



# Focusing on Ideological Transmission: Religious Ideology Transmission in Indonesian Islamic Schools: Mechanisms, Actors, and Social Consequences

Umayyatun | STEI Masyarakat Madani Pamekasan | Indonesia

\*Correspondence: [umayyatunmpdi@gmail.com](mailto:umayyatunmpdi@gmail.com)

## Abstract

Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia face growing pressures as competing religious factions transform learning environments into arenas of doctrinal struggle. This research sought to investigate the channels through which religious ideologies are conveyed within school settings, evaluate the pedagogical elements involved, and examine the consequences arising from factional competition. Using a qualitative methodology that combined phenomenological and sociological lenses, data were gathered from school administrators, educators, students, and members of local communities. The research employed in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document analysis across three geographically distinct regions: Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta. Findings reveal that educational institutions transmit religious teachings through formal classroom instruction, organized curricula, and teaching materials. Beyond the classroom, ideological transmission takes place through religious rituals, extracurricular programs, institutional regulations, and organizational culture. This process of ideological propagation generates divergent scriptural interpretations among students and fosters denominational divisions between various factions, thereby intensifying theological polarization across broader society. The doctrinal rivalry embedded within Indonesia's Islamic schooling system constitutes a pressing challenge that demands immediate attention to safeguard educational quality and support the holistic development of learners and their communities.

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

Received: January 11, 2026 | Revised: January 24, 2026 | Accepted: February 25, 2026

## INTRODUCTION

As the twenty-first century began, Indonesia's educational landscape underwent considerable transformation. Beyond the state school system—a colonial inheritance oriented toward natural and social sciences—Islamic boarding schools known as pesantren became recognized as integral institutions devoted to religious instruction (Azra, 2006). These establishments are distinguished by their characteristic features: mosques as centers of learning, kyai or religious scholars as authorities, santri or students as their constituency, and classical yellow texts as their primary learning materials. In their early form, pesantren concentrated exclusively on religious knowledge using these traditional texts, with the broader aim of producing competent religious scholars.



The establishment of Islamic boarding schools, madrasas, and equivalent institutions extends beyond meeting local educational demands; it reflects the influence of various religious movements and organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Salafi networks, and Tarbiyah (particularly prominent in West Sumatra). This diversity has given rise to competing ideological orientations within educational environments, generating tensions among different Muslim communities. Research by Jackson and Parker indicates that while these faith-based educational establishments have been incorporated into the national education system, such incorporation has largely emphasized the attainment of secular academic benchmarks (Jackson et al., 2008). Nevertheless, the educational activities of these religious communities continue to reflect their underlying ideological commitments.

The collapse of the New Order regime in 1998 intensified competition among religious communities over religious authority; simultaneously, transnational efforts to extend ideological influence have further heightened this rivalry (Meuleman, 2011). Indonesian Islamic education operates within this contested landscape. Despite numerous institutional reforms, religious organizations have maintained the ideological character of Islamic educational establishments (Rokhmad, 2018). This ideological orientation is expressed through curriculum design, formal academic programs, supplementary activities, and implicit educational norms.

These circumstances prompted organizations such as NU, PERTI through its Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, and Muhammadiyah to actively embed their respective ideologies within their educational frameworks (Fachruddin, 2006). Muhammadiyah, for instance, introduced Al-Islam and Kemuhammadiyahan courses and developed a wide array of religious instructional resources. In parallel, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah established Ketarbiyahan courses as part of its curriculum. Student organizations affiliated with these institutions also emerged, including the Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (IPM) and the Santri Tarbiyah Islamiyah association.

Amin Abdullah argues that divisions between religious communities remain persistently difficult to resolve, given the deeply entrenched nature of political and ideological interests. The divergent orientations of Muhammadiyah and NU illustrate how competing priorities, combined with theological and ideological sensitivities, permeate every domain, including education. He further contends that educational institutions should ideally emphasize rationality, objectivity, and individual development, yet these goals remain constrained by ongoing ideological disputes (Abdullah, 2007).

Contemporary Islamic educational institutions function as battlegrounds for ideological competition and promotion among Islamic groups—a dynamic that evokes medieval sectarian disputes, though today's competition is considerably more intricate, spanning religious movements across multiple nations (Saparudin, 2020). Research by Maemonah found that institutional rivalry can generate productive competition that highlights ideological distinctions, demonstrating that competition does not inevitably lead to exclusively negative outcomes (Maemonah et al., 2023).

Within the context of ideological promotion and contestation in Indonesian Islamic educational settings, two major groupings frequently exhibit pronounced ideological

divergences: modernist-puritans and traditionalists (Farida, 2015). These camps adopt contrasting approaches to interpreting, applying, and conveying religious knowledge within Islamic educational institutions, competing for influence over students and the broader Muslim population. Both groupings shape educational architecture, curriculum design, and instructional methodology, particularly in relation to religious education, local cultural heritage, and responses to technological advancement and social change.

Modernist-puritans advocate a stricter, text-centered approach to religious practice grounded in direct engagement with sacred scriptures. They may challenge local customs or cultural expressions perceived as inconsistent with religious teachings and often urge schools to concentrate on what they regard as "authentic" religious knowledge (Arifin et al., 2019). Regarding technology, they tend to embrace modern innovations provided these do not conflict with religious principles, and they support science and technology education framed within Islamic values.

Traditionalists, by contrast, emphasize the preservation of local customs and cultural heritage within educational contexts (Harahap, 2019). They hold that schooling should incorporate indigenous wisdom aligned with religious values while cultivating students' appreciation for their cultural and traditional roots. Traditionalists tend to champion harmony, tolerance, and the transmission of local cultural knowledge.

Academic inquiry into ideological distribution and contestation within educational settings remains relatively limited. Among existing works is Arief Subhan's doctoral dissertation (2012), *Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Indonesia Abad ke-20 Pergolakan antara Modernisasi dan Identitas*, completed at the Graduate School of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. This study directly engages with religious ideology in Islamic education during the modernization era, exploring how identity is preserved through religious ideology across the twentieth century. Subhan concludes that Islamic educational institutions do not constitute a uniform phenomenon but represent a complex reality shaped by historical development. Noorhaidi (2012), in *Education, Young Islamists and Integrated Islamic Schools in Indonesia*, examines Integrated Islamic Schools (*Sekolah Islam Terpadu—SIT*) associated with the Ikhwan Al-Muslim Tarbiyah movement, observing that by advancing Hasan Al-Banna's ideological framework, SIT represented an innovative development within Indonesian Islamic education.

Saparudin's work (Muharrir, 2022), *Ideologi Keagamaan dalam Pendidikan: Diseminasi dan Kontentasi Pada Madrasah dan Sekolah Islam di Lombok*, examined Madrasah Muallimin NW Pancor East Lombok, Mataram Muhammadiyah School, and Salafi Abu Hurairah Madrasah in Mataram. He concludes that competition between religious organizations and intensified ideological activity influences the variety of Islamic educational institutions. Conversely, this institutional diversity itself generates, consolidates, and distinguishes different religious patterns and internal competitive dynamics within Islam.

At the international level, Sodhar (n.d.) describes conditions in Pakistan involving governmental disputes, where educational institutions resist state-recommended systemic reforms. This contrasts with Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia, where Islamic schools operate under government supervision and maintain a unified identity as *ahlussunnah wal jamaah*

adherents within the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence (Azra, 2013). Zaniah Marshallsay's study, "Twists and Turns of Islamic Education Across The Islamic World," identified varied Islamic educational formats across countries including Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Turkey, India, Pakistan, China, and Indonesia. Indonesian Islamic institutions administered by NU and Muhammadiyah remain generally receptive to government reforms despite maintaining distinctive ideological positions (Marshallsay, 2014).

An investigation of religious ideology distribution and contestation within educational institutions across Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta holds particular significance. Aceh's distinctiveness is shaped by the implementation of Islamic sharia law, with the majority of its population adhering to the Shafi'i madhhab and *ahlussunnah wal jamaah* orientation. NU-affiliated dayahs outnumber other Islamic school types in Aceh (Zulkhairi et al., 2024). As a consequence, the propagation of NU's religious ideology in Aceh occurs with relative ease, whereas the establishment of Muhammadiyah schools faces community resistance due to perceived associations with Wahabi thought.

## **METHOD**

This study aimed to explore the processes by which religious ideologies are transmitted within educational institutions, assess the instructional dimensions at play, and examine the dynamics that emerge when various faith-based groups vie for influence. The research employed a qualitative approach that integrated phenomenological and sociological perspectives. The phenomenological perspective was selected because the researcher, serving as the primary instrument of inquiry, maintained prolonged and direct engagement with the research context. This perspective facilitated close analysis of how participants interpreted and made meaning of their lived experiences, necessitating sustained immersion among the subjects and key informants (Muhadjir, 2000). The sociological perspective, meanwhile, explored how interactions, exchanges, and competitive dynamics between religious organizations shape ideological orientations within educational institutions.

Data were gathered from school principals, vice-principals, teachers, students, Islamic schools (*madrasas*), and Islamic boarding schools (*pesantrens*) situated in Aceh, West Sumatra, and Yogyakarta. Data collection methods included in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentary analysis. The analytical procedure followed the framework proposed by Miles and Huberman (1986), encompassing four sequential stages: data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Transmission of Religious Ideology Through Islamic Educational Institutions**

The research was carried out across various learning environments—including general schools, Islamic schools, and residential academic institutions—administered by Muhammadiyah, NU (*pesantren*), and Salafi groups in Yogyakarta, West Sumatra, and Aceh. Aceh was selected based on evidence showing that NU-administered *pesantrens* hold a significant place in Acehnese society, alongside Islamic learning centers led by Salafi movements. Muhammadiyah-run institutions, however, receive considerably less community

acceptance in Aceh. In West Sumatra, the situation differs markedly: Muhammadiyah—though originally founded in Yogyakarta—enjoys substantial community backing, reflected in its extensive network of schools and pesantrens across the region. NU-affiliated schools, by comparison, constitute only a small fraction of institutions in West Sumatra. PERTI-linked MTI boarding schools are numerous, though some have experienced declining enrollments, while others such as MTI Candung and MTI Pasir in Agam district remain vibrant and growing. Islamic integrated schools have also become popular choices among families. Yogyakarta was chosen by the research team due to its abundance of NU pesantrens, most notably Pesantren Al-Munawwir, which served as a key research site. Al-Munawwir is both the oldest and most nationally prominent pesantren. The study also examined Madrasah Mu'alimin Muhammadiyah, the first educational institution established by KH Ahmad Dahlan. Muhammadiyah's reform-driven mission resonates strongly with Yogyakarta's population, while Islamic integrated schools are experiencing rapid growth, particularly in urban areas.

A deeper understanding of these dynamics enables more effective educational strategy development and institutional governance across these regions. Religious ideological transmission operates through several distinct channels.

### ***Formal, Informal, and Hidden Curriculum as Channels for Religious Transmission***

Identifying the religious orientation of schools affiliated with Muhammadiyah is relatively straightforward, as these institutions—spanning kindergartens through universities—explicitly carry the Muhammadiyah name. The situation differs for NU-affiliated schools, which adopt a wider variety of naming conventions. NU-linked institutions may draw their names from founding organizations, revered kyai scholars, pesantren terminology, or the Al-Ma'arif label. Islamic integrated schools similarly display considerable variation in their institutional names. These institutions become recognizable not through their labels but through the religious ideologies they promote and sustain.

The schools examined across three regions—encompassing general schools, Islamic schools, and boarding institutions—include Al-Arabiyah IT High School, Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah, and Dayah Darul Ulum Al-Fata in Aceh; Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Candung, 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 transmit religious teachings to students through various approaches, including standard classroom instruction and additional learning activities.

Data gathered from Aceh are particularly significant. Dayah "Darul Ulum Al Fata" advances its religious teachings through courses in Islamic jurisprudence rooted in the Shafi'i legal tradition, drawing on texts such as *Qaliubi Wa'Umairah III-IV* by Sheikh Jalaluddin Al-Mahalli. Theological instruction incorporates works by scholars within the Asy'ari tradition, including "Ad-Dusuqi" by Sheikh Ibrahim Ad-Dusuki, while Sufi courses utilize "Muraqil 'Ubudiyah" by Sheikh Muhammad Nawawi Al-Jawi. Religious teachings are further conveyed through worship practices and spiritual reflection. The traditionalist NU character of this

dayah is also visible in student dress: sarongs for male students and full covering for female students. Dayah Darul Ulum Al Fata is one of thousands of comparable institutions across Aceh, operating within a framework similar to Java's pesantren system. Aceh ranks fifth nationally in dayah density, with 1,286 facilities educating 272,601 students throughout Indonesia.

In Aceh, many NU dayah alumni become ideologically committed supporters—or what Althusser conceptualized as ideological apparatuses (Althusser, 2004). Within the NU dayah framework, students are systematically shaped, socialized, and mobilized to propagate values and perspectives aligned with NU doctrine. This transformation proceeds through the use of religious education as an ideological instrument, the absorption of foundational values, the intergenerational perpetuation of ideology, and the molding of students into active agents of ideological dissemination who go on to participate in public life.

Parental selection of dayahs in Aceh is largely determined by the reputation of the Tengku—the dayah's religious head. In Acehnese society, the Tengku commands profound reverence. Haidar observes that Acehnese people regard the Tengku as a figure possessing superior religious knowledge and extraordinary capacities, whose prayers carry blessings and spiritual power (Miswar, 2020). The dominant Muslim identity in Aceh, organized around the Shafi'i legal school and the *ahlussunnah wal jamaah* theological orientation, also shapes community preferences, leading families to favor NU dayahs over Muhammadiyah institutions, which are perceived as closer to Wahhabi thought. This association has generated resistance to Muhammadiyah in Aceh, including incidents of community hostility toward its institutions.

Comparable patterns are found at Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) Candung in West Sumatra. In addition to Shafi'i jurisprudential texts, students study works authored by Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli—a proponent of Islamic modernization and founder of MTI Candung (1928)—including *Aljawahirul Kalamiyah* (theology), *Alqaulul Bayan fi tafsiril Quraan* (Quranic exegesis), and several other key texts. A distinctive subject called "Ketarbiyahan" is compulsory for beginning-level students.

A parallel orientation is maintained at Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak in Yogyakarta, which adheres to Shafi'i jurisprudence and the Ash'ari and Maturidi theological traditions. Beyond formal classroom teaching, ideological transmission also occurs through supplementary programs such as Hadrah, a devotional music practice. Hadrah presentations originally featured only male participants but subsequently developed into combined-gender performances, with male students providing tambourine accompaniment and female students contributing vocals. These presentations take place during significant occasions such as haul commemorations, Maulid Nabi celebrations, and pesantren graduation ceremonies (Busyro et al., 2023).

Despite operating for only two years, the Al-Arabiyan IT High School has attracted considerable interest from Acehnese communities, particularly urban families, in contrast to the challenges faced by other institutions. The school has enrolled 120 students from households affiliated with NU, Muhammadiyah, and Salafi movements, reflecting a commitment to preventing single-denomination indoctrination and prioritizing academic

quality over denominational loyalty. A similar stance is adopted by SMA IT Sahabat Cendekia in West Sumatra and SMA IT Ar-Raihan in Yogyakarta, both of which affirm allegiance to the Qur'an, Sunnah, and classical Islamic scholarship without formal affiliation with any particular school of jurisprudence. However, at Sahabat Cendekia, Salafi perspectives are introduced through monotheism-focused content and prophetic biography materials available via Surau TV and Muraja'ah TV, featuring scholars such as Sheikh Abdul Qadir bin Jawas.

Muhammadiyah-affiliated schools, including Dayah Baitul Arqam in Aceh, MA Kauman in West Sumatra, and Madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, apply a unified curriculum. Teaching within Muhammadiyah institutions is grounded in the Muhammadiyah tarjih framework—a method of selecting the most sound and widely accepted interpretations rather than adhering rigidly to a single jurisprudential school (Santosa, 2017). A compulsory subject titled "Muhammadiyah" reinforces this ideology, complemented by texts such as Tafsir Al-Azhar by Buya Hamka. Extracurricular activities including Tapak Suci (martial arts) and Hizbul Wathan (scouting) serve as distinctive markers of Muhammadiyah institutions and function as vehicles for ideological transmission, cultivating discipline, accountability, and collective identity alongside Islamic teachings.

Curriculum design functions as a particularly effective instrument for character formation among students. At the national level, governmental ideologies can be advanced through education systems by constructing curricula aligned with those ideologies. Khalili's comparative study of Iran's religious ideology and Finland's secular educational ideology demonstrates that nations can pursue their generational goals through deliberate curriculum design (Khalili et al., 2022). Parents from diverse religious backgrounds seek both excellent contemporary education and recognition of cultural and religious heritage for their children—objectives achievable through well-designed school curricula (Huidobro, 2018).

### ***Promoting Religious Ideology Through Faculty Recruitment Practices***

Across all three regions studied, Islamic educational institutions advance their theological orientations through deliberate recruitment strategies for teaching staff and administrative personnel. These schools frequently employ their own alumni for instructional roles, management positions, and supervisory board appointments. This tendency is especially pronounced in appointments for Kitab (classical text) instruction and religious studies courses, as alumni are considered to have a well-established grasp of the values and traditions these institutions aim to preserve and transmit. This approach fosters alignment between academic programs and institutional governance in advancing the school's theological direction.

Teachers of general subjects are not always required to be institutional alumni, yet they must align their personal religious convictions with the school's theological position or face sanctions. Muhammadiyah institutions, for example, require all faculty and staff to hold formal Muhammadiyah membership, which designates them as organizational representatives. Personnel who decline membership face dismissal. The institutional code of conduct states that every educator is obligated to strengthen Muhammadiyah's position as a powerful Islamic da'wah movement across all domains of life. Similar alumni-preference policies are in place at

Dayah Darul Ulum al-Fata in Aceh, MTI Candung in West Sumatra, and Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak in Yogyakarta.

SMA IT Al Arabiya in Aceh adopts a different approach by recruiting educators from varied backgrounds, as explained by Ustad Fazil Maulana: teaching staff at the school come from moderate circles, PKS-ikhwani networks, tablig communities, and Salafi groups, but all are subject to a policy of never raising the khilafat issue within the institution. Instruction in jurisprudential comparisons is conducted professionally by presenting prominent scholarly opinions without advocating for or criticizing any particular position.

The recruitment of faculty and staff aligned with institutional theology is significant because these personnel function as vehicles for ideological dissemination—what Althusser termed the ideological state apparatus. Faculty members operate deliberately within ideological frameworks, committed to cultivating future agents of the same ideology. Subhin's research at Madrasah Diniyah Zumrotus Salamah illustrated how educators successfully transmitted Islamic teachings and Javanese cultural values to students through community engagement (Subhin & Anwar, 2022). Historical precedent also confirms this dynamic: Stanton's analysis of the Nizamiyah Madrasah shows that Islam's earliest madrasa was established to defend Sunni orthodoxy against Shi'a theological movements, with deliberate selection of administrators, instructors, and librarians serving as instruments for circulating the institution's doctrinal perspective (Stanton, 1990).

### *Transmitting Religious Ideology Through Alumni Networks*

Graduates of religious educational institutions carry dual responsibilities encompassing both educational and doctrinal missions. Virtually every Islamic learning institution transforms its completers into ambassadors who promote the establishment's theological perspective. Research findings indicate that Islamic academies adhering to the Shafi'i tradition utilize their graduates as ideological promoters. Throughout Aceh's regions, many graduates engage with local populations by establishing learning circles and instructing community members according to their religious knowledge. In Yogyakarta, alumni similarly serve communities through religious addresses and study circles. In West Sumatra, in addition to religious discussion forums and prayer sessions, graduates assist communal religious gatherings such as shalawatan and yasinan. The inscription on Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli's tombstone—MTI Candung's founder—conveys an underlying mandate that graduates must remain faithful to the doctrines acquired during their pesantren education and disseminate these teachings to the wider society.

Comparable patterns are found among graduates of Muhammadiyah and Salafi institutions. Alumni from both educational contexts actively propagate their theological positions throughout communities, though they encounter varying degrees of receptivity depending on the region, particularly in Aceh. Muhammadiyah graduates employ culturally adaptive strategies to build community acceptance. As noted by Ustad Azhar, Muhammadiyah Baitul Arqam Dayah prepares alumni to adopt a cultural approach—first aligning with community beliefs and then gradually introducing change. This strategy proved essential given Acehnese communities' resistance to Muhammadiyah's presence.

Islamic academies equally leverage their graduates for institutional advancement. Research by Syafiuddin (2018) demonstrates that graduates trained in Middle Eastern countries established Islamic boarding institutions, mosques, and higher education centers as primary conduits for ideological propagation. Sofanudin's study of student religious engagement and the rohis mentoring framework in Sukoharjo found that Islamic education teachers and alumni fulfill critical roles in shaping students' religious knowledge, perspectives, and conduct (Sofanudin, 2017). Afriyanti's work at UIN Syahid Jakarta similarly shows that significant proportions of graduates return to their home communities, pesantrens, and Islamic academies, or take up teaching roles in their villages of origin (Afriyanti, 2012).

### ***Propagation of Religious Ideology Through Institutional Values and Culture***

Institutional character plays a decisive role in shaping the success of educational reform and curricular implementation. This institutional character encompasses the values, norms, beliefs, traditions, and symbolic expressions that have accumulated over time and are recognized across various levels of the educational environment (Coyle, 2008). Islamic educational institutions in the three regions studied have cultivated distinctive traditional practices. Institutions such as Darul Ulum Al Fata in Aceh, MTI Candung in West Sumatra, and Pesantren Al-Munawwir in Yogyakarta emphasize adherence to ahlussunnah wal jama'ah doctrine and the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence. Graduates of MTI Candung receive benedictions encouraging continued commitment to these doctrines. Institutional graduation documents formally specify the Syafi'i mazhab as the designated legal tradition. Additional established practices include Quranic memorization, muzakarah (collective spiritual deliberation), and haulan—an annual memorial prayer gathering honoring founding pesantren figures. These activities operate as mechanisms for transmitting religious thought across generations.

Symbolic imagery and dress codes also function as elements of institutional culture and ideological positioning. Traditional garments such as the sarong and cap characterize pesantren students, who are commonly identified as the sarungan group because of their habitual use of sarongs across various settings, including public markets. The sarong signifies not merely student identity but also serves as a cultural emblem of pesantren communities. In contrast, students at integrated Islamic schools and Muhammadiyah institutions do not observe the custom of strict adherence to a single jurisprudential tradition. They do not participate in shalawatan rituals, haul commemorations, or sarong-wearing practices. Muhammadiyah and integrated Islamic institutions embrace more contemporary dress standards, with students wearing formal trousers, suit jackets, and ties.

### **Effects of Ideological Competition on Islamic Educational Institutions**

When Islamic educational institutions engage in ideological competition, the result is a proliferation of varying interpretations of religious teachings and their application—what may be described as diversity in religious understanding. This diversity refers to the contrasts and variations in how religious elements are perceived among different individuals, groups, and communities, a phenomenon frequently observed in contexts marked by religious pluralism

and differing approaches to scriptural interpretation. Various institutions may emphasize distinct aspects of Islamic teaching or interpret foundational tenets differently, producing variation in how students comprehend and practice their faith (Afriansyah, 2021). This pattern is evident at Dayah Darul Ulum Al Fata, MTI Candung, and Pesantren Al Munawwir Yogyakarta, where the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence forms the basis of religious curriculum, reinforcing students' alignment with this tradition. Muhammadiyah schools, by contrast, explicitly reject adherence to any single mazhab, following only the rulings of their tarjih council (Qodir, 2014). Salafi institutions similarly refuse allegiance to any school of jurisprudence, deriving direction exclusively from Quranic texts and Prophetic traditions (Hafid, 2020).

Ideological competition further produces distinct groupings within Muslim communities, resulting in fragmented religious identities. Graduates of Dayah Darul Ulum Al Fata, MTI Candung, and Pesantren Al Munawwir display religious identities that differ notably from those of Muhammadiyah and Salafi graduates. The first group's religious identity is characterized by adherence to Shafi'i jurisprudence, embrace of the *ahlussunnah wal jama'ah* creed (Kosim, 2013), participation in communal religious rituals (Nilan, 2009), engagement with mystical or ascetic philosophical traditions, and the practice of grave visitation (Nata, 2012). Muhammadiyah and Salafi graduates are defined by their independence from any single mazhab, their reliance on primary texts, and their rejection of Sufi practices—all of which shape their religious identity (Haron, 2006). These distinctions can segment Muslim communities, with particular groups forming varying degrees of affinity with one another.

The competition among Islamic educational institutions can deepen ideological divisions until they permeate broader society, generating social polarization. Communities become divided into supporters of particular institutions and their ideological positions, affecting social relations and inter-group tolerance. The case of Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah in Aceh illustrates this phenomenon: despite Muhammadiyah's established presence, some communities continue to reject its institutions. Community perception casts Muhammadiyah as a new religion rather than a religious organization, and when Dayah Baitul Arqam Muhammadiyah was established, the community response was hostile, with its teachers being labeled as "Wahabi ustads."

Social polarization driven by ideological rivalry is also present in West Sumatra, though West Sumatran communities show a greater capacity to accommodate diverse religious understandings. Rozi's research found that Muhammadiyah followers in the region blend traditional customs into their religious practice, celebrating Islamic occasions such as Maulidan and Isra' Mi'raj alongside adherents of different orientations. They display accommodative patterns by incorporating local cultural elements into religious occasions and rituals, including participation in *wiridan*, *shalawatan*, and *selamatan* gatherings, while maintaining standards of compatibility with core Islamic teachings. Traditionalists, meanwhile, continue practices such as *tahlilan*, *slametan*, and *shalawatan* while progressively moving away from rituals involving incense and *sesajen* offerings (Rozi, 2013).

As noted, Acehnese communities organized around Shafi'i jurisprudence encounter difficulties accepting Muhammadiyah and Salafi ideologies. In Yogyakarta—

Muhammadiyah's founding city—acceptance emerged organically. Ustad Farhan, an official at Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, observed that the Yogyakarta community embraced Muhammadiyah from its inception, as demonstrated by many NU and PERSIS families sending their children to Muhammadiyah institutions. This openness reflects Yogyakarta society's receptiveness to Muhammadiyah's presence, stemming from the Muhammadiyah community's demonstrated tolerance and moderation. This tolerant and moderate character represents an effort to adapt to and gain legitimacy among syncretic traditionalist communities (Beck, 1995; Nakamura, 1983; Peacock, 1978).

Education is conventionally regarded as a fundamentally constructive and largely value-neutral activity. Yet many stakeholders fail to recognize their involvement in ideological competition within educational environments. Education is a powerful domain because it facilitates sociopolitical transformation (Pratama et al., 2019). Indonesia's madrasa system integrates religious and general education, with the Ministry of Religious Affairs establishing standardized programs for both public and private madrasas. Religious ideological direction in public madrasas follows Ministry of Religious Affairs guidelines completely. The religious ideology and educational objectives expressed through the Ministry's policies thus reflect the political goals of the ruling government (Subkhan, 2018). While private madrasas also receive some government direction, their autonomy outside direct Ministry control enables them to pursue founding missions that initially inspired their creation. Connected to religious social organizations, private madrasas develop according to their particular religious ideologies, with Muhammadiyah-focused content in Muhammadiyah institutions and NU and ahl sunnah wal jama'ah material in Ma'arif NU schools. Concern exists, however, about the growing spread of radical Salafi ideology through educational channels. Certain implementation patterns are particularly stark, raising concerns about potential threats to national educational objectives.

Various religious organizations, including the Salafi movement, have their origins in reform efforts within transnational networks such as the Muslim Brotherhood. In Indonesia, this movement promotes the internalization of religious values, the establishment of educational institutions for intergenerational transmission, and the implementation of holistic Islamic frameworks (Afida, 2018). From Suharto's perspective, Islamic education represents the most effective tool for strengthening the moderate Islam characteristic of Indonesian tradition. Authentically Indonesian Islamic educational institutions teach moderate Indonesian Islam, while transnational institutions seek to Islamize Indonesian students according to different orientations. This competition requires strengthening native Islamic educational institutions' role in Indonesianizing Islam to preserve the country's tradition of religious moderation (Suharto, 2017).

These findings carry significant theoretical implications for Islamic education, particularly concerning how religious ideology is transmitted and how education shapes students' religious identity and understanding. Five key theoretical implications emerge from this study. First, education functions as a mechanism for ideological transmission. This research demonstrates that Islamic education operates not merely as a conduit for religious knowledge but as an instrument for ideological formation, raising fundamental questions about educational models that position schools as ideologically neutral spaces. Second,

ideological diversity within Islamic education may enrich religious dialogue by generating varied knowledge. This supports the principles of pluralism in Islamic education, which must create space for different religious interpretations to offer students more complete and tolerant perspectives. Third, institutional policies shape school culture, which in turn constitutes the environment where students internalize and practice religious teachings. Islamic education must therefore attend not only to curriculum design but also to cultivating institutional cultures that encourage interpretive diversity and inclusiveness. Fourth, education shapes religious identity through its influence on the formation of self-understanding grounded in particular values and ideologies—a process related to social identity theory showing that education influences not merely cognitive understanding but also collective identity among students. Fifth, extracurricular activities represent an important channel for religious ideological transmission and constitute significant informal educational experiences. Islamic education should consider how appropriate extracurricular programming can expand students' understanding without reinforcing narrow ideological boundaries.

## CONCLUSION

This study investigated the mechanisms through which ideological convictions are transmitted and contested among Islamic educational institutions affiliated with diverse religious movements across Indonesia. These institutions convey their doctrinal orientations through structured curricula encompassing formal instruction, student extracurricular engagement, and uncodified organizational customs. Institutional governance systems and hierarchical arrangements additionally serve as conduits for advancing their distinctive philosophical orientations through the cultivation of particular institutional cultures. Nevertheless, this process of ideological dissemination has generated substantial consequences, including the emergence of divergent viewpoints across these institutions—manifested in varying interpretations of sacred texts among students—the fragmentation of religious belonging that produces separate groupings within Muslim communities, and ultimately, a contribution to broader societal polarization. The doctrinal contestation embedded within Indonesia's Islamic schooling system constitutes a pressing challenge requiring urgent and sustained attention to ensure educational quality that supports the holistic development of learners and their communities.

## 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>
- Afrianyah, A. (2021). Konstruksi, kontestasi, fragmentasi, dan pluralisasi otoritas keagamaan Indonesia kontemporer. *Studia Islamika*, 28(1), 227-244.

- 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.
- Azra, A. (2006). Pendidikan Islam Indonesia dan tantangan globalisasi. In J. Burhanudin & D. Afrianty (Eds.), *Mencetak Muslim modern*. Jakarta: PT. Rajagrafindo Persada.
- Azra, A. (2013). The Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah in Southeast Asia. *Heritage of Nusantara*, 2(1), 3-4.
- Baidhawry, Z. (2007). Building harmony and peace through multiculturalist theology-based religious education. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 29(1), 15-30.
- 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*. Leiden: 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*, 7(1), 555-578.
- Coyle, H. E. (2008). School culture benchmarks. *Journal of School Violence*, 7(2), 105-122.
- Darajat, Z. (2017). Muhammadiyah dan NU: Penjaga moderatisme Islam di Indonesia. *Hayula*, 1(1), 79-94.
- Fachruddin, F. (2006). Agama dan pendidikan demokrasi: Pengalaman Muhammadiyah dan Nahdhaul Ulama. Jakarta.
- Farida, U. (2015). Islam pribumi dan Islam puritan. *FIKRAH: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan*, 3(1), 141-156.
- Garcia-Huidobro, J. C. (2018). Addressing the crisis in curriculum studies. *Curriculum Journal*, 29(1), 25-42.
- Hafid, W. (2020). Menyoal gerakan Salafi di Indonesia. *Al-Tafaqquh: Journal of Islamic Law*, 2(1), 29.
- Harahap, M. R. (2019). Tradisi dalam modernisasi pendidikan Islam di Indonesia. *Jurnal WARAQAT*, IV(1).
- Haron, M. (2006). Da'wah movements and Sufi tariqahs. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 25(2), 37-41.
- Hasan, N. (2012). Education, young Islamists and integrated Islamic schools in Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, 19(1).
- Jackson, E., & Parker, L. (2008). Enriched with knowledge: Modernisation, Islamisation and the future of Islamic education in Indonesia. *RIMA*, 42(1), 21-53.
- Khalili, S., Kallioniemi, A., & Bagheri Noaparast, K. (2022). Characteristics of human agency in liberal and Islamic religious education. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 44(1), 53-65.

- Khairi, M., et al. (2017). Religious relationship among ethnicities. *Asian Journal of Environment, History and Heritage*, 1(1), 123-130.
- Kosim, M. (2013). Tradisi Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah. *At-Tarbiyah*, IV(1), 21-45.
- Maemonah, M., Zuhri, H., Masturin, M., Syafii, A., & Aziz, H. (2023). Contestation of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. *Cogent Education*, 10(1).
- Mahmudah, H. (2017). Transmisi ideologi fundamentalisme dalam pendidikan. *TAJDID*, 1(2), 200-216.
- Marshallsay, Z. (2014). International journal of pedagogies and learning. *International Journal of Pedagogies & Learning*, 7(3), 180-190.
- Meuleman, J. (2011). Da'wah, competition for authority, and development. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 167(2/3), 236-269.
- 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*, 2(1), 1-27.
- 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*, 11(1), 1383-1404.
- Nakamura, M. (1983). *Bulan sabit muncul dari balik pohon beringin*. 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.
- Nthontho, M. A., & Addai-Mununkum, R. (2021). Towards religious literacy in South African schools. *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, 42(4), 436-449.
- Nurish, A. (2019). Muhammadiyah dan arus radikalisme. *Maarif*, 14(2), 59-74.
- 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.
- Rokhmad, A. (2018). Buku dan penyebaran ideologi radikal di lembaga pendidikan. *International Journal Ihya' Ulum Al-Din*, 20(1), 41.
- Rozi, S. (2013). Etnis Minangkabau di daerah perbatasan. 39(1), 215-245.
- Santosa, N. E. T. I. (2017). Karakter Muhammadiyah melandaikan gagasan Islam berkemajuan. Sidoarjo.
- Saparudin. (2020). Islamic education as ideological marketing in contemporary Indonesian Islam. *Proceedings of the 2nd ICS Universitas Mataram International Conference*. Mataram.
- Satria, R. (2019). Pembaruan pendidikan Islam di Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Canduang. *Geneologi PAI*, 6(1), 15.

- Sofanudin, A. (2017). Aktivitas keagamaan siswa dan jaringan mentoring rohis SMA Negeri di Kabupaten Sukoharjo. *Jurnal Smart*, 3(1), 29-39.
- Stanton, C. M. (1990). *Higher learning in Islam: The classical period, A.D. 700-1300*. 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.
- 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*, 17(1), 155-178.
- Suyanta, S., Saifuddin, S., & Bahri, S. (2024). Tolerance development model for students of Dayah Salafiyah in Aceh. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 12(2), 809.
- 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. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 11(2), 551.
- Zulkhairi, T., Hajar, I., Safriadi, S., Marzuki, M., & Saifullah, S. (2024). Bahtsul masail at a traditional Islamic educational institution in Aceh. *Samarah*, 8(1), 579.
- Zully Qodir. (2010). *Muhammadiyah studies: Reorientasi gerakan dan pemikiran memasuki abad kedua*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.