empirical material with texts from the

Qur'an and Hadith to encourage student's higher-order thinking skills in seeing the connection between natural phenomena and theological dimensions. This structure is supported by the full-day school system which increases the time the student is in contact with the school environment, from morning to afternoon.

3.1.2. Muwashafat Tarbiyah as a Graduate Competency Standard

The main conclusion of the JSIT paper is the presentation of *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* as the Graduate Competency Standard (Standar Kompetensi Lulusan, SKL) is binding for all level of SIT education. The JSIT quality standard document does not distinguish between cognitive and emotive successes, but summarizes them in ten ideal character profiles, which are to be the final results of the entire learning process.

The ten *Muwashafat* in detail include:

1. *Salīm al-'aḳīdah* (pure/straight faith)
2. *Shahīh al-'ibādah* (correct worship according to the Sunnah)
3. *Matīn al-khulūq* (strong character)
4. *Qawiyy al-jism* (strong and healthy physique)
5. *Mutsaqqaf al-fikr* (broad intellectual insight)
6. *Mujāhidun linafsih* (ability to strive and resist desires)
7. *Harīshun 'ala waḳtihi* (disciplined and able to manage time)
8. *Munāzhamun fi syu'ūnih* (organized in self-management)
9. *Qadīrun 'ala al-kasbi* (financially independent/entrepreneurial)
10. *Nāfi'un lighairihi* (beneficial to others/social environment)

These ten indicators are the learning outcomes of graduates that should be translated into the syllabus and Lesson Plan or Teaching Module of each subject in an operational manner.

3.1.3. Halaqah (Islamic Personal Development) and Mutaba'ah Instruments

In order to materialize and measure the realization of the ten Muwashafat above, the data of the JSIT curriculum forms a core program or core curriculum that is mandatory, namely Bina Pribadi Islami (BPI, Islamic Personal Development) or what is culturally known as *Halaqah* (mentoring). Based on the data obtained from several schools, the *Halaqah* is held with a small group structure. Each group comprises of 5 to 10 pupils (*mutarabbi*) with one mentor teacher (*murabbi*). This exercise is normally scheduled at a minimum of once per week for a period of 90 to 120 minutes, both included in intracurricular and extracurricular hours.

The basic instrument of this *Halaqah* process is a *Mutaba'ah Yaumiyah* book (daily activity evaluation sheet). The data from the *Mutaba'ah* documents indicate the availability of a highly measurable rubric for the assessment of the affective and psychomotor domains of students. Daily reviewed components are:

1. Discipline of performing obligatory prayers in congregation (*salah jamaah*).
2. The quantity and quality of recitation and *murajaah* (memorization) of the Qur'an.
3. Implementation of *sunnah* worship (dhuha prayer, tahajud, sunnah fasting).
4. Daily manners (helping the elderly, reading the dhikr in the morning and evening "Al-Ma'tsurat", and social interaction).

Data of this monitoring sheet is used by the accompanying *murabbi* not only as a part of BPI report card but also as material for dialog and personal counseling in weekly *Halaqah* meetings. Interestingly teachers at IT schools also usually have their own *Halaqah* where they function as *Mutarabbi*.

3.2. Discussion

3.2.1. JSIT and Social Transformation that Ends Educational Dualism

The emergence of Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT) under the auspices of the Integrated Islamic School Network (Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu, JSIT) is not only a trend in the commercialization of private education but also a sociological engineering and epistemological contestation on the horizon of Islamic education in Indonesia. So far, education in Indonesia has been trapped in the dualism between secular general education under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture and religious education under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Marwazi & Husnul Abid, 2021). SIT's merging of the curriculum tries to transcend this contradiction. Islamic Religious Education (IRE) is reconstructed from a moral supplement to an ontological foundation (worldview) that integrates religious knowledge and science in a total theocentric paradigm (Khoiriyati & Daulai, 2023).

Sociologically, this transition is driven by the increased economic mobility of the urban Muslim middle class and their strengthening religiosity. This group is worried about the moral degradation of public places, yet they want mastery of science and technology (Higher Order Thinking Skills/HOTS) for the future of their children. SIT responds to this demand by providing a mixed educational space that challenges the perception of the backwardness of Islamic institutions. SIT is ontologically distinct, it is a school but with the title "Islam" and the learning length is all day long, like a combination of morning school hours and afternoon madrasah or Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an (Qur'an Education). It is through the full-day school system that JSIT extends the moral control of the school to all daily activities of students to mitigate the risk of promiscuity, without sacrificing the completeness of the national curriculum (Bustomi et al., 2025).

In relation to Emilio Betti's Objective Hermeneutics, the macro success of JSIT resides in its capability to objectify the doctrinal values of the da'wah movement (Tarbiyah) (Betti, 2015a, 2015b). Initially abstract and internal values were converted into reasonable, legal and acceptable public education instruments. The idea of the formation of *syakhshiyah islamiyah* (Islamic personality) is transformed into a concrete form in the form of the framework of a distinctive curriculum, teaching modules, and independent quality assurance system.

The synergy between national accreditation and the internal licensing system reveals JSIT's skill in adjusting as they adhere to national legal criteria while retaining ideological and religious autonomy in the classroom (Azizah & Hariadi, 2025). However, such curriculum integration does not address epistemological difficulties, as is typically the case in attempts of unification of religious and general sciences. The practice of connecting science content with revelation texts, such as putting Surah Al-Hadid into the material on iron elements, often falls into the trap of "ayatization" or superficial Islamization of science (Qiso et al., 2025). This approach is inclined to put religious text justifications to empirical science rather than construct an ontologically and axiomatically integrated scientific process. Therefore, the problem is not only the unification of two curricula into one timetable but also the formulation of an epistemologically coherent integration model to build a complete scientific paradigm that might erode the secular reasoning of pupils

(Dardiri & Su'aidi, 2024). Matching verses at random is a pseudo-science that does not follow the scientific method and confirmation bias.

3.2.2. Muwashafat Tarbiyah as the Basis of Outcome-Based Education (OBE)

For instance, the ten Muwashafat Tarbiyah are practices in integrated Islamic schools that are ideologically and practically relevant to the concepts of Hasan al-Banna (Syafitri, 2022). Ikhwanul Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood Movement), Egypt (1928) founded by Hasan al-Banna. Indonesia began to receive his ideas from the 1930s onwards through pilgrims, Indonesian students who studied in the Middle East or Arab immigration.

The preparation of Graduate Competency Standards (Standar Kompetensi Lulusan, SKL) in Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT) which have been standardized into ten Muwashafat Tarbiyah, brings about a major shift in the IRE curricular paradigm. If the national curriculum is often locked in cognitive-pragmatic reductionism that emphasizes material completeness, then JSIT deconstructs it into a unique Outcome-Based Education (OBE) pattern based on Islamic tradition (Ihsanudin et al., 2026). The ten character profiles are not merely additional memorization but rather the ultimate learning outcomes that embody, define, and regulate the entire instructional design, learning objectives and evaluations in schools (Saputra et al., 2025). The breakthrough of moving learning from content orientation to competency orientation cannot be said to be straightforward in the middle of the tendency of teachers to only transfer textbook content.

Sociologically, the translation of Muwashafat Tarbiyah into Learning Outcomes is an attempt to hack the dichotomous and secular taxonomy of Western education. SIT does not accept the rigorous division between the cognitive, emotional and psychomotor domains. For example, the profile of *mutsaqqaf al-fikr* (broad intellectual insight) is built up always connected to *salim al-'aqidah* (pure/straight faith). Integrated holistic learning design and student's religious character have a favorable and significant association (Dianti et al., 2025). This integration alters the orientation of Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS). Critical thinking (C4-C6) is not left value-free, but constructed into cognitive instruments to reveal the divine majesty behind the phenomena of science and mathematics. The fundamental difficulty of these techniques is that they require teachers to be competent in multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary fields.

From the point of view of Emilio Betti's Objective Hermeneutics, this integration of the curriculum implies an objectification of the normative meaning of the texts of revelation into reasonable and observable instructional activities (Betti, 2015a, 2015b). Traditional spiritual ideas such as *mujahadatun nafs* are turned into scientific behavioral indicators for teachers. *Muwashafat* gives a framework for the compilation of Teaching Module. The aim is to make sure that pupils are not only academically capable but also have moral immunity and ecological awareness as manifestations of human stewardship (Saputra et al., 2025).

However, the institutionalization of *Muwashafat* as a formal OBE standard places teachers in the position of rigid academic methodology. For teachers who lack sufficient knowledge of the multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary fields, they are at risk of reducing religious reasoning to a simple form where the critical-reflective abilities of students in studying science are often quickly concluded with dogmatic conclusions which again stifles critical reasoning. Integrative learning should not be restricted to "ayatization" or the justification of religious texts over scientific theories; it should be required to motivate students to construct an independent scientific epistemology. The formulation of *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* without in-depth understanding is considered to just

promote superficial piety instead of building a critical, integrative, and robust Muslim intellect that is able to face the challenges of the 21st century. Injecting religion into science, which subsequently breeds pseudoscience, is actually just as harmful as an anti-science attitude. Both damage critical reasoning.

3.2.3. Halaqah and Islamic Personal Development (Bina Pribadi Islami, BPI) as Strengthening the Affective Domain Through Hidden Curriculum and Objectification of Mutaba'ah Evaluation

The most strategic practical area of the institutionalization of holistic-integrative Islamic Religious Education (IRE) in Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT) is found through the Islamic Personal Development (*Bina Pribadi Islami*, BPI) program in the form of *Halaqah* (mentoring). The correlation between the two is rather substantial and significant (Dianti et al., 2025). In the traditional curriculum, the teaching of spiritual values becomes often an adjunct to the classical classes. On the contrary, empirical data indicates that *Halaqah* is a core-hidden curriculum that addresses these inadequacies (Irawan et al., 2023; Rizki Febrian & Yozi, 2023). One *murabbi* (mentor) is brought together with 5-10 *mutarabbi* (pupils) to reform traditional education into a pleasant, dialogical shared space. The concern is no longer the transfer of knowledge, but the transmission of spiritual ideals in building the moral immunity of the mutarabbi (Ilmah et al., 2022).

Halaqah is the realization of the concept of *Usrah* (meaning "family" in its literal sense) introduced by the educational philosophy of Hasan al-Banna. The idea suggests that the bases of Islamic education must be based on a strong sense of brotherhood (*ukhuwah*), and intimacy and concern for each other, even to the extent of being willing to suffer. The *usrah* has 3 pillars: First, unity is assured through mutual understanding/knowing each other deeply (*ta'aruf*). Secondly, members have to understand each other and help each other (*tafahum*) by counsel. Third, members are required to aid each other and support (*takaful*) (Syafitri, 2022).

The *Halaqah* system and *Mutaba'ah Yaumiyah* instrument (daily activity monitoring book) are processes of objectifying the concept of asceticism (*zuhud*) like *muhasabah* and *riyadhah* into measurable modern management based on Emilio Betti's Objective Hermeneutics (Betti, 2015a; Muthmainnah, 2023). JSIT transformed the abstract aim of emotive character into checklist-based empirical behavior indicators in a successful operation. Worship routines (congregational prayers, Dhuha, Tahajjud, recitation) and social etiquette are quantitatively recorded (Hanifah et al., 2023). Using this actual data, the spiritual growth of children is no longer calculated or generalized using an all-in-one examination. Then the mentor interprets the results in weekly dialog sessions for personal counseling. The examination of IRE actually hits on the religious psychomotor aspects of the pupils in a true way.

Although structured, a critical review revealed obstacles to implementation in the field. The main problem is the clash of BPI's time allocation with the dense national curriculum target (Fauzan, 2020). This overlapping schedule contributes to fatigue among pupils (*mutarabbi*) and teachers who also play the role of *murabbi*. Moreover, the success of *Halaqah* significantly depends on the honesty and exemplary attitude of the guiding teacher (Bustomi et al., 2025). If the *murabbi* does not represent the values of *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* in the school, the internalization among the kids will be hard. This makes the

filling of the *Mutaba'ah* book susceptible to simplification where students just tick boxes, to meet administrative duties.

Moreover, the curriculum sociology shows that the effectiveness of the hidden curriculum depends on the integrity of the educational environment, which consists of schools, teachers, and families (Dardiri & Su'aidi, 2024). But in practice, home supervision is often hit or miss. The verification of the *Mutaba'ah* book is neglected due to the hectic lives of metropolitan middle-class parents. The disintegration of the synergy between school principles and home upbringing causes ambivalence in the character of the students. Islamic ideals appear to have become a mere "school culture" that disappears when the kids encounter the diverse and secular outside society. Hence, the conceptual challenge for SIT going forward is to extend the involvement of this *Halaqah* system to not only bind kids in a full-day school but also to be able to organically interfere in the collective consciousness of the home environment. The basic meaning of the term integrated in the SIT is the involvement of parents in the execution of the school curriculums.

4. Conclusion

The existence of Integrated Islamic Schools (SIT) under the auspices of the Integrated Islamic Schools Network (JSIT) has successfully established a new balance in the map of Islamic education in Indonesia. This institution is not an alternative but a social engineering that purposefully deconstructs the dualism of education. The success of JSIT is in its ability to reconstruct Islamic Religious Education (IRE) from a fragmentary topic into a holistic-integrative paradigm (worldview) that sets the tone for the entire pedagogical process.

Epistemologically and operationally, this concept of integration is based on two primary instruments. First, *Muwashafat Tarbiyah* as the paradigm of Outcome Based Education (OBE). These ten profiles are successful in promoting the learning of science and humanities beyond simple cognitive mastery (HOTS) to theological awareness and affective realm. Second, the practice of halaqah supported by *Mutaba'ah Yaumiyah* instrument. The system of mentoring in small groups works well as a hidden curriculum that objectifies spiritual ideals into quantitative behavioral indicators, thus liberating student character evaluation from speculative bias.

However, this study adds a critical note that the holistic-integrative IRE paradigm at SIT still faces philosophical and cultural problems. Philosophically, the integration of science and revelation is still vulnerable to being trapped in reductionism of "ayatization" on the surface, so it requires methodological deepening in order to reach a level of ontological integration so as not to produce pseudo-science. Culturally, the effectiveness of *Halaqah* is prone to triggering character ambivalence if it is not balanced by the supervision and intervention of values that are aligned with the urban middle-class family ecosystem.

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