

## ***POLITICAL DIALECTIC AND ISLAMIC EDUCATION POLICY: A STUDY ON THE DYNAMICS OF REGULATION AND AUTONOMY OF ISLAMIC UNIVERSITIES IN INDONESIA***

Zeni Murtafiati Mizani<sup>1\*</sup>, Sabarudin<sup>2</sup>, Ahmad Arifi<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup>Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v11i1.13132>

\*Corresponding Author: [zenimurtafiati@gmail.com](mailto:zenimurtafiati@gmail.com)

Received: Jan 12, 2026

Revised: May 3, 2026

Approved: June 2, 2026

### **Abstract**

The transformation of Islamic Religious Higher Education Institutions (PTKI) in Indonesia highlights ongoing tensions between state regulation and academic autonomy at both PTKIN and PTKIS. This study analyzes how state regulations influence PTKI/PTKIS autonomy, explores the politics of knowledge in scientific integration, identifies autonomy imbalances, and proposes a dialectical framework for educational governance. Using a qualitative case study approach, the research examines policy documents and institutional practices through the perspectives of Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, and Jürgen Habermas. Key findings include: (1) state regulation systematically shapes and restricts PTKI/PTKIS autonomy, particularly in curriculum and academic standards; (2) scientific integration emerges from negotiations between policy and institutional response; (3) autonomy imbalances exist between PTKIN and PTKIS, especially regarding resources and governance; and (4) the interplay of politics, regulation, and autonomy forms a dynamic dialectic, positioning autonomy as negotiated rather than absolute. This study's novelty lies in its integrated analysis of regulation, institutional practice, and epistemic construction, and its proposal for a deliberative, collaborative governance model to promote more equitable and adaptive Islamic higher education.

### **Abstract**

Transformasi Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam (PTKI) di Indonesia menunjukkan ketegangan antara regulasi negara dan otonomi akademik, baik pada PTKIN maupun PTKIS. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dinamika regulasi negara terhadap otonomi PTKI/PTKIS, mengkaji politik pengetahuan dalam integrasi keilmuan, mengungkap ketimpangan otonomi, serta merumuskan pola dialektika sebagai dasar pengembangan tata kelola pendidikan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus melalui analisis dokumen kebijakan dan praktik kelembagaan, dengan kerangka analisis Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, dan Jürgen Habermas. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan: pertama, regulasi negara secara sistemik membentuk sekaligus membatasi otonomi PTKI/PTKIS, termasuk dalam kurikulum dan standar akademik; kedua, integrasi keilmuan berkembang sebagai hasil negosiasi antara kebijakan dan respons institusi; ketiga, terdapat ketimpangan otonomi antara PTKIN dan PTKIS, terutama dalam sumber daya dan tata kelola; keempat, relasi politik, regulasi, dan otonomi membentuk dialektika dinamis yang menempatkan otonomi sebagai hasil negosiasi, bukan kebebasan absolut. Kebaruan penelitian ini terletak pada integrasi analisis regulasi, praktik kelembagaan, dan konstruksi epistemik secara simultan, serta tawaran model tata kelola kolaboratif berbasis deliberatif untuk memperkuat pendidikan tinggi Islam yang lebih adil dan adaptif.

**Keywords:** Islamic Education Policy; Higher Education Policy; PTKIN; PTKIS; Integration of Knowledge



## INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, Islamic universities in Indonesia have undergone major expansion and transformation, both in terms of the number of institutions and the forms of institutions, as well as in their scientific orientation. PTKIN and PTKIS have developed rapidly across regions while responding to the demands of globalization, state regulations, and the aspirations of Muslims.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon not only reflects the expansion of access to Islamic higher education but also shows the increasingly strong state intervention in shaping the structure and orientation of Islamic education through regulatory policies and quality standardization.<sup>2</sup> In this context, Islamic higher education is a strategic arena for the historical interplay among national political dynamics, the needs of the Muslim community, and the direction of state education policy. Since the beginning of independence, the government has recognized that Islamic higher education plays a strategic role in shaping Muslim intellectuals who serve as guardians of values, social movers, and actors in nation-building. Therefore, the state places Islamic higher education within the political framework of national education, which aims to reorganize the scientific system, strengthen institutional legitimacy, and consolidate a moderate religious character amid social diversity.

The transformation of institutions such as PTAIN, IAIN, and STAIN into State Islamic Universities (UINs) reflects the direction of state policy<sup>3</sup> which is not only oriented towards strengthening the administration of education but also towards the repositioning of Islamic politics within the state structure.<sup>4</sup> Research shows that this transformation is an important momentum in the modernization of Islamic education, because, through these policies, the state encourages the integration of religious and general sciences into a single epistemic framework that is equal, dialogical, and contextual.<sup>5</sup> However, this process does not proceed in a linear manner; it is influenced by national political dynamics, the need for modernization, and global pressure on the quality of higher education.<sup>6</sup> Religious authorities in Indonesia not only function in the normative realm, but also play an active role in shaping political discourse through the production of fatwas that influence the legitimacy of public policy.<sup>7</sup> Thus, Islamic education policy cannot be understood solely as an administrative policy, but as part of the power configuration that shapes the direction of the development of Islamic educational institutions.

The dichotomy between religious and general knowledge is a historical construct that continues to be negotiated in the modern Islamic education system. This finding is relevant to the

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Amin Abdullah, "Islamic Studies in Higher Education in Indonesia: Challenges, Impact and Prospects for the World Community," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55, no. 2 (2017): 391–426, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.552.391-426>.

<sup>2</sup> H. Aliyah dan dkk, *Implementation of Islamic Higher Education Development Management in Indonesia.*, (<https://doi.org/10.31851/jmksp.v8i1.10952>), 2023, <https://jurnal.univpgri-palembang.ac.id/index.php/JMKSP/article/view/10952>.

<sup>3</sup> Saddam Husain dan Andi Eki Dwi Wahyuni, "Kebijakan Pendidikan pada Perguruan Tinggi Islam: Transformasi STAIN dan Iain Menjadi Uin," *Jurnal Pendidikan Kreatif* 4, no. 1 (2023): 15–30, <https://doi.org/10.24252/jpk.v4i1.39074>.

<sup>4</sup> Hayadin Hayadin dkk., "Contemporary Changes in Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia: Dynamic Encounter Between Modernisation and Tradition," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 20, no. 1 (2025): 189–200, <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol20no1.14>.

<sup>5</sup> Amiruddin Amiruddin, "Dinamika Lembaga Pendidikan Tinggi Islam di Indonesia," *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 41, no. 1 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v41i1.314>.

<sup>6</sup> N. Arifin, *Higher Education Policy Analysis: the Transformation of LAIN to UIN for the Period 2002-2017 in the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia*, 2021, <https://ojs.pps-ibrahimy.ac.id/index.php/jpii/article/view/288>.

<sup>7</sup> K. A. Bukhori dkk., "Religious Authority and Political Dynamics: The Influence of Fatwa Issuance by Religious Institutions on Political Discourses in Indonesia," *Muslim Heritage* 10, no. 2 (2025): 251–66, <https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v10i2.11784>.

policy of scientific integration in Indonesian Islamic universities.<sup>8</sup> This finding strengthens the argument that the integration of knowledge in Islamic higher education is not merely an academic project, but also part of the power dynamics that determine the legitimacy of knowledge. The policy of scientific integration applied to PTKIN, such as through the "spider web" model at UIN Sunan Kalijaga or the paradigm of the "tree of knowledge" at UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, is not only an academic innovation, but also a policy strategy to eliminate the dichotomy of science.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, it emphasizes that Islamic universities can be a center for the development of competitive knowledge in the national and international realms.<sup>10</sup> In this context, the politics of Islamic education becomes an arena for negotiation between academic needs and the ideological interests of the state; on the one hand, the state needs professional, modern, and moderate Islamic institutions, while on the other hand, Muslims need institutional space to develop the Islamic scientific tradition autonomously.

Outside of PTKIN, the growth of Private Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIS) is also a significant factor, indicating that the Islamic community is actively building higher education institutions to meet local needs and their respective religious visions. However, because the number is growing rapidly, the state needs to ensure that the academic process continues to meet national quality standards, so Kopertais was formed as an instrument for supervision, control, coaching, and empowerment of PTKIS.<sup>11</sup> Cooperative functions to bridge the interests of the state and community autonomy, so that PTKIS not only carries out socio-religious functions but also meets accreditation standards, governance requirements, and lecturer quality standards in accordance with national regulations.<sup>12</sup> This interaction confirms that Islamic education policy is not only a product of technical regulation, but also part of the power configuration between the state and Muslim society. Some studies show that Islamic higher education has a political role as a "legitimacy space" of the state in building an image as a protector of the interests of Muslims, while for the Muslim community, higher education is a means of strengthening intellectual identity, social networks, and religious capacities that are relevant to the times.<sup>13</sup>

From an empirical perspective, the intensification of regulations in recent years such as the tightening of accreditation by BAN-PT and LAM, the digitalization of governance, and the Freedom of Learning policy, has had a direct impact on the academic autonomy of Islamic universities.<sup>14</sup> Islamic education is seen as important to move from a normative model to a critical and reflective transformative approach, so that it can respond to social and political changes

- 
- <sup>8</sup> Ahmad Natsir dkk., "Between Islamic and Western Education: The Educational Dichotomy in 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nahḷāwī's Thought," *Muslim Heritage* 10, no. 2 (2025): 225–50, <https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v10i2.11704>.
- <sup>9</sup> Husniyatus Salamah Zainiyati, "Landasan Fondasional Integrasi Keilmuan di UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang dan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya | *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*," diakses 14 April 2026, <https://islamica.uinsa.ac.id/index.php/islamica/article/view/262>.
- <sup>10</sup> Hikmah Akmelia Kosa dan Irawan Irawan, "Integrasi Ilmu Dan Agama Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga," *Educompassion: Jurnal Integrasi Pendidikan Islam Dan Global* 2, no. 1 (2025): 143–50, <https://doi.org/10.63142/educompassion.v2i1.148>.
- <sup>11</sup> Muhammad Zaki dkk., "Implementasi Manajemen Kualitas Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta Dalam Perspektif," *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Syar-i* 9, no. 5 (2022): 1699–708, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sjsbs.v9i5.28066>.
- <sup>12</sup> Saddam Husain dan Andi Eki Dwi Wahyuni, "KEBIJAKAN PENDIDIKAN PADA PERGURUAN TINGGI ISLAM: TRANSFORMASI STAIN DAN IAIN MENJADI UIN," *Jurnal Pendidikan Kreatif* 4, no. 1 (2023): 15–30, <https://doi.org/10.24252/jpk.v4i1.39074>.
- <sup>13</sup> Sumarto, "PERKEMBANGAN POLITIK DAN KEBIJAKAN PENDIDIKAN ISLAM DI INDONESIA," *Thaqafiyat: Jurnal Bahasa, Peradaban Dan Informasi Islam* 18, no. 1 (2017): 107–27.
- <sup>14</sup> Eko Purwanti, "Preparing the Implementation of Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka Policy in Higher Education Institutions," 21 Januari 2021, 384–91, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210120.149>.

adaptively.<sup>15</sup> On the one hand, this policy encourages quality improvement and accountability; on the other hand, it increases administrative pressure,<sup>16</sup> especially for PTKIS, which has limited resources. Field findings show that some PTKIS have difficulty in meeting complex regulatory standards, so their autonomy tends to be administrative, not substantive.

From the perspective of national development, the existence of PTKIN and PTKIS has given birth to Muslim human resources who play an important role in education, government, sharia economics, and other social spheres. However, challenges remain, including equitable distribution of quality, lecturer professionalization, curriculum relevance, and the digitalization of governance. Therefore, today's Islamic education policy demands synergy among academic modernization, accountable governance, and the strengthening of inclusive Islamic values. In this context, Indonesian Islamic universities are at a strategic crossroads between tradition and modernity, between state politics and societal aspirations, and between local needs and global demands.<sup>17</sup> This introduction emphasizes that the study of the politics and policies of Islamic education in higher education is not only important for understanding institutional dynamics but also essential for understanding how the state, society, and science shape the future direction of Islamic education in a more comprehensive and sustainable manner. .

The problems studied in this article are not merely conceptual; they are rooted in empirical phenomena. In recent years, the change in the institutional status of a number of IAINs to UIN, the tightening of accreditation through BAN-PT and LAM, and the strengthening of the role of Kopertais in the development of PTKIS show that there is an intensification of state regulations that have a direct impact on academic governance and autonomy.<sup>18</sup> On the one hand, the policy encourages quality standardization and scientific integration; on the other hand, it creates capacity inequality between PTKIN and PTKIS, especially in access to resources, curriculum flexibility, and academic innovation space.<sup>19</sup> Field data and institutional reports also show that some PTKIS still face limitations in responding to increasingly complex regulatory demands, so their autonomy tends to be administrative rather than substantive.<sup>20</sup>

A number of previous studies have examined the relationship between the state and Islamic education, both from the perspective of policy and scientific integration. However, most still place the state as a normatively dominant actor, or highlight scientific integration as an epistemological project without linking it closely to concrete configurations of power and regulatory practices. This research takes a different position by integrating the analysis of regulatory politics, institutional practices, and empirical experience of PTKI/PTKIS simultaneously, thus not only explaining the "what" the policy is, but also the "how" the policy is negotiated, implemented, and has an impact on academic autonomy.

<sup>15</sup> Ahmad Nawawi Ahmad Nawawi dkk., "REKONSTRUKSI ANDRAGOGI PENDIDIKAN ISLAM MELALUI PEMBELAJARAN TRANSFORMATIF MEZIROW," *Muslim Heritage* 9, no. 1 (2024): 19–43, <https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v9i1.7994>.

<sup>16</sup> Nelson Duarte dan Ricardo Vardasca, "Literature Review of Accreditation Systems in Higher Education," *Education Sciences* 13, no. 6 (2023): 582, <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci13060582>.

<sup>17</sup> Miswan Gumanti dkk., "Development of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia," *JMKSP (Jurnal Manajemen, Kepemimpinan, Dan Supervisi Pendidikan)* 8, no. 1 (2023): 237–52, <https://doi.org/10.31851/jmksp.v8i1.11079>.

<sup>18</sup> Aliyah dan dkk, *Implementation of Islamic Higher Education Development Management in Indonesia*.

<sup>19</sup> *Visi dan Misi – Badan Akreditasi Nasional Perguruan Tinggi*, t.t., diakses 27 April 2026, <https://www.banpt.or.id/visi-dan-misi/>.

<sup>20</sup> Khalilah Khalilah, "Readiness and Challenges of Indonesian Health Higher Education Independent Accreditation Institutions," *Al-Tanzim: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 2 (2023): 451–62, <https://doi.org/10.33650/al-tanzim.v7i2.5013>.

Based on these gaps, this study aims to: (1) analyze the dynamics of state regulations forming and limiting the autonomy of PTKI and PTKIS; (2) examine the politics of knowledge in the development of the paradigm of scientific integration in Islamic universities; (3) to expose the imbalance of autonomy between PTKIN and PTKIS in the policy framework and the role of Kopertais; and (4) formulate a dialectical pattern between politics, regulation, and academic autonomy as the basis for developing a more collaborative and equitable model of Islamic education governance. Thus, this research is expected to make a new contribution in clarifying the relationship between power, policy, and academic practice in the context of Islamic higher education in Indonesia.

This study uses a qualitative approach based on literature review (*library research*) to critically analyze the political dynamics and policies of Islamic education by seeking relevant, credible sources. The data sources in this study consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data include official policy documents such as laws and regulations of the Ministry of Religion, accreditation policies from BAN-PT, and institutional documents related to PTKIN, PTKIS, and Kopertais. Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from articles from internationally reputable journals (Scopus), national journals indexed by SINTA, academic books, and research reports relevant to the political theme of Islamic education and scientific integration. Data collection is carried out through a systematic documentation study, namely by identifying, classifying, and organizing the literature based on the main themes of the research, such as Islamic education regulations, university autonomy, and knowledge politics.<sup>21</sup> In maintaining the validity of the data, this study applies the literature triangulation technique, which involves comparing various sources from different perspectives to obtain a more comprehensive understanding and avoid interpretation bias. In addition, the quality of sources is evaluated by considering the journal's reputation, indexation, and methodological consistency in each referenced study.

Data analysis combines content analysis to identify patterns and trends in Islamic education policies, especially regarding regulation and university autonomy,<sup>11</sup> with critical discourse analysis to examine how these policies reflect power relations between the state and Islamic educational institutions. This dual approach reveals both policy structures and their ideological implications. The study adopts a constructivist-critical paradigm, viewing education policy as socially constructed by power relations, political interests, and historical context. The analysis goes beyond policy description to interpret how policies are negotiated, internalized, and affect academic autonomy in Islamic universities. This approach aims to provide deeper theoretical and conceptual insights into the dialectic among politics, regulation, and Islamic educational practice.

## **DYNAMICS OF STATE REGULATIONS RELATED TO STATE ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS COLLEGES (STAIN), STATE ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS INSTITUTES (IAIN) AND STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITIES (UIN)**

### **Regulations, Political Agendas, And Implications For Autonomy**

The institutional transformation of State Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIN) in Indonesia, comprising State Islamic Religious Colleges (STAIN), State Islamic Religious Institutes (IAIN), and State Islamic Universities (UIN), is a long process that is not only administrative but also ideological and epistemological. This dynamic shows the dialectical relationship among state politics, political regulation, and autonomy, in which each phase of transformation reflects the

<sup>21</sup> Glenn A. Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method," *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, no. 2 (2009): 27–40, <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>.

mode of power relations between the state and Muslims in the context of national development and scientific modernity.

The establishment of Islamic religious universities dates back to the Dutch colonial period. On December 9, 1940, the Association of Islamic Religious Teachers (PGAI) in Padang inaugurated the establishment of a Higher Islamic School as part of the realization of the first Islamic university in Indonesia.<sup>22</sup> However, the arrival of the Japanese stipulated that people in the city of Padang were only allowed to attend school at the madrasah and secondary levels, so the college was closed and used for only two years.<sup>23</sup> The Islamic College (STI) was established in 1945 in Yogyakarta, which later became the forerunner of the Islamic University of Indonesia (UII).<sup>24</sup> The regulation of Islamic Universities experienced an important momentum in 1950. The government took over the Faculty of Religion UII in Yogyakarta, handing over its management to the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Then it was changed to State Islamic Religious Universities (PTAIN) through PP. Number 34 of 1950, dated August 14, 1950, later became the forerunner of the State Islamic Institute (IAIN).<sup>25</sup> The inauguration of PTAIN was held on September 26, 1951. Furthermore, under Ministerial Regulation No. 1 of 1957, the Academy of Religious Sciences (ADIA) was established, with three departments: Da'wah, Tarbiyah, and Qodha.<sup>26</sup> There are two levels of study at ADIA: a three-year semi-academy and a two-year academy, so the duration of education is five years. ADIA aims to improve the quality of civil servants in the religious field.<sup>27</sup> Based on this regulation, the state positions Islamic higher education as part of its national political strategy to shape religious discourse in line with the state's ideology. This is in line with Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, in which the state not only controls coercively but also through agreement, built through educational and cultural institutions.<sup>28</sup> In the Indonesian context, the Ministry of Religious Affairs serves as a state apparatus that frames Islam as compatible with Pancasila and the modern political system.<sup>29</sup>

The transformation in the next policy shows the model state's incorporation of the process of integrating religious institutions into the state bureaucratic system.<sup>30</sup> Or in other languages, Bahtiar Effendi calls this a form of religious domestication by the state, where Islamic institutions are used as instruments of reproduction of the ideology of religious nationalism.<sup>31</sup> The regulation that establishes this model is Presidential Regulation Number 11 of 1960, issued on May 9, 1960, which established the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) *al-Jami'atul al-Islamiyah al-Hukumiyah* as a form of elaboration between PTAIN and ADIA.<sup>32</sup> On August 24, 1960, IAIN was opened for the first time in Yogyakarta by K.H. Wahid Wahab with IAIN consisting of various faculties, namely Tarbiyah, Sharia, Adab, and Ushuluddin. Each faculty has several majors.<sup>33</sup> In 1963, the Ministry of Religious Affairs considered separating IAIN to make it easier to manage. At that time, the Decree of the Minister of Religion No. 49 of 1963, dated February 25, 1963, was issued, which separated IAIN into two: the one based in Yogyakarta, under the name IAIN Yogyakarta, and

<sup>22</sup> Mahmudi Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan di Indonesia* (Mutiara Sumberwidyia, 1992), 117.

<sup>23</sup> Fuad Jabali dan Jamhari, *IAIN dan Modernisasi di Indonesia* (Logos, 2002), 3.

<sup>24</sup> Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan di Indonesia*, 198–99.

<sup>25</sup> Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan di Indonesia*, 396.

<sup>26</sup> Azyumard Azra, *Pendidikan Islam Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru* (PT Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2000), 159.

<sup>27</sup> Husain dan Wahyuni, "KEBIJAKAN PENDIDIKAN PADA PERGURUAN TINGGI ISLAM," 2023.

<sup>28</sup> A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1971).

<sup>29</sup> Bahtiar Effendi, *Islam dan Negara; Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Azra, *Pendidikan Islam Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*.

<sup>31</sup> Effendi, *Islam dan Negara; Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*.

<sup>32</sup> PP No. II (1960).

<sup>33</sup> Husain dan Wahyuni, "KEBIJAKAN PENDIDIKAN PADA PERGURUAN TINGGI ISLAM," 2023.

the one based in Jakarta, under the name IAIN Jakarta.<sup>34</sup> The transformation of PTAIN into IAIN shows a model *state incorporation*, the process of integrating religious institutions into the state apparatus.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs issued Government Regulation No. 27 of 1963, dated December 5, 1963, which permitted the establishment of faculties of Islamic universities outside the Yogyakarta and Jakarta areas, and these faculties were authorized to conduct teaching and examinations in accordance with the provisions of the Ministry of Religion.<sup>35</sup> In addition, under the Ministry of Religion's decision, an IAIN can be established provided the university consists of at least three faculties. So that a new IAIN emerged. Jakarta was the first to have the opportunity to have a new IAIN. IAIN Jakarta is the second IAIN to be established after IAIN Yogyakarta. **Huda, 2015** There are efforts to improve IAIN continuously, which include efforts to improve the curriculum based on the quality of lecturers, increase the role in the IAIN organization, improve facilities, and infrastructure, and increase funding. In 1982, an improvement in the quality of lecturers was implemented, with S-2 and S-3 postgraduate programs starting at IAIN Jakarta, and the following year at IAIN Yogyakarta.<sup>36</sup> already offers postgraduate programs, including Master's and Doctoral programs, in Islamic education, Islamic law, and Islamic thought.<sup>37</sup> In 1997, with the Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia. No. 11 of 1997 On March 21, 1997, IAIN branch faculties in various regions were converted into State Islamic Religious Colleges (STAIN). There are 33 STAINs throughout Indonesia.<sup>38</sup> With this decision, all STAINs are free to develop as they see fit, as they are no longer under the auspices of IAIN. There have even been some STAINs that have changed their status to IAIN, such as STAIN Serang, and some have even become UINs, such as STAIN Malang, which has changed to UIN Malang.

Islamic education policy is increasingly structured through the Minister of Religion's Decree, and this Presidential Decree marks a process of bureaucratization of Islamic education, in which the state expands administrative control while strengthening its social legitimacy among Muslims.<sup>39</sup> From the perspective of Mahoney & Thelen's neo-institutionalism, the change reflects *path dependency* That is, institutional continuity that adapts to the political context without removing the old structure.<sup>40</sup> This regulation affirms the role of the state as a controller of the knowledge structure that ensures the alignment of Islamic education with the political agenda of development.

<sup>34</sup> "UIN dan Modernisasi Kajian Islam," diakses 20 November 2025, <https://pbi.ftk.uin-alauddin.ac.id/artikel-56-uin-dan-modernisasi-kajian-islam>.

<sup>35</sup> "PERPRES No. 27 Tahun 1963 Tentang Pembentukan Institut Agama Islam Negeri," Database Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Indonesia - [PERATURAN.GO.ID], diakses 19 November 2025, <https://peraturan.go.id/id/perpres-no-27-tahun-1963>.

<sup>36</sup> Miswan Gumanti dkk., "Development of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia," *JMKSP (Jurnal Manajemen, Kepemimpinan, Dan Supervisi Pendidikan)* 8, no. 1 (2023): 237–52, <https://doi.org/10.31851/jmksp.v8i1.11079>.

<sup>37</sup> H. Haidar Putra Daulay, *Pendidikan Islam dalam sistem pendidikan nasional di Indonesia* (Kencana, 2014), 39, [https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=YdxDDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA2&dq=Putra+Daulay,+%E2%80%99CHaidar.+Pendidikan+Islam+Dalam+Sistem+Pendidikan+Nasional+Di+Indonesia&ots=hz6p\\_prM1T&sig=UQWT0SJ320DZCxLmCoftRtVZgH8](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=YdxDDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA2&dq=Putra+Daulay,+%E2%80%99CHaidar.+Pendidikan+Islam+Dalam+Sistem+Pendidikan+Nasional+Di+Indonesia&ots=hz6p_prM1T&sig=UQWT0SJ320DZCxLmCoftRtVZgH8).

<sup>38</sup> "KEPPRES No. 11 Tahun 1997 Tentang Pendirian Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri," Database Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Indonesia - [PERATURAN.GO.ID], 1997, <https://peraturan.go.id/id/keppres-no-11-tahun-1997>.

<sup>39</sup> M. A. Abdullah, *Islam as a Cultural Discourse: Integration-Interconnection of Science and Religion*. (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press; Yogyakarta, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> John Brennan, "Burton Clark's The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective," *London Review of Education* 8 (Januari 2010): 229–37, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14748460.2010.515122>.

The next transformation is part of IAIN to become UIN since 2002. Among the first IAINs to change to UIN were IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, which became UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, based on Presidential Decree Number 31 of 2002 dated May 20, 2002.<sup>41</sup> Following the UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta and UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang, based on Presidential Decree Number 50 of 2004 dated June 21, 2004.<sup>42</sup> Until 2025, there will be 40 UINs throughout Indonesia.<sup>43</sup>

UIN is not just a change in nomenclature, but a paradigm change from single religious knowledge to multidisciplinary integrated sciences. This shift shows that the state is beginning to see Islamic education not just as a regulatory object but also as an epistemic partner in the modernization of the nation.<sup>44</sup> In the context of post-Islamist education theory, UIN represents a new face of Islamic education that moves from ideologization to rationalization.<sup>45</sup> This transformation is also a form of Rearticulation of Hegemonic Power the state no longer dominates ideologically, but creates space for epistemic negotiations between Islamic tradition and scientific modernity.<sup>46</sup> Despite the institutional expansion, PTKIN's autonomy is still within the regulatory framework of the Ministry of Religion. According to Daun & Arjmand, the Islamic education system in Asia is bound by autonomy, where academic freedom is exercised within the political and cultural confines of the country.<sup>47</sup> PTKIN's governance model reflects what Burton R. Clark calls state-guided university, namely universities that have their own academic orientation but are directed by state policies.<sup>48</sup> In practice, the rector is still appointed by the Minister of Religion, and the curriculum still refers to national standards, although there is room for collaboration and independent research. However, amid these limited levels of autonomy, PTKIN remains an important arena for dialogue between the state and the Islamic community. According to Robert Hefner, modern Islamic universities in Southeast Asia play a dual role: articulating progressive religious values while strengthening social and political cohesion.<sup>49</sup>

In another study, the Presidential Decree on the transfer of IAIN's status to UIN since 2002, the state has consistently placed Islamic higher education as part of national development. In recent developments, policies such as accreditation are based on Outcome by BAN-PT, the establishment of the Independent Accreditation Institute (LAM), and the implementation of the

<sup>41</sup> "KEPPRES No. 31 Tahun 2002," 2002, <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/56649/keppres-no-31-tahun-2002>.

<sup>42</sup> "KEPPRES No. 50 Tahun 2004," Database Peraturan | JDIH BPK, 2004, <http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/55642/keppres-no-50-tahun-2004>.

<sup>43</sup> "Universitas Islam Negeri," *Wikipedia bahasa Indonesia, ensiklopedia bebas*, 7 November 2025, [https://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Universitas\\_Islam\\_Negeri&oldid=28377098](https://id.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Universitas_Islam_Negeri&oldid=28377098).

<sup>44</sup> Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Modern Islamic Thought in a Radical Age: Religious Authority and Internal Criticism," Cambridge University Press, 2012, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-middle-east-studies/article/abs/muhammad-qasim-zaman-modern-islamic-thought-in-a-radical-age-religious-authority-and-internal-criticism-new-york-cambridge-university-press-2012-x-363-pages-acknowledgements-note-on-transliteration-map-bibliography-index-cloth-us9400-isbn-9781107096455-paper-us3099-isbn-9781107422254/F5474F8E7FD36C9D780F6A24808F4A01>.

<sup>45</sup> Holger Daun dan Reza Arjmand, "Handbook of Islamic Education | Springer Nature Link (formerly SpringerLink)," 2018, <https://link.springer.com/referencework/10.1007/978-3-319-64683-1>.

<sup>46</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi di tengah Tantangan Milenium III* (Prenada Media, 2019).

<sup>47</sup> Holger Daun dan Reza Arjmand, "Handbook of Islamic Education | Springer Nature Link," 2017, <https://link.springer.com/referencework/10.1007/978-3-319-53620-0>.

<sup>48</sup> Burton R. Clark, *The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective* (University of California Press, 1986).

<sup>49</sup> Robert W. Hefner, "Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia – UH Press," diakses 12 Januari 2026, <https://uhpress.hawaii.edu/title/making-modern-muslims-the-politics-of-islamic-education-in-southeast-asia/>.

Independent Learning Independent Campus (MBKM) further emphasizing the state's position as the main actor in determining quality standards, governance, and the direction of PTKIN's development. The regulation not only functions as an administrative instrument, but also as a mechanism for knowledge production that forms the boundaries of scientific legitimacy<sup>50</sup> Islam<sup>3</sup>. In the framework of Michel Foucault, this education policy can be understood as a form of *governmentality*, which the state regulates not only institutions, but also academic ways of thinking and practice through curriculum standards, accreditation,<sup>51</sup> and moderate Islamic discourse. In other words, the regulation of Islamic higher education functions as a Construct that determines which forms of Islamic knowledge are considered valid and relevant in the context of the modern state.<sup>52</sup> The status transfer policy regulated through the Presidential Decree to become UIN formally, also aims to expand the scope of science from religious studies to the integration of religious science and general science. The policy is also a state strategy to reposition Islamic education to be compatible with the demands of globalization and the modern higher education system.<sup>53</sup> In Antonio Gramsci's perspective, this transformation reflects the practice of cultural hegemony, in which the state not only imposes policies coercively but also builds consensus by integrating values into the ideology of national development.<sup>54</sup> This is evident in the official policy narrative, which emphasizes the importance of moderate Islam, scientific integration, and global competitiveness, and is then internalized in the curriculum and vision of the PTKIN institution.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the regulation of Islamic higher education is not neutral but is shaped by ideological interests that guide the direction of scientific development.

This shows that PTKIN's autonomy is limited and negotiable, not full autonomy independent of the state. In Jürgen Habermas's framework, this condition reflects the existence of a communicative space, in which educational institutions act as actors negotiating with the state through academic discourse and policy<sup>56</sup>. Thus, PTKIN is not only an object of regulation but also a subject capable of interpreting and modifying policies in light of its institutional context. Furthermore, the intensification of regulations over the last decade shows a tendency toward increased state control through global quality standards mechanisms. Increasingly stringent accreditation policies, international publication obligations, lecturer quality, and digitization of higher education governance have changed the way PTKIN manages institutions and produces knowledge.<sup>57</sup> However, these findings also show that there are subtle forms of

<sup>50</sup> Michael H. Romanowski, "Controlling higher education from a distance: using foucault's governmentality to better understand accreditation," *Cogent Education* 9, no. 1 (2022): 2073631, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2022.2073631>.

<sup>51</sup> Michael H. Romanowski, "Controlling higher education from a distance: using foucault's governmentality to better understand accreditation," *Cogent Education* 9, no. 1 (2022): 2073631, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2022.2073631>.

<sup>52</sup> Muhlisin Muhlisin dkk., "Navigating the Nexus: Government Policies in Cultivating Religious Moderation Within State Islamic Higher Education," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 11, no. 1 (2023): 207–46, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v11i1.12677>.

<sup>53</sup> Zaki dkk., "Implementasi Manajemen Kualitas Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta Dalam Perspektif," 2022.

<sup>54</sup> Renate Holub, review of *Review of Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, oleh Antonio Gramsci dan Derek Boothman, *Italica* 73, no. 3 (1996): 453–57, <https://doi.org/10.2307/479844>.

<sup>55</sup> Fitriyawany dan dkk., *Integrating Islamic Values into Science Learning in Indonesian Islamic Higher Education: Expectation and Implementation*, (UIN Raden Intan Lampung), advance online publication, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.24042/tadris.v7i1.10802>.

<sup>56</sup> Kwan-Su An dan Eun-Young Lee, "A Study on the University Restructuring Policy in Convergence Society: from the Perspective of Habermas's Communicative Action," *Journal of Digital Convergence* 13, no. 8 (2015): 439–47, <https://doi.org/10.14400/JDC.2015.13.8.439>.

<sup>57</sup> Mujiburrahman dkk., "Reformulation of Competency Development of Lecturers of State Islamic Religious Universities in Indonesia after COVID-19," *Asian Journal of University Education* 18, no. 1 (2022): 15–33.

resistance from PTKIN, such as strengthening locally based Islamic studies, curriculum reinterpretation, and the development of study programs that do not fully follow the flow of globalization in higher education.<sup>58</sup> This resistance is not confrontational but adaptive, allowing institutions to maintain Islamic identity while meeting state regulations.

Islamic education regulation is a dialectical arena that involves state control, institutional negotiation, and simultaneous knowledge production. This study does not see policy only as a normative product, but also as a dynamic process involving various actors and interests. The dynamics of PTKIN regulations show a complex pattern of relations between the state and Islamic higher education institutions. The development of Islamic Religious Universities (PTKI) in Indonesia takes place as a real space of attraction between state interests and the dynamics of knowledge. The state, through the regulation of the Ministry of Religion, not only governs the administrative aspect but also shapes the direction of the curriculum, academic standards, and the limits of scientific legitimacy. This study shows that state control is systematically present in the practice of Islamic higher education, thereby influencing how institutions produce and distribute knowledge.

### **KNOWLEDGE POLITICS AND SCIENTIFIC INTEGRATION PARADIGM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF UIN**

The transformation of the State Islamic Religious University (PTKIN) into a State Islamic University (UIN) is one of the most significant phenomena in the history of Islamic education in modern Indonesia. Such changes are not only structural but also epistemological, involving complex negotiations between political power, scientific authority, and religious discourse.<sup>59</sup> In this context, scientific integration at UIN is not just an academic project, but part of knowledge politics: an arena where knowledge is constructed, distributed, and legitimized by power relations between the state, scholars, and academics.

In Foucault's theory, knowledge is never neutral; it is both an instrument and an effect of power.<sup>60</sup> This is evident in Indonesia's Islamic education policy. Since the conversion of IAIN to UIN through Presidential Decree No. 31 of 2002, the state has not only regulated religious educational institutions but also directed Islamic epistemology to be in harmony with the narrative of national development. Azyumardi Azra called this process the institutionalization of moderate Islam, namely the state's effort to harmonize Islamic values with the ideology of Pancasila through the transformation of the curriculum and institutional structure.<sup>61</sup> In this frame, the integration of science becomes a political project that serves to strengthen the image of Islam that is compatible with democracy and modernity.<sup>62</sup>

The policy of scientific integration that characterizes UIN is often understood as an academic project aimed at overcoming the dichotomy between religious science and general science. However, the study's findings reveal that scientific integration is also a dialectical arena

<sup>58</sup> Nafik Muthohirin dkk., "Islamic Sciences in Transition: Post-Reformation Developments in Indonesia's State Islamic Universities," *Ulumuna* 29, no. 1 (2025): 429–60, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v29i1.849>.

<sup>59</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, with Internet Archive (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980), [http://archive.org/details/powerknowledgese0000fouc\\_v9d7](http://archive.org/details/powerknowledgese0000fouc_v9d7).

<sup>60</sup> Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*.

<sup>61</sup> Azra, *Pendidikan Islam*.

<sup>62</sup> Effendy, *Islam dan Negara; Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*.

between state control and institutional academic autonomy.<sup>63</sup> The state encourages integration as part of its strategy to globalize higher education and strengthen the image of moderate Islam, while Islamic educational institutions use this space to develop more contextually grounded scientific paradigms.<sup>64</sup> Thus, scientific integration cannot be understood as a linear process, but as the result of negotiations between various epistemic and political interests.

The conceptual framework for integrating Islam and general science is practiced at UIN Sunan Kalijaga, using a spider web model developed by M. Amin Abdullah. Amin Abdullah exemplifies integralistic science with the prototype of integrative scientists he produced. For example, in the practice of sharia economics, which has been proven to unify divine revelation with the findings of human reason. There are Bank Muamalat, BNI Syariah, agribusiness, transportation, marine, and so on. Religion provides ethical guidelines for economic behavior, including profit-sharing (al-mudharabah) and cooperation (al-Musyarakah). There is a process of objectification of religious ethics into religious knowledge that is beneficial to people of all religions, non-religious, or even anti-religious. **(Daun and Arjmand 2017)** From this idea, it seems that Amin Abdullah wants to make religion as a spirit (value/ethics) for scientific development. So that the products produced are truly humanitarian-religious and beneficial to all mankind in general. Furthermore, the knowledge produced is no longer the attribute of a certain religion, but belongs to everyone, even those who are not religious.

It becomes interesting if we look at the horizon of the theoanthropocentric-integralistic spider web below:



**Figure 1.** Integration-Interconnect Spider Web

The image explains that the source of all science is the text of the Qur'an (kalamullah) and the universe (natural law) of sunatullah. Therefore, all the science depicted in the picture of the spider web above is derived from two sources: kalamullah and sunatullah. It is clear that the two are interconnected. The lines that limit one science indicate that there is an open door for the common acceptance of other sciences.<sup>65</sup> The picture above also shows that the main spirit of scientific development in Islamic educational institutions remains rooted in the Qur'an and As-Sunnah. In other words, the development of science in Islamic educational institutions must not deviate from the teachings of the Qur'an and As-Sunnah. UIN Sunan Kalijaga, with its integrative paradigm, is an arena where two authorities meet: The Authority of Revelation and the Authority

<sup>63</sup> Muhammad Miftah, "Islamic Education Politics Ambiguity of Policy Intepretation in Islamic Religious College: Between Negotiation and Institutional Authority," *Addin* 13, no. 2 (2019): 369–400, <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v13i2.7003>.

<sup>64</sup> Muhlisin dkk., "Navigating the Nexus."

<sup>65</sup> Mohamad Yamin dkk., *Jaring Laba-Laba, Interaksi-Interkoneksi Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta | JIIP - Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan*, 2022, <http://jiip.stkipyapisdampu.ac.id/jiip/index.php/JIIP/article/view/413>.

Ratio. However, the relationship between the two is asymmetrical, meaning that the state, through higher education policy, holds epistemic control over the form and direction of integration.<sup>66</sup> The integration model adopted by UIN Sunan Kalijaga, known as the Theanthropocentric-Integralistic Spider Web, represents an effort to negotiate religious science and general science under the interconnection paradigm<sup>67</sup> which remains normative-theological. This model continues to operate within a certain power relationship. Its epistemological structure reflects the balance between religious legitimacy and the demands of modernity.

M. Abdullah's paradigm creates a space of epistemic autonomy for institutions in the national curriculum. By developing the Islamic studies curriculum, the approach to interconnection integration allows the use of modern social theories that are not explicitly regulated in national policies. It can be read as a form *soft resistance*, where institutions do not reject state regulations directly, but interpret them creatively. In the framework of Antonio Gramsci, this phenomenon shows that state hegemony in Islamic education is not total, but is negotiated through daily academic practice.<sup>68</sup> The state has indeed succeeded in establishing a discursive framework for scientific integration, but institutions still have room to fill it with different meanings according to their academic vision. The process of interpreting new policies involves intervening in the politics of the society that surrounds individuals and institutions.<sup>69</sup> In other words, the integration of science at UIN Sunan Kalijaga not only reproduces the state's ideology, but also becomes a relatively autonomous arena for knowledge production.

Meanwhile, scientific integration, as a tree of knowledge introduced by Imam Suprayogo, emphasizes a more systemic approach, in which all disciplines are rooted in Islamic values and directed toward the formation of student character. According to Imam Suprayogo, scientific ideas are depicted in a tree to explain the integration between religious sciences and general sciences. Trees grow for a long time, years, and even certain types are older than humans. The life and growth of trees can also be used to illustrate that science is also always growing and developing.<sup>70</sup> According to Imam Suprayogo, from the perspective of the curriculum, the building of knowledge is integrative-religious and general knowledge, using the metaphor of a tree that grows luxuriantly, densely, and shady. Each part of the tree, and even the soil on which it grows, is used to describe the entire field of science that a person must study to be considered to have completed his or her study program. Like a tree, it is composed of the soil on which the tree grows, and the roots of which are firmly planted in the earth. Strong roots will make a tree's trunk stand tall and sturdy.<sup>71</sup>

The tree will also grow healthy, fresh branches, twigs, leaves, and fruits. This section explains the position of each field of study or course that a person must complete to be considered to have completed their entire study program. The integration of science is the real integration of religious values (in this case, Islam) with General Science or Science. Creating an

<sup>66</sup> James Mahoney, "Explaining Institutional Change," Cambridge University Press, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511806414>.

<sup>67</sup> M. Amin Abdullah, *Islamic studies dalam paradigma integrasi-interkoneksi: sebuah antologi* (Suka Press, 2007).

<sup>68</sup> Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*.

<sup>69</sup> Jonghun Kim, "Why do teachers not change while the national curriculum repeatedly changes?: The 'Hidden' resistance of teachers in the centralized system of education in South Korea," *International Journal of Educational Development* 109 (September 2024): 103105, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2024.103105>.

<sup>70</sup> Imam Suprayogo, *Paradigma Pengembangan Keilmuan Islam Perspektif UIN Malang* (UIN Malang Press, 2006), 35.

<sup>71</sup> Muaz dkk., "PARADIGMA INTEGRASI ILMU PERSPEKTIF POHON ILMU UIN MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG," *Al-Afkar, Journal For Islamic Studies*, 14 Februari 2022, 302–19, <https://doi.org/10.31943/afkarjournal.v5i1.221>.

integration between Religious Science and Science requires educational institutions that meet the requirements for this integration. What needs to be considered is the educational atmosphere, academic culture, curriculum, facilities and infrastructure, and teacher profiles, to realize the concept of integrative education as intended.<sup>72</sup> Integration, integrated or whatever it is called, is not only formal, which only includes trivial and artificial problems, but integration in the quality of various components of the education delivery system, all of which lead to the realization of an integrative student personality.



**Figure 2.** Philosophy/Scientific Structure of UIN Maliki "Tree of Knowledge".

The roots of the tree symbolize the scientific foundation of the university. Among them: Arabic, English, Philosophy, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences and Civics Education. The mastery of this scientific foundation is the basic capital to understand all aspects of Islamic science, which is described as the tree that becomes the identity of students, namely the Qur'an and As-Sunnah, Sirah Nabawiyah, Islamic thought and Islamic social insight. These branches and branches represent the academic fields of the university that continue to grow and develop, namely: Tarbiyah, Sharia, Humanities and Culture, Psychology, Economics and Science and Technology. Flowers and Fruits illustrate the totality and usefulness of this university's educational efforts, namely faith, piety and knowledge.<sup>73</sup> Sturdy and shady trees. In essence, graduates of UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang will hold a dual (informal) degree. For example: graduates majoring in Informatics Engineering will obtain an S.Kom (Bachelor of Computer) degree but will also have skills in the field of Arabic and supported by the ability of Islamic religious sciences. Because, during the study period, students have taken other supporting courses. So that in practice in the field, the activities (of course in accordance with the field of informatics) that are developed are always based on the Qur'an and hadith as well as Islamic values that have been instilled during college.

<sup>72</sup> Ali Miftakhu Rosyad, "The Implementasi Nilai-Nilai Multikulturalisme melalui Pembelajaran Pendidikan Agama Islam (The Implementation of Multiculturalism Values Through Learning of Islamic Religion Education): multicultural education and learning of islamic religious education," *Risalah Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Islam* 5, no. 1, March (2019): 1–18, [https://doi.org/10.31943/jurnal\\_risalah.v5i1.90](https://doi.org/10.31943/jurnal_risalah.v5i1.90).

<sup>73</sup> Muaz dkk., "PARADIGMA INTEGRASI ILMU PERSPEKTIF POHON ILMU UIN MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG," *Al-Afkar, Journal For Islamic Studies*, 14 Februari 2022, 302–19, <https://doi.org/10.31943/afkarjournal.v5i1.221>.

The above knowledge tree paradigm shows that its implementation is strongly influenced by national regulations, particularly regarding curriculum, accreditation, graduate competency standards, and international scientific publications. As a result, the scientific integration developed tends to be conceptual-normative<sup>74</sup> and structural-administrative, not entirely epistemological. Nevertheless, there is an interesting form of negotiation. UIN Malang developed a ma'had (dormitory)-based learning system that is not explicitly regulated in national policies but has become an integral part of their educational model.<sup>75</sup> This shows that institutions can create innovation space within the boundaries of state regulations. These findings strengthen the argument that UIN's autonomy is bounded, yet still provides room for institutional creativity. In Jürgen Habermas's perspective, this dynamic can be understood as a process of communicative action, in which education policy results from the interaction between the state and institutions through academic discourse. UIN is not only an object of regulation but also an actor who participates in shaping policies through curriculum practices, education, research, and community service. Thus, the integration of science at UIN is the result of continuous dialogue between the power structure and academic agencies.

The scientific paradigm of UIN Yogyakarta and UIN Malang is at the crossroads between two poles: academic autonomy and state ideology. The state needs UIN as a vehicle for the formation of a moderate and rational Islamic identity, while Islamic academics use this policy as an opportunity to develop a new epistemology that is not trapped in the classic dichotomy between revelation and reason.<sup>76</sup> Robert Hefner notes that modern Islamic universities in Southeast Asia play a dual function: supporting social integration while producing a progressive Islamic discourse that is relevant to democracy.<sup>77</sup> Thus, UIN is not only an educational institution, but also an arena *repoliticization of knowledge*, where Islamic knowledge is negotiated in the context of globalization, educational neoliberalism, and identity politics. Therefore, the paradigm of scientific integration at UIN needs to be read critically as the result of epistemic hybridization: between religion and science, tradition and modernity, as well as the state and civil society. It is not the end point of the project of Islamization of knowledge, but a new phase of the democratization of Islamic knowledge in the context of the modern nation-state.

## **PTKIS AND KOPERTAIS REGULATIONS: STATE CONTROL AND INEQUALITY OF AUTONOMY**

Private Islamic Religious Universities (PTAIS) are higher education institutions comprising universities, institutes, and high schools. PTAIS is under the Coordinator of Private Islamic Universities (KOPERTAIS), which spans various regions of Indonesia.<sup>78</sup> The development of Private Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIS) in Indonesia shows dynamics different from those of PTKIN, especially in terms of relations with the state and the level of institutional autonomy. Historically, PTKIS has grown from the initiative of the Muslim community from the colonial period to post-independence, and by 2024, it will reach more than 848 institutions spread across

---

<sup>74</sup> Sun Choirol Ummah, "Paradigma Keilmuan Islam Di Perguruan Tinggi," *Humanika: Kajian Ilmiah Mata Kuliah Umum* 19, no. 2 (2019): 100–120, <https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v19i2.30300>.

<sup>75</sup> Iffat Maimunah dkk., "Islamic Boarding School at University: A Strong Pathway for Integrating Religion and Science," *J-PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 8, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.18860/jpai.v8i1.15361>.

<sup>76</sup> Muhammad Iswanti, "AZYUMARDI AZRA THINKING ABOUT PARADIGM SCIENTIFIC AND INSTITUTIONAL AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC STATE UNIVERSITY (UIN) SYARIF HIDAYATULLAH JAKARTA," *Proceedings PAnTUM KUIS Selangor* 1, no. 1 (2017): 58–71.

<sup>77</sup> Hefner, "Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia – UH Press."

<sup>78</sup> Gumanti dkk., "Development of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia," 2023.

various regions of Indonesia.<sup>79</sup> PTKIS, which is managed by the private sector, was born on the basis of community autonomy; in contemporary practice, they are under a state control structure that is becoming stronger through Kopertais regulations and national quality standards. Thus, PTKIS is in a paradoxical position: historically autonomous, but structurally bound to state regulation

A Private Islamic Religious College. (PTKIS) started from the desire of Indonesian Muslims during the Dutch colonial period to establish Islamic higher education institutions. Ahmud Yunus, a graduate of Egypt's Azhar University, together with the Islamic Religious Teachers Association (PGAI) founded and led the first Islamic College (STI) in Padang, West Sumatra, in 1940. STI was established with two faculties, Sharia (Islamic Law) and Tarbiyah (Islamic Education), but only operated for two years. In 1942, during World War II, STI was shut down by Japan.<sup>80</sup> STI (Islamic College) was established in Jakarta on July 8, 1945. On April 10, 1946, the Islamic College was officially opened in Yogyakarta, following the Central Government of the Republic of Indonesia, which had moved to Yogyakarta. The ceremony was attended by President Soekarno and Vice President Moh Hatta, who is also the chairman of the Board of Trustees of Islamic Colleges.<sup>81</sup> On December 14, 1947, the STI Improvement Committee determined STI to become an Islamic University of Indonesia based in Yogyakarta with pioneer faculties including the Faculty of Religion, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Education, and Faculty of Economics. On June 5, 1948, the official opening of the Islamic University of Indonesia (UII) was held at the Kepatihan Hall. Then in August 1950, the Faculty of Religion UII became a State Islamic University (later to become IAIN/UIIN Sunan Kalijaga). Then in 1961, the Faculty of Religion (later became the Faculty of Sharia) and the Faculty of Tarbiyah UII were officially opened.<sup>82</sup> The institutional impact of UII's presence began to be seen in the 1950s and 1960s, when PTIS (Private Universities) were first established in various places. PTKIS continues to grow as a privately run university, institute, and college.

In the last decade, PTKIS began to show a shift in orientation: from a mere religious institution to a modern Islamic research university. Several campuses, such as the Islamic University of Malang, Djuanda University, Ahmad Dahlan University, and many others, have received superior accreditation and established international cooperation.<sup>83</sup> The Ministry of Religious Affairs established the Coordination of Private Islamic Religious Universities (Kopertais). Kopertais plays a central role in Indonesia's private Islamic higher education system. This institution emerged in response to the need for supervision, guidance, and empowerment of Private Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIS) by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, especially the Directorate General of Islamic Education. The existence of Kopertais is formally regulated in the Decree of the Minister of Religion Number 155 of 2004, which affirms the duties of Kopertais as an extension of the Director General in carrying out *wasdalbin* (supervision, control,

<sup>79</sup> Kompas Adv, "Capaian Direktorat PTKI 2024, Akreditasi Unggul Hingga Internasionalisasi PTKIN," *Advertorial*, 17 Desember 2024, <https://adv.kompas.id/baca/capaian-direktorat-ptki-2024-akreditasi-unggul-hingga-internasionalisasi-ptkin/>.

<sup>80</sup> Hilman Latief, *The Masyumi Networks and the Proliferation of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia (1945–1965)*, 10 November 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-bja10043>.

<sup>81</sup> Afrizal Afrizal, "Perkembangan Perguruan Tinggi Islam di Indonesia (Kasus STAIN, IAIN, UIN Dan Perguruan Tinggi Islam)," *Berkala Ilmiah Pendidikan* 2, no. 1 (2022): 18–32, <https://doi.org/10.51214/bip.v2i1.378>.

<sup>82</sup> "Sejarah," *Universitas Islam Indonesia*, t.t., diakses 27 April 2026, <https://www.uin.ac.id/profil/sejarah/>.

<sup>83</sup> Gumanti dkk., "Development of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia," 2023.

and coaching) of PTKIS.<sup>84</sup> Since then, the Kopertais has been regionally organized, coordinating many private Islamic universities at the local to national levels.

The function of Kopertais shows that, in practice, it is more dominant as a vertical control instrument than as a horizontal facilitator, **especially in institutional evaluation and academic validation.**<sup>85</sup> This can be seen in the authority of the Kopertais to provide recommendations on the opening of study programs, conduct performance assessments, and submit routine reports to the Ministry of Religion. Kopertais also serves as a liaison between PTKIS and national policies. In the Ministerial Decree 155/2004, the Coordinator of Kopertais is appointed by the Director General of Islamic Education, and Kopertais is obliged to submit a report on the coaching program to the central level.<sup>86</sup> In Michel Foucault's perspective, the Kopertais mechanism reflects the practice of disciplinary power, in which power operates through administrative supervision, academic audits, and measurable evaluation standards.<sup>87</sup> PTKIS is not only structurally regulated, but also disciplined through performance indicators such as accreditation, lecturer-student ratio, and scientific publications, which shape the way institutions define academic quality and legitimacy.<sup>88</sup> In other words, Kopertais functions as a means of production "Regime of Truth" which determines the ideal standards of Islamic universities.

The Ministry of Religion has expanded the Kopertais area from 13 to 15 regions through the Decree of the Director General of Pendis No. 7340 of 2019, with the aim of bringing coaching and supervision services closer to PTKIS in the regions.<sup>89</sup> In general, it is held or led by the Rector of UIN, IAIN, or STAIN in the region. Through this regional system, Kopertais acts as a bridge that channels national policies while absorbing the aspirations and local needs of PTKIS. In the context of education management, this structure is a model *intermediary governance*, namely a management mechanism that places coordinating institutions as a liaison between central regulators and educational implementing entities. The Cooperative Function can be categorized into four main aspects: (1) supervision, (2) control, (3) coaching, and (4) empowerment. In the aspect of supervision, Kopertais is tasked with monitoring the implementation of the Tridharma of Higher Education (education, research, community service) in accordance with national standards and a moderate Islamic vision. This function includes verification of operational legality, lecturer-to-student ratio, and compliance with national accreditation. In terms of control, it includes academic and administrative audits, as well as annual performance reporting to the Ministry of Religion.<sup>90</sup> The function of Kopertais coaching is

<sup>84</sup> Koordinatorat Pergu Ruan Tinggi, *Keputusan Menteri Agama Republik Indonesia Nomor 155 Tahun 2004 Tentang Koordinatorat Pergu Ruan Tinggi Agama Islam Swasta*, t.t.

<sup>85</sup> Ibnu Salman, "Peran Kopertais IX dalam Pembinaan Mutu Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam di Sumatera Utara: The Role of Kopertais Region IX In The Quality Development of Islamic Higher Education Institutions in North Sumatera," *Penamas* 27, no. 1 (2014): 79–94.

<sup>86</sup> Tinggi, *KEPUTUSAN MENTERI AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 155 TAHUN 2004 TENTANG KOORDINATORAT PERGU RUAN TINGGI AGAMA ISLAM SWASTA*.

<sup>87</sup> Sharon Zukin, review of *Review of Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.*, oleh Michel Foucault dan Alan Sheridan, *Contemporary Sociology* 25, no. 4 (1996): 463–463, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2077073>.

<sup>88</sup> Musthofa Musthofa dkk., "Quality Assurance in Education: Readiness of Islamic Higher Education to Face the New Accreditation Model in Indonesia," conf. paper presented pada Proceedings of the First International Conference on Islamic History and Civilization, ICON-ISHIC 2020, 14 October, Semarang, Indonesia, 14 Januari 2021, <https://eudl.eu/doi/10.4108/eai.14-10-2020.2303847>.

<sup>89</sup> Humas UIN Mataram, "REKTOR SIAPKAN AGENDA STRATEGIS KOPERTAIS WILAYAH XIV," *UIN Mataram*, 5 Maret 2020, <https://uinmataram.ac.id/rektor-siapkan-agenda-strategis-kopertais-wilayah-xiv/>.

<sup>90</sup> Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Tentang Tugas dan Fungsi Koordinatorat Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta, NOMOR 7341 (2019).

to improve institutional quality. Through the program Wasdalbin (supervision, control, coaching), Kopertais routinely provides assistance and training to increase the capacity of lecturers and education staff, as well as the effectiveness of PTKIS governance.<sup>91</sup> And the empowerment function is directed at increasing PTKIS's competitiveness in facing the challenges of globalization in higher education.<sup>92</sup> by improving the quality of lecturer research improvement programs, digitizing academic management, and developing collaborative networks between PTKIS in the same region

Based on the KMA and the Decree of the Director General on Kopertais, this is actually a model *intermediary governance* Where the education management system positions the coordinating institution as a vertical control tool, not a horizontal facilitator.<sup>93</sup> Michael W. Apple explains that the state often uses education policies to reproduce social and economic dominance through meritocratic legitimacy.<sup>94</sup> In the context of PTKIS, this is evident in the accreditation policy and quality standards, which are designed uniformly with PTKIN without accounting for resource disparities. Consequently, PTKIS, which has a strong socio-religious base, has difficulty achieving a superior status because it is hit by structural and financial limitations. While PTKIN receives a stable allocation of state budget, civil servant lecturers, and research facilities, PTKIS relies on student education fees and limited grants from Kopertais. This structural inequality is not just an administrative problem, but a form of epistemic injustice (*epistemic injustice*), when Islamic private institutions are positioned as policy recipients, not equal producers of knowledge.<sup>95</sup>

State control of PTKIS did not take place without a response from PTKIS. The findings reveal a form of negotiation and institutional resistance carried out by PTKIS in response to the Kopertais regulation. Some of the large and innovative PTKIs include the University of Muhammadiyah, the Islamic University of Malang, and Ahmad Dahlan University.<sup>96</sup> These institutions have shown that epistemic autonomy can give rise to a progressive, integrative, and globally competitive model of Islamic education.<sup>97</sup> This institution also demonstrates the ability to adapt national standards without losing its institutional identity. For example, in the development of the curriculum, the PTKIS still maintains the ideological peculiarities of their respective religious organizations,<sup>98</sup> although it must meet national standards of higher education, and compete in the international arena. This strategy shows that PTKIS is not entirely an object of regulation, but also an actor capable of negotiating its autonomy space. In the framework of Antonio Gramsci, this phenomenon can be understood as a form of negotiation of hegemony,<sup>99</sup> in which state dominance is not fully accepted but is negotiated through social and academic

<sup>91</sup> "Strategi Peningkatan Mutu Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam Swasta (Ptai) di Lingkungan Kopertais Wilayah X Jawa Tengah (dalam Perspektif Stakeholders) | At-Taqaddum," diakses 21 November 2025, <https://journal.walisongo.ac.id/index.php/attaqaddum/article/view/1207>.

<sup>92</sup> A. Rusdiana, *Akuntabilitas Perguruan Tinggi Islam Swasta*, T.T.

<sup>93</sup> Brennan, "Burton Clark's The Higher Education System."

<sup>94</sup> "Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age," Routledge & CRC Press, diakses 12 Januari 2026, <https://www.routledge.com/Official-Knowledge-Democratic-Education-in-a-Conservative-Age/Apple/p/book/9780415892179>.

<sup>95</sup> Miranda Fricker dan Miranda Fricker, *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>96</sup> A. Malik Fadjar, "Reorientasi Pendidikan Islam," Fajar Dunia, 1999, <https://lib.umpr.ac.id/opac/detail-opac?id=3815>.

<sup>97</sup> Mulyawan Safwandy Nugraha dkk., "Private Islamic Higher Education in Asean Economic Community (AEC) Era," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 2, no. 3 (2016): 393–412, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v2i3.853>.

<sup>98</sup> Yeri Utami dan Yunanto Andang Tri, "Muhammadiyah And Islamic Education Reform," *JURNAL PEDAGOGY* 18, no. 1 (2025): 53–63, <https://doi.org/10.63889/pedagogy.v18i1.313>.

<sup>99</sup> Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*.

practices. This shows that PTKIS has developed a compliance-with-modification strategy: formally follow state regulations while modifying their implementation in accordance with the local context and institutional vision. Thus, state hegemony in Islamic higher education is relative and open to reinterpretation.

Although there is room for negotiation, structural inequality between PTKIN and PTKIS remains the main issue. Inequality PTKIS occurs across three domains: finance, academia, and institutional legitimacy. From a financial perspective, PTKIS does not have equal access to research funding and lecturer scholarships, such as LPDP or the national affirmation program. Several studies show that research funding is unequally allocated between PTKIN and PTKIS.<sup>100</sup> In addition, PTKIN receives direct support from the state budget, including salaries for ASN lecturers, research facilities, and scholarship programs, while PTKIS relies on student education fees and limited funding sources. In the academic realm, policies centered in Jakarta are often not accompanied by an adaptive mechanism of the Islamic Religious Higher Education Database (PDDIKTI-PTKIS) to the local campus context.<sup>101</sup> PTKIS in remote areas faces technical and administrative difficulties to meet national indicators based on the parameters of state universities. In terms of legitimacy, the relationship between PTKIS and Kopertais illustrates the form of disciplinary power as Foucault put it, it is a power that works subtly through supervision, audit, and judgment.<sup>102</sup> The Cooperative Authority to provide recommendations for establishment, study program permits, and accreditation assessments makes PTKIS highly dependent on external state validation.

From the perspective of epistemic justice theory, this condition can be categorized as a form of epistemic injustice,<sup>103</sup> where PTKIS is positioned as a policy recipient, not as an equal producer of knowledge. This confirms that uniform quality standards actually reinforce inequality, because they do not take into account resource disparities<sup>104</sup> between PTKIN and PTKIS. As a result, many PTKIS must continue to improve<sup>105</sup> and face difficulties in achieving superior accreditation status despite their significant contributions to Islamic education and da'wah in the community. Nevertheless, it is important to note that PTKIS is not completely marginalized. Some PTKIS have become centers of Islamic education innovation, more flexible, especially in the development of new study programs, international cooperation<sup>106</sup>, and community-based learning models. This flexibility is possible because PTKIS is not fully tied to the state

<sup>100</sup> Yanti Nurdianti, "Otonomi Pembiayaan Dalam Mencapai Mutu Pendidikan Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta (Ptkis) Di Jawa Barat: Penelitian Di Universitas Islam Bandung, Institut Agama Islam Darussalam Ciamis Dan STAI Persis Bandung" (doctoral, UIN SUNAN GUNUNG DJATI BANDUNG, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.8.%252520Daftar%252520Pustaka.pdf>.

<sup>101</sup> Nurdianti, "Otonomi Pembiayaan Dalam Mencapai Mutu Pendidikan Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta (Ptkis) Di Jawa Barat."

<sup>102</sup> Michel Foucault, "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison," Universitas Indonesia Library, Vintage Books, 1979, <https://lib.ui.ac.id>.

<sup>103</sup> Alejandra Boni dan Diana Velasco, "Epistemic Capabilities and Epistemic Injustice: What Is the Role of Higher Education in Fostering Epistemic Contributions of Marginalized Knowledge Producers?," *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric* 12, no. 01 (2020): 1–26, <https://doi.org/10.21248/gjn.12.01.228>.

<sup>104</sup> Darren Brendan Lortan dan Savathrie Maistry, "Epistemic Injustice: Barrier to Articulation Management between Higher Education Institutions in South Africa," *International Conference on Multidisciplinary Research* 2018 (Mei 2018): 283–98.

<sup>105</sup> Muhammad Zaki dkk., "Implementasi Manajemen Kualitas Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta Dalam Perspektif," *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Syar-i* 9, no. 5 (2022): 1699–708, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sjsbs.v9i5.28066>.

<sup>106</sup> Ahmad Ibrahim Hasibuan dkk., "Development of Quality and Integrity Islamic Higher Education in North Sumatra in KOPERTAIS IX," *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Agama* 15, no. 2 (2023): 581–90, <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v15i2.2777>.

bureaucracy like PTKIN. Thus, structural limitations actually encourage the emergence of innovations at the institutional level.

Based on the overall analysis, it can be concluded that the regulation of PTKIS through Kopertais creates an ambivalent relationship between control and autonomy. The state managed to establish a strong supervisory system, but it was not entirely able to eliminate institutional negotiation space. PTKIS still has the capacity to adapt, innovate, and even resist state regulations, even within certain limits. Thus, the dynamics of PTKIS cannot be understood as total subordination to the state, but as an ongoing dialectical process between power and autonomy in Islamic higher education in Indonesia.

## **DIALECTICS OF POLITICS, REGULATION, AND ACADEMIC AUTONOMY OF PTKI**

The transformation of Islamic Religious Universities (PTKI) in Indonesia, both State Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIN) and Private Universities (PTKIS) is not only an educational project, but an arena of knowledge politics. In this context, Islamic education is not a neutral entity, but a dialectical field between the state, society, and academic authorities. The state regulates, the community negotiates, and academia seeks autonomous space amid regulatory currents and political interests.<sup>107</sup> The modern state, as Michel Foucault explained, exercises power through mechanisms of governmentality, namely how to manage the population through knowledge, regulations, and institutions.<sup>108</sup>

In the Indonesian context, the Ministry of Religious Affairs plays a regulatory state function, determining the direction, form, and even the meaning of Islamic education. A number of regulations, such as KMA No. 155/2004 on Cooperatives and PMA No. 68/2015 on the Statute of UIN/IAIN, show that the state not only supervises, but also defines what is called quality Islamic education.<sup>109</sup> In Max Weber's framework, this reflects rational-legal authority, in which the legitimacy of educational power is rooted in a system of formal rules.<sup>110</sup> However, the state's rationality is not completely neutral. He brings a logic of efficiency, accountability, and control that often suppresses academic institutions' epistemic autonomy. As a result, Islamic education becomes part of the knowledge bureaucracy i.e. a system in which science is subject to the logic of administration.<sup>111</sup> Antonio Gramsci explained that state hegemony is not only coercive, but also ideological.<sup>112</sup> In education, the state builds a hegemonic consensus by instilling Islamic moderation and tolerance as a paradigm that must be followed by all PTKI.<sup>113</sup> The goal politically is to maintain social stability and manage diversity. However, epistemologically, this creates a risk of homogenization, dwarfing the space for difference and criticism in Islamic science.

<sup>107</sup> Hefner, "Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia – UH Press."

<sup>108</sup> Michel Senellart dkk., ed., *Security, Territory, Population* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230245075>.

<sup>109</sup> Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, *KMA No. 155 of 2004 and PMA No. 68 of 2015*. <https://jdih.kemenag.go.id>

<sup>110</sup> Max Weber, *Economy and Society: A New Translation* (Harvard University Press, 2019), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv24trdzh>.

<sup>111</sup> Stephen J. Ball, *The education debate (Third Edition)*, REV-Revised, 3 (Bristol University Press, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1t893tk>.

<sup>112</sup> Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*.

<sup>113</sup> Kontributor dkk., "Moderasi Beragama: Pilar Kebangsaan dan Keberagaman," Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 10 April 2023, <https://kemenag.go.id/kolom/moderasi-beragama-pilar-kebangsaan-dan-keberagaman-MVUb9>.

Pierre Bourdieu offers the concept of the field of power, a space where various actors (states, academics, society) compete for Capital (symbolic, social, and intellectual capital).<sup>114</sup> PTKI, in this case, is a terrain where academic capital (scientific authority) meets and often clashes with political capital (regulatory power). PTKIN, due to its proximity to the state, tends to have greater symbolic legitimacy, whereas PTKIS operates in a subordinate position but has higher social flexibility. This condition shows that asymmetrical epistemic: PTKIN acts as a state apparatus of knowledge, while PTKIS becomes a civil epistemic community, namely civil society communities that strive to maintain intellectual independence.<sup>115</sup> This inequality reflects the shape of epistemic injustice, in which private institutions are often considered less credible despite their significant contributions to the development of Islamic thought at the local level.<sup>116</sup> At this point, Jürgen Habermas's idea of communicative rationality, true academic autonomy is only possible when scientific communication is free from the pressure of administrative power.<sup>117</sup> However, the structure of Islamic education in Indonesia still operates within instrumental rationality, where bureaucratic logic prioritizes effectiveness over rational dialogue. As a result, PTKI often fails to become a public sphere where science and society interact critically.

The relationship among the state, society, and academia in PTKI is dialectical: they do not eliminate each other, but engage in a tug-of-war over interests. The state sees Islamic education as an instrument of national development, the public sees it as an arena for the reproduction of values, while academics demand epistemic autonomy to maintain scientific integrity.<sup>118</sup> Azyumardi Azra called this relationship the politics of Islamic civil society, an effort to balance the state's dominance through the active role of religious educational institutions.<sup>119</sup> PTKIS is a manifestation of this movement: it was born of the initiative of the ulama and the community, not of the state. However, because it is subject to the Ministry of Religion's accreditation and supervision system, its autonomy space becomes paradoxical: independent in establishment but bound in operation. The coordination model through Kopertais reinforces this phenomenon. On the one hand, Kopertais acts as a bridge between the government and PTKIS. On the other hand, it also becomes a vertical control tool that reproduces structural inequality.<sup>120</sup> Politically, this structure depicts intermediary governance, a management mechanism that mediates but, at the same time, normalizes the power relationship between the central and regional governments.

In the face of dominant regulations, several PTKIN and PTKIS developed epistemic synthesis. M. Amin Abdullah through the paradigm *integration-interconnection* proposing that religious science and general science do not have to be separated, but complement each other.<sup>121</sup> Imam Suprayogo reinforces it with a metaphor *The Tree of Knowledge*, where spiritual roots underpin the branches of the social sciences and sciences.<sup>122</sup> Meanwhile, on a social scale, Hefner calls this phenomenon as *Islamic modernity* namely the efforts of Islamic education in Southeast

<sup>114</sup> *Homo Academicus* | Stanford University Press (1988), <https://www.sup.org/books/sociology/homo-academicus>.

<sup>115</sup> Brennan, "Burton Clark's The Higher Education System."

<sup>116</sup> Fricker dan Fricker, *Epistemic Injustice*.

<sup>117</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, with Internet Archive (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), <http://archive.org/details/theoryofcommunic01habe>.

<sup>118</sup> Daun dan Arjmand, "Handbook of Islamic Education | Springer Nature Link (formerly SpringerLink)."

<sup>119</sup> Azra, *Pendidikan Islam*.

<sup>120</sup> Directorate of Islamic Education, *PTKI Quality Report 2023*. <https://diktis.kemenaggo.id>

<sup>121</sup> Adi Saputra, "MENJEMBATANI DIKOTOMI ILMU AGAMA DAN ILMU UMUM (KAJIAN ATAS PEMIKIRAN INTEGRATIF M. AMIN ABDULLAH)," *IMTYAZ: Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman* 9, no. 4 (2025): 999–1009.

<sup>122</sup> Suprayogo, *Paradigma Pengembangan Keilmuan Islam Perspektif UIN Malang*.

Asia to combine classical scientific traditions with modern rationality without losing their moral basis.<sup>123</sup> This synthesis became a subtle form of resistance to the hegemony of the state where Islamic education did not reject modernity, but interpreted it through the ethical and spiritual lens of Islam. In Bourdieu's perspective, this transformation creates *New Academic Habitus*, namely the scientific mindset, practice, and ethos that was born from the interaction between Islamic power and culture.<sup>124</sup> PTKI is no longer just an institution of reproduction of state discourse, but an arena where Muslims build a new meaning and legitimacy about religious relations, knowledge and power.

The future direction of PTKI depends on the courage to negotiate three dimensions: (1) state regulations that guarantee accountability, (2) community participation that maintains social relevance, and (3) academic autonomy that guarantees scientific freedom. Within the Habermasian framework, the democratization of knowledge requires a deliberative public sphere in which policy and science are developed through rational, participatory dialogue.<sup>125</sup> The state needs to shift from a logic of control to one of facilitation, creating adaptive, trust-based regulations. PTKIN and PTKIS must strengthen cross-regional research collaboration, build a network of epistemic solidarity, and fight for academic freedom commensurate with social responsibility. Only through an equal dialectic between power and knowledge can Indonesian Islamic education become the ethical and intellectual motor of global civilization.

## CONCLUSION

This study emphasizes that the development of Islamic Religious Universities in Indonesia is not just an institutional process, but a dialectical arena between power and knowledge. At least four important points emerged from this study. First, this study emphasizes that the development of Islamic Religious Universities (PTKI) in Indonesia takes place as a real space of attraction between state interests and knowledge dynamics. The state, through the regulation of the Ministry of Religion, not only regulates the administrative aspect but also concretely shapes the direction of the curriculum, academic standards, and the limits of the legitimacy of Islamic science. These findings suggest that state control is systematically present in Islamic higher education practices, thereby influencing how institutions produce and distribute knowledge. Second, this study found that Private Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIS) are not merely policy objects but also active actors in adaptation and innovation. Through the development of a more contextually grounded curriculum, scientific integration, and responsiveness to the needs of local communities, PTKIS contributes to expanding the epistemological framework of Islamic education. This shows that there is a praxis space for institutions to negotiate policies while maintaining their social relevance.

Third, this study emphasizes that academic autonomy at PTKI is not absolute but is shaped through a continuous negotiation among state regulations, community demands, and Islamic values. In practice, this autonomy is manifested within certain limits, especially in curriculum innovation, lecturers' academic freedom, and scientific development, all of which remain within the framework of national policies. Fourth, these findings lead to the conclusion that the relationship between the state and Islamic educational institutions should be developed towards a more collaborative pattern, in which the autonomy space is not only limited by regulation but also strengthened through the active participation of institutions in formulating and implementing policies. Thus, the future strengthening of PTKI depends on the ability to strike a balance among state control, academic innovation, and the community's social needs.

---

<sup>123</sup> Hefner, "Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia – UH Press."

<sup>124</sup> *Homo Academicus* | Stanford University Press.

<sup>125</sup> Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*.

The implications of these findings suggest a shift from an administrative control approach to a collaborative governance model. The state needs to create greater space for PTKI and the community to participate in policy formulation, while educational institutions need to strengthen their capacity for innovation and accountability. Thus, the strengthening of PTKI in the future does not depend solely on regulations, but also on its ability to build strategic partnerships, develop adaptive curricula, and ensure alignment between Islamic values, social needs, and global challenges.

## REFERENCES

- Abdullah, M. A. *Islam as a Cultural Discourse: Integration-Interconnection of Science and Religion*. UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press; Yogyakarta, 2012.
- Abdullah, M. Amin. *Islamic studies dalam paradigma integrasi-interkoneksi: sebuah antologi*. Suka Press, 2007.
- Abdullah, Muhammad Amin. "Islamic Studies in Higher Education in Indonesia: Challenges, Impact and Prospects for the World Community." *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55, no. 2 (2017): 391–426. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.552.391-426>.
- Adv, Kompas. "Capaian Direktorat PTKI 2024, Akreditasi Unggul Hingga Internasionalisasi PTKIN." *Advertorial*, 17 Desember 2024. <https://adv.kompas.id/baca/capaian-direktorat-ptki-2024-akreditasi-unggul-hingga-internasionalisasi-ptkin/>.
- Afrizal, Afrizal. "Perkembangan Perguruan Tinggi Islam di Indonesia (Kasus STAIN, IAIN, UIN Dan Perguruan Tinggi Islam)." *Berkala Ilmiah Pendidikan* 2, no. 1 (2022): 18–32. <https://doi.org/10.51214/bip.v2i1.378>.
- Aliyah, H., dan dkk. *Implementation of Islamic Higher Education Development Management in Indonesia*. (<https://doi.org/10.31851/jmksp.v8i1.10952>), 2023. <https://jurnal.univpgri-palembang.ac.id/index.php/JMKSP/article/view/10952>.
- Amiruddin, Amiruddin. "DINAMIKA LEMBAGA PENDIDIKAN TINGGI ISLAM DI INDONESIA." *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 41, no. 1 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v41i1.314>.
- An, Kwan-Su, dan Eun-Young Lee. "A Study on the University Restructuring Policy in Convergence Society: from the Perspective of Habermas's Communicative Action." *Journal of Digital Convergence* 13, no. 8 (2015): 439–47. <https://doi.org/10.14400/JDC.2015.13.8.439>.
- Arifin, N. *Higher Education Policy Analysis: the Transformation of LAIN to UIN for the Period 2002-2017 in the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia*. 2021. <https://ojs.pps-ibrahimy.ac.id/index.php/jpii/article/view/288>.
- Azra, Azyumard. *Pendidikan Islam Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*. PT Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2000.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi di tengah Tantangan Milenium III*. Prenada Media, 2019.
- Ball, Stephen J. *The education debate (Third Edition)*. REV-Revised, 3. Bristol University Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1t893tk>.
- Boni, Alejandra, dan Diana Velasco. "Epistemic Capabilities and Epistemic Injustice: What Is the Role of Higher Education in Fostering Epistemic Contributions of Marginalized Knowledge Producers?" *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric* 12, no. 01 (2020): 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.21248/gjn.12.01.228>.
- Bowen, Glenn A. "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method." *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, no. 2 (2009): 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>.

- Brennan, John. "Burton Clark's The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective." *London Review of Education* 8 (Januari 2010): 229–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14748460.2010.515122>.
- Bukhori, K. A., Kun Budianto, Erniwati Erniwati, dan Moh Faizal. "Religious Authority and Political Dynamics: The Influence of Fatwa Issuance by Religious Institutions on Political Discourses in Indonesia." *Muslim Heritage* 10, no. 2 (2025): 251–66. <https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v10i2.11784>.
- Clark, Burton R. *The Higher Education System: Academic Organization in Cross-National Perspective*. University of California Press, 1986.
- Database Peraturan | JDIH BPK. "KEPPRES No. 50 Tahun 2004." 2004. <http://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/55642/keppres-no-50-tahun-2004>.
- Database Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Indonesia - [PERATURAN.GO.ID]. "KEPPRES No. 11 Tahun 1997 Tentang Pendirian Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri." 1997. <https://peraturan.go.id/id/keppres-no-11-tahun-1997>.
- Database Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Indonesia - [PERATURAN.GO.ID]. "PERPRES No. 27 Tahun 1963 Tentang Pembentukan Institut Agama Islam Negeri." Diakses 19 November 2025. <https://peraturan.go.id/id/perpres-no-27-tahun-1963>.
- Daulay, H. Haidar Putra. *Pendidikan Islam dalam sistem pendidikan nasional di Indonesia*. Kencana, 2014. [https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=YdxDDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA2&dq=Putra+Daulay,+%E2%80%99CHaidar.+Pendidikan+Islam+Dalam+Sistem+Pendidikan+Nasional+Di+Indonesia&ots=hZ6p\\_prM1T&sig=UQWT0SJ320DZCxLmCofRtVZgH8](https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=YdxDDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA2&dq=Putra+Daulay,+%E2%80%99CHaidar.+Pendidikan+Islam+Dalam+Sistem+Pendidikan+Nasional+Di+Indonesia&ots=hZ6p_prM1T&sig=UQWT0SJ320DZCxLmCofRtVZgH8).
- Daun, Holger, dan Reza Arjmand. "Handbook of Islamic Education | Springer Nature Link." 2017. <https://link.springer.com/referencework/10.1007/978-3-319-53620-0>.
- Daun, Holger, dan Reza Arjmand. "Handbook of Islamic Education | Springer Nature Link (formerly SpringerLink)." 2018. <https://link.springer.com/referencework/10.1007/978-3-319-64683-1>.
- Duarte, Nelson, dan Ricardo Vardasca. "Literature Review of Accreditation Systems in Higher Education." *Education Sciences* 13, no. 6 (2023): 582. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci13060582>.
- Effendy, Bahtiar. *Islam dan Negara; Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*. 2009.
- Fadjar, A. Malik. "Reorientasi Pendidikan Islam." Fajar Dunia, 1999. <https://lib.umpr.ac.id/opac/detail-opac?id=3815>.
- Fitriyawany, dan dkk. *Integrating Islamic Values into Science Learning in Indonesian Islamic Higher Education: Expectation and Implementation*. (UIN Raden Intan Lampung), advance online publication, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.24042/tadris.v7i1.10802>.
- Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. With Internet Archive. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980. [http://archive.org/details/powerknowledgese0000fouc\\_v9d7](http://archive.org/details/powerknowledgese0000fouc_v9d7).
- Foucault, Michel. "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison." Universitas Indonesia Library, Vintage Books, 1979. <https://lib.ui.ac.id>.
- Fricker, Miranda, dan Miranda Fricker. *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing*. Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Gramsci, A. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Lawrence & Wishart, 1971.
- Gumanti, Miswan, Iis Maisaroh, Andi Warisno, An An Andari, dan M. Afif Anshori. "Development of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia." *JMKSP (Jurnal Manajemen, Kepemimpinan, Dan Supervisi Pendidikan)* 8, no. 1 (2023): 237–52. <https://doi.org/10.31851/jmksp.v8i1.11079>.
- Gumanti, Miswan, Iis Maisaroh, Andi Warisno, An An Andari, dan M. Afif Anshori. "Development of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia." *JMKSP (Jurnal Manajemen,*

- Kepemimpinan, Dan Supervisi Pendidikan* 8, no. 1 (2023): 237–52. <https://doi.org/10.31851/jmksp.v8i1.11079>.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Theory of Communicative Action*. With Internet Archive. Boston: Beacon Press, 1984. <http://archive.org/details/theoryofcommunic01habe>.
- Hasibuan, Ahmad Ibrahim, Hasan Asari, dan Neliwati Neliwati. “Development of Quality and Integrity Islamic Higher Education in North Sumatra in KOPERTAIS IX.” *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Agama* 15, no. 2 (2023): 581–90. <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v15i2.2777>.
- Hayadin, Hayadin, Khoirun Niam, Munawiroh, dan Ronald Lukens-Bull. “Contemporary Changes in Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia: Dynamic Encounter Between Modernisation and Tradition.” *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 20, no. 1 (2025): 189–200. <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol20no1.14>.
- Hefner, Robert W. “Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia – UH Press.” Diakses 12 Januari 2026. <https://uhpress.hawaii.edu/title/making-modern-muslims-the-politics-of-islamic-education-in-southeast-asia/>.
- Holub, Renate. Review of *Review of Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, oleh Antonio Gramsci dan Derek Boothman. *Italica* 73, no. 3 (1996): 453–57. <https://doi.org/10.2307/479844>.
- Homo Academicus* | Stanford University Press. 1988. <https://www.sup.org/books/sociology/homo-academicus>.
- Husain, Saddam, dan Andi Eki Dwi Wahyuni. “KEBIJAKAN PENDIDIKAN PADA PERGURUAN TINGGI ISLAM: TRANSFORMASI STAIN DAN IAIN MENJADI UIN.” *Jurnal Pendidikan Kreatif* 4, no. 1 (2023): 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.24252/jpk.v4i1.39074>.
- Husain, Saddam, dan Andi Eki Dwi Wahyuni. “KEBIJAKAN PENDIDIKAN PADA PERGURUAN TINGGI ISLAM: TRANSFORMASI STAIN DAN IAIN MENJADI UIN.” *Jurnal Pendidikan Kreatif* 4, no. 1 (2023): 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.24252/jpk.v4i1.39074>.
- Iswantir, Muhammad. “AZYUMARDI AZRA THINKING ABOUT PARADIGM SCIENTIFIC AND INSTITUTIONAL AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC STATE UNIVERSITY (UIN) SYARIF HIDAYATULLAH JAKARTA.” *Proceedings PANTUM KUIS Selangor* 1, no. 1 (2017): 58–71.
- Jabali, Fuad, dan Jamhari. *LAIN dan Modernisasi di Indonesia*. Logos, 2002. “KEPPRES No. 31 Tahun 2002.” 2002. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/56649/keppres-no-31-tahun-2002>.
- Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Tentang Tugas dan Fungsi Koordinator Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta, NOMOR 7341 (2019).
- Khalilah, Khalilah. “Readiness and Challenges of Indonesian Health Higher Education Independent Accreditation Institutions.” *Al-Tanzim: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 2 (2023): 451–62. <https://doi.org/10.33650/al-tanzim.v7i2.5013>.
- Kim, Jonghun. “Why do teachers not change while the national curriculum repeatedly changes?: The ‘Hidden’ resistance of teachers in the centralized system of education in South Korea.” *International Journal of Educational Development* 109 (September 2024): 103105. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2024.103105>.
- Kontributor, Istimewa, dan Moh Khoeron. “Moderasi Beragama: Pilar Kebangsaan dan Keberagaman.” Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 10 April 2023. <https://kemenag.go.id/kolom/moderasi-beragama-pilar-kebangsaan-dan-keberagaman-MVUb9>.
- Kosa, Hikmah Akmelia, dan Irawan Irawan. “Integrasi Ilmu Dan Agama Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga.” *Educompassion: Jurnal Integrasi Pendidikan Islam Dan Global* 2, no. 1 (2025): 143–50. <https://doi.org/10.63142/educompassion.v2i1.148>.

- Latief, Hilman. *The Masyumi Networks and the Proliferation of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia (1945–1965)*. 10 November 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-bja10043>.
- Lortan, Darren Brendan, dan Savathrie Maistry. “Epistemic Injustice: Barrier to Articulation Management between Higher Education Institutions in South Africa.” *International Conference on Multidisciplinary Research* 2018 (Mei 2018): 283–98.
- Mahoney, James. “Explaining Institutional Change.” Cambridge University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511806414>.
- Maimunah, Iffat, Miftahul Huda, Arina Haque, dan Zubaidah Zubaidah. “Islamic Boarding School at University: A Strong Pathway for Integrating Religion and Science.” *J-PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 8, no. 1 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.18860/jpai.v8i1.15361>.
- Mataram, Humas UIN. “REKTOR SIAPKAN AGENDA STRATEGIS KOPERTAIS WILAYAH XIV.” *UIN Mataram*, 5 Maret 2020. <https://uinmataram.ac.id/rektor-siapkan-agenda-strategis-kopertais-wilayah-xiv/>.
- Miftah, Muhammad. “Islamic Education Politics Ambiguity of Policy Intepretation in Islamic Religious College: Between Negotiation and Institutional Authority.” *Addin* 13, no. 2 (2019): 369–400. <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v13i2.7003>.
- Muaz, Nanat Fatah Natsir, dan Erni Haryanti. “PARADIGMA INTEGRASI ILMU PERSPEKTIF POHON ILMU UIN MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG.” *Afkar, Journal For Islamic Studies*, 14 Februari 2022, 302–19. <https://doi.org/10.31943/afkarjournal.v5i1.221>.
- Muaz, Nanat Fatah Natsir, dan Erni Haryanti. “PARADIGMA INTEGRASI ILMU PERSPEKTIF POHON ILMU UIN MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG.” *Afkar, Journal For Islamic Studies*, 14 Februari 2022, 302–19. <https://doi.org/10.31943/afkarjournal.v5i1.221>.
- Muhlisin, Muhlisin, Nur Kholis, dan Juwita Rini. “Navigating the Nexus: Government Policies in Cultivating Religious Moderation Within State Islamic Higher Education.” *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 11, no. 1 (2023): 207–46. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v11i1.12677>.
- Mujiburrahman, Zulfatmi, Sabirin, Husnul Khatimah, dan Faisal Bin Husen Ismail. “Reformulation of Competency Development of Lecturers of State Islamic Religious Universities in Indonesia after COVID-19.” *Asian Journal of University Education* 18, no. 1 (2022): 15–33.
- Musthofa, Musthofa, Lulu Nisa, dan Yuyun Affandi. “Quality Assurance in Education: Readiness of Islamic Higher Education to Face the New Accreditation Model in Indonesia.” Conf. paper presented pada Proceedings of the First International Conference on Islamic History and Civilization, ICON-ISHIC 2020, 14 October, Semarang, Indonesia. 14 Januari 2021. <https://eudl.eu/doi/10.4108/eai.14-10-2020.2303847>.
- Muthohirin, Nafik, Ahmad Amir Aziz, Choirul Mahfud, Fahrudin Mukhlis, dan Rosyidatul Hikmawati. “Islamic Sciences in Transition: Post-Reformation Developments in Indonesia’s State Islamic Universities.” *Ulumuna* 29, no. 1 (2025): 429–60. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v29i1.849>.
- Natsir, Ahmad, Didin Wahyudin, Hafidh Aziz, dan Hasbulloh Nadaraning. “Between Islamic and Western Education: The Educational Dichotomy in ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naḥlāwī’s Thought.” *Muslim Heritage* 10, no. 2 (2025): 225–50. <https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v10i2.11704>.
- Nawawi, Ahmad Nawawi Ahmad, Farhad Muhammad Farhad Muhammad, dan Kusaeri Kusaeri. “REKONSTRUKSI ANDRAGOGI PENDIDIKAN ISLAM MELALUI PEMBELAJARAN TRANSFORMATIF MEZIROW.” *Muslim Heritage* 9, no. 1 (2024): 19–43. <https://doi.org/10.21154/muslimheritage.v9i1.7994>.
- Nugraha, Mulyawan Safwandy, Dadang Sahroni, dan Aeni Latifah. “Private Islamic Higher Education in Asean Economic Community (AEC) Era.” *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 2, no. 3 (2016): 393–412. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v2i3.853>.

- Nurdiyanti, Yanti. “Otonomi Pembiayaan Dalam Mencapai Mutu Pendidikan Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta (Ptkis) Di Jawa Barat: Penelitian Di Universitas Islam Bandung, Institut Agama Islam Darussalam Ciamis Dan STAI Persis Bandung.” Doctoral, UIN SUNAN GUNUNG DJATI BANDUNG, 2024. <https://doi.org/10/8.%252520Daftar%252520Pustaka.pdf>.
- PP No. II (1960).
- Purwanti, Eko. “Preparing the Implementation of Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka Policy in Higher Education Institutions.” 21 Januari 2021, 384–91. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210120.149>.
- Romanowski, Michael H. “Controlling higher education from a distance: using foucault’s governmentality to better understand accreditation.” *Cogent Education* 9, no. 1 (2022): 2073631. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2022.2073631>.
- Romanowski, Michael H. “Controlling higher education from a distance: using foucault’s governmentality to better understand accreditation.” *Cogent Education* 9, no. 1 (2022): 2073631. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2022.2073631>.
- Rosyad, Ali Miftakhu. “The IMPLEMENTASI NILAI-NILAI MULTIKULTURALISME MELALUI PEMBELAJARAN PENDIDIKAN AGAMA ISLAM (THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MULTICULTURALISM VALUES THROUGH LEARNING OF ISLAMIC RELIGION EDUCATION): multicultural education and learning of islamic religious education.” *Risalah Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Islam* 5, no. 1, March (2019): 1–18. [https://doi.org/10.31943/jurnal\\_risalah.v5i1.90](https://doi.org/10.31943/jurnal_risalah.v5i1.90).
- Routledge & CRC Press. “Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age.” Diakses 12 Januari 2026. <https://www.routledge.com/Official-Knowledge-Democratic-Education-in-a-Conservative-Age/Apples/p/book/9780415892179>.
- Rusdiana, A. *AKUNTABILITAS PERGURUAN TINGGI ISLAM SWASTA*. t.t.
- Salman, Ibnu. “PERAN KOPERTAIS IX DALAM PEMBINAAN MUTU PERGURUAN TINGGI AGAMA ISLAM DI SUMATERA UTARA: THE ROLE OF KOPERTAIS REGION IX IN THE QUALITY DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN NORTH SUMATERA.” *Penamas* 27, no. 1 (2014): 79–94.
- Saputra, Adi. “MENJEMBATANI DIKOTOMI ILMU AGAMA DAN ILMU UMUM (KAJIAN ATAS PEMIKIRAN INTEGRATIF M. AMIN ABDULLAH).” *IMTIYAZ: Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman* 9, no. 4 (2025): 999–1009.
- “Sejarah.” *Universitas Islam Indonesia*, t.t. Diakses 27 April 2026. <https://www.uii.ac.id/profil/sejarah/>.
- Senellart, Michel, François Ewald, dan Alessandro Fontana, ed. *Security, Territory, Population*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230245075>.
- “STRATEGI PENINGKATAN MUTU PERGURUAN TINGGI AGAMA ISLAM SWASTA (PTAIS) DI LINGKUNGAN KOPERTAIS WILAYAH X JAWA TENGAH (Dalam Perspektif Stakeholders) | At-Taqqaddum.” Diakses 21 November 2025. <https://journal.walisongo.ac.id/index.php/attaqaddum/article/view/1207>.
- Sumarto. “PERKEMBANGAN POLITIK DAN KEBIJAKAN PENDIDIKAN ISLAM DI INDONESIA.” *Thaqafiyat : Jurnal Bahasa, Peradaban Dan Informasi Islam* 18, no. 1 (2017): 107–27.
- Suprayogo, Imam. *Paradigma Pengembangan Keilmuan Islam Perspektif UIN Malang*. UIN Malang Press, 2006.
- Tinggi, Koordinator Pergu Ruan. *KEPUTUSAN MENTERI AGAMA REPUBLIK INDONESIA NOMOR 155 TAHUN 2004 TENTANG KOORDINATORAT PERGU RUAN TINGGI AGAMA ISLAM SWASTA*. t.t.
- “UIN dan Modernisasi Kajian Islam.” Diakses 20 November 2025. <https://pbi.ftk.uin-alauddin.ac.id/artikel-56-uin-dan-modernisasi-kajian-islam>.

- Ummah, Sun Choirol. "Paradigma Keilmuan Islam Di Perguruan Tinggi." *Humanika: Kajian Ilmiah Mata Kuliah Umum* 19, no. 2 (2019): 100–120. <https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v19i2.30300>.
- Utami, Yeri, dan Yunanto Andang Tri. "Muhammadiyah And Islamic Education Reform." *JURNAL PEDAGOGY* 18, no. 1 (2025): 53–63. <https://doi.org/10.63889/pedagogy.v18i1.313>.
- Visi dan Misi – Badan Akreditasi Nasional Perguruan Tinggi*. t.t. Diakses 27 April 2026. <https://www.banpt.or.id/visi-dan-misi/>.
- Weber, Max. *Economy and Society: A New Translation*. Harvard University Press, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv24trdzh>.
- Yamin, Mohamad, Nanat Fatah Natsir, dan Erni Haryanti. *Jaring Laba-Laba, Interaksi-Interkoneksi Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta | JIIP - Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pendidikan*. 2022. <http://jiip.stkipyapisdompnu.ac.id/jiip/index.php/JIIP/article/view/413>.
- Yunus, Mahmudi. *Sejarah Pendidikan di Indonesia*. Mutiara Sumberwidya, 1992.
- Zainiyati, Husniyatus Salamah. "Landasan Fondasional Integrasi Keilmuan di UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang dan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya | Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman." Diakses 14 April 2026. <https://islamica.uinsa.ac.id/index.php/islamica/article/view/262>.
- Zaki, Muhammad, Muhammad Solihin, dan Ana Rosyidatu Umatin. "Implementasi Manajemen Kualitas Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta Dalam Perspektif." *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Syar-i* 9, no. 5 (2022): 1699–708. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sjsbs.v9i5.28066>.
- Zaki, Muhammad, Muhammad Solihin, dan Ana Rosyidatu Umatin. "Implementasi Manajemen Kualitas Pada Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Swasta Dalam Perspektif." *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Syar-i* 9, no. 5 (2022): 1699–708. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sjsbs.v9i5.28066>.
- Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. "Modern Islamic Thought in a Radical Age: Religious Authority and Internal Criticism." Cambridge University Press, 2012. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/review-of-middle-east-studies/article/abs/muhammad-qasim-zaman-modern-islamic-thought-in-a-radical-age-religious-authority-and-internal-criticism-new-york-cambridge-university-press-2012-x-363-pages-acknowledgements-note-on-transliteration-map-bibliography-index-cloth-us9400-isbn-9781107096455-paper-us3099-isbn-9781107422254/F5474F8E7FD36C9D780F6A24808F4A01>.
- Zukin, Sharon. Review of *Review of Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.*, oleh Michel Foucault dan Alan Sheridan. *Contemporary Sociology* 25, no. 4 (1996): 463–463. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2077073>.

