



## RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY DISSEMINATION AND CONTESTATION IN INDONESIAN ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

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**Abstract:** Islamic education in Indonesia is currently in the spotlight due to rivalries among Islamic groups that have turned educational institutions into battlegrounds. This study aimed to identify the process of spreading religious ideology in educational institutions, analyze its educational aspects, and explore the implications of competition among religious groups. This study employed a qualitative approach with phenomenological and sociological research designs. The data sources were collected from school administrators, teachers, students, and stakeholders. In-depth interviews, observation, and documentation were used to gather data in three different locations: Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta. The results show that educational institutions spread religious ideology through classroom learning activities, subjects, and books. In addition, the spread of ideology also occurs through religious rituals, extracurricular activities, school policies, and culture. The spread of ideology has implications for the emergence of diverse religious understandings in students and different religious identities between groups. It creates a depth of ideological differences in society. Ideological rivalry in Islamic education in Indonesia is a significant challenge that needs to be addressed to ensure quality education that supports the holistic development of individuals and society.

**Keywords:** Dissemination, Contestation, Religious Ideology, Islamic Education Institutions

**DOI:** <http://dx.doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v28i2.1055>

## Introduction

AT THE BEGINNING of the 21st century, the world of education in Indonesia experienced significant changes, with various types of educational institutions that not only include public schools as a colonial legacy that emphasizes natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities,<sup>1</sup> However, it is also pesantren as a traditional Islamic educational institution that focuses on religious knowledge. On the other hand, pesantren are traditional Islamic educational institutions with unique characteristics, such as mosques, kyai, santri, and the teaching of the yellow classical books. Initially, pesantren only taught religious subjects by referring to the yellow classical books as the primary reference. The purpose of education in pesantren is to produce religious scholars.

The presence of Islamic boarding schools, madrasas, and schools is not only a local response to the needs of education in Indonesia but also reflects religious movements and groups such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Salafi, and Tarbiyah (especially in West Sumatra). This has resulted in a variety of ideological orientations within educational institutions, which in turn has triggered internal conflicts within the Muslim community. Research by Jackson and Parker shows that although Islamic educational institutions managed by these religious organizations have been integrated into the national education system, they are only limited to aligning the quality standards of secular education.<sup>2</sup> The educational pursuits of these religious communities are likewise influenced by their ideological pursuits. The collapse of the New Order in 1998 has exacerbated the struggle among religious communities for control over religious authority; interstate interests in imposing ideological influence

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<sup>1</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam Indonesia dan Tantangan Globalisasi: Perspektif Sosio-Historis, dalam Jajat Burhanudin and Dina Afrianty (Ed), Mencetak Muslim Modern Peta Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: PT. Rajagrafindo Persada, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Lyn Jackson, Elisabeth, and Parker, "'Enriched with Knowledge': Modernisation, Islamisation and the Future of Islamic Education in Indonesia," *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 42, no. 1 (2008): 21–53.

have also contributed to this struggle.<sup>3</sup> This condition extends to Indonesian Islamic education. Despite the transformations, religious groups maintain the ideological identity of Islamic educational institutions.<sup>4</sup> This is reflected in the curriculum, which includes curricular, extracurricular, and hidden curriculum activities.

This development encouraged NU, PERTI through its Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, and Muhammadiyah to disseminate and penetrate their respective ideologies intensively in their education.<sup>5</sup> For example, Muhammadiyah designed the subjects of Al-Islam and Kemuhammadiyahan, which involved the production of various religious textbooks. Similarly, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah created Ketarbiyahan subjects. Religious student organizations such as *Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah* (IPM) - Muhammadiyah Student Association and Santri Tarbiyah Islamiyah organization were also established.

According to Amin Abdullah, the problem of internal religious differences will never be resolved, and it is challenging to escape from political and ideological interests. The difference in opinions and interests between Muhammadiyah and NU is a concrete example of how adverse interests involving theological and ideological sentiments penetrate all domains, including educational institutions. He also suggests that educational institutions should prioritize rationality, objectivity, and personal quality but have yet to escape the conflict between ideologies.<sup>6</sup>

Making Islamic educational institutions a forum for ideological competition and promotion between Islamic groups

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<sup>3</sup> Johan Meuleman, "'Dakwah', Competition for Authority, and Development," *Source: Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 167, no. 2/3 (2011): 236–69, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41288763>.

<sup>4</sup> A Rokhmad, "Buku dan Penyebaran Ideologi Radikal di Lembaga Pendidikan," *International Journal Ihya' 'Ulum Al-Din* 20, no. 1 (2018): 41.

<sup>5</sup> Fuad Fachruddin, *Agama dan Pendidikan Demokrasi. Pengalaman Muhammadiyah dan Nahdhaul Ulama*. (Jakarta, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Amin Abdullah, *Kesadaran Multikultural: Sebuah Gerakan "Interest Minimalization" dalam Meredakan Konflik Sosial, dalam Pendidikan Multikultural Cross-Cultural Understanding untuk Demokrasi dan Keadilan* (Yogyakarta: Pilar Media, 2007).

today is a repeat of the sectarian rivalry in medieval times. However, this contemporary rivalry is more complex as it involves religious movements in different countries.<sup>7</sup> In her research, Maemonah concluded that contestation among educational institutions fosters healthy rivalry to raise issues of ideology, proving that contestation does not necessarily have a negative outcome.<sup>8</sup>

In the context of dissemination and contestation of religious ideology in Indonesian Islamic educational institutions, two main groups often have significant ideological differences, namely modernist puritans and traditionalists.<sup>9</sup> Both have different approaches to understanding, applying, and disseminating religious values in Islamic educational institutions, and they compete with each other in influencing students and Muslim society in general. The existence of these two groups influences the education system, curriculum, and education implementation, especially in religious studies, local culture, and approaches to technological advances and social change.

Modern Puritans emphasize a more rigorous and precise approach to religion in line with sacred texts. They may criticize local customs or cultural behaviors incompatible with religious teachings and frequently push educational institutions to concentrate on teaching what they perceive to be "pure" religion.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Saparudin, "Islamic Education as Ideological Marketing in Contemporary Indonesian Islam. Proceedings of The 2nd ICS Universitas Mataram International Conference: Countering Radicalism & Terrorism in the Digital Era - Reshaping a Global Peace Community" (Mataram, 2020), 1–12, <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3741619>.

<sup>8</sup> Maemonah Maemonah et al., "Contestation of Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia: Content Analysis on Social Media," *Cogent Education* 10, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2022.2164019>. See also Zulfatmi, "Learning the Values of Religious Moderation in Madrasah Aliyah: Model Analysis" *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* vol. 11, no. 2 (2023):551-568 <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v11i2.1006>.

<sup>9</sup> Umma Farida, "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, no. 1 (2015): 141–56.

<sup>10</sup> Muhammad Arifin, Irwan Abdullah, and Atik Tri Ratnawati, "Contestation between Puritan Islam and Kejawen in the Urban Yogyakarta of

As long as the application of technology does not contradict religious doctrine, they are typically not wholly opposed to its advancement in the modern day. They are more receptive to education in science and technology that adheres to Islamic principles.

Traditionalists at educational institutions, in the meantime, stress how crucial it is to preserve regional traditions and culture throughout educational processes.<sup>11</sup> They see that education should accommodate local wisdom that aligns with religious values and instill awareness of the importance of culture and tradition in learners. Traditionalists tend to prioritize the values of harmony, tolerance, and the introduction of local culture.

Research on the dissemination and contestation of ideology has received little attention. Some previous studies include Arief Subhan's study,<sup>12</sup> *Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Indonesia Abad ke-20 Pergolakan antara Modernisasi dan Identitas*, a dissertation at the Graduate School of State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. The results of this study are in direct contact with religious ideology in Islamic education in the context of modernization. This dissertation makes the modernization of Islamic education by looking at the strategy of maintaining identity in the form of religious ideology during the 20th century as the focus of its study. He concludes that Islamic educational institutions are not a single reality but a complex reality, in line with its historical dynamics. Noorhaidi<sup>13</sup> in the article entitled *Education, Young Islamists and Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia*, identifies Integrated Islamic Schools (*Sekolah Islam Terpadu* - SIT) affiliated with the Ikhwan Al-Muslim Tarbiyah movement also gained public attention, stating that by carrying Hasan Al-Banna's

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Indonesia," *Al-Albab* 8, no. 2 (2019): 193–210, <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v8i2.1460>.

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Riduan Harahap, "Tradisi dalam Modernisasi Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia," *Jurnal WARAQAT* IV, no. 1 (2019).

<sup>12</sup> Arief Subhan, *Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Indonesia Abad Ke-20 Pergumulan antara Modernisasi dan Identitas* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> Noorhaidi Hasan, "Education, Young Islamists, and Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia," *Studia Islamika* 19, no. 1 (2012).

ideological ideas, SIT developed into a new trend of Islamic education in Indonesia.

Concerning ideology in education, it is interesting to review Saparudin's book<sup>14</sup> entitled *Ideologi Keagamaan dalam Pendidikan: Diseminasi dan Kontentasi Pada Madrasah dan Sekolah Islam di Lombok*. Saparudin studied Madrasah Muallimin NW Pancor East Lombok, Mataram Muhammadiyah School, and Salafi Abu Hurairah Madrasah in Mataram. He concludes that the rivalry between religious groups and religious life with higher dynamism ideologically determines the diversity of Islamic educational institutions. Conversely, the diversity of Islamic education can create, strengthen, and clarify the diversity of religious patterns and internal Islamic rivalries.

In the global context, Sodhar<sup>15</sup> describes the condition of education in Pakistan, which conflicts with the government, where educational institutions do not accept changes in the system offered by the state. Unlike the reality in Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia, Islamic educational institutions are under the state's control and have a single identity, namely ahlussunnah wal jamaah and the Shafi'i school of thought.<sup>16</sup> Zaniah Marshallsay, in "*Twists and Turns of Islamic Education Across The Islamic World*," found a dynamic form of Islamic education in various countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Turkey, India, Pakistan, China, and Indonesia. Indonesian Islamic education institutions dominated by NU and Muhammadiyah are open to reforms carried out by the state even though they differ in ideological orientation.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Muharir, "Resilience , Accommodation and Social Capital Salafi Islamic Education in Lombok," *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 11, no. 1 (2022): 1383–1404, <https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v11i01.2981>.

<sup>15</sup> Zain Ul and Abdin Sodhar, "Madrasa System of Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Issues" 41 (n.d.): 291–304.

<sup>16</sup> Azyumardi Azra, "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, no. 1 (2013): 3–4.

<sup>17</sup> Zaniah Marshallsay, "International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning," *International Journal of Pedagogies & Learning. Education Research Complete, EBSCO* 7, no. 3 (2014): 180–90, <https://doi.org/10.5172/ijpl.2012.7.3.180>.

Research on disseminating and contesting religious ideology in educational institutions in Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta is essential to study. Aceh is unique because it enforces Islamic sharia, and most of its people are followers of Shafi'i madhhab and ahlussunnah wal jamaah. Aceh also has more NU dayahs than other Islamic schools.<sup>18</sup> Hence, the dissemination of NU's religious ideology in Aceh is easier to do than that of Muhammadiyah schools, which the community has yet to accept because they are considered Wahabi groups.

This study aimed to determine how religious ideology is disseminated in educational institutions, analyze its educational aspects, and explore the implications of competition between religious groups. This study used a qualitative approach with phenomenological and sociological research designs. The phenomenological design was used because the researcher, as the main instrument, was involved directly in the field for an extended period. This design allowed researchers to approach individuals' interpretations of their experiences in depth, requiring researchers to become a part of the research subjects and related parties.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the sociological research design analyzed how relations, interactions, and contestations between religious movements affect the construction of ideological identities in education.

The study's data sources included principals, vice principals, teachers, school students, madrasas, and pesantrens in Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta. The data were collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation. The data analysis referred to the procedure proposed by Miles and

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<sup>18</sup> See for example Teuku Zulkhairi, Ibnu Hajar, Safriadi, Marzuki, and Saifullah, "Bahsul Masail at a Traditional Islamic Educational Institution in Aceh: Teuku Dayah's Contribution to the Development of Islamic Law" *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* vol. 8, no. 1 (2024): 579-601 <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i1.17408> and Sri Suyanta, Saifudin and Syamsul Bahri, "Tolerance Development Model for Students of Dayah Salafiyah in Aceh" *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* vol. 12, no. 2 (2024): 809-830 <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v12i2.1308>

<sup>19</sup> Noeng Muhadjir, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif Edisi IV* (Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin, 2000).

Huberman,<sup>20</sup> which included data collection, reduction, presentation, and conclusion drawing or verification.

### **Religious Ideological Dissemination in Islamic Education Institutions**

This research was conducted in schools, madrassas, and Islamic boarding schools managed by Muhammadiyah, NU (pesantren), and Salafi groups in Yogyakarta, Minangkabau, and Aceh. Aceh was chosen because data (pesantren), managed by NU, has a place in the hearts of the Acehnese people and Islamic schools under the auspices of the Salafi groups. On the other hand, the data managed by Muhammadiyah receives less response from the Acehnese people. However, Muhammadiyah, which was established in Yogyakarta, has a place in the hearts of West Sumatra's people. This can be seen from the number of Muhammadiyah schools and pesantrens in West Sumatra. Uniquely, NU schools are only a minority group in West Sumatra. There are so many MTI boarding schools affiliated with PERTI, although some MTIs have almost lost students. Some still exist and proliferate, such as MTI Candung and MTI Pasir in the Agam district. Meanwhile, Islamic schools are parents' favorite choice.

Yogyakarta was chosen because it has many NU pesantrens, including Pesantren Al-Munawwir as the research subject. Al-Munawwir Pesantren is the oldest and most well-known pesantren on a national scale. The researchers also studied Madrasah Mu'alimin Muhammadiyah, the first Muhammadiyah school founded by KH Ahmad Dahlan. Muhammadiyah, which carries a mission of renewal, is well received by the people of Yogyakarta. Islamic schools are also in demand and proliferating, especially in urban areas.

A deeper understanding of these dynamics can help to better plan and manage education in each region. The dissemination of religious ideology is done through the following:

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<sup>20</sup> Matthew B. Milles and A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publication, 1986).



*Dissemination of Religious Ideology through Curricular, Extracurricular, and Hidden Curriculum Activities*

Recognizing the ideology of an educational institution, especially Muhammadiyah educational institutions, is easy because all Muhammadiyah educational institutions, ranging from playgroups and kindergartens to universities, include the name Muhammadiyah. This is different from NU educational institutions; not all NU educational institutions use the name NU. Some NU educational institutions use the names of foundations, kayaks, and pesantren, as well as Al-Ma'arif as their names. Likewise, Islamic schools are very diverse. People recognize these institutions through the ideology taught and developed rather than their names.

The schools, madrasas, and pesantren studied in these three regions include Al-Arabiyan IT High School, Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah, and Dayah Darul Ulum Al-Fata in Aceh; Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Candung Islamic Boarding School, MA Kauman and Sahabat Cendekia IT High School in West Sumatra; and Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak, Muallimin Muhammadiyah madrasah, and Ar-Raihan IT High School in Yogyakarta. These schools disseminate religious ideology to their students through various media and programs, both curricular and extracurricular activities.

The research findings of Aceh are interesting. Dayah "Darul Ulum Al Fata" disseminates its religious ideology through religious subjects and books of the Shafi'i school of thought, such as *Qaliubi Wa'Umairah III-IV* by Sheikh Jalaluddin Al-Mahalli. The subjects studied are books from scholars who adhere to Asy'ari tawheed, such as "Ad-Dusuqi" by Sheikh Ibrahim Ad-Dusuki. Likewise, "Muraqil 'Ubudiyah" by Sheikh Muhammad Nawawi Al-Jawi is used to teach tasawuf.

Ideological dissemination is also carried out through prayers and *dhikr* activities. The identity of traditional NU dayah can be seen from the santri's clothing: sarongs for males and cedar/niqab (veil) for females. Dayah "Darul Ulum Al Fata" is one of thousands of dayahs in Aceh. Dayah in Aceh is the same as pesantren in Java. Dayah is the parents' primary choice of Islamic education

institutions. The number of dayahs in Aceh is the 5th largest in Indonesia, with 1,286 out of 272,601 students throughout Indonesia, after West Java with 9310 pesantrens, Banten with 5344 pesantrens, East Java with 5121 pesantrens, and Central Java with 3927 pesantrens. Many NU dayah students will become militant cadres or apparatus ideology proposed by Louis Althusser.<sup>21</sup> In Althuser's view, ideological apparatus plays an essential role in shaping society's ideology. In the context of NU dayah, many santri can become militant cadres or ideological apparatus because this dayah institution consistently forms, instills, and spreads specific values and views of life according to NU teachings and ideology. The process occurs by making religious education a medium of ideology, internalizing values and loyalty, reproducing ideology through regeneration, and forming santri into ideology-spreading agents who will later be actively involved in society.

This means that when more Acehnese people send their children to study at NU dayah, it will undoubtedly have implications for the increasing number of NU dayah cadres who will later become propagators of the ideology taught in the dayah. The number of dayah students from Darul Ulum Al Fata is quite large compared to Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah.<sup>22</sup>

People send their children to a dayah because of the figure of the Tengku, the leader of the dayah. For Acehnese, Tengku is highly honored. According to Haidar, Acehnese people see Tengku as a person with more religious knowledge than most people and advantages in other fields, whose prayers bring blessings, curses, healing, and illness. They know the prayers set by Allah to achieve various goals.<sup>23</sup> Tengku is a pious and

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<sup>21</sup> Louis Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, in Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (Eds.) *Literary Theory: An Anthology, Second Edition* (Maiden USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

<sup>22</sup> H. Mahmudah, "Transmisi Ideologi Fundamentalisme dalam Pendidikan," *TAJDID: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman dan Kemanusiaan*, 1, no. 2 (2017): 200–216, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.52266/tajdid.v1i2.45>.

<sup>23</sup> Khairil Miswar, "Wahhābi dalam Perspektif HUDA dan Implikasinya terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Keagamaan di Aceh," *Tadabbur: Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 2, no. 1 (2020): 1–27, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22373/tadabbur.v2i1.57>.

charismatic person. There is a combination of high knowledge of Islam in a Tengku, so obedience to a Teungku is born as a natural and automatic submission.

On the other hand, the majority of Muslims in Aceh who adhere to the Shafi'i School with the "i'tiqad ahli sunnah waljamaah" encourage parents to prefer NU dayah over Muhammadiyah dayah since it is more aligned with their beliefs. Some people believe that Muhammadiyah is the same as Wahhabi.<sup>24</sup> Dahnil Simanjuntak, the Chairman of Muhammadiyah Youth, stated that Muhammadiyah is criticized because it is considered Wahhabi; it does not perform qunut at dawn prayer, and its rituals are not by the Syafi'i School and ahli sunnah waljamaah. Another incident of fire on the foundation of the At-Taqwa Sangso Samalanga mosque happened on Tuesday, October 17, 2017. This incident occurred because of a resistance movement by a group that calls itself a supporter of ahlussunnah waljamaah against a group accused of Wahabi, namely the local Muhammadiyah association.

This finding is reinforced by the Khairil Miswar's research, which states that not only the general public but also some dayah scholars in Aceh consider Muhammadiyah as an organization influenced by Wahhabi. In contrast, others hold a different view that Muhammadiyah is not Wahhabi.<sup>25</sup> The condition of the community that has yet to accept Muhammadiyah entirely has made it difficult for Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah Islamic boarding school to get students.

Aceh's research findings are similar to those in Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) Candung, West Sumatra. Apart from studying the books of the Shafi'i school, Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-

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<sup>24</sup> Wahhabism is a movement that rejects conventional interpretations that give scant consideration to Islamic precepts. The revivalist tradition emphasizes the significance of using Arabic once again as the language of revelation and advocates for changing and giving up the first tradition's worship customs that strayed from the genuine Islamic teachings. See Kurzman, Charles, *Wacana Islam Liberal: Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer tentang Isu-Isu Global*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> Khairil Miswar, "Wahhábi.

Rasuli,<sup>26</sup> an Islamic reformer and the founder of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Candung (1928), also authored several books studied by santri at primary or initial level, such as *Aljawahirul Kalamiyah (Tawhid)*, *Alqaulul Bayan fi tafsiril Quraan (Tafsir Jaz Amma)*, *Risalah Aqwalul wasithah fizzaikri warrabithah (about rabithah thariqat)*, *Aujazul Kalam fi arkan is Shiam*, and *Tsamratul Ihsan fi wila dati Saidil Ihsan* (story of the birth of the Prophet until his death). There is even a particular subject called "Ketarbiyahan," which students must study at the primary level.

This is also the case with Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak Yogyakarta, which also follows Shafi'i madhhab, Ash'ari, and Maturidi theology. In Islamic theology, the students of Al-Munawwir study books written by KH. Ali Maksum, better known as Mbah Ali, such as *Hujjatul Ahli Sunnah wal jamaah*". There is also a book of hadith, "*Muqtatafat min Jami' Kalimih Shalla Allah 'Alaihi wa Sallam*" written by KH. Zaenal Abidin Munawwir, which is a summary of the book "*Fayadh al-Qadir*" by Imam Al-Manawi and the book "*Ibanah alAhkam*" by Hasan Sulaiman al-Nuri and 'Alwi Abbas al-Makki which is a commentary on the book '*Bulugh al-Maram min Adillah al-Ahkam*.

In addition to curricular activities, dissemination is also carried out in extracurricular activities such as *Hadrah*.<sup>27</sup> *Hadrah*'s music was initially only performed by male students. However, in its development, it is performed together in which male students accompany a set of tambourines while female students sing. *Hadrah* music is only performed on special occasions, such as commemorating *haul*<sup>28</sup> and *maulid nabi*<sup>29</sup> and the pesantren graduation ceremony.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Rengga Satria, "Pembauran Pendidikan Islam di Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang," *Geneologi PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 6, no. 1 (2019): 15, <https://doi.org/10.32678/geneologipai.v6i1.1923>.

<sup>27</sup> *Hadrah* is a musical art (*handasah al-sauth*) that consists of rhythmic poetry and phrases expressing gratitudes to Allah SWT. It can also be used to highlight the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. See Ismail Raji Al-Faruqi, *Seni Tauhid: Esensi dan Ekspresi Estetika Islam* (Yogyakarta: Bentang, 1999).

<sup>28</sup> *Haul* is a tradition that involves reciting *tahlil* to honor the passing of a distinguished scholar. See Khairi, "Religious Relationship among Ethnicities: Intercultural Communication Studies between Arab Hadramaut and Kaili Ethnic

Unlike the case with SMA IT Al-Arabiyan, even though it has only been running for two years, this Arabic-based Islamic school has attracted the attention of Acehnese people, especially urban communities. Al-Arabiyan IT High School already has 120 students. Parents' high interest in sending their children to this school indicates that they prioritize school quality over ideological issues. The students admitted to this school came from different family ideological backgrounds: NU, Muhammadiyah, and Salafi. This shows that Al Arabiyan IT High School never indoctrinates one particular madhab. Similarly, SMA IT Sahabat Cendekia Pariaman West Sumatra and SMA IT Ar-Raihan Bantul Yogyakarta do not follow a particular madhab but adhere to the Qur'an, Sunnah (ahli sunnah waljamaah), the Prophet's companions, and classical Muslim scholars. However, in Sahabat Cendekia IT High School, Salafi ideology is spread through tawheed material and the Prophet's life story, which can be watched on Surau TV and Muraja'ah TV with Sjech Abdul Kadir bin Jawas, who studied in Medina, and Sjech Ahmad Khatib Al Minagkabawi as their role models.

One channel that publicizes Sheikh Abdul Qadir bin Jawas' lectures and research is Muraja'ah TV. The lectures of Sheikh Abdul Qadir bin Jawas are broadcast on television as brief counsels and video recordings of his recitations. Furthermore, Muraja'ah TV promotes the ideas and teachings of traditional scholars like Sheikh Ahmad Khatib in the context of research on

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in Palu, Central Sulawesi," *Asian Journal of Environment, History and Heritage* 1, no. 1 (2017): 123–30.

<sup>29</sup> *Maulid Nabi* is an occasion to commemorate the Prophet Muhammad SAW's birthday by reciting *shalawat* to gain his intercession and recall his virtues. *Maulid nabi* is one of the three main Muslim festivals. See Kaptein, *Perayaan Hari Lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994).

<sup>30</sup> These are what Wahabism and Salafism commonly want to avoid. Although many Islamic schools are affiliated with the Salafism/Wahabism in West Sumatra, but the people still hold local traditions. See, for example, Busyro, Nunu Burhanuddin, Muassomah, Putri Ananda Saka and Moh. Ali Wafa, "The Reinforcement of 'the Dowry for Groom' Tradition in Customary Marriages of West Sumatra's Pariaman Society", *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2023): 555-578 <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i1.15872>

fiqh, the purification of faith, and the teachings of pure Islam as found in the Qur'an and Sunnah.

Muhammadiyah schools, such as Dayah Baitul Arqam in Aceh, MA Kauman in West Sumatra, and Madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, apply a uniform curriculum. Madrasah Aliyah (MA) and Islamic boarding schools under Muhammadiyah teach material based on Muhammadiyah tarnish, which is not limited to one school of thought but chooses the opinion considered the strongest and most widely supported.<sup>31</sup> In Muhammadiyah, the term "Manhaj Tarjih" is known as a guide in implementing ideology. To support the concept of "Manhaj Tarjih," a compulsory subject was made by the Muhammadiyah curriculum team, namely "Muhammadiyah." Some books, such as Tafsir Al-Azhar by Buya Hamka, a Muhammadiyah cadre, are also taught. For extracurricular activities, Tapak Suci and Hizbul Wathan (HW) are activities that become the identity of Muhammadiyah schools. The two activities become a means of spreading ideology because they are more than just physical activities; they carry values and principles that align with Muhammadiyah's vision. Through these activities, students practice specialized skills such as martial arts or scouting and are actively guided in Islamic values, discipline, responsibility, and solidarity, which are part of Muhammadiyah's ideology.

The curriculum is a very effective instrument for shaping student character. In the context of a state, the state ideology can be achieved through education by designing a curriculum following the state ideology. Khalili's study, which compares Iran with its religious ideology and Finland with its secular ideology, proves that a country can realize its intentions for its generation with a curriculum.<sup>32</sup> A country will change its curriculum to adjust

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<sup>31</sup> Nyong Eka Teguh Iman Santosa, "Karakter Muhammadiyah Melandaikan Gagasan Islam Berkemajuan" (Sidoarjo, 2017), <http://eprints.umsida.ac.id/id/eprint/204>.

<sup>32</sup> Samaneh Khalili, Arto Kallioniemi, and Khosrow Bagheri Noaparast, "Characteristics of Human Agency in Liberal and Islamic Religious Education Based on the National Core Curricula of Finland and Iran," *British Journal of*

and answer contemporary problems.<sup>33</sup> Parents from different faiths aspire for their children to acquire the best modern knowledge and be open to their culture and beliefs, which can be achieved through the school curriculum.<sup>34</sup> Nthontho's study in South African schools shows that it is essential to make curriculum changes to teach religious literacy in a life-oriented curriculum to students in schools.<sup>35</sup>

### *Dissemination of Religious Ideology through Teacher and Staff Selection Policy*

All Islamic educational institutions in these three regions disseminate their religious ideology through school curriculum policies and governance, such as in the selection process of prospective teachers and administrative staff. The schools usually hire their alums as teachers, administrative staff, and school committee members. The teachers of religious studies or Kitab subjects follow this rule. The graduates of the schools are considered to have a deeper understanding of the school's values and traditions that they wish to preserve and advance. The goal is a collaboration between the schools and the schools' committee to develop the schools' religious ideology.

The teachers of secular subjects are not necessarily the schools' alumni. However, they must adapt their religious ideology to the schools' ideology. Otherwise, they will get sanctions. For example,

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*Religious Education* 44, no. 1 (2022): 53–65, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2021.1874874>.

<sup>33</sup> Zakiyuddin Baidhawiy, "Building Harmony and Peace through Multiculturalist Theology-Based Religious Education: An Alternative for Contemporary Indonesia," *British Journal of Religious Education* 29, no. 1 (2007): 15–30, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200601037478>.

<sup>34</sup> Juan Cristobal Garcia-Huidobro, "Addressing the Crisis in Curriculum Studies: Curriculum Integration that Bridges Issues of Identity and Knowledge," *Curriculum Journal* 29, no. 1 (2018): 25–42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585176.2017.1369442>.

<sup>35</sup> Maitumeleng Albertina Nthontho and Richardson Addai-Mununkum, "Towards Religious Literacy in South African Schools: Is the Life Orientation Curriculum Potent Enough?," *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 42, no. 4 (2021): 436–49, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13617672.2020.1859790>.

Muhammadiyah schools require all teachers and employees to have a membership card. When they have a Muhammadiyah membership card, they will become Muhammadiyah cadres. Teachers and employees will be expelled if they do not want to join Muhammadiyah. The teacher code of ethics states, "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." The policy of prioritizing alums over non-alumni is also found in Dayah Darul Ulum al-Fata in Aceh, MTI Candung in West Sumatra, and Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak Yogyakarta.

In contrast to SMA IT Al Arabiya Aceh, everyone can teach at Al Arabiya IT High School, as stated by 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."

The data above shows that Islamic education institutions, whether affiliated with NU, Muhammadiyah, or Perti, prefer alums rather than non-alumni to become their teaching staff of kitab subjects. This policy is taken because alums have a clear religious ideology that aligns with the schools compared to those who are not alumni and have no explicit religious ideology.

The selection of teachers and staff with the same religious ideology as the school is essential because the teachers and staff are agents of religious ideology disseminators, which Louis Althusser calls the ideology apparatus. These people are directly involved and active in the process of ideology dissemination, starting from education organizers (foundations or mass organizations), school leaders, and representatives, including teachers, students, religious groups, and the school itself. They are agents deliberately working based on ideology and are strongly determined to form the following ideological agents.<sup>36</sup> Subhin's

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<sup>36</sup> Louis Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, in Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (Eds.) *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, Second Edition.



study in Madrasah Diniyah Zumrotus Salamah showed that teachers successfully disseminate Islamic ideology and Javanese culture to their students through social interaction.<sup>37</sup>

Stanton, in his book 'Higher Learning in Islam: The Classical Period, A.D. 700-1300' about the Nizamiyah Madrasah, explains that the presence of the first madrasah in the Islamic world was aimed at spreading the ideology of the Sunny school in order to dispel the dynamics of Shi'ah ideology. Nizam Mulk, the founder of the Nizamiyyah madrasa, successfully utilized waqf as a source of funding and developed Shafiism by placing staff, teachers, khatibs, and librarians in the madrasa.<sup>38</sup> The study proved that teachers and staff were empowered as school officials to disseminate the school's religious ideology.

#### *Dissemination of Religious Ideology through Alumni Empowerment*

The graduates of educational institutions carry academic missions and cannot be separated from ideological missions. Almost every Islamic educational institution makes its alum agents of spreading its religious ideology. The research findings show that Islamic educational institutions with the Shafi'i school of thought make alum agents of spreading their ideology. In Aceh, many of its alums participate in the community to establish recitation centers and teach their religious understanding to the community. Likewise, in Yogyakarta, the alums participate in the community through religious lectures and recitations. In West Sumatra, apart from religious recitations and *wirid-wirid*, they also help *shalawatan* and *yasinan* groups. The message of Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli (founder of MTI Candung) on his tombstone, "Teroeskan Membina Tarbijah Islamijah Ini Sesoeai Dengan Peladjaran Jangkoe Berikan," implicitly means that MTI Candung

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<sup>37</sup> M Abdillah Subhin and Saiful Anwar, "Modal Sosial untuk Keberhasilan Madrasah Diniyah dalam Penyemaian Ideologi Ke-Islaman dan Jawa," *Jurnal Pendidikan Nusantara* 1, no. 3 (2022): 157-65, <http://ejournal.tahtamedia.com/index.php/nusantara>.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Michael Stanton, *Higher Learning in Islam : The Classical Period, A.D. 700-1300*, 1st ed. (USA: Savage, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield, 1990).

graduates have to adhere to the ideology that they learned at pesantren and teach it to the community.

This is also the case with the alums of Muhammadiyah and Salafi schools. The alums of these two Islamic educational institutions will disseminate their religious ideology to the community even though the community, especially in Aceh, can only partially accept them. The alums of Muhammadiyah schools especially try to take a cultural approach to be accepted by Aceh's people. As explained by Ustad Azhar, "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 step was taken because Acehnese society needed help to accept Muhammadiyah.

Islamic educational institutions also utilize alums to disseminate their religious ideology, as in Syafiuddin's study,<sup>39</sup> which found that Middle Eastern alums established Islamic boarding schools, mosques, and campuses as essential instruments in transferring their ideology. Sofanudin, who studied students' religious activities and the rohis mentoring network of SMAN in Sukoharjo, found that PAI teachers and alums play an essential role in shaping school students' understanding, attitudes, and religious behavior.<sup>40</sup> Alums also play a role in disseminating ideology to the community. Afriyanti at UIN Syahid Jakarta states that many alums return to their home communities, pesantren, and madrasah or become teachers in their home villages.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Syafiuddin Fadlillah, "Karya Ilmiah Partai Politik Islam di Indonesia dan Jaringan Ideologi Timur-Tengah," 2018.

<sup>40</sup> Aji Sofanudin, "Aktivitas Keagamaan Siswa dan Jaringan Mentoring Rohis SMA Negeri di Kabupaten Sukoharjo," *Jurnal Smart: Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi* 3, no. 1 (2017): 29–39, <https://blasemarang.kemenag.go.id/journal/index.php/smart/article/view/462>.

<sup>41</sup> Dina Afrianty, "Islamic Education and Youth Extremism in Indonesia," *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 7, no. 2 (2012): 134–46, <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2012.719095>.

### *Dissemination of Religious Ideology through School Culture*

The school culture is critical in school change and program implementation success rates. School culture is a historical pattern of transmitted meanings that includes norms, values, beliefs, traditions, and myths that the school community understands at various levels.<sup>42</sup> The traditions developed in Islamic educational institutions in the three regions are also diverse. For example, the tradition in Darul Ulum Al fata (Aceh), MTI Candung (West Sumatra), and Pesantren Al-Munawwir (Yogyakarta) was loyalty to the understanding of *ahlusunnah wal jama'ah* and the Shafi'i school of thought. Every santri who graduates from MTI Candung will be blessed to be *istiqamah* and practice this understanding. This can be seen in the diploma given to graduating students.



Picture 1: Student certificate

In the santri certificate, it is stated that the mazhab adopted is the Syafi'i mazhab. The certificate also explains the reason for choosing Syafi'i Mazhab, namely because most Indonesian people are followers of Syafi'i Mazhab. There are also traditions of memorization, *muzakarah* (reminding each other), and *haulan*, which send annual prayers to the deceased pesantren leader. These traditions become a medium to disseminate religious ideology to the next generation.

<sup>42</sup> H. Elizabeth Coyle, "School Culture Benchmarks," *Journal of School Violence* 7, no. 2 (2008): 105–22, [https://doi.org/10.1300/j202v07n02\\_07](https://doi.org/10.1300/j202v07n02_07).

In addition, symbols and clothing are also used to become part of the school's identity and promote the school's ideology. *Sarong*<sup>43</sup> and cap becomes the identity of santri in pesantren. Santri are often called the *sarungan* people because they always wear *sarong* everywhere including in a market. *Sarong* is not only the identity of the santri but also a cultural identity for the santri in pesantren.

However, santri in integrated Islamic schools and Muhammadiyah schools do not recognize the tradition of loyalty to only one mazhab. They do not have traditions of *shalawatan*, *haul*, and wearing *sarong*. Muhammadiyah schools and integrated Islamic schools are more modern in dress. The students there wear long pants, suits, and ties.

### **Implications of Ideological Construction on contestation between Islamic educational institutions**

Ideological contestation among Islamic educational institutions results in variations in religious understanding and Islamic practice (divergence of religious understanding). Divergence in religious understanding refers to differences or variations in understanding religious aspects among individuals, groups, or communities. This phenomenon is widespread in the context of religious diversity and interpretation of religious teachings. Each educational institution may emphasize certain Islamic teachings or interpret key concepts differently. This can create differences in how students understand and practice their religion.<sup>44</sup> This is found in Dayah Darul Ulum Al Fata, MTI Candung, and Pesantren Al Munawwir Yogyakarta, which emphasize the Shafi'i school of thought in their religious ideology with the hope that the santri will also follow this understanding.

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<sup>43</sup> A *sarong* is a garment worn by santri that symbolizes honor and high expectations for modesty. It is essential to santri culture and daily existence in pesantren and society. See Ach Dhofir, *Peradaban Sarung* (Jakarta: PT Alex Media Komputindo, 2018).

<sup>44</sup> Anggi Afriansyah, "Konstruksi, Kontestasi, Fragmentasi, dan Pluralisasi Otoritas Keagamaan Indonesia Kontemporer," *Studia Islamika* 28, no. 1 (2021): 227–44.

In contrast, Muhammadiyah schools explicitly state that they do not have a mazhab and only adhere to the decisions of their tarjih council.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, Salafis do not adhere to one particular school of thought but are guided by the Qur'an and Sunnah.<sup>46</sup>

Ideological contestation also creates different groups within the Islamic community or religious identity fragmentation. Students who graduate from Dayah Darul Ulum Al Fata, MTI Candung, and Pesantren Al Munawwir Yogyakarta have a slightly different religious identity from those who graduate from Muhammadiyah and Salafi schools. The religious identity of the former is loyalty to the Shafi'i school of thought, following ahlussunnah wal jama'ah creed,<sup>47</sup> communal *doa*,<sup>48</sup> Sufistic or ascetic worldview, and grave pilgrimage.<sup>49</sup> Not following a madhab but being guided by the Qur'an and Sunnah, not following and even forbidding a tariqah, characterize the graduates of Muhammadiyah and Salafi schools.<sup>50</sup> This can lead to

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<sup>45</sup> Zully Qodir, *Muhammadiyah Studies: Reorientasi Gerakan dan Pemikiran Memasuki Abad Kedua* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2010); Isa Anshori, "Perbedaan Metode Ijtihad Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah dalam Corak Fikih di Indonesia," *Nizam* 4, no. 1 (2014): 125–39, <https://www.neliti.com/publications/154605/perbedaan-metode-ijtihad-nahdlatul-ulama-dan-muhammadiyah-dalam-corak-fikih-di-i>; Zakiya Darajat, "Muhammadiyah dan NU: Penjaga Moderatisme Islam di Indonesia," *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2017): 79–94, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21009/hayula.001.1.05>.

<sup>46</sup> Wahyudin Hafid, "Menyoal Gerakan Salafi di Indonesia (Pro-Kontra Metode Dakwah Salafi)," *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law* 2, no. 1 (2020): 29, <https://doi.org/10.33096/altafaqquh.v2i1.87>.

<sup>47</sup> Muhammad Kosim, "Tradisi Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah," *At-Tarbiyah IV*, no. 1 (2013): 21–45.

<sup>48</sup> Pam Nilan, "British Journal of Sociology of Education The 'Spirit of Education' in Indonesian Pesantren," *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Inggris*, no. May 2012 (2009): 37–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690802700321>.

<sup>49</sup> Nata, Abuddin, *Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam dan Institusi Pendidikannya* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pres, 2012).

<sup>50</sup> Muhammed Haron, "Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs Da'wah Movements and Sufi Tariqahs: Competing for Spiritual Spaces in Contemporary South(ern) Africa," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 25, no. 2 (2006): 37–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602000500114157>; Amanah Nurish, "Muhammadiyah

fragmentation within the Muslim community, with groups possibly feeling closer or further away from each other.

This competition between Islamic educational institutions can even create a depth of ideological differences, which can spill over into the wider society and create polarization of society. Society becomes divided into the supporters of particular institutions and their views, which can affect social relations and tolerance between groups. As experienced by Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah in Aceh, Muhammadiyah has been around for a long time. However, some communities are not open to Muhammadiyah schools. People think that Muhammadiyah is a new religion, not a religious organization. So, when Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah was established, the community was less sympathetic, and even the teachers were called "ustad Wahabi." Acehnese people dislike Wahabi and equate Muhammadiyah with Wahabi.

In West Sumatra, the polarization of society due to ideological contestation is also evident. However, the people of West Sumatra can accept differences in religious understanding. Rozi also found that Muhammadiyah followers accommodate local culture in their religious understanding and behavior. For example, they celebrate Islamic holidays such as Maulidan and Isra' Mi'raj with adherents of other religious views. They even tend to be acculturative by including elements of local culture in religious practices and rituals, such as participating in *wiridan*, *shalawatan*, and *selamatan* activities. However, they apply a standard of not deviating from basic Islamic teachings. Meanwhile, traditionalists make puritanical efforts such as *tahlilan*, *slametan*, and *shalawatan* and have begun to abandon burning incense and *sesajen*.<sup>51</sup>

As stated earlier, Acehnese people who adhere to the Shafi'i School need help to accept Muhammadiyah and Salafi. The people of Yogyakarta, where Muhammadiyah was established, quickly

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dan Arus Radikalisme," *Maarif* 14, no. 2 (2019): 59–74; Haris Firdaus, . . . *NU, Persis atau Muhammadiyah yang Ahli Bid'ah?* (Bandung: Mujahid Press, 2004).

<sup>51</sup> Syafwan Rozi, "Etnis Minangkabau di Daerah Perbatasan Perubahan Identitas dalam Interaksi Antaretnis di Rao Kabupaten Pasaman Sumatera Barat" 39, no. 1 (2013): 215–45.

accepted it. Ustad Farhan, the leader of Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, said that from the beginning, the people of Yogyakarta were able to accept Muhammadiyah; the proof is that many people in Yogyakarta who are NU, PERSIS enroll their children in Muhammadiyah schools. Ustad Farhan is active in various pesantren and madrasah activities in Yogyakarta. This fact shows that the people of Yogyakarta are open to the presence of Muhammadiyah. This is because the Muhammadiyah community is more tolerant and moderate. The tolerant and moderate attitude shown by Muhammadiyah intends to adjust and prove to the syncretic traditionalists.<sup>52</sup>

Education is perceived as an activity that is always benevolent and, in many ways, neutral. However, today, many are unaware that they are involved in an ideological struggle in the educational arena. Education is an exciting locus because it can engage in socio-political change.<sup>53</sup> The Madrasah curriculum in Indonesia is a combination of religious and secular subjects. The Ministry of Religious Affairs has developed a standardized curriculum for public and private madrasahs. The orientation of religious ideology in public madrasahs entirely refers to the formulations and policies of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Therefore, the religious ideology and educational goals formulated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs reflect the political will of the ruling government.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Herman Beck, *"Islamic Purity at Odds with Javanese Identity: The Muhammadiyah and the Celebration of the Garebeg Maulud Ritual in Yogyakarta"* in Jan Plavot and Karel van Der Toorn (Ed). *Pluralisme and Identity, Studies in Ritual Behavior* (Leiden and New York Koln: EJ. Brill., 1995); Mitsuo Nakamura, *Bulan Sabit Muncul dari Balik Pohon Beringin: Studi Tentang Pergerakan Muhammadiyah di Kotagede*. (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press., 1983); James L Peacock, *Muslim Puritan: Reformist Psychology in South East Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

<sup>53</sup> Z Pratama, I. P., & Zulhijra, "Reformasi Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia," *Jurnal PAI Raden Fatah*, 1, no. 2 (2019): 117–27, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19109/pairf.v1i2.3216>.

<sup>54</sup> E Subkhan, "Ideologi, Kekuasaan, dan Pengaruhnya pada Arah Sistem Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (1950-1965)," *Journal of Indonesian History*, 7, no. 1 (2018): 19–34, <http://journal.unnes.ac.id/sju/index.php/jih>.

This policy also applies to private madrasas. However, since private madrasas are not directly under the Ministry of Religious Affairs, they can develop the ideals for which they were initially established. Coupled with ties to religious social organizations, private madrasas grow with their religious ideology. Materials related to religious ideology are included in the private madrasah curriculum. Muhammadiyah materials are found in Muhammadiyah schools, while NU and ahl sunnah wal jama'ah materials are found in Ma'arif NU schools and madrasas. For private schools, religious ideology is a necessity, given that most of them are the biological children of religious social organizations. However, what needs to be considered is the growing spread of radical Salafi ideology that continues to be developed through education. Some differences are very striking in the implementation of education, and it is worrying that they will threaten the purpose of national education.

Various religious movements, such as the Salafi movement, have roots in the reformist movements of transnational movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood. In Indonesia, this movement is an inspiration for interiorizing religious values, building educational institutions as a form of regeneration, and implementing a comprehensive concept of Islam.<sup>55</sup>

In Suharto's view, Islamic education is the most strategic tool in strengthening the moderate Islam that characterizes Islam in Indonesia. Islamic education organized by Islamic educational institutions that are uniquely Indonesian teaches students about moderate Indonesian Islam. At the same time, transnational Islamic educational institutions also attempt to Islamize Indonesia to their students. This struggle necessitates strengthening the role of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesianizing Islam so that moderate Islam can be maintained in the archipelago.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> I Afida, "Historitas Lembaga Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia," *Falasifa: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 9, no. 1 (2018): 17–34, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.36835/falasifa.v9i1.97>.

<sup>56</sup> Suharto, "Indonesianisasi Islam: Penguatan Islam Moderat dalam Lembaga Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 17, no. 1 (2017): 155–78, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21154/altahrir.v17i1.803>.



These findings have significant theoretical implications for Islamic education, especially in how religious ideology is disseminated and how education shapes students' religious identity and understanding. The theoretical implications can be stated as follows: first, the role of education as a means of spreading ideology. This finding shows that Islamic education functions as a medium for teaching religious material and as a means of spreading ideology. Theoretically, this underlines how religious education can be an instrument to shape students' worldview and ideological identity. This challenges educational theories that seek to make schools a neutral space, as educational institutions implicitly and explicitly influence students' thoughts and attitudes.

Second, religious discourse in Islamic education may benefit from the diversity of religious knowledge that results from the proliferation of ideologies. This supports the concept of pluralism in Islamic education. Islamic education must open space for various religious understandings to give students a broader and more tolerant perspective.

Third, school culture is formed by institutional policies. From education theory, school culture is where students internalize and practice religious values. Therefore, Islamic education needs to focus not only on the curriculum but also on forming a culture that supports diversity of understanding and inclusiveness in the school environment.

Fourth, religious identity is formed through education. Another theoretical implication is about how religious identity is formed through education and how Islamic education influences individuals in forming and identifying themselves based on specific values and ideologies. This is undoubtedly related to social identity theory, which shows that education forms cognitive understanding and a sense of collective identity among students based on accepted ideologies.

Fifth, extracurricular activities influence religious understanding and become an essential channel in the spread of religious ideology. Theoretically, this shows that the education process occurs not only in the classroom but also outside the

classroom through various informal activities. Islamic education can consider how appropriate extracurricular activities can strengthen and enrich students' understanding without reinforcing narrow ideological boundaries.

## Conclusion

This study examined the dissemination and contestation of religious ideology in Islamic educational institutions representing religious organization affiliations in Indonesia. Schools disseminate ideology through curriculum (subjects), extracurricular activities, and hidden curriculum. School policy or governance is also used to disseminate school ideology through school culture. Meanwhile, the dissemination carried out by Islamic educational institutions has implications for the emergence of contestation between Islamic educational institutions in the form of variations in religious understanding in students, creating fragmentation of religious identity or the emergence of different groups in the Islamic community and even creating community polarization.

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