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Resistance and Adaptation of Islamic Education in the Discourse of Islamic Ideology Language: A Socio-Historical Study of Old Order and New Order Politics

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Article History	ABSTRACT
	Background: Islamic education in Indonesia experienced significant dynamics under pressure and interaction with state power during the Old and New Order periods. **Purpose:** This research aims to examine the forms of resistance and adaptation of Islamic education in the socio-political context of the Old and New Order eras. **Method:** This research uses a qualitative approach with a historical-critical study design. Data sources come from education policy documents, historical archives, and relevant secondary literature. The population in this research is all Islamic education policies during the Old Order and New Order, with samples in the form of documents and representative policies selected purposely. The research instrument is a document review guide, and the analysis technique uses a content analysis approach to the socio-political dynamics of Islamic education. **Results and Discussion:** This study found that Islamic education during the Old Order showed resistance to the penetration of state ideology, while during the New Order there was a process of structural adaptation for the sustainability of Islamic education institutions. This finding shows a shift in the strategy of Islamic education actors in responding to power pressures. The results of this study fill the historical gap related to the relationship between the state and Islamic education, which has not been studied from a critical socio-political perspective. **Conclusions and Implications:** Islamic education shows flexibility between resistance and adaptation in the face of state control. This result implies the importance of understanding Islamic education not only as a religious institution, but also as a political and social arena that actively shapes national identity.
	ABSTRAK

Latar Belakang: Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia mengalami dinamika signifikan dalam tekanan dan interaksi dengan kekuasaan negara selama masa Orde Lama dan Orde Baru.

Tujuan: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bentuk-bentuk resistensi dan adaptasi pendidikan Islam dalam konteks sosial-politik pada era Orde Lama dan Orde Baru.

Metode: Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi sejarah-kritis. Sumber data berasal dari dokumen kebijakan pendidikan, arsip sejarah, serta literatur sekunder yang relevan. Populasi dalam penelitian ini adalah seluruh kebijakan pendidikan Islam selama Orde Lama dan Orde Baru, dengan sampel berupa dokumen dan kebijakan representatif yang dipilih secara purposif. Instrumen penelitian berupa panduan telaah dokumen dan teknik analisis menggunakan pendekatan analisis isi (content analysis) terhadap dinamika sosial-politik pendidikan Islam.

Hasil dan Pembahasan: Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa pendidikan Islam selama Orde Lama menunjukkan resistensi terhadap penetrasi ideologi negara, sementara pada masa Orde Baru terjadi proses adaptasi struktural demi keberlangsungan institusi pendidikan Islam. Temuan ini menunjukkan adanya pergeseran strategi aktor-aktor pendidikan Islam dalam merespons tekanan kekuasaan. Hasil penelitian ini mengisi kesenjangan historis terkait relasi negara dan pendidikan Islam yang selama ini kurang dikaji dari perspektif sosial-politik secara kritis**.**

Kesimpulan dan Implikasi: Pendidikan Islam menunjukkan fleksibilitas antara resistensi dan adaptasi dalam menghadapi kontrol negara. Hasil ini mengimplikasikan pentingnya memahami pendidikan Islam bukan hanya sebagai institusi keagamaan, tetapi juga sebagai arena politik dan sosial yang aktif membentuk identitas nasional.

Kata Kunci | *Pendidikan Islam, Orde Lama, Orde Baru, Resistensi, Bahasa*

INTRODUCTION

Islamic education is an integral part of Indonesia's national education system that has existed long before the country's independence.[1] The existence of Islamic education is not only a means of inheriting religious values, but also a medium for shaping the cultural and social identity of Indonesian Muslim communities. From traditional Islamic boarding schools to formal madrasas, Islamic education has undergone a long process of transformation in line with social, political, and state policy developments.[2]

In the context of the history of modern Indonesia, two dominant periods of government, namely the Old Order and the New Order, had a major influence on the direction and form of Islamic education.[3] The Old Order (1945-1966), under the leadership of Soekarno, was characterized by ideological upheaval and efforts to integrate Islam, nationalism, and communism, known as the Nasakom concept. The New Order (1966-1998), under Soeharto, emphasized political stability and strict state control over the education sector, including Islamic education.[4]

During these two periods, Islamic education faced major challenges that forced it to choose between maintaining its ideological identity and adapting to the system built by state power.[5] This created two main responses from Islamic educational institutions, namely resistance to state intervention or strategic adaptation to continue to exist within the framework of the national education system. Resistance is often seen in the form of rejection of certain curriculum policies or criticism of state ideology, while adaptation is realized through integration of the national curriculum or bureaucratic cooperation.[6]

The main problem that arises is how Islamic education forms a survival strategy in the face of state power that tends to be hegemonic. Is Islamic education passive and submissive to state

policies? Or does it have the internal strength to respond actively, both in the form of resistance and intelligent compromise? These questions are important to understand so that Islamic education is not perceived only as an object of policy, but as a dynamic socio-political actor.[7]

Several previous studies have discussed the development of Islamic education, such as Azyumardi Azra's study on ulama networks and transnational Islamic education, or Mujamil Qomar's research on madrasah and pesantren curriculum reform.[8] However, these studies generally focus on normative, institutional, or internal reform aspects without comprehensively reviewing how Islamic education responds to repressive political situations in two different government eras. Research that explicitly compares forms of resistance and adaptation between the Old and New Orders is still very rare.[9]

This gap shows the need to study Islamic education from a socio-political historical perspective more critically.[10] Islamic education needs to be placed in a position as an active agent involved in the dynamics of power, not just a victim or implementer of state policy. By understanding the political and social context that frames the response of Islamic education, we can more objectively assess its contribution and resilience in the face of regime change.[11]

This research tries to fill this gap with a social and political history approach. Instead of only looking at the development of curriculum or educational institutions, this research emphasizes the relationship between Islamic education and the state, as well as the strategies developed to survive in different political contexts.[12] This is the novel aspect of this research - placing Islamic education as an active subject in Indonesia's socio-political history.[13]

An important contribution of this research is that it opens a new space for understanding how Islamic education forms socio-political strategies in the face of state hegemony.[14] This approach can also enrich the perspective of Islamic education in the context of policy, social, and ideology, which so far has not been considered in depth in conventional Islamic education studies.[15]

This study is important because Islamic education is still the main focus of Muslim communities in Indonesia, and understanding its socio-political history can provide more reflective insights into the direction of current education policy.[16] In addition, this study can serve as a reference for policy makers, educators, and academics in viewing Islamic education not only as a formal educational tool, but also as part of the nation's political and social processes.[17]

Thus, the main objective of this study is to critically examine the forms of resistance and adaptation of Islamic education to state power in two different regimes, namely the Old Order and the New Order. Through a socio-political historical approach, this research is expected to make an academic and practical contribution in understanding the dynamics of Islamic education in Indonesia more fully.[18]

LITERATURE REVIEW

Islamic language in the context of the dynamics of Islamic education in the Old and New Order periods

Islamic language is not only a tool for ritual and religious communication, but also functions as an ideological and cultural medium that shapes and strengthens the collective identity of the ummah in various social spaces, including education. In the historical context of Indonesia, Islamic language - whether in the form of classical Arabic terms, scientific symbols of pesantren, or da'wah rhetoric - has become a means of resistance to the dominance of secular-state ideology, especially during the Old Order, which tended to have a radical nationalist character, and the repressive and technocratic New Order. Research such as that conducted by Azyumardi Azra

(1999) shows that the use of terms such as 'amar ma'ruf nahi munkar', 'educational jihad', and 'ulama heir to the prophet' not only represent Islamic values, but also create a discursive space capable of challenging the state's narrative of national education.

Islamic Education in the Indonesian Socio-Political Context

Islamic education in Indonesia has a long and complex history that cannot be separated from the socio-political dynamics of this nation. Since the pre-independence era, Islamic education has played an important role in the process of internalizing religious, cultural and nationalism values. Islamic education not only produces spiritually pious individuals, but also shapes the collective consciousness of the people in the face of colonialism, social change, and state ideology. In this framework, Islamic education cannot be separated from the political context and the power that accompanies it.[19]

In general, there are two major currents in the study of Islamic education in Indonesia: first, studies that emphasize Islamic education as a religious institution (especially in the study of pesantren and madrasah); and second, studies that place Islamic education in interaction with the state, public policy, and socio-political dynamics. In the context of this research, the second approach is more relevant because of its focus on how Islamic education interacted with power in two eras of government: Old Order and New Order.[20]

Islamic Education during the Old Order Period: The Influence of National Ideology and Politics

The Old Order period (1945-1966) was the initial phase of the formation of the national education system in Indonesia, where the state tried to unite various ideological interests: nationalism, communism and Islam. During this period, Islamic education faced a tough challenge in negotiating a position between the demands of religious identity and a national agenda colored by revolutionary spirit. Soekarno, as the central figure at the time, promoted the concept of Nasakom (Nationalism, Religion and Communism) which placed religion as one element, but often subordinate to other state ideologies.[21]

Alfian's study (1989) shows that the Old Order period was a time when Islamic education had not yet gained a strong position in the national education structure. The state was still trying to form a secular national identity, and Islamic education was often left out of government policies. Nonetheless, Islamic educational institutions such as pesantren still existed and played an important role in educating the younger generation of Muslims independently of state control.

Resistance and Adaptation: A Historical-Critical Perspective

In the study of Islamic education, the term "resistance" refers to a critical attitude, rejection, or even opposition to the dominance of ideology or state policies that are considered not in line with Islamic values. Meanwhile, "adaptation" means a form of compromise or adjustment made by Islamic educational institutions to survive within the existing socio-political structure. In the context of Indonesian history, these two concepts are not dichotomous, but rather a spectrum of attitudes taken by Islamic education actors in response to power pressures.[22]

Previous Research and Gap Analysis

Several previous studies have contributed greatly to understanding Islamic education in the context of history and policy. For example, Azyumardi Azra (1999) discusses the transformation of Islamic education after independence, including the integration of madrasahs into the national

system. This research provides an important basis for understanding the relationship between the state and Islamic education, but is still lacking in analyzing the forms of socio-political resistance that arise at the grassroots level.[23]

Mujamil Qomar's (2007) research also focuses on curriculum reform in Islamic education, including efforts to integrate religious and general sciences. Although relevant, the approach used is still pedagogical and normative, not yet entering into the political and social dynamics that frame Islamic education under two authoritarian regimes.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a historical-critical and sociological-political design. The purpose of this approach is to trace and analyze the dynamics of Islamic education in the context of state power during the Old Order and New Order periods. This research focuses on the forms of resistance and adaptation of Islamic education to the dominant political policies in the two eras. Data were collected through documentation studies of state archives, education policy documents, laws and regulations, history books, journal articles, as well as primary sources in the form of speeches, memoirs of educational figures, and historical interviews when available.[24]

The research sample was selected purposively, namely Islamic educational institutions that have historically significant and documented influence, such as madrasah and pesantren in the Java region. Data were analyzed thematically and comparatively using content analysis techniques and historical approaches. Data validity is maintained through source triangulation, as well as contextual interpretation of each policy or event analyzed. Thus, this methodology is designed to explore in depth the relationship between Islamic education and state power in the period 1945-1998, and explain the socio-political strategies of Islamic education in responding to pressures or opportunities provided by the state.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Forms of Islamic Education Resistance to State Policy

During the Old Order era, Islamic education resistance emerged as a form of resistance to the dominance of secular nationalism ideology promoted by the state. The government at that time tended to marginalize the role of religion in the national education system, which could be seen from the limited recognition of non-formal Islamic education institutions such as pesantren. This encouraged ulama and Islamic education leaders to maintain their existence independently, by rejecting curriculum intervention from the state.[25]

Of course, during the Old Order, we saw a kind of marginalization of Islamic educational institutions, especially pesantren. The government at that time focused more on secular nationalism-oriented education, which emphasized national values that were considered more universal. This raised concerns among Islamic scholars and education leaders that religious education would be marginalized. One of the most visible forms of resistance was the refusal of Islamic educational institutions to integrate fully into the formal education system initiated by the government. They prefer to remain independent (Interview, farhan 2025).

From the above interview with Dr. Ahmad Farhan, it can be concluded that the resistance of Islamic education to state policies, both during the Old Order and the New Order, showed adaptive and strategic dynamics. During the Old Order, Islamic education maintained its autonomy through resistance to full integration into the national education system, with organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah playing an important role in maintaining the curriculum and Islamic

values. Meanwhile, during the New Order, despite greater political pressure, Islamic education adopted a more symbolic and administrative strategy of resistance, maintaining a religious identity amidst a more secular and controlled system. These strategies demonstrate the ability of Islamic education to survive and adapt, maintain its relevance, and shape the evolving character of education in the face of political and social challenges.

One form of concrete resistance is the rejection of the integration of pesantren into the formal education system desired by the government. The pesantren chose to maintain autonomy, both in the institutional structure and in the curriculum. This effort is done by emphasizing the teaching of the yellowclassical Islamic books and scientific traditions that are not in line with the Western education system developed by the state.[26]

Resistance is also evident in the efforts of Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah to develop their own Islamic education systems. NU, for example, built a network of madrasas based on traditional religious values, while Muhammadiyah focused on modernizing Islamic education while maintaining its independence from the state. Both organizations became important actors in maintaining structural resistance to government policies.

Table 1. Forms of Islamic Education Resistance to State Policy

No	Critical Indicators	Description
1	Rejection of Curriculum Integration	Islamic educational institutions rejected full integration into the national formal education system during the Old Order, maintaining an independent religious curriculum.
2	Autonomy of Islamic Education	Pesantren and madrasah maintain autonomy in curriculum and institutional management, responding to state policies in an independent manner.
3	Resistance to Secularism	Resistance to secular ideology introduced by the government, while still focusing education on religious teachings and Islamic values.
4	Symbolic Adaptation Strategy	During the New Order era, Islamic education adapted symbolically to the national education system, continuing to teach Islamic values even though administratively following the state curriculum.
5	Development of Modern Islamic Education	Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah developed a modern Islamic education model by combining religious principles with the needs of national education.

From the table above, we can draw a red thread that the resistance of Islamic education to state policies during the Old Order and New Order periods took place through various critical strategies, ranging from the rejection of curriculum integration to the development of adaptive modern Islamic education. Islamic education not only maintained institutional and curriculum autonomy, but also resisted the penetration of secular ideology through a careful symbolic approach. This effort reflects the resilience of Islamic institutions in maintaining religious identity amidst political pressure, as well as demonstrating the ability to adapt to the demands of the times without losing the basic values of Islamic education.

During the New Order period, the resistance of Islamic education entered a more complex phase. Despite harsher political pressure from the militaristic regime, Islamic educational institutions still tried to maintain their identity through cultural and symbolic channels. Resistance strategies were no longer only in the form of open rejection, but also through symbolic adaptations that maintained Islamic values in a non-confrontational framework.[27]

Adaptation Strategies of Islamic Education to Political Regimes

Adaptation of Islamic education to the Old Order regime was carried out with a limited cooperative strategy. Some madrasah institutions began to adapt to national education policies, such as following the Ministry of Education's curriculum, but still maintaining religious lessons internally. This shows the efforts of Islamic educational institutions to continue to exist without losing their religious identity.[28]

During the Old Order, Islamic education showed a clever adaptation, even though the state was very dominant in formulating education policy. Islamic organizations, such as Muhammadiyah and NU, chose a middle ground by developing Islamic educational institutions that remained oriented towards religious instruction, but they accepted the government's proposed national education structure and administrative system. This allowed them to survive and gain recognition without having to completely sacrifice their religious identity (Interview, Wahyu 2025).

From the interviews above, we can draw a red thread that the adaptation strategy of Islamic education to the Old and New Order political regimes was carried out carefully and pragmatically in order to maintain its existence amidst the pressure of state policies. Islamic educational institutions such as Muhammadiyah and NU were able to balance between administrative acceptance of the national system and the maintenance of Islamic identity through non-formal channels, alternative curricula, and religion-based extracurricular activities. This adaptation not only saves the sustainability of Islamic education, but also opens up opportunities for transformation towards a more modern and contextualized education model. This strategy has proven effective in maintaining the relevance and competitiveness of Islamic education until today.

In the context of the Old Order, which tended to be pluralistic, Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah took advantage of the political space available to expand the network of modern Islamic schools. Their approach tends to be pragmatic, using the state framework to modernize Islamic education, without abandoning its ideological principles. This strategy keeps Islamic education relevant in the midst of national political dynamics.

Table 2. Strategies for Adapting Islamic Education to Political Regimes

No	Critical Indicators	Description
1	Adaptation of the Formal Curriculum	Islamic educational institutions adapt to the national curriculum such as the 1975 and 1984 Curricula without leaving the core Islamic content.
2	Strengthening Religious Extracurricular	Religious teaching is strengthened through non-formal activities outside school hours, such as halaqah, book studies, and student da'wah activities.

3	Cultural Infiltration in the Bureaucracy	Islamic education figures entered state institutions, influence policies from within, such as through the Ministry of Religious Affairs.
4	Modernization of the Pesantren System	Pesantren began to adopt a formal education system while maintaining classical learning such as the yellowIslamic classic books and the dormitory system.
5	Fusion of Islamic Values and Nationalism	Islamic education formed a synthesis between Islamic teachings and national values to strengthen its position in the national education system.

From the table above, we can draw a red thread that the strategy of adapting Islamic education to state authority is carried out through a smart and flexible approach, ranging from adjusting the formal curriculum to cultural infiltration into the state bureaucracy. This adaptation allows Islamic education to continue to exist and be influential without losing its religious identity, while opening up space for a more inclusive and modern transformation. By combining Islamic values and nationalism and strengthening religious learning through non-formal channels, Islamic education is not only able to survive under the pressure of the regime, but also actively contributes to shaping the direction of a more balanced and spiritually nuanced national education.

Another phenomenon that shows adaptation is the emergence of Islamic higher education, such as IAIN (now UIN), which was established with state support but remains an Islamic intellectual space. These campuses became important laboratories in developing critical and contextual Islamic thought amidst the pressure of homogenizing state ideology. The adaptations made by Islamic education cannot be seen as a form of resignation, but rather as a smart survival strategy. Behind every form of adjustment, there is a conscious effort to maintain the continuity of Islamic values in the state-controlled public sphere. This adaptation is evidence of the cultural and spiritual resilience of Islamic education in modern Indonesian political history.[29]

Socio-Political Implications of the Dynamics of Islamic Education

The dynamics of resistance and adaptation of Islamic education to the state during the Old Order and New Order periods not only affected the realm of education, but also had an impact on the formation of the political identity of Muslims in Indonesia. Islamic educational institutions became a vehicle for the formation of a collective consciousness that was critical of state power.[30]

Islamic educational institutions, such as pesantren and madrasah, play a very important role in maintaining the existence of religious values in the midst of repression. They became a safe space for people to continue to get spiritually charged education. During the New Order era, when many religious expressions were monitored, these institutions actually grew into very effective centers of cultural resistance, albeit in a very subtle and strategic way (Interview, Natsir 2025).

From the interview above, we can draw a red thread that Islamic education institutions and figures have a vital role in facing political repression, especially during the New Order era, with a smart and measured cultural resistance strategy. Through pesantren, madrasah, and the role of figures such as Gus Dur and Buya Hamka, Islamic education not only survived authoritarian pressure, but also became a motor for the formation of social awareness, moral values, and

progressive Islamic discourse. Their symbolic, intellectual and spiritually charged approach made Islamic education an alternative space for struggle that remained alive and influential in the midst of repressive state political domination.

Table 3. The Role of Islamic Education Institutions and Figures in Facing Political Repression

No	Critical Indicators	Description
1	Pesantren as a Space of Cultural Resistance	Pesantren acts as a safe place to defend Islamic teachings and social values in the midst of state political repression.
2	Intellectual Role of Islamic Education Figures	Figures such as KH. Abdurrahman Wahid and Buya Hamka voiced criticism through writing, lectures, and organizations, forming intellectual resistance.
3	Symbolic Strategies and Religious Narratives	The values of resistance to injustice are conveyed implicitly through religious studies, sermons, and morally uplifting pesantren traditions.
4	Tactical Collaboration with the State	Under certain conditions, Islamic education figures and institutions establish pragmatic relationships with the state to maintain their existence and space for movement.
5	Islamic Education as a Pillar of Social Identity	Islamic education is used as a means of maintaining the identity of Muslims and spreading social awareness in the midst of a democratic crisis.

From the table above, we can draw a red thread that the role of Islamic education institutions and figures in facing political repression is not only reactive, but strategic and transformative. Through pesantren as a space for cultural resistance, the utilization of religious narratives, and intellectual resistance by figures such as Gus Dur and Buya Hamka, Islamic education succeeded in building a stronghold of values and identity of the people in the midst of state pressure. Tactical collaboration with the government also shows accuracy in maintaining the continuity of the movement without losing idealism. Islamic education at that time was not only an instrument of learning, but also a means of forming social awareness and the collective struggle of the people.

In many cases, alumni of pesantren and madrassas became part of Islamic socio-political movements that actively voiced social justice and political reform. This shows that Islamic education has contributed to forming actors of change from the community base. Thus, Islamic education is an important element in national socio-political dynamics.[31]

During the New Order, state control over religious discourse actually gave birth to intellectual responses from Islamic education circles. The birth of progressive Islamic thoughts, such as from IAIN and reform pesantren, is a reflection of critical readings of hegemonic power. Islamic education becomes an important space for reflection and social criticism in the midst of

the establishment of state ideology. Another implication is the transformation of the structure of Islamic education, from being marginal to being part of the national system recognized by the state. This creates a tension between the desire to maintain Islamic autonomy and the need for policy support and funding from the government. This tension has become a strategic issue that is still relevant in the discourse of Islamic education in Indonesia.[32]

Islamic Language as a Discourse of Resistance and Identity in Islamic Education

Islamic language in education not only functions as a means of religious expression, but also as a symbolic instrument that holds the power of resistance to the political domination of the state. During the Old Order era, when the state discourse emphasized secular nationalism, pesantren and madrasahs maintained the use of Arabic-Islamic terms such as ta'dib, akhlaq, ulumuddin, and tarbiyah in the curriculum and pedagogical practices. The use of these terms reflects an attitude of maintaining Islamic epistemological authority rooted in the classical treasures and not submitting to the ideological pressure of the state to merge into the general education system.

In the New Order era, Islamic language was increasingly used as a symbolic tool to show the ideological differentiation of Islamic educational institutions against the narrative of depoliticization and technocratization of national education. Languages such as intellectual jihad, community development, strengthening aqidah, and istiqamah in the struggle became routine vocabulary in scientific and cadre forums in Islamic educational institutions. This language is not only a cultural identity, but also a strategic channel in conveying criticism of government policies that are considered away from Islamic values without having to be confrontational.

Table 4 Islamic Language in the Dynamics of Islamic Education in the Old and New Order Eras

No	Critical Indicators	Description
1	Preservation of Arabic-Islamic Vocabulary in the Curriculum	Terms such as ta'dib, akhlaq, and ulumuddin are preserved to indicate the autonomy of Islamic values.
2	Symbolic Language in Critical Discourse	Phrases such as intellectual jihad, istiqamah, and community development are used for subtle criticism.
3	Rhetoric of Islamic Education Figures	Figures such as Gus Dur, Buya Hamka use classical Islamic concepts as socio-political criticism.
4	Identity Formation Through the Language of Da'wah and Teaching	Islamic language is used in sermons and recitations to strengthen people's awareness of Islamic values.
5	Language as a Discursive Space for Non-Confrontational Resistance	Language is used as a medium of symbolic struggle when political expression is restricted by the state.

From the table above, we can draw a red thread that Islamic language has a strategic and multidimensional role in the dynamics of Islamic education, especially as an instrument of symbolic resistance and ideological identity formation. Through the preservation of Arabic-Islamic vocabulary, the rhetoric of figures, to the use of symbolic language in da'wah and teaching materials, Islamic education was able to maintain the authority of Islamic values amid the pressure of state ideology in the Old Order and New Order eras. Language is not just a means of communication, but a discursive space where power negotiations, non-confrontational resistance, and the reproduction of people's collective consciousness take place. Thus, Islamic language becomes a key element in maintaining the continuity of Islamic education traditions, values and struggles amid repressive socio-political dynamics.

Moreover, Islamic education leaders use the language of Islam in the articulation of their ideas and struggles. Gus Dur, for example, in many of his writings inserted classical Islamic concepts such as ijtihad, maslahah, and ukhuwah to narrate the importance of freedom of thought, tolerance, and social justice in the education system. This is proof that the language of Islam can transform into the language of progressive political discourse that fights for Islamic values within the framework of democracy and pluralism. Other figures such as Buya Hamka and KH Ali Yafie also utilize the language of da'wah with ethical and spiritual nuances to frame social criticism without crashing into strict political boundaries.

Islamic language also plays a role in strengthening the collective consciousness among santri, madrasa students and the Islamic community towards the importance of maintaining Islamic values in education. In sermons, recitations, and textbooks, terms such as izzah (nobility), sabr (patience), and social tawhid are brought to life to provide moral strength and motivation to struggle against the ideological pressures of the state. This makes the language of Islam a medium for the formation of a distinctive ummah political identity - not frontal, but deeply rooted and continuing to reproduce the meaning of resistance in the frame of education.

This indicator is interconnected with the previous result indicators, such as the role of institutions (pesantren and madrasah) that make Islamic language part of their institutional identity, as well as cultural resistance strategies carried out through religious symbols and discourse. Islamic language becomes the foundation in forming an alternative narrative to the state education system, as well as an internal communication tool between generations in maintaining the continuity of struggle and values. Thus, Islamic language is not just a communication tool, but a discursive field where power, identity and education meet.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This research aims to examine the dynamics of resistance and adaptation of Islamic education in the context of Indonesia's socio-political history during the Old Order and New Order eras. Through a historical qualitative approach, the research found that Islamic education institutions and figures were able to show resilience and flexibility in responding to ideological and structural pressures from the state. Resistance strategies carried out symbolically and culturally, as well as adaptation to national education policies without eliminating Islamic identity, are proof that Islamic education has high vitality. Institutions such as pesantren and madrasah, as well as figures such as KH Abdurrahman Wahid and Buya Hamka, appear as important agents in maintaining religious values, forming social awareness, and articulating Islamic discourse in the midst of an authoritarian political system.

One important finding that strengthens the contribution of Islamic education is the role of Islamic language as an instrument of symbolic resistance and ideological identity. Through the preservation of Arabic-Islamic terms, critical but non-confrontational preaching rhetoric, and the

use of religious narratives in the learning process, Islamic education demonstrates its ability to build alternative discursive spaces outside of state control. The implications of this research show that Islamic education has the strategic capacity to maintain its existence while building a society that is religious, politically aware, and rooted in the Islamic scientific tradition. This research provides an important lesson that resistance is not always frontal, but can be realized through symbolic, linguistic and intellectual approaches. The limitations of this research lie in the focus area and the limited oral data from direct historical actors. Therefore, further studies need to develop interdisciplinary approaches - such as Islamic sociolinguistics and educational anthropology - to enrich the understanding of the complex relationship between Islamic education, language and state power.

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