Aldina Journal of Islamic Studies
Vol. 01, No. 01 (2026)
https://journal.dinamedia.org/index.php/aldina

Religious Ideological Contestation in Indonesian Islamic Educational Institutions: Between Dissemination and Polarisation

Fitratun Najam Ahmad | Universitas Muslim Buton, Baubau | Indonesia
WA Ode Riska Fauzia Ali | Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam YPIQ, Baubau | Indonesia
*Correspondence: fitra012@gmail.com

Abstract

Religious education in Indonesia faces significant challenges as competing Islamic factions use schools and universities as arenas for ideological conflict. This research sought to examine how religious doctrines are disseminated within these institutions, evaluate the pedagogical dimensions involved, and investigate the consequences of inter-group competition. Using a qualitative methodology incorporating phenomenological and sociological frameworks, the researchers gathered information from school leaders, educators, pupils, and community stakeholders. Data collection methods included detailed interviews, direct observation, and document analysis across three distinct regions: Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta. The findings reveal that schools propagate religious doctrines through formal instruction, curriculum content, and instructional materials. Beyond the classroom, ideological transmission also takes place via religious ceremonies, co-curricular programs, institutional regulations, and organizational norms. This ideological dissemination leads to varied religious interpretations among learners and distinct sectarian identities across different groups, thereby intensifying doctrinal divisions within the broader community. The ideological competition present in Indonesia's Islamic education system represents a critical obstacle that must be confronted to guarantee educational excellence that fosters comprehensive growth for both individuals and communities.

Keywords: Religious Ideology, Islamic Education Institutions, Dissemination, Polarisation, Contestation.

Received: February 13, 2026 | Revised: March 10, 2026 | Accepted: March 13, 2026

INTRODUCTION

At the dawn of the 21st century, Indonesia's educational landscape underwent substantial transformations, encompassing diverse institutional forms that extended beyond state-run schools—a colonial inheritance emphasizing natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities (Azra, 2006)—to include pesantren, which serve as conventional Islamic learning centers dedicated to religious instruction. Pesantren represent distinctive Islamic educational establishments characterized by elements such as mosques, kyai (religious teachers), santri (students), and instruction centered on yellow classical texts. Originally, these institutions

concentrated exclusively on religious curricula guided by yellow classical books. Their educational mission centered on cultivating religious scholars.

The establishment of Islamic boarding schools, madrasas, and other schools represents more than merely addressing Indonesia's educational requirements locally; it also embodies the influence of religious movements and organizations including Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Salafi, and Tarbiyah (particularly prominent in West Sumatra). This diversity has generated multiple ideological perspectives across educational settings, subsequently creating tensions among Muslim communities. Jackson and Parker's research indicates that while these religiously affiliated educational institutions have been incorporated into the national education framework, this integration primarily involves meeting secular educational quality benchmarks (Jackson et al., 2008). These religious communities' educational endeavors are similarly shaped by their ideological commitments.

The New Order's downfall in 1998 intensified competition among religious communities over religious authority; cross-border efforts to extend ideological influence have further fueled this competition (Meuleman, 2011). Indonesian Islamic education operates within this context. Notwithstanding various changes, religious organizations preserve the ideological character of Islamic educational institutions (Rokhmad, 2018). This preservation manifests through curriculum design, encompassing formal courses, supplementary programs, and implicit educational practices.

These circumstances motivated NU, PERTI via its Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, and Muhammadiyah to actively propagate and embed their distinct ideologies throughout their educational systems (Fachruddin, 2006). Muhammadiyah, for instance, developed Al-Islam and Kemuhammadiyahan courses, generating numerous religious teaching materials. Likewise, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah introduced Ketarbiyahan courses. Student religious organizations emerged, including Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (IPM) - Muhammadiyah Student Association and Santri Tarbiyah Islamiyah organization.

Amin Abdullah argues that internal religious divisions remain persistently unresolvable, with political and ideological motivations proving difficult to circumvent. The contrasting perspectives and priorities between Muhammadiyah and NU exemplify how competing interests intertwined with theological and ideological sentiments permeate every sphere, including educational settings. He further proposes that educational institutions ought to emphasize rationality, objectivity, and individual merit yet remain entangled in ideological struggles (Abdullah, 2007).

Contemporary Islamic educational institutions functioning as platforms for ideological rivalry and advancement among Islamic factions mirror medieval sectarian conflicts. Nevertheless, current competition proves more intricate, involving religious movements spanning multiple nations (Saparudin, 2020). Maemonah's research determined that institutional competition generates constructive rivalry that brings ideological matters to the forefront, demonstrating that competition need not yield exclusively detrimental consequences (Maemonah et al., 2023).

Within the framework of religious ideology propagation and contestation in Indonesian Islamic educational settings, two principal factions frequently demonstrate substantial

ideological divergence: modernist puritans and traditionalists (Farida, 2015). These groups employ contrasting methodologies for comprehending, implementing, and transmitting religious principles in Islamic educational institutions, competing for influence over students and broader Muslim communities. Both factions shape the educational framework, curricular content, and pedagogical implementation, particularly regarding religious instruction, indigenous culture, and responses to technological innovation and societal transformation.

Modern Puritans advocate a stricter, text-centered religious methodology aligned with sacred scriptures. They may challenge indigenous practices or cultural expressions deemed inconsistent with religious doctrine and often encourage educational institutions to emphasize instruction in what they consider "pure" religious teaching (Arifin et al., 2019). Provided technological implementation doesn't conflict with religious principles, they generally accept contemporary technological progress. They support science and technology education conforming to Islamic standards.

Traditionalists within educational settings, conversely, emphasize preserving indigenous traditions and cultural heritage throughout education (Harahap, 2019). They maintain that education must incorporate local wisdom compatible with religious values while cultivating students' appreciation for cultural and traditional significance. Traditionalists typically prioritize harmony, tolerance, and local cultural education.

Scholarly examination of ideological dissemination and contestation remains limited. Earlier investigations include Arief Subhan's research (2012), *Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Indonesia Abad ke-20: Pergolakan antara Modernisasi dan Identitas*, a doctoral thesis from the Graduate School of State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. This research directly addresses religious ideology within Islamic education amid modernization. The dissertation examines Islamic education modernization while analyzing identity preservation strategies through religious ideology during the 20th century. Subhan determines that Islamic educational institutions constitute not a singular phenomenon but rather a multifaceted reality reflecting historical evolution. Noorhaidi (2012) in Education, Young Islamists and Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia, examines Integrated Islamic Schools (Sekolah Islam Terpadu—SIT) connected to the Ikhwan Al-Muslim Tarbiyah movement, which attracted public interest, noting that through advancing Hasan Al-Banna's ideological framework, SIT emerged as an innovative Islamic educational trend in Indonesia.

Regarding ideology within education, Saparudin's publication (Muharir, 2022) titled *Ideologi Keagamaan dalam Pendidikan: Diseminasi dan Kontentasi Pada Madrasah dan Sekolah Islam di Lombok* merits examination. Saparudin analyzed Madrasah Muallimin NW Pancor East Lombok, Mataram Muhammadiyah School, and Salafi Abu Hurairah Madrasah in Mataram. He determines that competition between religious factions and more dynamic religious environments ideologically shape Islamic educational institution diversity. Conversely, Islamic educational diversity can generate, reinforce, and distinguish diverse religious patterns and internal Islamic rivalries.

Globally, Sodhar (n.d.) portrays Pakistan's educational situation involving governmental conflicts, where educational institutions resist state-proposed systemic changes. This contrasts with Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia, where Islamic educational institutions operate under

governmental authority with unified identity as ahlussunnah wal jamaah following the Shafi'i school of thought (Azra, 2013). Zaniah Marshallsay's "Twists and Turns of Islamic Education Across The Islamic World" discovered diverse Islamic educational forms across countries including Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Turkey, India, Pakistan, China, and Indonesia. Indonesian Islamic educational institutions led by NU and Muhammadiyah remain receptive to governmental reforms despite differing ideological positions (Marshallsay, 2014).

Investigating religious ideology dissemination and contestation within educational institutions across Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta proves significant. Aceh presents unique characteristics through Islamic sharia implementation, with most residents following Shafi'i madhhab and ahlussunnah wal jamaah. Aceh maintains more NU dayahs than alternative Islamic schools (Zulkhairi et al., 2024). Consequently, propagating NU's religious ideology in Aceh proceeds more readily than establishing Muhammadiyah schools, which communities resist due to perceived Wahabi associations.

METHOD

This research sought to examine the ways religious thought systems are transmitted within schools, evaluate their pedagogical dimensions, and investigate what happens when different faith-based organizations compete for influence. The investigation employed a qualitative methodology combining phenomenological and sociological frameworks. A phenomenological framework was selected, given that the investigator, serving as the primary research tool, engaged extensively and directly with the field environment over a prolonged duration. This framework enabled the investigator to examine in detail how participants understood and made sense of their own experiences, necessitating that the investigator become integrated with those being studied and relevant stakeholders (Muhadjir, 2000). Additionally, the sociological framework examined the ways that relationships, engagements, and rivalries among religious movements shape the formation of ideological identities within educational settings.

Data for the investigation came from school heads, assistant heads, educators, pupils, Islamic schools (madrasas), and Islamic boarding institutions (pesantrens) located in Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta provinces. Information was gathered using in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document review. The analytical process followed the framework outlined by Miles and Huberman (1986), encompassing stages of data gathering, data reduction, data display, and drawing or validating conclusions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Spread of Religious Thought through Islamic Educational Settings

The study took place across educational facilities—schools, madrassas, and boarding institutions—operated by Muhammadiyah, NU (pesantren), and Salafi organizations in Yogyakarta, Minangkabau, and Aceh. The selection of Aceh stemmed from evidence showing that NU-run pesantrens hold significance among Acehnese communities, as do Islamic educational centers under Salafi direction. Conversely, Muhammadiyah-operated institutions encounter limited acceptance from Acehnese residents. Yet in West Sumatra,

Muhammadiyah—originally founded in Yogyakarta—enjoys considerable community support. This popularity becomes evident through the substantial presence of Muhammadiyah educational facilities and pesantrens throughout West Sumatra. Notably, NU-affiliated schools represent only a small fraction in West Sumatra. PERTI-connected MTI boarding schools exist in large numbers, though certain MTIs face declining enrollment. Others continue thriving and expanding, including MTI Candung and MTI Pasir in Agam district. Islamic schools, meanwhile, emerge as preferred options among parents. The researchers selected Yogyakarta due to its abundance of NU pesantrens, particularly Pesantren Al-Munawwir, which served as a research focus. Al-Munawwir Pesantren stands as both the most established and nationally recognized pesantren. The investigation also examined Madrasah Mu'alimin Muhammadiyah, KH Ahmad Dahlan's inaugural Muhammadiyah institution. Muhammadiyah's reformist agenda resonates strongly with Yogyakarta's population. Islamic schools similarly attract growing interest and are expanding rapidly, particularly in metropolitan zones. Comprehending these patterns more thoroughly enables improved educational planning and administration within respective regions. Religious ideological transmission occurs through these means:

The transmission of religious thought through formal, informal, and implicit educational programs

Identifying the religious orientation of educational establishments, particularly those affiliated with Muhammadiyah, presents little difficulty since these institutions—spanning from early childhood centers through higher education—prominently display the Muhammadiyah designation. This contrasts with NU-affiliated schools, where institutional nomenclature varies considerably. NU educational centers may adopt foundation names, traditional Islamic teacher (kyai) designations, pesantren identifications, or the Al-Ma'arif designation. Similarly, Islamic educational facilities exhibit considerable diversity in naming conventions. These establishments become recognizable through the religious philosophies they promote and cultivate rather than through their institutional labels.

The educational facilities—including schools, madrasas, and pesantren—examined across these three geographical areas encompass Al-Arabiyan IT High School, Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah, and Dayah Darul Ulum Al-Fata located in Aceh; Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Candung Islamic Boarding School, MA Kauman, and Sahabat Cendekia IT High School situated in West Sumatra; and Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak, Muallimin Muhammadiyah madrasah, and Ar-Raihan IT High School based in Yogyakarta. These educational centers transmit religious doctrine to learners through multiple channels and initiatives, encompassing both formal academic programs and supplementary educational activities.

The findings from Aceh prove particularly noteworthy. Dayah "Darul Ulum Al Fata" propagates its religious doctrine through theological courses and texts aligned with the Shafi'i jurisprudential tradition, including Qaliubi Wa Umairah III-IV authored by Sheikh Jalaluddin Al-Mahalli. The academic content encompasses works from Islamic scholars following Asy'ari theological principles, such as "Ad-Dusuqi" by Sheikh Ibrahim Ad-Dusuki. Similarly,

"Muraqil 'Ubudiyah" by Sheikh Muhammad Nawawi Al-Jawi serves as the instructional text for Sufism studies.

Doctrinal transmission occurs additionally through devotional practices and remembrance exercises. The traditionalist NU dayah identity manifests in student dress codes: sarongs for male students and cedar/niqab (full veiling) for female students. Dayah "Darul Ulum Al-Fata" represents one among thousands of such institutions throughout Aceh. The dayah system in Aceh functions equivalently to Java's pesantren system. Dayahs constitute the preferred Islamic educational option for Acehnese families. Aceh ranks fifth nationally in dayah concentration, hosting 1,286 institutions serving 272,601 students across Indonesia, following West Java with 9310 pesantrens, Banten with 5344 pesantrens, East Java with 5121 pesantrens, and Central Java with 3927 pesantrens. Numerous NU dayah graduates become dedicated advocates or ideological mechanisms as theorized by Louis Althusser (Althusser, 2004). According to Althusser's framework, ideological mechanisms serve crucial functions in establishing societal belief systems. Within NU dayah contexts, numerous students develop into dedicated advocates or ideological mechanisms because these institutions systematically establish, embed, and disseminate particular principles and worldviews consistent with NU teachings and philosophy. This transformation happens through utilizing religious instruction as an ideological vehicle, internalizing principles and commitment, perpetuating ideology through successive generations, and developing students into ideology-disseminating representatives who subsequently engage actively in community life.

Consequently, when greater numbers of Acehnese families enroll their children in NU dayah programs, this naturally results in expanding populations of NU dayah-trained advocates who subsequently become transmitters of the ideology learned within the dayah. Student enrollment at Darul Ulum Al Fata significantly exceeds that of Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah (Mahmudah, 2017).

Families select dayahs based primarily on the Tengku's reputation—the dayah's spiritual leader. Within Acehnese culture, Tengku commands profound respect. Haidar observes that Acehnese communities perceive Tengku as individuals possessing superior religious understanding compared to ordinary people, along with exceptional capabilities in various domains, whose supplications carry blessings, maledictions, therapeutic power, and affliction. They possess knowledge of divinely ordained supplications for accomplishing diverse objectives (Miswar, 2020). Tengku embodies piety and charismatic authority. A Tengku combines profound Islamic scholarship, generating followers' obedience as spontaneous and instinctive deference.

Additionally, the predominant Muslim population in Aceh adhering to the Shafi'i jurisprudential tradition with "i'tiqad ahli sunnah waljamaah" influences parental preference for NU dayah institutions over Muhammadiyah alternatives, as they better correspond with their theological commitments. Certain community members equate Muhammadiyah with Wahhabi ideology. [1] Dahnil Simanjuntak, the Chairman of Muhammadiyah Youth,

[1] Wahhabism is a reform movement that opposes traditional interpretations deemed insufficiently grounded in Islamic principles. This revivalist approach stresses the importance of restoring Arabic as the sacred language of

acknowledged that Muhammadiyah faces criticism for being perceived as Wahhabi; it omits qunut during dawn prayers, and its observances diverge from the Syafi'i School and ahli sunnah waljamaah. Another incident involved arson at the At-Taqwa Sangso Samalanga mosque foundation on Tuesday, October 17, 2017. This event resulted from resistance by a faction identifying as ahlussunnah waljamaah supporters against a group labeled Wahabi, specifically the local Muhammadiyah branch.

Khairil Miswar's research (2020) corroborates this finding, revealing that both general populations and certain dayah scholars in Aceh categorize Muhammadiyah as an organization bearing Wahhabi influence, though alternative perspectives maintain that Muhammadiyah lacks Wahhabi characteristics. The community's incomplete acceptance of Muhammadiyah has created enrollment challenges for Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah Islamic boarding school.

Research outcomes from Aceh parallel those from Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) Candung, West Sumatra. Beyond studying Shafi'i school texts, Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli (Satria, 2019), an Islamic reform advocate and Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Candung's founder (1928), composed multiple books studied by students at foundational stages, including Aljawahirul Kalamiyah (Tawhid), Alqaulul Bayan fi tafsiril Quraan (Tafsir Jaz Amma), Risalah Aqwalul wasithah fizzikri warrabithah (concerning rabithah thariqat), Aujazul Kalam fi arkan is Shiam, and Tsamratul Ihsan fi wila dati Saidil Ihsan (prophetic biography from birth through death). A specialized course called "Ketarbiyahan" exists as mandatory foundational-level curriculum.

This pattern continues at Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak Yogyakarta, which likewise adheres to Shafi'i jurisprudence, Ashári, and Maturidi theological frameworks. For Islamic theology instruction, Al-Munawwir students examine texts authored by KH. Ali Maksum, commonly known as Mbah Ali, such as "Hujjatul Ahli Sunnah wal jamaah". Additionally, there exists a hadith compilation, "Muqtatafat min Jami' Kalimih Shalla Allah 'Alaihi wa Sallam" written by KH. Zaenal Abidin Munawwir, summarizing "Fayadh al-Qadir" by Imam Al-Manawi and "Ibanah alAhkam" by Hasan Sulaiman al-Nuri and 'Alwi Abbas al-Makki, which provides commentary on "Bulugh al-Maram min Adillah al-Ahkam".

Beyond formal academic programs, transmission occurs through supplementary programs including Hadrah. [2] Hadrah performances initially involved exclusively male participants. Subsequently, mixed-gender performances evolved wherein male students provide tambourine accompaniment while female students provide vocals. Hadrah performances occur during significant events, including haul[3] commemorations, maulid nabi observances, and pesantren commencement ceremonies (Busyro et al., 2023).

Despite being operational for merely two years, this Arabic-medium Islamic educational institution has garnered significant interest from the Acehnese population, particularly those

divine revelation and calls for abandoning and transforming early religious practices that diverged from authentic Islamic doctrine (Charles, 2001).

[2] Hadrah represents a form of sonic artistry (handasah al-sauth) composed of rhythmically arranged verses and expressions that convey thankfulness toward Allah SWT. Additionally, it serves as a medium to emphasize the magnificence of Prophet Muhammad SAW (Al-Faruqi, 1999).

[3] Haul is a customary practice that entails chanting tahlil as a way to commemorate the death anniversary of a respected religious teacher (Khairi, 2017).

residing in urban areas, contrasting with the situation at SMA IT Al-Arabiyan. The Al-Arabiyan IT High School has enrolled 120 students, demonstrating that families value educational excellence above sectarian considerations. Enrollment includes children from families affiliated with NU, Muhammadiyah, and Salafi traditions, reflecting the institution's commitment to avoiding single-madhab indoctrination. Similarly, SMA IT Sahabat Cendekia Pariaman West Sumatra and SMA IT Ar-Raihan Bantul Yogyakarta maintain adherence to the Qur'an, Sunnah (ahli sunnah waljamaah), the companions of the Prophet, and classical Islamic scholarship without aligning with any specific madhab. Nevertheless, at Sahabat Cendekia IT High School, Salafi perspectives are disseminated through materials on tawheed and the Prophet's biography, accessible via Surau TV and Muraja'ah TV, featuring Sjech Abdul Kadir bin Jawas, a Medina-trained scholar, and Sjech Ahmad Khatib Al Minagkabawi as exemplary figures.

Muraja'ah TV serves as a platform for broadcasting Sheikh Abdul Qadir bin Jawas' teachings and scholarly work, featuring his lectures as condensed advisories and recorded recitations. Additionally, the channel propagates the scholarship of traditional authorities like Sheikh Ahmad Khatib through investigations into fiqh, faith purification, and authentic Islamic teachings derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah.

Educational institutions affiliated with Muhammadiyah, including Dayah Baitul Arqam in Aceh, MA Kauman in West Sumatra, and Madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, implement a standardized curriculum. The Madrasah Aliyah (MA) and pesantren under Muhammadiyah deliver instruction based on Muhammadiyah tarjih, which transcends single-school adherence by selecting interpretations deemed most robust and broadly supported (Santosa, 2017). Within Muhammadiyah, "Manhaj Tarjih" functions as an ideological implementation framework. To reinforce this concept, the Muhammadiyah curriculum development team created a mandatory course titled "Muhammadiyah." Works such as Tafsir Al-Azhar by Buya Hamka, a prominent Muhammadiyah figure, are incorporated into instruction. Co-curricular programs like Tapak Suci and Hizbul Wathan (HW) serve as distinctive markers of Muhammadiyah institutions. These programs function as ideological transmission channels since they extend beyond mere physical training, embodying values and principles consistent with Muhammadiyah's educational mission. Through participation, students develop specialized competencies in martial arts or scouting while receiving intentional guidance in Islamic principles, discipline, accountability, and community solidarity—elements integral to Muhammadiyah's ideological framework.

Curricular design serves as a highly potent tool for character formation in students. Within national contexts, state ideologies can be advanced through educational systems by constructing curricula aligned with those ideologies. Khalili's comparative analysis of Iran's religious ideology and Finland's secular ideology demonstrates that nations can fulfill their generational aspirations through curricular design (Khalili et al., 2022). Nations modify their curricula to respond to evolving contemporary challenges (Baidhawy, 2007). Families across different religious traditions seek both excellent modern education and openness to cultural and religious identity for their children—objectives achievable through school curricula (Huidobro, 2018). Research by Nthontho in South African educational settings emphasizes

the necessity of curricular reform to incorporate religious literacy within life-skills oriented programming for students (Nthontho & Munumkum, 2021).

Spreading religious doctrine through recruitment practices

Across all three regions studied, Islamic schools propagate their distinctive religious viewpoints by implementing specific hiring strategies for educators and administrative personnel within their curriculum frameworks and organizational structures. These institutions commonly recruit their own graduates to fill teaching positions, administrative roles, and school committee seats. This practice particularly applies to instructors of religious texts (Kitab) and Islamic studies courses. Former students are believed to possess superior comprehension of the institutional values and customs that the schools aim to maintain and promote. This approach facilitates partnership between educational institutions and their governing committees in advancing the schools' religious perspectives.

While instructors of non-religious subjects need not be institutional graduates, they must conform their religious views to match the school's doctrinal stance or face disciplinary measures. Muhammadiyah schools, for instance, mandate that all educators and employees obtain membership cards. Possessing such a card designates them as Muhammadiyah representatives. Educators and staff face dismissal for refusing Muhammadiyah membership. The teacher ethical guidelines specify: "In Muhammadiyah life, every teacher is obliged to make the Muhammadiyah association a strong and superior Islamic da'wah movement in various fields of life." Similar policies favoring graduates appear at Dayah Darul Ulum al-Fata in Aceh, MTI Candung in West Sumatra, and Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak Yogyakarta.

SMA IT Al-Arabiya Aceh follows a different approach, accepting teachers from various backgrounds, according to Ustad Fazil Maulana:

> *"Teaching staff at IT Al-Arabiyan High School are diverse. They come from moderate circles, PKS ikhwani, tablig, and Salafi congregations, but they are subject to school policy, namely never raising the khilafat issue at school. Teaching the madhhab comparison is done professionally by only mentioning popular opinions, not choosing, supporting, or blaming others."*

Evidence indicates that Islamic schools connected with NU, Muhammadiyah, or Perti organizations consistently favor their graduates over external candidates for religious text teaching positions. This recruitment strategy exists because graduates possess defined religious convictions matching institutional values, unlike external candidates whose religious positions may be ambiguous.

Recruiting educators and personnel who share the institution's religious perspective matters because these individuals function as conduits for ideological transmission—what Louis Althusser termed the ideological apparatus. These participants engage actively in spreading ideology, from educational foundations (including mass organizations) to school administrators and their deputies, encompassing teachers, pupils, religious communities, and the institution itself. They operate intentionally according to ideological principles with strong commitment toward developing subsequent ideological representatives. Research by Subhin at Madrasah Diniyah Zumrotus Salamah demonstrated educators' effectiveness in

transmitting Islamic doctrine and Javanese traditions to pupils through social engagement (Subhin & Anwar, 2022).

In 'Higher Learning in Islam: The Classical Period, A.D. 700-1300,' Stanton examines the Nizamiyah Madrasah, noting that Islam's first madrasa emerged to promote Sunni doctrine against Shi'a theological currents. Nizam Mulk, who established the Nizamiyyah institution, effectively employed endowment funds (waqf) as financial resources while advancing Shafi'i jurisprudence through strategic appointments of personnel, educators, preachers, and library staff (Stanton, 1990). This historical case confirms that educators and administrative workers served as institutional agents for disseminating the school's theological orientation.

Spreading religious beliefs through former student mobilization

Former students of educational institutions fulfill both scholarly responsibilities and ideological duties. Nearly all Islamic schools transform their graduates into ambassadors for promoting their particular religious perspectives. Evidence from this study demonstrates that Islamic schools following the Shafií tradition deploy their alumni as ideological advocates. Throughout Aceh, numerous former students engage with local populations by founding study groups and instructing community members in their religious interpretations. Similarly, in Yogyakarta, alumni contribute to society by delivering religious sermons and leading study sessions. Within West Sumatra, beyond conducting religious study circles and prayer gatherings, they additionally support collective devotional practices including shalawatan and yasinan assemblies. The inscription on Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli's (MTI Candung's founder) grave marker, "Teroeskan Membina Tarbijah Islamijah Ini Sesoeai Dengan Peladjaran Jangkoe Berikan," carries an implicit directive that MTI Candung's former students must maintain fidelity to the principles acquired during their pesantren education and transmit these teachings to society.

A parallel pattern emerges among former students from Muhammadiyah and Salafi institutions. Graduates from both educational traditions actively propagate their religious viewpoints within communities, despite encountering limited acceptance in certain areas, particularly Aceh. Former Muhammadiyah students specifically employ culturally sensitive strategies to gain community acceptance. According to Ustad Azhar's explanation, "We teach the alumni of Muhammadiyah Bail Arqam Dayah to take a cultural approach, namely following the ideology believed by the community first and then slowly making changes." This methodology became necessary given Acehnese society's resistance toward accepting Muhammadiyah.

Islamic schools similarly leverage their graduates for ideological propagation, as evidenced in Syafiuddin's research (2018), which revealed that alumni educated in Middle Eastern countries founded Islamic boarding institutions, prayer houses, and universities as key mechanisms for ideological transmission. Sofanudin's investigation of student religious participation and the rohis mentoring system at SMAN in Sukoharjo discovered that Islamic education instructors and former students serve crucial functions in molding pupils' religious comprehension, perspectives, and practices (Sofanudin, 2017). Former students additionally contribute to community-level ideological dissemination. Afriyanti's work at UIN Syahid

Jakarta indicates that substantial numbers of graduates return to their native communities, religious boarding schools, and Islamic schools, or assume teaching positions in their ancestral villages (Afrianty, 2012).

Religious ideological transmission via educational institutional culture

Institutional culture plays a vital role in determining the effectiveness of educational transformation and program execution. This culture represents historically evolved shared understandings that encompass behavioral standards, principles, convictions, customs, and symbolic narratives recognized at multiple levels within the educational community (Coyle, 2008). Islamic learning centers across the three geographical areas have cultivated distinct customs. To illustrate, institutions such as Darul Ulum Al fata (Aceh), MTI Candung (West Sumatra), and Pesantren Al-Munawwir (Yogyakarta) emphasize devotion to Ahlusunnah wal Jama'ah principles and adherence to Shafií jurisprudence. Graduates of MTI Candung receive blessings to remain steadfast in upholding these teachings. Evidence of this appears in graduation documentation provided to students.

The student credentials explicitly identify the Syafi'i mazhab as the adopted jurisprudential framework. These credentials further justify this selection by noting that the majority of Indonesia's population follows Syafi'i jurisprudence. Additional customs include Quranic memorization practices, muzakarah (mutual religious reminders), and haulan, an annual commemorative prayer service honoring departed pesantren founders. Such practices serve as vehicles for transmitting religious ideology across generations.

Furthermore, visual markers and attire function as components of institutional identity while advancing the school's ideological stance. The *sarong*[4] and cap distinguish pesantren students. These students are frequently identified as the sarungan community due to their consistent wearing of sarongs in all settings, including commercial areas. The sarong represents not merely student identification but also constitutes a cultural marker for pesantren communities.

Conversely, students at integrated Islamic institutions and Muhammadiyah educational facilities do not maintain the practice of exclusive allegiance to a single jurisprudential school.

[4] The sarong represents a piece of clothing used by santri that embodies dignity and significant standards of humility. It plays a vital role in santri traditions and everyday life within pesantren communities and broader social settings (Dhofir, 2018).

They lack traditions of shalawatan, haul ceremonies, and sarong wearing. Muhammadiyah and integrated Islamic schools adopt more contemporary dress codes. Their students wear formal trousers, blazers, and neckties.

Consequences of Ideological Formation on Competition Among Islamic Educational Establishments

The ideological rivalry among Islamic educational establishments leads to diversity in religious interpretations and the application of Islamic principles (variation in religious comprehension). Variation in religious comprehension encompasses the disparities or differences in how religious dimensions are understood across individuals, collectives, or societies. This occurrence is common within contexts of religious plurality and the interpretation of sacred texts. Different educational establishments may prioritize particular Islamic doctrines or construe fundamental principles in distinct ways. This generates disparities in students' comprehension and implementation of their faith (Afriansyah, 2021). Evidence of this can be observed in Dayah Darul Ulum Al-Fata, MTI Candung, and Pesantren Al Munawwir Yogyakarta, where the Shafi'i jurisprudential tradition is central to their religious framework, cultivating the expectation that students will adopt this perspective. Conversely, Muhammadiyah institutions clearly assert their non-adherence to any single school of jurisprudence, following exclusively the determinations of their tarjih assembly (Qodir, 2014). Likewise, Salafi approaches reject commitment to any particular jurisprudential school, deriving guidance solely from the Qur'an and Prophetic tradition (Hafid, 2020).

The ideological rivalry further produces distinct factions within the Muslim population, resulting in religious identity segmentation. Graduates from Dayah Darul Ulum Al Fata, MTI Candung, and Pesantren Al Munawwir Yogyakarta possess somewhat divergent religious characteristics compared to alumni of Muhammadiyah and Salafi institutions. The former group's religious markers include allegiance to Shafi'i jurisprudence, adherence to ahlussunnah wal jama'ah theology (Kosim, 2013), collective supplication practices (Nilan, 2009), mystical or austere philosophical orientations, and tomb visitation (Nata, 2012). Graduates from Muhammadiyah and Salafi establishments are distinguished by their non-conformity to any madhab while relying on scriptural sources, their rejection and prohibition of Sufi orders, all of which define their religious profile (Haron, 2006). Such differences may fragment the Muslim population, with certain groups experiencing stronger or weaker bonds with one another.

This rivalry between Islamic educational establishments can intensify ideological divisions to the point where they extend into broader society, generating social polarization. Communities become separated into advocates of specific institutions and their perspectives, influencing interpersonal dynamics and inter-group acceptance. The experience of Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah in Aceh illustrates this phenomenon: despite Muhammadiyah's longstanding presence, certain communities remain resistant to Muhammadiyah institutions. Local perceptions characterize Muhammadiyah as a novel faith rather than a religious movement. Consequently, when Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah was founded, community reception was unfavorable, with educators being labeled "ustad

Wahabi." Acehnese populations harbor antipathy toward Wahabi ideology and conflate it with Muhammadiyah.

Within West Sumatra, societal polarization stemming from ideological competition is similarly observable. Nevertheless, West Sumatran communities demonstrate capacity for accommodating divergent religious interpretations. Rozi's research revealed that Muhammadiyah adherents incorporate indigenous customs into their religious comprehension and conduct. For instance, they commemorate Islamic observances like Maulidan and Isra' Mi'raj alongside followers of alternative religious perspectives. They demonstrate acculturative tendencies by integrating local cultural components into religious observances and ceremonies, including participation in wiridan, shalawatan, and selamatan gatherings. Yet they maintain criteria ensuring alignment with fundamental Islamic principles. Traditionalists, meanwhile, engage in devotional practices such as tahlilan, slametan, and shalawatan while progressively discontinuing incense burning and sesajen offerings (Rozi, 2013).

As previously noted, Acehnese populations adhering to Shafi'i jurisprudence struggle to embrace Muhammadiyah and Salafi movements. In Yogyakarta, Muhammadiyah's birthplace, acceptance came readily. Ustad Farhan, administrator of Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, observed that Yogyakarta communities welcomed Muhammadiyah from its inception; evidence includes numerous Yogyakarta residents affiliated with NU and PERSIS enrolling their children in Muhammadiyah schools. Ustad Farhan participates actively across various pesantren and madrasah initiatives in Yogyakarta. These circumstances demonstrate Yogyakarta communities' receptiveness to Muhammadiyah's establishment. This acceptance stems from the Muhammadiyah community's greater tolerance and moderation. The tolerant and moderate disposition displayed by Muhammadiyah reflects their intention to adapt and validate themselves to syncretic traditionalists (Beck, 1995; Nakamura, 1983; Peacock, 1978).

Education is commonly regarded as inherently beneficial activity and largely value-neutral. Yet currently, many remain unaware of their participation in ideological contestation within educational spheres. Education represents a compelling arena because it facilitates sociopolitical transformation (Pratama et al., 2019). Indonesia's Madrasah curriculum merges religious and secular content. The Ministry of Religious Affairs has established standardized curricula for governmental and private madrasas. Religious ideological orientation in public madrasas adheres entirely to Ministry of Religious Affairs formulations and directives. Consequently, the religious ideology and educational objectives articulated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs embody the political intentions of the governing administration (Subkhan, 2018). This policy extends to private madrasas as well. Nevertheless, because private madrasas operate beyond direct Ministry of Religious Affairs oversight, they can cultivate the founding visions that originally motivated their establishment. Combined with affiliations to religious social movements, private madrasas develop according to their distinct religious ideologies. Content relating to religious ideology appears within private madrasah curricula. Muhammadiyah-related materials feature in Muhammadiyah schools, whereas NU and ahl sunnah wal jama'ah content appears in Ma'arif NU schools and madrasas. For private institutions, religious ideology constitutes a fundamental requirement, considering most

originated from religious social movements. However, concern arises regarding the expanding dissemination of radical Salafi ideology being advanced through education. Certain implementation differences are remarkably pronounced, raising concerns about potential threats to national educational objectives.

Various religious movements, including the Salafi movement, trace their origins to reformist initiatives within transnational movements like the Muslim Brotherhood. Within Indonesia, this movement inspires the internalization of religious principles, establishment of educational institutions for generational continuity, and application of comprehensive Islamic conceptualizations (Afida, 2018).

According to Suharto's perspective, Islamic education serves as the most strategic mechanism for reinforcing the moderate Islam characteristic of Indonesian practice. Islamic education delivered by distinctively Indonesian Islamic educational institutions imparts moderate Indonesian Islam to students. Simultaneously, transnational Islamic educational institutions endeavor to Islamize Indonesia among their student populations. This contestation necessitates strengthening indigenous Islamic educational institutions' roles in Indonesianizing Islam to preserve moderate Islam throughout the archipelago (Suharto, 2017).

These discoveries carry substantial theoretical ramifications for Islamic education, particularly regarding how religious ideology disseminates and how education constructs students' religious identity and comprehension. The theoretical ramifications include: first, education's function as an ideological transmission vehicle. This discovery demonstrates that Islamic education operates not merely as a medium for conveying religious knowledge but as a mechanism for ideological dissemination. Theoretically, this emphasizes how religious education can serve as an instrument for constructing students' worldviews and ideological identities. This challenges educational frameworks seeking to establish schools as neutral environments, since educational institutions influence students' cognition and dispositions both implicitly and explicitly.

Second, religious discourse within Islamic education may gain from the diversity of religious knowledge emerging from ideological proliferation. This reinforces pluralism concepts in Islamic education. Islamic education must create opportunities for various religious interpretations to provide students with more comprehensive and accepting perspectives.

Third, institutional policies shape school culture. From educational theory perspectives, school culture constitutes the environment where students internalize and apply religious principles. Therefore, Islamic education requires attention not exclusively to curriculum but also to cultivating culture that promotes interpretive diversity and inclusiveness within educational settings.

Fourth, education constructs religious identity. An additional theoretical ramification concerns how religious identity develops through education and how Islamic education affects individuals in constructing and identifying themselves according to particular values and ideologies. This undoubtedly connects to social identity theory, demonstrating that education shapes not only cognitive comprehension but also collective identity consciousness among students grounded in accepted ideologies.

Fifth, extracurricular programming affects religious comprehension and constitutes a significant conduit for religious ideological transmission. Theoretically, this indicates that educational processes extend beyond classroom settings through various informal programming. Islamic education should examine how suitable extracurricular programming can enhance and diversify students' comprehension without strengthening restrictive ideological parameters.

CONCLUSION

This research investigated how religious beliefs are spread and debated within Islamic schools that are linked to various religious organizations across Indonesia. These educational institutions propagate their ideological perspectives through formal coursework (academic subjects), student activities outside the classroom, and informal institutional practices. The schools' administrative frameworks and leadership structures also serve as vehicles for promoting their particular worldview by shaping the institutional environment. However, this ideological transmission by Islamic schools has led to significant consequences, including the development of competing perspectives among these institutions, which manifests as diverse interpretations of religious teachings among their students, the splintering of religious identity resulting in the formation of distinct factions within the Islamic community, and ultimately contributing to divisions within society at large.

Despite its contributions, this study is subject to several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, while the selection of Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta was deliberate and theoretically justified, the findings may not be fully generalisable to other Indonesian provinces with different socio-religious compositions, such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi, or the eastern islands, where distinct local dynamics and minority Muslim communities may shape ideological contestation differently. Second, the qualitative and phenomenological design, although well-suited to capturing participants' lived experiences, inherently limits statistical representativeness. The relatively small number of institutions examined within each region means that atypical cases may have had an outsized influence on the findings. Third, access to certain institutions — particularly those with more exclusive or closed organisational cultures, such as some Salafi pesantren — proved challenging, potentially introducing a selection bias in which more open and accommodating institutions were over-represented. Fourth, as with all qualitative fieldwork, the extended presence of the researcher within the field may have introduced observer effects, whereby participants adjusted their responses or behaviour due to awareness of being studied. Finally, the study focused primarily on the dissemination mechanisms and inter-group consequences of ideological contestation; the long-term effects on individual students' religious development, civic engagement, and social attitudes were beyond the scope of this inquiry and remain unexamined.

Building on the present findings, several directions for future research are recommended. First, longitudinal studies tracking the same cohorts of students from enrolment through to post-graduation would help clarify the enduring impact of ideological formation on graduates' religious identities, social tolerance, and civic participation. Such research would provide empirical evidence on whether ideological exposure in educational settings produces lasting

polarisation or whether moderating factors attenuate its effects over time. Second, comparative studies extending the geographical scope to under-researched regions of Indonesia—including areas with significant non-Muslim populations or with historically distinct Islamic traditions, such as Maluku, Nusa Tenggara, or Papua—would enrich our understanding of how local minority-majority dynamics shape ideological contestation in Islamic educational institutions. Third, mixed-methods research designs that combine the depth of qualitative inquiry with the breadth of large-scale survey data would strengthen the generalisability of findings and allow for more robust cross-regional comparisons. Fourth, future research should examine the role of digital platforms and social media as emerging channels of ideological dissemination among students in Islamic educational institutions, a dimension that was noted in this study (for instance, through the use of Surau TV and Muraja'ah TV at Sahabat Cendekia) but warrants dedicated investigation. Finally, intervention-oriented research exploring the effectiveness of inter-institutional dialogue programmes, pluralistic curriculum reforms, and teacher professional development in reducing ideologically driven polarisation would have direct policy relevance and could inform efforts by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and educational stakeholders to foster inclusive, moderate Islamic education across Indonesia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdullah, A. (2007). Kesadaran multikultural: Sebuah gerakan "interest minimalization" dalam meredakan konflik sosial. Dalam *Pendidikan multikultural cross-cultural understanding untuk demokrasi dan keadilan*. Yogyakarta: Pilar Media.

Afida, I. (2018). Historitas lembaga pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Falasifa: Jurnal Studi Keislaman, 9*(1), 17–34. https://doi.org/10.36835/falasifa.v9i1.97

Afriansyah, A. (2021). Konstruksi, kontestasi, fragmentasi, dan pluralisasi otoritas keagamaan Indonesia kontemporer. *Studia Islamika, 28*(1), 227–244. https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v28i1.20514

Afrianty, D. (2012). Islamic education and youth extremism in Indonesia. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism, 7*(2), 134–146. https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2012.719095

Althusser, L. (2004). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In J. Rivkin & M. Ryan (Eds.), *Literary theory: An anthology* (2nd ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Arifin, M., Abdullah, I., & Ratnawati, A. T. (2019). Contestation between puritan Islam and Kejawen in the urban Yogyakarta of Indonesia. *Al-Albab, 8*(2), 193–210. https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v8i2.1460

Azra, A. (2006). Pendidikan Islam Indonesia dan tantangan globalisasi: Perspektif sosio-historis. In J. Burhanudin & D. Afrianty (Eds.), *Mencetak Muslim modern peta pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT. Rajagrafindo Persada.

Azra, A. (2013). The Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah in Southeast Asia: The literature of Malay-Indonesian ulama and reforms. *Heritage of Nusantara International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage, 2*(1), 3–4. https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v2i1.100

Baidhawy, Z. (2007). Building harmony and peace through multiculturalist theology-based religious education: An alternative for contemporary Indonesia. *British Journal of Religious Education, 29*(1), 15–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200601037478

Beck, H. (1995). Islamic purity at odds with Javanese identity: The Muhammadiyah and the celebration of the Garebeg Maulud ritual in Yogyakarta. In J. Plavoet & K. van der Toorn (Eds.), *Pluralism and identity, studies in ritual behavior*. Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill.

Busyro, B., Burhanuddin, N., Muassomah, M., Saka, P. A., & Wafa, M. A. (2023). The reinforcement of the 'dowry for groom' tradition in customary marriages of West Sumatra's Pariaman society. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam, 7*(1), 555–578. https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i1.15872

Coyle, H. E. (2008). School culture benchmarks. *Journal of School Violence, 7*(2), 105–122. https://doi.org/10.1300/j202v07n02_07

Darajat, Z. (2017). Muhammadiyah dan NU: Penjaga moderatisme Islam di Indonesia. *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies, 1*(1), 79–94. https://doi.org/10.21009/hayula.001.1.0

Dhofir, A. (2018). *Peradaban sarung*. Jakarta: PT Alex Media Komputindo.

Fachruddin, F. (2006). *Agama dan pendidikan demokrasi: Pengalaman Muhammadiyah dan Nahdhaul Ulama*. Jakarta.

Fadlillah, S. (2018). *Karya ilmiah partai politik Islam di Indonesia dan jaringan ideologi Timur-Tengah*.

Farida, U. (2015). Islam pribumi dan Islam puritan: Ikhtiar menemukan wajah Islam Indonesia berdasar proses dialektika pemeluknya dengan tradisi lokal. *FIKRAH: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan, 3*(1), 141–156. http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/fikrah.v3i1.1830

Firdaus, H. (2004). *NU, Persis atau Muhammadiyah yang ahli bid'ah?* Bandung: Mujahid Press.

Garcia-Huidobro, J. C. (2018). Addressing the crisis in curriculum studies: Curriculum integration that bridges issues of identity and knowledge. *Curriculum Journal, 29*(1), 25–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585176.2017.1369442

Hafid, W. (2020). Menyoal gerakan Salafi di Indonesia (pro-kontra metode dakwah Salafi). *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law, 2*(1), 29. https://doi.org/10.33096/altafaqquh.v2i1.87

Harahap, M. R. (2019). Tradisi dalam modernisasi pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Jurnal WARAQAT, 4*(1). https://doi.org/10.51590/waraqat.v4i1.71

Haron, M. (2006). Da'wah movements and Sufi tariqahs: Competing for spiritual spaces in contemporary South(ern) Africa. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 25*(2), 37–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/13602000500114157

Hasan, N. (2012). Education, young Islamists and integrated Islamic schools in Indonesia. *Studia Islamika, 19*(1). https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v19i1.370

Jackson, E., & Parker, L. (2008). 'Enriched with knowledge': Modernisation, Islamisation and the future of Islamic education in Indonesia. *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs, 42*(1), 21–53.

Kaptein. (1994). *Perayaan hari lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW*. Jakarta: INIS.

Khalili, S., Kallioniemi, A., & Bagheri Noaparast, K. (2022). Characteristics of human agency in liberal and Islamic religious education based on the national core curricula of Finland and Iran. *British Journal of Religious Education, 44*(1), 53–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2021.1874874

Khairi, M., et al. (2017). Religious relationship among ethnicities: Intercultural communication studies between Arab Hadramaut and Kaili ethnic in Palu, Central Sulawesi. *Asian Journal of Environment, History and Heritage, 1*(1), 123–130.

Kosim, M. (2013). Tradisi Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah di Sumatera Barat. *At-Tarbiyah, IV*(1), 21–45. https://doi.org/10.31227/osf.io/79nqm

Kurzman, C. (Ed.). (2001). *Wacana Islam liberal: Pemikiran Islam kontemporer tentang isu-isu global*. Jakarta: Paramadina.

Maemonah, M., Zuhri, H., Masturin, M., Syafii, A., & Aziz, H. (2023). Contestation of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia: Content analysis on social media. *Cogent Education, 10*(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2022.2164019

Mahmudah, H. (2017). Transmisi ideologi fundamentalisme dalam pendidikan. *TAJDID: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman dan Kemanusiaan, 1*(2), 200–216. http://dx.doi.org/10.52266/tadjid.v1i2.4

Marshallsay, Z. (2014). International journal of pedagogies and learning. *International Journal of Pedagogies & Learning, 7*(3), 180–190. https://doi.org/10.5172/ijpl.2012.7.3.180

Meuleman, J. (2011). 'Da'wah, competition for authority, and development. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 167*(2/3), 236–269. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41288763

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1986). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Miswar, K. (2020). Wahhabi dalam perspektif HUDA dan implikasinya terhadap kehidupan sosial keagamaan di Aceh. *Tadabbur: Jurnal Peradaban Islam, 2*(1), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.22373/tadabbur.v2i1.57

Muhadjir, N. (2000). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif* (4th ed.). Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin.

Muharir. (2022). Resilience, accommodation and social capital Salafi Islamic education in Lombok. *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam, 11*(1), 1383–1404. https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v11i01.2981

Nakamura, M. (1983). *Bulan sabit muncul dari balik pohon beringin: Studi tentang pergerakan Muhammadiyah di Kotagede*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.

Nata, A. (2012). *Sejarah sosial intelektual Islam dan institusi pendidikannya*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.

Nilan, P. (2009). The 'spirit of education' in Indonesian pesantren. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 30*(2), 37–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690802700321

Nthontho, M. A., & Addai-Mununkum, R. (2021). Towards religious literacy in South African schools: Is the life orientation curriculum potent enough? *Journal of Beliefs and Values, 42*(4), 436–449. https://doi.org/10.1080/13617672.2020.1859790

Nurish, A. (2019). Muhammadiyah dan arus radikalisme. *Maarif, 14*(2), 59–74. https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v14i2.62

Peacock, J. L. (1978). *Muslim puritan: Reformist psychology in Southeast Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pratama, I. P., & Zulhijra, Z. (2019). Reformasi pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Jurnal PAI Raden Fatah, 1*(2), 117–127. https://doi.org/10.19109/pairf.v1i2.3216

Raji AlFaruqi, I. (1999). *Seni tauhid: Esensi dan ekspresi estetika Islam*. Yogyakarta: Bentang.

Rokhmad, A. (2018). Buku dan penyebaran ideologi radikal di lembaga pendidikan. *International Journal Ihya' 'Ulum Al-Din, 20*(1), 41. https://doi.org/10.21580/ihya.20.1.2745

Rozi, S. (2013). Konstruksi Identitas Agama dan Budaya Etnis Minangkabau di daerah perbatasan: Perubahan identitas dalam interaksi antaretnis di Rao Kabupaten Pasaman Sumatera Barat. *Masyarakat Indonesia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Indonesia, 39*(1), 215–245. https://doi.org/10.14203/jmi.v39i1.317

Santosa, N. E. T. I. (2017). *Karakter Muhammadiyah melandaikan gagasan Islam berkemajuan*. Sidoarjo. Retrieved from http://eprints.umsida.ac.id/id/eprint/204

Saparudin. (2020). Islamic education as ideological marketing in contemporary Indonesian Islam. In *Proceedings of the 2nd ICS Universitas Mataram International Conference: Countering Radicalism & Terrorism in the Digital Era - Reshaping a Global Peace Community* (pp. 1–12). Mataram. https://ssrn.com/abstract=3741619

Satria, R. (2019). Pembaruan pendidikan Islam di Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang. *Geneologi PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam, 6*(1), 15. https://doi.org/10.32678/geneologipai.v6i1.1923

Sodhar, Z. U. A. (n.d.). Madrasa system of education in Pakistan: Challenges and issues. *41*, 291–304.

Sofanudin, A. (2017). Aktivitas keagamaan siswa dan jaringan mentoring rohis SMA Negeri di Kabupaten Sukoharjo. *Jurnal Smart: Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi, 3*(1), 29–39. https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v3i1.462

Stanton, C. M. (1990). *Higher learning in Islam: The classical period, A.D. 700-1300* (1st ed.). Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Subhan, A. (2012). *Lembaga pendidikan Islam Indonesia abad ke-20 pergumulan antara modernisasi dan identitas*. Jakarta: Kencana.

Subhin, M. A., & Anwar, S. (2022). Modal sosial untuk keberhasilan Madrasah Diniyah dalam penyemaian ideologi ke-Islaman dan Jawa. *Jurnal Pendidikan Nusantara, 1*(3), 157–165. https://doi.org/10.55080/jpn.v1i3.32

Subkhan, E. (2018). Ideologi, kekuasaan, dan pengaruhnya pada arah sistem pendidikan nasional Indonesia (1950-1965). *Journal of Indonesian History, 7*(1), 19–34.

Suharto. (2017). Indonesianisasi Islam: Penguatan Islam moderat dalam lembaga pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam, 17*(1), 155–178. http://dx.doi.org/10.21154/altahrir.v17i1.803

Suyanta, S., Saifuddin, S., & Bahri, S. (2024). Tolerance development model for students of Dayah Salafiyah in Aceh. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun, 12*(2), 809. https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v12i2.1308

Ul Anshori, I. (2014). Perbedaan metode ijtihad Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah dalam corak fikih di Indonesia. *Nizam, 4*(1), 125–139.

Zulfatmi, Z. (2023). Learning the values of religious moderation in Madrasah Aliyah: Model analysis. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun, 11*(2), 551. https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v11i2.1006

Zulkhairi, T., Hajar, I., Safriadi, S., Marzuki, M., & Saifullah, S. (2024). Baḥtsul masāil at a traditional Islamic educational institution in Aceh: Teungku Dayah's contribution to the development of Islamic law. *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam, 8*(1), 579. https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i1.17408

Zully Qodir. (2010). *Muhammadiyah studies: Reorientasi gerakan dan pemikiran memasuki abad kedua*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.