THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGIES IN THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF MUHAMMADIYAH AND NAHDLATUL ULAMA: A Phenomenological Study in East Java

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Abstract: This study focused on the phenomena or dynamics of the struggle for religious ideology that occur in the educational institutions (SMP/MTs and SMA/MA) of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in East Java. Therefore, this study sought to see the internalization of the religious ideological values of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in their education systems. Especially, when looking at clashes of religious thought that contain other ideologies (such as transnational (Salafi, Wahabi, and Shia), conservative/traditional, and reformist/modernist ideologies). This study used a qualitative approach and techniques for data collection used participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation studies. The data analysis used the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana model consisting of four stages, namely, data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion. This study found that the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama have paradigmatic similarities, namely, ideology is positioned and functionalized as the motive and legitimacy of their educational actions and religious privileges. The expanding opportunities for dissemination and reproduction of other ideologies in their educational institutions are due to the very open nature of their religious understanding (Muhammadiyah has an understanding of Islamic Manhaji, and Nahdlatul Ulama has an understanding of Islamic mahzabi).

Keywords: religious ideology; religious organization; Muhammadiyah; Nahdlatul Ulama.

Abstrak: Riset ini memfokuskan pada fenomena atau dinamika pergulatan ideologi keagamaan yang terjadi di kelembagaan pendidikan (SMP/MTs dan SMA/MA) Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama di propinsi Jawa Timur. Karenanya, riset ini berupaya melihat internalisasi nilai-nilai ideologis keagamaan Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama dalam sistem kependidikannya. Terutama ketika melihat benturan-benturan pemikiran keagamaan yang memuat ideologi lain (seperti ideologi transnasional (Salafi, Wahabi, dan Syi'ah), konservatif/tradisional, dan reformis/modernis). Riset ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data memakai observasi partisipasi, wawancara mendalam; dan studi dokumentasi. Analisis datanya memakai model Miles, Huberman, dan Saldana yang terdiri dari empat tahap, yaitu: koleksi data, kondensasi data, display data, dan kesimpulan. Riset ini menemukan, kelembagaan pendidikan Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama memiliki persamaan paradigmatik, yaitu: ideologi diposisikan dan difungsionalisasikan sebagai motif serta legitimasi tindakan kependidikan dan *privelege* keberagamaan mereka. Pembentangan peluang diseminasi dan reproduksi ideologi lain di kelembagaan pendidikan mereka, disebabkan sifat pemahaman keagamaan mereka yang sangat terbuka (Muhammadiyah berpahaman Islam Manhaji, dan Nahdlatul Ulama memiliki pemahaman Islam mazhabi).

Kata kunci: ideologi keagamaan; organisasi keagamaan; Muhammadiyah; Nahdlatul Ulama.

Introduction

Recent studies on Islamic education still place the discourse of religious ideology as the dominant object of study. One of them is a study by Padil on the description of the ideological problems of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. The study states that the ideological essence of Islamic education is critical theohumanist education.[1] Then a study by Supriadi et al. on the role of Islamic religious education teachers in stemming radicalism in educational institutions (madrasas).[2] Then a study by Suwaed & Ali on

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[1] Moh. Padil, "Socio-Philosophical Study of the Ideology of Islamic Education," Praxis Latinoamericana, vol. 26, no. 1 (2021), pp. 256–265.

[2] Udin Supriadi et al., "The Role of Islamic Education

the comparison of Islamic education and Arabic education in Israel and in countries outside Europe which have the largest Muslim immigrants. The study found that the Islamic movements (al-harakah al-Islamiyyah), when accepted by society through Islamic education, will include ideological elements in their movements.[3] Also a study by Muhtarom on the examination of Salafi and Shia transnational Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. This study found the community's responses (refusal and acceptance) to the Salafi and Shia ideologies when introduced through the education system. The community's refusal is represented by puritan and traditional groups such as LDII, al-Irsyad, Persis, and FUUI; whereas the community's acceptance is represented by moderate groups such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama.[4]

These studies can be an indicator if Islamic educational institutions and religious ideology have a strong relationship. These two entities blend in the trajectory of the education systems which are articulated in the form of values and learning materials. In the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah, Al-Islam and Muhammadiyah (AIK) material appears and in the educational institutions of Nahdlatul Ulama, NU material or commonly called Aswaja appears. Precisely through these learning materials, they can instill their religious ideologies. The process of disseminating religious ideology is indeed oriented towards community expansion and controlled reproduction of cadres so that they are compatible with the religious ideals of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Therefore, Tan terms this process as control belief[5];because the process is articulated in the form of an effort to transmit and control a certain belief system – read: a religious ideology–.

Finally, it is hoped that the estuary will form a perspective on oneself and the environment that has conformity with a certain belief system; which in this context is the religious ideology of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama.

However, the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in East Java are not necessarily free from clashes of certain religious ideologies. In fact, the onslaught of religious ideology from groups outside Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama is very strong. Some of these religious ideologies are transnational (Salafi, Wahabi, and Shia), conservative/traditional, reformist/modernist, and other ideologies. Therefore, this study focused on the struggle for religious ideology in the educational institutions (SMP/MTs and SMA/MA) of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in East Java. Based on this focus, this study aimed to understand and interpret the phenomena of the struggle for religious ideology in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in East Java.

Moreover, this study had an analysis of the mapping of other religious ideology dissemination movements in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Therefore, educational institutions can be identified as forums for contesting certain motives (religious or other). Finally, educational institutions have a heavy burden that includes several dimensions, namely, academic intention (national curriculum standards), religious intention (religious curriculum standards), ideological intention (ideological curriculum standards), or maybe also sociological intention (local community curriculum). The struggle and articulation of religious ideology will provide intellectual treasures and also enrich empirical information on mapping the dissemination of religious ideology in educational institutions.

This study sought to understand and analyze the phenomena or dynamics of the struggle for religious ideology that occur in the educational institutions (SMP/MTs and SMA/MA) of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in East Java. Therefore, the phenomena that are related to efforts to internalize the religious ideological values of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in their education systems become part of this study framework. Moreover,

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Teachers in Preventing Radicalism at Madrasa Aliyah," Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam, vol. 4, no. 1 (2021), pp. 74–90.

[3] Muhammad Suwaed and Nohad Ali, "Education, Identity, and Ideology: The Islamic Movement and Moslem Religious Education in Israel," Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture, vol. 22, no. 4 (2016), pp. 426–449.

[4] Ali Muhtarom, "The Study of Indonesian Moslem Responses on Salafy-Shia Transnational Islamic Education Institution," Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura, vol. 17, no. 1 (2017), pp 73–95.

[5] Charlene Tan, Islamic Education and Indoctrination: The Case in Indonesia, (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 29.

clashes of religious thought that contain other ideologies (such as transnational (Salafi, Wahabi, and Shia), conservative/traditional, and reformist/modernist ideologies) have also become the research of this study. Therefore, this study is expected to provide a comprehensive and detailed explanation (interpretive understanding (verstehen)) about the struggle for religious ideology in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nadlatul Ulama in East Java.

Method

On this basis, researchers used qualitative as a research approach with the type of phenomenology. Even with this approach, researchers can position themselves as flexible subjects, so researchers can approach the study subjects with an open mind, and not make assumptions before this study begins. Therefore, the main sites in this study were chosen on the basis of the ideological dynamics of educational institutions at the SMP/MTs and SMA/MA levels that emerge and appear to occur on the surface of educational activities. The research sites were chosen through a spread pattern across the three regencies in East Java, but all of them can represent educational institutions in urban and rural areas. That is, the schools/madrasas have characteristics that are different culturally or in terms of the composition of the people in them. In Malang and Tuban, the schools/madrasas are located in the areas where the composition of the community is Javanese; while in Jember, the schools/madrasas are located in the midst of a community with a traditional (cultural) pattern of a plural society with two tribes, namely the Madurese and the Javanese.

The selection of the research sites was based on several reasons, *first*, the schools/madrasas have outstanding advantages related to the inculcation of ideological values so the intellectual trajectory and ideological basis greatly characterize the religious values of the schools/madrasas' community. *Second*, the schools/madrasas provide space for freedom for all schools/madrasas members to grow and develop their potentials and religious characters without cultural and religious barriers inside and outside the schools/madrasas. Finally, *third*, the polarity of religious culture in these schools/madrasahs has become wisdom to continue to be developed by all schools/madrasas members.

Data collection will be carried out in a comprehensive, integrative manner that is relevant to the focus and objectives of the research. Three techniques commonly used in qualitative research will be used: participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation studies. However, another aspect that needs to be emphasized by the researcher is that the data extracted is examined from two aspects, namely internal and external aspects. The "internal" aspect emphasizes whether or not the available data is accurate and has something to do with the significance, focus, and purpose of this research; The "external" aspect also includes the authenticity of the data to be obtained by the researcher.

The data analysis technique that the researcher will carry out is with the principle of *ongoing analysis*, which is not carried out separately after the data collection process is complete. However, it will be done repeatedly between data collection and analysis simultaneously. Procedurally, the collected data was analyzed using the data analysis model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, which consisted of four stages: data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion.

Religious Ideology

Based on this background, it can be said that religious ideology can actually enter various aspects of life, including educational institutions. Moreover, educational institutions are positioned as social forums that collect and shape the structure and culture of society. It is reasonable that educational institutions are considered strategic lands for the dissemination and reproduction of religious ideology. Thus educational institutions can be said, as put forward by Leonardo, as marketing ideology.[6] This relationship has been described in a study by Saparudin that the relationship between religious communities and education is dialectical.[7]

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[6] Zeus Leonardo, Ideology, Discourse, and School Reform, (London: Praeger Publishers, 2003), p. 57

[7] Saparudin, "Gerakan Keagamaan Dan Peta Afiliasi Ideologis Pendidikan Islam Di Lombok," Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman, vol. 42, no. 1 (2018), pp. 220–241.

Therefore, educational institutions functioned to strengthen the existence of religious ideologies of religious groups. This has been recorded in the history of Islamic civilization; Makdisi states that the emergence of Madrasah Nizamiyyah could not be separated from political motives as well as religious ideological wars.[8] This dialectical process has given rise to various critical studies, one of which focuses on the struggle for religious ideology in Islamic institutions, or educational institutions born of religious ideological realities.

Various studies raised this phenomenon as the theme of his study, such as Saparudin's research on "*Islamic Education as Ideological Marketing in Contemporary Indonesian Islam*." This research focuses on the dissemination and reproduction of religious ideologies that he does in educational institutions. Research findings state that using educational institutions as a forum for competition and promoting religious ideology is a repetition of sectarian competition in the Middle Ages. However, what is happening at this time is more complex because it involves transnational religious movements.[9] From the findings of this research, it is evident that religious ideology can be massively maintained and preserved in educational institutions such as *pesantren*, madrasas, or schools.

Education *Institutions in the Special Region of Yogyakarta*" focuses on the development map of variants and religious and ideological affiliations of Islamic educational institutions. In the findings of this research, it is stated that the development and transformation of Islamic educational institutions are very rapid and affect religious variants and ideologies. Institutional variants are mapped into four types: religious movements, political da'wah, business, and corporations; while religious ideologies are divided into four, among others: compromising, Aswaja-traditional, modernist-reformist, and revivalist.[10] Saada's research on

"*Typology of Islamic Education Neo-Salafi versus Progressive Islam*" describes the principles of two traditions of contemporary religious ideology and the typology of educational development. This research describes a lot related to the development of educational (or learning) systems and processes based on religious ideology, especially the concept of education *tarbiyah* and *ta'lim*.[11] Both of these studies explicitly confirm that religious ideology affects the education organized by religious organizations. Even educational institutions are positioned as a forum for disseminating religious ideology.

Another research is Yunizar Ramadhani's research on "*Religious Ideology, Political Parties, and Islamic Education: Reflections on Hasan al-Banna's Thoughts at the Integrated Islamic School Ukhuwah Banjarmasin*." This research examines the relationship of Hasan al-Banna's thinking with the practice of Islamic education in integrated schools (namely, the Integrated School of Ukhuwah Banjarmasin). The findings of this research explain that at the ideological level, Hasan al-Banna's thoughts have become the basis of the education system so that educational institutions become a forum for the actualization of the tarbiyah movement of the *Ikhwanul Muslimin*.[12] Moreover, Muhtarom's research on "*Ideology, Transnationalism, and Networks of Islamic Educational Institutions: The Contest of LIPIA and STFI Sadra in Indonesia*," which describes the development of Salafism and Shi'ism in constructing an understanding of Islam in Indonesia as well as the institutional network of LIPIA and STFI Sadra. The results of this research indicate that religious ideologies (Salafi and Shia) can be developed through educational institutions (LIPIA and STFI).[13] These studies also confirm that

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[8] George Makdisi, Religion, Law and Learning in Classical Islam, (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 30.

[9] Saparudin, "Islamic Education as Ideological Marketing in Contemporary Indonesian Islam," presented in International Conference Countering Radicalism & Terrorism in the Digital Era-Reshaping a Global Peace Community (Mataram: Universitas Mataram, 2020), p. 1–12.

[10] Imam Machali and et al., "Shifting Variants and Ideological Affiliations of Islamic Education Institutions in the Special Region of Yogyakarta," Jurnal Pendidikan Islam, vol. 10, no. 1 (2021), pp. 107–132.

[11] Najwan Saada, "Typology of Islamic Education Neo-Salafi versus Progressive Islam," Jurnal Pendidikan Islam, vol. 10, no. 1 (2020), pp. 33–47.
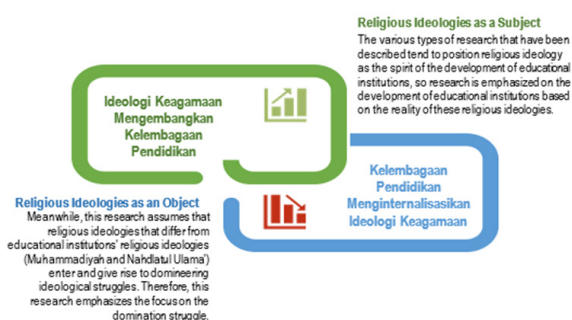
[12] Yunizar Ramadhani, "Ideologi Keagamaan, Partai Politik, Dan Pendidikan Islam: Refleksi Pemikiran Hasan Al-Banna Di Sekolah Islam Terpadu Ukhuwah Banjarmasin," Nalar: Jurnal Peradaban dan Pemikiran Islam, vol. 5, no. 1 (2021), pp. 78–92.

[13] Ali Muhtarom, "Ideologi, Transnasionalisme, Dan Jaringan Lembaga Pendidikan Islam: Kontestasi LIPIA Dan STFI

religious ideology is positioned as a subject that influences the pattern and system of educational institutions.

Based on the descriptions of these various types of research, it can be concluded that the subject of education confirms the dissemination of the religious ideology it adheres to through the construction of educational institutions. Therefore, variants, educational systems, and educational materials are influenced by religious ideologies that want to be internalized into educational citizens. Meanwhile, this research focuses on including other religious ideologies in educational institutions affiliated with Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Of course, in these educational institutions, there is a "struggle" or "marketing" of religious ideology to dominate the discourse and internalize it in the education community. This difference can be illustrated as an illustration in the following figure:

Figure 2: Differences in Previous Research

Although basically in the Indonesian context, religious social movements and communalism supported by ideology (religion) ultimately become an essential part of Muslim religiosity, as in Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. However, the diversity (plurality) of the Islamic community in East Java is actually very vast, such as transnational (Salafi, Wahabi, and Shia), conservative/traditional, reformist/modernist, and other ideologies. This plurality is the implementation of the articulation variant of Islamic doctrines which are interpreted using the methodology believed. Even, on the one hand, these phenomena are manifestations of the synthesis of the doctrine of normativity and historical dimensions—as stated by M. Aimin

Sadra Di Indonesia" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2018).

Abdullah in *"Religious Studies: Normativeness or Historicity*. Eventually, they will give birth to different understandings and meanings of these religious doctrines and will also indirectly give birth to diverse religious behaviors.[14]

This diversity, when institutionalized in the form of an institution, is able to become the basis for justification and legitimacy for religious behaviors. At this point, according to a theory by Terry Eagleton in *"Ideology: an Introduction"*[15], that religion will transform itself into an ideology; and be represented in the form of a religious ideological movement. It will be articulated into various religious behaviors in every dimension of life, and will even tend to mutually negate one ideological reality with another. One example is the strengthening of transnational ideologies (Salafi, Wahabi, and Shia) which is a fact of efforts to negate conservative/traditional or reformist/modernist ideology. Therefore, the expansion of influence and expansion of proponents in order to strengthen the existence of certain religious ideologies can be seen as the main motivation for this tendency.

Marketing Ideology in Educational Institutions

Educational institutions such as SMP/MTs or SMA/MA that are nationalist or religious tend to be open to other religious ideas. It is reasonable that educational institutions are considered strategic lands for the dissemination and reproduction of religious ideology. Educational institutions like this open up space for "buying and selling" certain values, thoughts, or ideologies, so educational institutions are very open to being a place for marketing ideology. In some educational institutions that are affiliated with certain religious ideologies, such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, they have even become instruments of seizing, strengthening, and developing the influence of certain religious ideologies. Therefore, in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and

[14] M. Mukhsin Jamil et al., Nalar Islam Nusantara: Studi Islam Ala Muhammadiyah, Al-Irshad, Persis, Dan NU, (Jakarta: Diktis Departemen Agama RI, 2007), p. 12.

[15] Terry Eagleton, Ideology: An Introduction, (New York: Verso, 1991), p. 13.

Nahdlatul Ulama, the struggle for religious ideology that encourages open contestation takes place. Moreover, at this time, based on the results of a study by Arifianto, there has been a revival of Islamism since the post-reformation era which has also suppressed –read: eliminates– mainstream Islamic authorities such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama.[16]

Religious ideologies that tend to enter Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama educational institutions are Salafi and Shia; or also religious ideologies that are rationalist-liberal in character. They have the belief that educational institutions are able to become strategic forums for seeding, articulating, and developing their ideological existence. They are even aware that the dynamics of education will experience shocks during the dissemination and reproduction of new religious ideologies that have emerged in the midst of educational institutions. This is because there is religious ideological uncertainty during the contestation of the formation of religious identity in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama. In this context, it also gave birth to socio-religious fragmentation in the community or academic community of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. In one statement from Muhammadiyah education practitioners, it was explained:

> "The struggle of religious thought in our educational institutions is a gift as long as these thoughts are in a unified ideology, namely: the ideology of the Muhammadiyah association. However, the religious thought that emerged amid our institution was not aligned with the association's ideology. It only gives birth to anxiety and religious confusion toward educational people. Of course, the diversity of ideologies makes the climate of educational institutions not conducive and tends to be hot spots."

Obviously, a chaotic academic climate tends to create educational problems and the fragility of

religious ideological doctrine in these educational institutions. This happens to the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah in urban areas which highly glorified religion in the unity of *aqidah*. Indeed, the prominent characteristics and features (of the educational institutions) of Muhammadiyah are that their leadership is collegial-collective, as revealed in a study by Setiawan & Tjahjono;[17] adaptive, as concluded in a study by Nasir et al.; egalitarian (non-discriminatory) (including in public leadership, as revealed in a study by Dewi);[18] and based on two foundations, namely, al-Ma'un theology and al-'Ashr theology with the aim of growing and developing *"Ma'rifat qoutient"* (divine awareness), as revealed in a study by Khoirudin, et al.[19] These characteristics actually make the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah more open to differences in religious views. This includes religious plurality in educational institutions so the term *krismuha* (or, Kristen-Muhammadiyah) was coined by Mu'ti & Haq.[20]

In educational institutions that have been contaminated with religious ideologies such as Salafism, Wahhabism, or Shi'ism, they experience psychological tensions that encourage the formation of ideological camps. They form ideological camps based on the motive of similarity of thought and belief in religious values so that they feel that they are in a religion that follows the "way of God's truth". The educational institutions of Nahdlatul Ulama in Jember minimize the use of organizational doctrinal patterns that are carried out every year. Therefore, the dynamics of "struggle" or "marketing" of religious ideology

[16] Alexander R. Arifianto, "Rising Islamism and the Struggle for Islamic Authority in Post-Reformasi in Indonesia," TraNS: Trans-Regional and National Studies of Southeast Asia, vol. 8, no. 1 (2019), pp. 37–50.

[17] Farid Setiawan and Heru Kurnianto Tjahjono, "Collective-Collegial: Leadership Model of Muhammadiyah Education," in Proceedings of the 28th International Business Information Management Association Conference - Vision 2020: Innovation Management, Development Sustainability, and Competitive Economic Growth 2016 (Seville, Spain: International Business Information Management Association, 2016), p. 3595–3599.

[18] Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi, "Perspective versus Practice: Women's Leadership in Muhammadiyah," SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia, vol. 23, no. 2 (2008), pp. 161–185.

[19] Azaki Khoirudin et al., "Exploring Muhammadiyah's Historical Civilizational Dimension of Social Reconstruction in Indonesia: Humanitarian and Cosmopolitan Approaches," Journal of al-Tamaddun, vol. 15, no. 1 (2020), pp. 183–197.

[20] Abdul Mu'ti and Fajar Riza Ul Haq, Kristen Muhammadiyah: Konvergensi Muslim Dan Kristen Dalam Pendidikan, (Jakarta: al-Wasal Publishing House, 2009), p. 5.

in order to dominate the discourse on religious values and norms tend to stagnate. On the other hand, the ideology of the affiliation of educational institutions (such as Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama) is growing massively based on legitimacy. The legitimacy of this religious ideology is formed using the structural power of the educational institutions of Nahdlatul Ulama which fosters the confidence of their educational members.

In this context, religious ideology becomes a symbol of weapons to construct educational values and norms; or is even functioned by its proponents to disseminate and reproduce certain religious ideologies. Interestingly, the educational institutions Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama have the same perception of preventive measures to stem other religious ideologies. Perceptions that are in the paradigmatic dimension of the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, namely, ideology is a hegemonic instrument of certain religious beliefs or schools. In this perception, the struggle for religious thoughts of educational members of Muhammadiyah tends to be on the rails of ideological strengthening; while educational members of Nahdlatul Ulama actually shows the diversity or plurality of other ideologies in the midst of educational institutions.

Educational members of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama are aware that their operationalized religious ideologies follow the performance of rationality so that their normative meanings and ideas influence their conceptions and paradigms. Even their activities shape the social reality of educational institutions that are sourced from (or based on) the values and ideological norms they believe in. In this realm, the social reality of education (or, also educational outcomes) is formed, which is considered as a representation of religion or Islam itself; or considers their educational social actions to be legitimized from ideology. This context actually provides an understanding that the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama adhere to their very strong religious ideologies. One of the leaders at the Nahdlatul Ulamas educational institution described this:

“Belief in the Nahdlatul Ulamas ideology is not just theorizing with argumentative sentences. However, act by the belief in that ideology. Because it is our central reference in religious activities in society, by referring to this ideology, our various religious attitudes will certainly not deviate from the mainstream of Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'ah. Once again, with a note, as long as we are consistent, our attitudes and actions refer to that ideology.”

This consistent attitude towards religious ideology has encouraged educational members of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama to become militant proponents. The implication is that when other ideologies enter the circle of the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, they block access to the dissemination and reproduction of other ideologies. One of them is through efforts to consistently translate religious values and norms according to their ideologies as a social educational paradigm. This dynamic can be interpreted that the consistency efforts of the educational members basically have two characteristics, *first*, the religious ideology, for them, is adhered to on the basis of belief that it will be able to bring them to realize educational goals; and *second*, the religious ideology is believed to be able to be used (or functioned) to achieve their educational goals as proponents. Obviously, in this context, the ideological functionalization of Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama is positioned as a motive and reinforcement for educational actions and religious privileges.

In this position, "convenience" and "security" in disseminating and reproducing the values and norms of the ideologies of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama are very exclusively maintained. Other ideologies (Wahhabi, Salafi, and Shia) tend to emphasize through ideological penetration, such as criticizing the ideology of Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama; or trying to mainstream their ideologies among the educational members of Muhammadiyah and/or Nahdlatul Ulama. These efforts show the dynamics of ideological infiltration in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. There is even a strengthening of other ideologies that have become symbols of weapons (or, strength) to dominate the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and

Nahdlatul Ulama ideology. One of them is through the embodiment of religious values and norms (ideologies) in the form of educational expression. Even psychologically, as stated in a study by Heliot et al. that the ability to express religious identity is in accordance with the work loci – read: the educational institutions.[21]

In the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama, the seedbed of Salafi, Wahabi, and Shi'a ideologies often appear in the same form with varied performances. Indeed, an ideology (religious or non-religious) in educational institutions cannot "die" within the scope of social reality. Therefore, all religious movements, especially educational patterns in educational institutions, are encouraged and shaped by an ideology. This construction is what educational members of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama want to realize, including adherents of other ideologies (Salafi, Wahabi, or Shia). In fact, this construction is considered a noble goal to be fought for through the dissemination and reproduction of religious ideology which tends to ignore the construction of the empirical reality of educational institutions. In a study by Pace & Hemming, it is expressed in the form of an acknowledgment that in the educational ideological debate a politics of authority that tends to ignore social reality is formed.[22]

Therefore, the struggle for religious ideology in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama stretches to the point of attraction which is manifested in the form of educational and religious ideas and actions. The implication is that ideology as a belief system and symbol is related to the dominating criticism that gives rise to a reaction to the dynamics of education. In this position, the struggle for religious ideology can be said to be the "face" of awareness of religious doctrine which is oriented towards the action of managing educational institutions. When an ideology is positioned as a motive for

educational social action and a bulwark for religious doctrine, educational members of Muhammadiyah tend to return their ideology to the system of religious belief in the Quran and as-Sunnah. Whereas educational members of Nahdlatul Ulama tend to return to the methodological framework for determining Islamic law (*istinbath*), namely, al-Qur'an, as-Sunnah, *Ijma' Ulama*, and *Qiyas*.

This normative basis is organized in the form of an integral and harmonious doctrinal system, so the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama are very accommodative and strong to fend off the entry of new ideologies (Salafi, Wahabi, or Shia). The ideology that came in as a newcomer actually penetrated and criticized the old ideology; and vice versa. This situation is common, a study by Brandt & Crawford states that members who are motivated to protect their ideology tend to blame other people's ideologies that are different from their worldview.[23] It is at this point that pejorative "climax terms" often appear between one ideology and another, such as hypocrisy, shirk, and other negative terms. Manifestly, this condition does not lead to conflict or even physical violence but it can be said to have latent potential which at times creates chaos in educational institutions.

Even in that condition, it creates a clash of religious ideological discourses which mutually negate the truth of other incoherent ideologies. This pattern is correlated with attitudes of ideological extremism, partisanship, and ideological dogmatism; this relationship, in a study by Zmigrod, is referred to as cognitive rigidity.[24] Instead, the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama developed an "antidote" against other ideologies that infiltrated their educational members. Because the emergence of "marketing ideology" in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama has an impact on the academic climate and education management. Grimmitt in *"Religious Education*

[21] Ying Fei Heliot and et. al., "Religious Identity in the Workplace: A Sytematic Review, Research Agenda, and Practical Implications," Human Resource Management, vol. 59, no. 2 (2020), pp. 153–173.

[22] Judith L. Pace and Annette Hemming, "Understanding Authority in Classrooms: A Review of Theory, Ideology, and Research," Review of Educational Research, vol. 77, no. 1 (2007), pp. 4–27.

[23] Mark J. Brandt and Jarret T. Crawford, "Worldview Conflict and Prejudice," Advances Experimental Social Psychology, vol. 61 (2020), pp. 1–66.

[24] Leor Zmigrod, "The Role of Cognitive Rigidity in Political Ideologies: Theory, Evidence, and Future Directions," Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences, vol. 34 (2020), pp. 34–39.

and Human Development" also states that the management of education is influenced by ideology.[25] Thus, ideological entities can give color to the development of educational institutions, especially in an effort to realize the axiology of religious education.

Canonical Ideology and Apocryphal Ideology of Educational Institutions

On the one hand, the marketing ideology that occurs in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama represents a photogenic "conquest for dominance" of religious ideology. This mobilizes other ideologies to continuously filter their value systems and ideological norms, so they are internalized within the educational members of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Interestingly, educational members of Muhammadiyah have a very strong belief in the potential of religious ideology in developing and improving the quality of education. He stated:

"Islam does not recognize the separation between the religious and scientific dimensions; or the hereafter and the worldly affairs. Therefore, the management of education cannot be separated from religious values in order to be able to produce outputs in terms of *aqidah* and broad knowledge. These two dimensions must be in one management unit, and the goals are set out in the religious ideology that underlies education management."

A religious ideology for educational members of Muhammadiyah is an accumulation of normative values and norms, so all forms of their thoughts and actions are framed by these values and norms. The ideology of members of Muhammadiyah is contained in the *Muqaddimah* of the Muhammadiyah Articles of Association; Muhammadiyah Personality; the Faith and Ideals of Muhammadiyah Life; and Guidelines for the Islamic Life of Members of Muhammadiyah.

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[25] Michael Grimmitt, Religious Education and Human Development: The Relationship Between Studying Religions & Personal Social & Moral Education, (England: McCrimmons, 1987), p. 17.

In this context, the educational management of Muhammadiyah is based on al-Qur'an and as-Sunnah with the religious understanding of "Islamic Manhaji". Whereas, Nahdlatul Ulama has crystallized *al-Maqashid al-Shari'ah* in its khittah, so this crystallization becomes a guideline in thinking (which follows the guidelines of Mahzabi (Schools of thought) (Islamic Mahzabi), and is sourced from al-Qur'an, as-Sunnah, *Ijma' Ulama*, and *Qiyas*) and behaving (the formulation is in the form of *ukhuwah* (brotherhood) with the values of *tawasuth, tawazun*, and *i'tidal*). If this description is designed in a table, it will appear as follows:

Table 1: Comparison of Forms and Pattern of Educational Institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama

No.	Forms and Pattern	Muhammadiyah	Nahdlatul Ulama
1.	Normative Basis	Al-Qur'an and as-Sunnah	Al-Qur'an, as-Sunnah, *Ijma' Ulama*, and *Qiyas*
2.	Insight	Islam Manhaji	Islam Mazhabi
3.	Educational Actions	Integrative (Religious based Education)	Integrative (Religious based Education)

In this context, the existence of a marketing ideology (from another ideology from themselves) encourages the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama to be more selective and filterative. When they express their religious ideas in the midst of the social reality of education, they use their own parameters when defining other ideologies as "enemies". Therefore, for the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, all religious values and norms that do not have the same vision and mission can be considered as enemies. Specific views on their own interests are considered to provide a definitive limit on claims against other ideologies. Although it does not reach the phase of "absolute truth claims" to the interpretation of God's will. It is also in this context, as stated in a study by Saparudin that the emergence of marketing ideology will actually lead to ideological and communal contestations that give birth to social fragmentation and conflicts involving sectarian sentiments of religious groups where the

contestation of religious elites contributes to it.[26] Also in this context, the concept of "Fanaticism", which was developed by Max Taylor in the early 1990s, becomes a constructive entry point for this dynamic. As revealed in a study by Schuurman & Taylor on the analysis of radical beliefs in religious understanding that lead to violent behavior.[27]

At the same time, there are Wahabi, Salafi, or Shi'a efforts to promote and shape other ideological identities in the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama by trying to construct and seize new religious authority. At this stage, the ideology affiliated with the educational institution will automatically face other religious systems and give birth to the struggle for ideological domination. On the one hand, this feud has also contributed to the emergence of polarization between the ideology of Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama and the ideology of Wahabi, Salafi, or Shia. The first ideological variant in this framework, by educational members of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, is called an ideology that follows the rules of educational institutions and organizations. This ideology is termed by researchers as canonical ideology. While the second ideological variant is considered an ideology that does not follow the rules of educational and organizational institutions and is also destructive. This ideology is termed by researchers as an apocryphal ideology.

Canonical ideology is functioned to become a reference – read: ontology – for the management and development of educational institutions. Even though in the end, they experience an institutional epistemological dilemma, namely, it needs to meet academic expectations that are oriented to the development of science and technology; and on the other hand, it needs to realize the social-religious expectation which is the task of Islamic religious institutions; and also carry out the task of ideological expectation which disseminates

and reproduces ideological proponents (cadres). Whereas, apocryphal ideology is "fought" through various efforts and methods, one of which is through the "war of discourse" at every trajectory of ideological doctrine. However, the basic ethics on which the "war of discourse" is based is the prophetic ethics accumulated in the texts of al-Qur'an and as-Sunnah. One of the principals of the Nahdlatul Ulama school stated:

> "Prevention of the development of an ideology that does not in line with the mainstream of our institutional ideology is through strengthening thinking and internalizing ideological values and norms. Even by way clash of thoughts and debate. However, we still carry out these efforts in an ethical manner. In this case, Islamic ethics."

Basically, educational members of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama realize that at this time, the struggle for religious ideology in educational institutions or society is very common. This is because they consider that open access to information and communication, as well as access to electronic and non-electronic references (books or articles), is very easy, thus opening the way for other ideologies to educational institutions. In fact, the research findings of a study by Bourchier reveal that after the reformation (New Order (Suharto regime)), developments were massive; and there was also a shift in the ideological center of gravity from democracy to conservative religious nationalism.[28] This means that the dynamics of the struggle for religious ideology have indeed become a part of life on the stage of educational social reality. Canonical and apocryphal ideologies, from the perspective of educational members of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, are still framed with Islamic normative ethics.

Conclusion

Based on these analytical descriptions, it can be stated that the struggle for the religious ideology that occurs in the educational institutions

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[26] Saparudin, "Desakralisasi Otoritas Keagamaan Tuan Guru: Purifikasi Salafi Versus Tradisionalisme Nahdlatul Wathan," Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora, vol. 22, no. 1 (2022), pp. 25–44.

[27] Bart Schuurman and Max Taylor, "Reconsidering Radicalization: Fanaticism and the Link between Ideas and Violence," Perspectives on Terrorism, vol. 12, no. 1 (2018), pp. 3–22.

[28] David M. Bourchier, "Two Decades of Ideological Contestation in Indonesia: From Democratic Cosmopolitanism to Religious Nationalism," Journal of Contemporary Asia, vol. 49, no. 5 (2019), pp. 713–733.

of Muhammadiyah is a consequence of their nature (characteristics) which are very open to the understanding of Islamic Manhaji. This openness of ideology actually opens up opportunities for other ideologies (Wahhabi, Salafi, and Shia) to disseminate and infiltrate their religious values and norms. Meanwhile, in the educational institution of Nahdlatul Ulama, the marketing ideology is also inseparable from their religious understanding, namely Islamic Mahzabi. Therefore, the educational institutions of these two religious organizations tend to be selective and filterative in the management of education while still being based on the Islamic religion (al-Qur'an and as-Sunnah).

The educational institutions of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama do have similarities in "treating" and "positioning" their ideologies, namely, in the paradigmatic dimension. They place their religious ideologies as hegemonic instruments of their religious beliefs or schools in educational institutions. Therefore, within the educational institutions of Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama, ideology is also positioned and functionalized as a motive and reinforcement (legitimacy) for educational actions and religious privileges. The ideology of their institutional affiliation which is compatible with their religious organization is a canonical ideology; while the ideology that is contradictory and destructive to their educational institutions is an apocryphal ideology.

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