



ISLAMIC EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: Theoretical Analysis of Ideological Production and the Transformation of Muslim Society

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Keywords:

Islamic education; social movement; ideological production; habitus; social transformation

Abstract

This article examines Islamic education as a social movement that contributes to ideological production, the formation of habitus, and the transformation of Muslim society in Indonesia. Employing a qualitative methodology, the study utilizes library research to review theoretical works and academic literature on social movements, hegemony, habitus, and the sociology of Islamic education. The findings indicate that Islamic education functions not only as an institution for transmitting religious knowledge but also as a cultural arena where religious values are produced, negotiated, legitimised, and internalised through curriculum, teacher and kiai authority, and everyday social practices. These processes shape a religious habitus that influences religious understanding, social identity, interactional patterns, and collective moral orientation. The theoretical synthesis presented in this article posits that Islamic education is a dynamic socio-cultural movement capable of both reproducing and transforming social structures. The article advocates for strengthening reflective, inclusive, and contextual Islamic education to address global change, the digitalisation of religious authority, and the plural realities of contemporary Muslim society. The implications of this study inform the development of the sociology of Islamic education and the formulation of moderate institutional policy.

Vol. 9, No. 1, 2026

 [10.20414/sangkep.v2i2](https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v2i2)

Submitted: Nov. 7th, 2025

Accepted: Dec. 21st, 2025



A. INTRODUCTION

Islamic education in Indonesia occupies a strategic position in shaping the value structure, identity, and social dynamics of Muslim communities. As a country with one of the largest Muslim populations in the world, Indonesia faces a complex social reality marked by cultural, ethnic, and religious plurality. In such a context, Islamic educational institutions cannot be reduced to formal spaces for the transmission of normative knowledge. They also function as arenas in which collective consciousness, moral orientation, and religious ideology are constructed and circulated (Azra & Thaha, 2012).

The institutional reach of Islamic education is extensive. Pesantren, madrasah, madrasah diniyah takmiliyah, Qur'anic learning centres, Islamic schools, and non-formal study circles are embedded in diverse local communities. Recent statistical reports indicate the existence of tens of thousands of pesantren and Islamic schools across Indonesia, with millions of students participating in these institutions (GoodStats, 2025; Katadata, 2025). This institutional scale demonstrates that Islamic education has a wide social reach and plays a significant role in forming religious orientations, social conduct, and collective moral imagination.

Historically, Islamic educational institutions, particularly pesantren, have served as fundamental cultural capital in shaping religious ways of thinking and patterns of social action. They have contributed to social mobility, the maintenance of local religious traditions, and the development of Muslim intellectual networks. At the same time, the dynamics of Islamic education reveal a fundamental ambivalence. On the one hand, Islamic education can function as an instrument of religious moderation and social cohesion. On the other hand, educational institutions may reproduce exclusivist ideological tendencies when they are not supported by critical, inclusive, and contextual pedagogical approaches (Khurniawan et al., 2020; Lindsey & Pausacker, 2016; Van Bruinessen, 2013). This ambivalence shows that Islamic education is a dynamic arena of ideological contestation rather than a neutral institutional field.

From a sociological perspective, this phenomenon can be understood through the concept of habitus. Bourdieu (1977, 2008) explains habitus as a system of dispositions formed through repeated social experience and structured practice.

Education plays a crucial role in shaping the dispositions through which individuals perceive the world, judge social reality, and act in everyday life. In Islamic education, values are not only taught as doctrinal content; they are also embodied through ritual discipline, learning routines, symbolic authority, and communal life. These processes produce religious dispositions that influence how learners understand religion, authority, morality, and social relations.

The concept of hegemony also helps explain the ideological function of Islamic education. Gramsci (1971) emphasises that education is a key site in which dominant values are produced and normalised through cultural consent. In Islamic education, curriculum, institutional norms, and teacher authority can legitimise particular interpretations of Islam and shape what is recognised as valid religious knowledge. This process is inseparable from the relationship between knowledge and power. Foucault (1980) argues that knowledge production is always entangled with power relations; consequently, the authority to define religious truth in educational institutions has significant ideological consequences.

Studies on Islamic education in Indonesia have shown that pesantren and madrasah are not static institutions. Azra and Thaha (2012) argue that Islamic education has developed adaptive intellectual networks that are able to respond to social change while preserving religious tradition. Hefner (2009, 2011) further demonstrates that Islamic education in Southeast Asia contributes to the formation of Muslim civil society, especially when it promotes pluralism, civic responsibility, and tolerance. These studies indicate that Islamic education has a dual character: it reproduces inherited traditions while also opening spaces for social transformation.

Contemporary transformation adds another layer of complexity. Globalisation and digitalisation have decentralised religious authority. Religious learning is no longer confined to pesantren, madrasah, mosques, or formal institutions. Social media, online sermons, digital Qur'anic platforms, and religious influencers have become alternative sources of religious meaning. This shift creates opportunities for broader participation in religious learning, but it also intensifies ideological contestation and fragmentation (Campbell, 2013; Eickelman & Anderson, 2003; Hefner & Andaya, 2018). Islamic education must therefore be examined not only as an institution, but also as a socio-cultural movement that interacts with wider social, political, and technological change.

Previous studies have often situated Islamic education within normative, pedagogical, or institutional frameworks. Such approaches are important, yet they do not fully explain how Islamic education produces ideology, forms habitus, and transforms social relations. A more integrative theoretical approach is required to understand the relationship between educational practice, cultural power, and social change. For this reason, this article analyses Islamic education as a social movement, with particular attention to ideological production and its implications for the transformation of Muslim society in Indonesia.

In the Indonesian context, the significance of Islamic education is also closely related to its capacity to mediate between religious tradition and contemporary social change. Islamic educational institutions do not merely preserve inherited doctrines, rituals, and ethical norms; they also reinterpret them in response to emerging social realities such as democratisation, cultural pluralism, technological disruption, and shifting patterns of religious authority. This mediating role is important because Muslim communities are increasingly required to negotiate between continuity and change, between local religious traditions and global Islamic discourses, and between institutional authority and individual religious agency (Jayadi, 2025). Therefore, Islamic education becomes a crucial site where religious knowledge is not only maintained, but also reconstructed to address the moral, civic, and cultural needs of contemporary society.

Furthermore, examining Islamic education as a socio-cultural movement allows for a broader understanding of its transformative potential. As a movement, Islamic education operates through networks of teachers, students, families, religious leaders, alumni, community organisations, and digital actors who collectively shape religious consciousness and social practice. These networks enable Islamic education to influence not only individual piety, but also broader social values such as tolerance, solidarity, discipline, civic participation, and moral responsibility. At the same time, the same networks may become spaces of contestation in which competing interpretations of Islam struggle for legitimacy. This makes Islamic education a strategic field for analysing how ideology is produced, how religious dispositions are formed, and how Muslim society responds to ongoing social transformation.

Based on this problem formulation, this article aims to examine Islamic education as a socio-cultural movement through three analytical lenses: the production of ideology, the formation of religious habitus, and the transformation of Muslim society. This approach is expected to contribute to the sociology of Islamic education by offering a theoretical synthesis that is relevant to contemporary Indonesian Islam and its changing social context.

B. METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach using library research. This approach is appropriate because the article seeks to understand Islamic education as a social movement through conceptual interpretation, theoretical synthesis, and critical engagement with academic literature. The study is descriptive-analytical: it first describes key concepts related to Islamic education, social movements, ideological production, habitus, hegemony, and social transformation, and then analyses the relationship among these concepts (Zainuri et al., 2021).

The data sources consist of primary and secondary literature. Primary literature includes classical and contemporary theoretical works relevant to habitus, hegemony, power/knowledge relations, and social theory. Secondary literature includes peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, reports, and studies on Islamic education, pesantren, madrasah, religious moderation, and Muslim social transformation in Indonesia. Sources were selected purposively by considering relevance, credibility, conceptual contribution, and accessibility. Data collection was conducted through documentary study. The process involved identifying relevant literature, reading and classifying the material, extracting key arguments, comparing theoretical positions, and synthesising the findings into an analytical framework. In qualitative library research, documents are not treated as passive information, but as texts that contain arguments, assumptions, and conceptual positions. This methodological approach enables the study to construct a comprehensive theoretical analysis of Islamic education as a social movement that produces ideology and contributes to the transformation of Muslim society. The analysis proceeded in three stages. First, the study mapped the institutional and sociological position of Islamic education in Indonesia. Second, it examined the mechanisms through which Islamic education produces and reproduces religious

ideology. Third, it developed a theoretical synthesis linking education, ideology, habitus, and social transformation. This staged analysis allows Islamic education to be understood as a dynamic field in which knowledge, authority, value, and social practice are continuously negotiated.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Islamic Education as a Socio-Cultural Movement

The findings of this study indicate that Islamic education should not be understood merely as a pedagogical institution. It is more accurately understood as a socio-cultural movement that actively shapes value structures, collective consciousness, and Muslim social practice. In Indonesia, institutions such as pesantren, madrasah, Islamic schools, and non-formal religious learning communities function as spaces of value production. They do not simply teach Islam as a body of knowledge; they cultivate particular ways of seeing, feeling, and acting as Muslims within a plural society.

As a socio-cultural movement, Islamic education operates through systematic and continuous internalisation of values. Values such as *tasamuh* (tolerance), *tawassut* (moderation), and *ta'awun* (mutual assistance) are not only transmitted cognitively through lessons and texts. They are also practised through daily interactions, collective rituals, teacher modelling, and institutional culture. In pesantren, for example, communal living, ritual discipline, and respect for the *kiai* form a cultural environment in which religious values are embodied rather than merely memorised (Dhofier, 1982, 2011).

This process can be explained through Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Habitus refers to dispositions formed through repeated experience within a particular social field (Bourdieu, 1977, 2008). In Islamic education, religious habitus is formed through ritual practice, discipline, textual study, symbolic hierarchy, and moral habituation. The learner does not simply know religious norms; the learner gradually acquires embodied dispositions that guide perception, judgement, and social action. Religious education, therefore, becomes a mechanism through which social conduct is shaped at the level of everyday practice.

Islamic education also functions as a site of ideological production and reproduction. From a Gramscian perspective, education may produce cultural consent by making certain values appear natural, legitimate, and morally authoritative (Gramsci, 1971). In the context of Islamic education, the values produced may support religious moderation, social cohesion, and civic responsibility. However, under certain social and political conditions, the same institutional mechanisms may also reproduce exclusivist

understandings of religion. This explains why Islamic education must be analysed as an arena of contestation rather than as a single, homogeneous system.

The socio-cultural character of Islamic education is also visible in its contribution to Muslim civil society. Hefner (2009, 2011) shows that Islamic education in Southeast Asia has contributed to civic formation, democratic participation, and pluralist values when supported by inclusive institutional orientations. This confirms that Islamic education can operate as a transformative cultural force. It preserves religious tradition while also enabling new forms of social participation and ethical engagement.

Institutional Scale and the Formation of Religious Habitus

Islamic education in Indonesia has a strong institutional foundation. Its influence is not limited to a small elite, but extends across villages, urban communities, formal schools, pesantren networks, and non-formal religious learning spaces. Statistical reports on Islamic educational institutions show the large number of pesantren, madrasah, and Islamic schools operating across Indonesia (GoodStats, 2025; Katadata, 2025). This scale strengthens the sociological argument that Islamic education is a major arena for forming religious habitus in Muslim society.

The formation of habitus occurs through repeated practices embedded in institutional life. In pesantren and madrasah, students participate in daily worship, Qur'anic recitation, classical text study, communal discipline, ethical instruction, and interaction with teachers or kiai. These practices create dispositions that are both religious and social. Students learn not only doctrinal content, but also modes of respect, hierarchy, communal responsibility, self-control, and moral judgement. In this sense, Islamic education produces a practical sense of religion that is enacted in daily life.

Dhofier (1982, 2011) demonstrates that pesantren life systematically shapes the behaviour and worldview of santri through routines, symbolic authority, and the central position of the kiai. The authority of the kiai is not merely administrative. It is moral, symbolic, spiritual, and intellectual. This structure enables the formation of a religious habitus that continues to influence graduates after they return to wider society. The social significance of pesantren therefore lies not only in their teaching of Islamic texts, but also in their capacity to produce enduring dispositions.

At the same time, the formation of habitus is no longer confined to formal institutions. Digital media have expanded the field in which religious dispositions are formed. Online sermons, short religious videos, digital fatwa platforms, and social media discussions create new spaces of religious socialisation. These spaces may reinforce values taught in formal institutions, but they may also contest them. The contemporary religious

habitus of young Muslims is therefore increasingly hybrid, shaped by both institutional education and digital religious culture (Campbell, 2013; Eickelman & Anderson, 2003).

The relationship between habitus and power is also crucial. Foucault's analysis of power knowledge reminds us that the formation of religious subjectivity is linked to the authority to define legitimate knowledge (Foucault, 1980). In Islamic education, teachers, kiai, curriculum designers, institutions, and digital religious actors all participate in defining what counts as valid Islamic understanding. The formation of habitus is therefore not a neutral process. It is shaped by authority, institutional norms, and ideological struggles over religious meaning.

The Reproduction of Religious Meaning

The reproduction of religious meaning in Islamic education takes place through concrete and identifiable processes. It does not occur only at the level of abstract discourse. It is embedded in daily educational practice, institutional routines, pedagogical relations, and systems of authority. Analytically, this process can be identified through three interrelated levels: the production of meaning, the transmission of meaning, and the internalisation of meaning.

At the level of production, religious meaning is shaped by teachers, kiai, institutions, curriculum designers, and religious texts. These actors interpret Islamic teachings through selected books, teaching materials, institutional traditions, and pedagogical priorities. In pesantren, for example, the teaching of classical Islamic texts provides a strong basis for producing religious meaning rooted in tradition. At the same time, modern madrasah and Islamic schools often integrate religious learning with national educational requirements and contemporary social needs (Azra & Thaha, 2012; Khabib Mustofa et al., 2025).

At the level of transmission, religious meaning is communicated through classroom learning, recitation, discussion, ritual practice, and social interaction. The transmission of Islamic values does not depend solely on formal instruction. It also occurs through the educational environment, teacher modelling, peer culture, and institutional habit. In pesantren, the integration of formal and non-formal learning creates a continuous environment for the transmission of values (Marwiji et al., 2024).

At the level of internalisation, students adopt religious meanings as part of their moral awareness, identity, and social behaviour. Internalisation occurs when values become dispositions that guide action without requiring constant explicit instruction. This process reflects the link between religious meaning and habitus. The meanings produced and transmitted by educational institutions become effective when they are embodied in daily behaviour, emotional orientation, and moral judgement.

The reproduction of religious meaning is now undergoing a shift. Whereas it was previously centred on formal institutions such as pesantren, madrasah, and mosques, it now extends into digital religious spaces. Digital media pluralise religious meanings by allowing various actors to produce and distribute interpretations of Islam. This expansion weakens the monopoly of institutional authority, but it also introduces new risks, including fragmented religious understanding, algorithmic authority, and the circulation of intolerant discourse (Campbell, 2013; Hefner & Andaya, 2018).

Despite these changes, the reproduction of religious meaning remains connected to structures of power and ideological interest. Curriculum, institutional policy, and religious moderation programmes are directed towards particular social objectives. They may promote tolerance, civic responsibility, and social cohesion, but they also define which interpretations are considered legitimate. Thus, religious meaning in Islamic education is not simply inherited. It is continuously produced, transmitted, internalised, and contested.

Mechanisms of Ideological Production

Islamic education functions as an arena of ideological production through three principal mechanisms: curriculum, religious authority, and social practice. These mechanisms determine, legitimise, and internalise religious meanings in Muslim society. They operate simultaneously, which means that ideology is not produced only through explicit doctrine, but also through the organisation of learning, authority relations, and everyday institutional culture.

Curriculum and the Definition of Legitimate Islam, Curriculum is a crucial instrument for selecting, organising, and standardising religious meaning. Through curriculum, educational institutions decide what is taught, how it is taught, which texts are privileged, and which interpretations are regarded as valid. Curriculum is therefore not a neutral list of materials. It is an ideological instrument that shapes the religious worldview of learners.

In Islamic education, curriculum may define the boundaries of legitimate Islam by emphasising particular theological orientations, legal traditions, ethical values, and social commitments. Contemporary curriculum development in pesantren, schools, and madrasah demonstrates efforts to integrate religious values with modern social demands, including moderation, multicultural awareness, and civic responsibility (Busthomi & Wahyuni, 2024; Khabib Mustofa et al., 2025). This integration shows that curriculum participates in producing a socially recognised interpretation of Islam.

The ideological function of curriculum becomes especially important in a plural society. If curriculum is designed inclusively and contextually, it can strengthen social cohesion and religious moderation. If it is designed narrowly, it may reproduce exclusivist

patterns of thought. For this reason, curriculum in Islamic education should be analysed as a field of ideological decision-making.

Teacher and Kiai Authority as Legitimation, the second mechanism is religious authority. Teachers, ustaz, and kiai do not merely deliver knowledge; they legitimise interpretations. In many Islamic educational institutions, especially pesantren, the authority of the kiai is supported by moral charisma, scholarly competence, lineage of knowledge, and symbolic capital. This makes the teacher or kiai a central figure in determining what is accepted as religious truth (Dhofier, 1982, 2011).

This form of authority is pedagogical, symbolic, and spiritual. It shapes the way learners receive, evaluate, and internalise religious knowledge. Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power helps explain how such authority becomes effective when it is recognised as legitimate by the community (Bourdieu, 2008). In this process, religious truth is not derived from texts alone, but also from the socially recognised figure who interprets them.

In the contemporary period, however, this authority is increasingly pluralised. Digital preachers, religious influencers, and online platforms now compete with institutional teachers in shaping religious understanding. This pluralisation does not eliminate authority; rather, it redistributes authority across new media fields. Islamic education must therefore develop critical literacy so that students can evaluate religious information in a fragmented digital environment.

Social Practice and Habituation, the third mechanism is social practice. Ideology becomes effective when it is not only taught, but also habituated. In Islamic educational institutions, daily practices such as congregational prayer, Qur'anic recitation, collective study, discipline, service, and respectful interaction make religious values part of embodied behaviour. This process corresponds to Bourdieu's argument that social structures are internalised through repeated practice and become dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977).

Pesantren provide a particularly strong example of this mechanism because learning takes place not only in the classroom, but also within a total social environment. The integration of formal learning, non-formal religious instruction, and communal life produces a continuous process of habituation (Marwiji et al., 2024; Tiya, 2025). Through this process, values such as obedience, discipline, humility, solidarity, and moderation become practical dispositions.

Social practice also explains why Islamic education can produce long-term social effects. Once values become habitus, they continue to inform behaviour beyond the institutional setting. Graduates carry these dispositions into families, workplaces, religious communities, and civic life. Islamic education therefore contributes to social transformation not only through ideas, but through embodied practices.

Islamic Education as an Arena of Hegemony and Contestation

Islamic education in Indonesia is an arena of hegemony and ideological contestation. It produces dominant meanings, but it also becomes a field in which different religious interpretations compete for legitimacy. This contestation is visible in curriculum, teacher authority, institutional orientation, and the wider circulation of religious discourse.

First, Islamic education produces dominant religious ideology through curriculum and institutional norms. The selection of teaching materials, the use of certain religious texts, and the emphasis on particular values all contribute to shaping the worldview of learners. In this sense, Islamic education works as a cultural apparatus that defines legitimate religious knowledge and moral behaviour. This process reflects Gramsci's view that hegemony is maintained not only through coercion, but also through cultural consent (Gramsci, 1971).

Second, Islamic education reproduces symbolic power through the authority of teachers and kiai. The legitimacy of these figures allows them to define religious truth in ways that are accepted by students and communities. This does not necessarily imply domination in a negative sense. It may also support ethical formation, social responsibility, and communal solidarity. Nevertheless, such authority must be critically examined because it can also limit alternative interpretations when it is not accompanied by reflective pedagogy.

Third, Islamic education is a space of religious discourse competition. Traditionalist, modernist, reformist, moderate, conservative, and transnational interpretations of Islam all interact within Indonesian Muslim society. Van Bruinessen (2013) shows that contemporary Indonesian Islam has experienced a conservative turn influenced by changing political, social, and transnational dynamics. This makes educational institutions important arenas in which religious orientations are negotiated and contested.

Digital media intensify this contestation. Students are no longer exposed only to teachers, kiai, or textbooks. They also encounter religious messages from YouTube, TikTok, Instagram, podcasts, online study groups, and other digital platforms. These platforms may strengthen inclusive religious learning, but they may also circulate simplified, polarising, or intolerant discourse. Islamic education therefore has a critical responsibility to equip learners with interpretive competence, ethical judgement, and digital religious literacy.

The contestation within Islamic education is not a new phenomenon. Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia have long negotiated between tradition and modernity, local culture and global influence, textual authority and social change. What is new is the speed, scale, and technological mediation of this contestation. Islamic education

must therefore be understood as a living social field that constantly negotiates meaning, authority, and identity.

Transformation of Habitus and Social Change

The transformation of habitus in Islamic education is complex and multidimensional. It is formed by the interaction between social structure, cultural reproduction, and individual agency. Bourdieu's concept of habitus explains that dispositions are historically formed, but they are not completely fixed. They can change when individuals and institutions encounter new social conditions (Bourdieu, 1977, 2008). Islamic education therefore does not merely reproduce inherited values; it can also reconfigure religious practices in response to social change.

One visible form of transformation is the changing way in which religion is understood. Earlier modes of religious learning often emphasised textual authority, memorisation, and vertical teacher-student relations. These modes remain important, especially in traditional pesantren. However, contemporary Islamic education increasingly faces demands for contextual interpretation, critical thinking, social relevance, and interreligious sensitivity. Saeed's contextualist approach to reading the Qur'an, for example, supports the view that religious understanding must engage with contemporary realities while remaining grounded in Islamic tradition (Saeed, 2014).

The transformation of habitus also appears in religious identity. Muslim identity is no longer shaped only by inherited local traditions or formal institutions. It is increasingly formed through negotiation among family background, educational experience, peer culture, national discourse, global Islamic movements, and digital media. Roy (2014) argues that globalisation can detach religion from older cultural frameworks, while studies on new media in Muslim contexts show that digital communication creates new public spheres for religious expression (Eickelman & Anderson, 2003). In Indonesia, this produces hybrid religious identities that combine local tradition, national belonging, and global religious discourse.

Patterns of social interaction also change. Religious relations that were once largely hierarchical are now increasingly accompanied by more horizontal and participatory forms of communication. Students can question, compare, and access multiple religious sources. This shift creates opportunities for critical learning, but it also requires guidance. Without interpretive competence, the abundance of religious information may produce confusion, polarisation, or shallow understanding. Islamic education therefore needs to combine respect for religious authority with critical engagement and ethical reasoning.

The transformation of habitus contributes to the emergence of new collective moral orientations. Contemporary Islamic education is increasingly expected to cultivate tolerance, social justice, environmental responsibility, gender sensitivity, civic ethics, and solidarity in plural communities. Hefner (2009, 2011) emphasises that Islamic education can support democratic Muslim citizenship when it is oriented towards pluralism and civic virtue. This indicates that religious habitus can become a basis for social responsibility rather than only personal piety.

Nevertheless, transformation is never linear. It is shaped by contestation among different ideological projects. Some educational actors promote inclusive and contextual approaches, while others emphasise exclusivist boundaries. Some institutions adapt to digital culture, while others resist it. Some curricula encourage critical thinking, while others privilege repetition and conformity. These variations show that Islamic education is not a uniform system. It is a diverse field in which social transformation depends on institutional orientation, pedagogical method, and the broader political-religious environment.

Overall, the transformation of habitus in Islamic education shows that Muslim society is continually being formed through the interaction of tradition, authority, knowledge, and practice. Islamic education contributes to this process by shaping how Muslims understand religion, construct identity, interact socially, and define collective morality. Its transformative potential depends on its ability to remain rooted in Islamic values while engaging critically with contemporary social realities.

A Theoretical Model: Education, Ideology, Habitus, and Society

The theoretical model developed in this article positions Islamic education as the starting point of a broader process of social transformation. Education is not merely a technical process of teaching and learning. It is a cultural process through which social consciousness, religious knowledge, moral values, and social agency are formed. In this model, Islamic education works through four connected stages: education, ideology, habitus, and society.

The first stage is education. Islamic education provides the institutional and cultural space in which religious knowledge is organised, transmitted, and interpreted. It includes formal schooling, pesantren, madrasah, non-formal study groups, family-based religious instruction, and digital learning environments. At this stage, education functions as the entry point for the formation of religious consciousness and collective identity.

The second stage is ideology. The knowledge transmitted through Islamic education is never entirely neutral. It carries assumptions about truth, morality, authority, social order, and the ideal Muslim subject. Ideology functions as the medium through which education

gives direction to social practice. In a moderate and contextual educational orientation, ideology can strengthen tolerance, social cohesion, and civic responsibility. In a narrow orientation, it may reproduce exclusivism and social closure.

The third stage is habitus. Ideology becomes socially effective when it is internalised into dispositions. Through repeated practices, ritual discipline, ethical modelling, and institutional culture, religious values become embodied. Habitus connects ideology with action because it enables values to guide everyday behaviour. This explains why Islamic education can influence not only what students know, but also how they act, relate to others, and participate in society.

The final stage is society. The dispositions formed through Islamic education enter wider social life. Graduates of Islamic educational institutions become family members, community leaders, teachers, preachers, workers, activists, and citizens. Their religious habitus influences social interaction, moral judgement, public engagement, and communal life. In this way, Islamic education contributes to the transformation of Muslim society.

This model shows that Islamic education is both reproductive and transformative. It reproduces values, traditions, authority structures, and collective identities. At the same time, it can transform those structures when it encourages reflection, ethical responsibility, contextual interpretation, and critical engagement. Islamic education should therefore be understood as a social movement that mediates the relationship between knowledge, power, practice, and social change.

Theoretical Synthesis

The theoretical synthesis in this study integrates the perspectives of social movement, hegemony, and habitus to explain Islamic education as a layered process of social transformation. From the perspective of social movement theory, Islamic education forms actors, values, and collective awareness. It mobilises communities not only through formal organisation, but also through shared moral commitments, institutional networks, and everyday practice. In the Indonesian context, Islamic education has historically contributed to the formation of Muslim intellectual networks and social leadership (Azra & Thaha, 2012).

From the perspective of hegemony, Islamic education is an arena in which ideological meanings are produced through cultural consent. Curriculum, teacher authority, and institutional culture shape what students recognise as valid religious knowledge. Gramsci's theory helps explain why education is central to the production of common sense and moral legitimacy (Gramsci, 1971). In Indonesian Islamic education, this process

is visible in the institutional promotion of moderation, the negotiation of tradition and modernity, and the contestation between inclusive and exclusivist interpretations.

From the perspective of habitus, Islamic education explains how ideology becomes embodied practice. Bourdieu's theory shows that social structures are internalised as dispositions through repeated practice (Bourdieu, 1977, 2008). In pesantren and madrasah, values are internalised through ritual discipline, learning routines, communal living, and relations of symbolic authority. Dhofier's studies of pesantren demonstrate that this form of education produces durable patterns of behaviour and worldview (Dhofier, 1982, 2011).

By integrating these perspectives, Islamic education can be understood through three dimensions. First, as a social movement, it builds collective consciousness and transformative capacity. Second, as an ideological arena, it produces and contests religious meaning. Third, as a mechanism of internalisation, it forms habitus that connects religious values with social practice. These dimensions show that Islamic education in Indonesia does not merely preserve tradition. It actively shapes social structures, religious identities, and collective moral orientations.

This synthesis also clarifies the contemporary challenge. Islamic education must respond to plural society, digital religious authority, global ideological flows, and demands for civic ethics. Its transformative role will depend on whether it can remain faithful to Islamic moral values while developing critical, inclusive, and contextual pedagogy. If this balance is achieved, Islamic education can function as a constructive social movement that contributes to moderate, reflective, and socially responsible Muslim communities.

D. CONCLUSION

This study affirms that Islamic education cannot be understood solely as an institution for transmitting religious knowledge. It is a social force that actively shapes, reproduces, and transforms Muslim society. Through a theoretical synthesis of social movement, hegemony, and habitus, Islamic education can be positioned as a socio-cultural movement that operates through the relationship between consciousness, ideology, and social practice. First, Islamic education functions as a starting point for social movement because it forms collective awareness and develops the capacity of Muslim actors to respond to social change. Second, Islamic education becomes an arena of ideological production and hegemonic contestation, where religious meanings are produced, negotiated, legitimised, and challenged. Third, through the mechanism of habitus, religious values are internalised into

everyday practices, shaping patterns of thought, moral orientation, social interaction, and collective identity.

Conceptually, the findings show that Islamic education is a dynamic and contested social field in which knowledge, power, culture, and practice interact. Its role is not limited to reproducing tradition. It can also generate social transformation when it promotes reflective understanding, inclusive religious interpretation, and contextual engagement with contemporary realities. Therefore, strengthening Islamic education that is critical, moderate, and responsive to plural social conditions is essential for building Muslim communities that are ethical, democratic, and socially cohesive. The implication of this study is twofold. Theoretically, it contributes to the sociology of Islamic education by offering an integrative model that links education, ideology, habitus, and social transformation. Practically, it suggests that Islamic educational institutions should strengthen curriculum design, teacher competence, digital religious literacy, and inclusive institutional culture. Such efforts are necessary to ensure that Islamic education remains a constructive social movement in the transformation of contemporary Muslim society.

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