

Research Article

**MAINTAINING AL-MAUN'S SPIRIT AMID THE
NEOLIBERALIZATION OF EDUCATION: A BOURDIEUSIAN
ANALYSIS OF THE MUHAMMADIYAH MODERN ISLAMIC
SCHOOL IN YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA**

*Received: 16th January 2025; Revised: 29th May 2025;
Accepted: 3th July 2025; Available online: 30th July 2025*

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Abstract

This article critically investigates the dual roles of charitable businesses in Muhammadiyah education in Yogyakarta, which reproduce sociocultural, capital, and prestige distinctions among high schools. Beyond prior works focusing on internal dynamics, this study revives the class-based approach to analyze how Muhammadiyah's education system simultaneously resists and internalizes capitalism's principles to reconstruct a new field with its logic. Using a qualitative case study with in-depth interviews, we confirm that reproduction models enabling disparity among Muhammadiyah schools are deliberately conducted to sustain philanthropy movements, Al-Maun's spirit, and program independence amid neoliberal education shifts. The results show that historical context, regulation, and collaborative negotiation legitimize stratified institution quality in which elite schools adopt economic schemes to subsidize non-privileged schools. This dialectic institutionalizes a habitus that rationalizes Muhammadiyah schools' prestige as socially acceptable. Although causing dominant class concentration, this model becomes a strategy to maintain sovereignty from state/market domination while expanding modern Islamic schools across Indonesia.

Keywords: Institutional Reproduction, Muhammadiyah, Education, Inequality, Indonesia

How to cite: Mochamad Iqbal Jatmiko, Hilman Haris Wicaksono, Yesi Mekarsari, Muh. Syukron. (2025). Maintaining AL-MAUN Spirit Amid The Neoliberalization Of Education: A Bourdieusian Analysis Of The Muhammadiyah Modern Islamic School in Yogyakarta, Indonesia *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 24 (1): 29-52 (doi: 10.14710/jis.24.1.2025.29-52), [Online]

Permalink/DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/jis.24.1.2025.29-52>

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INTRODUCTION

The institutional reproduction dynamics at SMA Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta reflect a neo-institutional strategy to maintain independence amid educational neoliberalism pressures, which risk worsening educational divides. Since its establishment by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan in 1912, Muhammadiyah has introduced *amal usaha* (charitable business) as philanthropic models based on waqf, donations, and social enterprise to realize continuous Islamic education, high-quality health services, and socioeconomic welfare (Burhani, 2018; Haq et al., 2022; Sciortino et al., 2010; Solehudin et al., 2024). In this context, charitable businesses in Muhammadiyah education continue to develop critical Islamic pedagogy that synthesizes progressive Islam, nationalism, and modern science (Burhani, 2018; Khoirudin et al., 2020; Lendriyono & Nulhaqim, 2016; Saddhono et al., 2017; Widodo et al., 2019). This holistic approach educates Muslim elites (*ulama-intellectual*) among young people who prioritize social transformation in responding to the changing age (Hamami & Nuryana, 2022; Haq et al., 2022; Nashir et al., 2019; Niam, 2020; Qodir et al., 2020). Hence, Muhammadiyah organization has managed more than 4,500 schools and 170 universities in Indonesia (Ariadin & Rambe, 2022; Burhani, 2018; Nuryanto & Pambuko, 2019; Shodiq et al., 2019), including 62 schools in Yogyakarta.

However, neoliberal capitalism reasoning has reoriented Muhammadiyah's philanthropic tenets into pragmatic commercialization for sustainable autonomy (Al Asy'ari, 2005; Sciortino et al., 2010; Setiawan, 2008). This transition degrades the emancipatory purposes that initially resisted colonial pedagogy (Burhani, 2018; Setiadi, 2021; Setiawan, 2008) because it promotes institutional reproduction, which impacts student admissions, cost criteria, and quality contrasts between schools (Bathmaker, 2015; Cebula, 2022). Regulatory decentralization increasingly stimulates systemic fragmentation, triggering socioeconomic exclusivity and academic divide in public views (Domina et al., 2017; Susilo et al., 2018). For example, SMA Muhammadiyah 1 is dominated by elites (upper class) with excellent infrastructure, while other schools, SMA Muhammadiyah 4, serve students from the lower-middle class (Wicaksono, 2024; Zamroni, 2016). This reproduces a class structure that contradicts the *Al-Maun* backing for social well-

being and the *Al-Ashr*, promoting transformative advocacy in Muhammadiyah education.

At the structural level, student admission procedures authorized by the Muhammadiyah Education Council result in socioeconomic categorization, school standing differentiation, and dominant social class concentration, restricting social mobilization (Hart, 2019; Setiawan, 2008; Skinner, 2020). At micro-cultural levels, interactions from similar circles in certain fields internalize habitus working under consciousness, so society considers unequal segregation as accepted beliefs—*doxa* (Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000; Wiltshire et al., 2019; Zamroni, 2016). Thus, policymakers must design interventions to revitalize Muhammadiyah's progressive-egalitarian education while respecting prosocial justice over commercial interests (Qodir et al., 2020; Sari & Saleh, 2020; Suyatno et al., 2022).

Previous studies on Muhammadiyah schools have focused on inclusive discourses, such as multicultural tolerance in education, including Muhammadiyah Christians (Akib et al., 2020; Mu'ti & Amirrachman, 2025; Mu'ti & Ul-Haq, 2023; Noor et al., 2021; Taofik & Basit, 2022), modern curriculums based on religious values (Aly & Nurhakim, 2020; Aly & Sufahani, 2019; Busahdiar et al., 2023; Hamami & Nuryana, 2022; Saefudin et al., 2024), and improving charitable business (Achmad & Iwantoro, 2021; Afandi et al., 2022; Lendriyono & Nulhaqim, 2016; Shodiq et al., 2019; Solehudin et al., 2024). Conversely, reviving social class approaches, this research critically examines the stratified institutional reproduction in Muhammadiyah high schools because of neoliberalization in education, improving earlier results (Al Asy'ari, 2005; Purwati et al., 2020; Setiawan, 2008). We also disclose the dual-face that educational charities operate to sustain their independence. This shows that Muhammadiyah modern schools, as inclusive philanthropic movements, are trapped in late capitalism structures, deepening social segregation and academic divides (Bunn et al., 2020; Kozlowski et al., 2024).

This qualitative study investigates reproduction dualism at the Muhammadiyah education institution in Yogyakarta, which paradoxically expands cooperation in facing social challenges while perpetuating structural differences established on socioeconomic capital. The research question is whether the standard distinction between the two SMA Muhammadiyah is executed deliberately to

protect progressive autonomy rooted in *Al-Maun* and *Al-Ashr* principles. Using the reproduction concepts of class (Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000) and institution (Campbell, 1998, 2010), we argue that charity business in education adopts dualistic schemes—prophetic philanthropy and neoliberal capitalist logic—that construct diverse school rates. In addition to forming student and public mindsets, institutional reproduction can guarantee internal sovereignty and structural resilience in resolving social issues from massive disruption (Çelik, 2021; Julier & Kimbell, 2019; Kluttz, 2019).

This article proposes inclusive governance by referencing sociological facts to evaluate neoliberal capitalism's co-optation in the Muhammadiyah educational business charity. This strategy encourages collaborative synergy to resolve inequality between schools and support diverse student backgrounds. Despite not formulating explicit advocacy frameworks, this study recommends a reflexive approach to minimize institutional reproduction risks toward equitable academic reform, mediating Muhammadiyah's aspirations as an independent philanthropic movement and promoter of modern Islamic education in Indonesia. This paper is organized into four sections: introduction, method, findings-discussion, and conclusion.

Conceptual Framework

This section discusses institutional reproduction (Campbell, 1998, 2010) and institutional habitus (Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000) to demonstrate how Muhammadiyah's business charity negotiations operate structural and sociocultural approaches to sustain the independence of modern Islamic education in Indonesia and organizational sustainability from academic neoliberalism pressures. The insights are complementary to our analysis, which investigates social inequality while promoting inclusive justice. Our reflections contribute to alternative social movements that counter the hegemony within education capitalism through progressive, egalitarian, and prosocial Islamic values.

Institutional Reproduction

The institutional reproduction concept is a strategic mechanism that helps organizations respond contextually to changing times or internal fragility to protect structural sustainability, functional stability, and pragmatic values (Campbell,

1998, 2010; Carstensen, 2017; Skogstad, 2005). Three main insights inspire this thinking. First, isomorphism in organizational life refers to functional and structural evolution when faced with uncertainty, legitimacy problems, and internal pressures (Cardona et al., 2019; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Leiter, 2005). Second, structuration describes organizations not only as static hierarchical entities that govern actors, but also as social structures continuously reproduced by individual agency (Den Hond et al., 2012; Giddens, 1983; Windeler & Jungmann, 2024). Finally, the varieties of capitalism express how the capitalist economy regulates organizational designs by coordinating various hybrid logics to maximize business functions (Campbell & Pedersen, 2007; Deeg & Jackson, 2007; Hall & Gingerich, 2009). All these ideas emphasize the reciprocal relationship between agents and structures that reproduce adaptive praxis to ensure institutional continuity. While classical functionalist views organizations as static entities, this evolutionary perspective accentuates the diversification of organization's elements through construction and reproduction (variation, selection, and retention). Thus, institutional structures can gradually form functional networks that mutually complement resource distribution and mitigate social change risks.

In this context, an institutional reproduction concept is used structurally to analyze how SMA Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta deliberately adopts quality differences causing disparity through policy, practice, and organizational culture to boost autonomy. Regulation is therefore not neutral, and institutions become active where power relations condition social injustice, making it appear as a natural outcome, not a constructed reality (Lynch & Baker, 2005; Nikolaidis, 2024). This further intensifies vulnerability when new alternatives fail to run (Tambulasi & Chasukwa, 2022) because of prioritizing organizational reproduction rather than education reform. As such, schools are not only pedagogical fields but also institutional machines through which power can be legitimized under meritocracy pretexts (Araki, 2023).

Reproduction and Institutional Habitus

While institutional reproduction highlights adaptive structural responses, the institutional habitus framework provides a relational lens to analyze inequality in educational associations. Therefore, Pierre Bourdieu (1998) conducted a critical

analysis of academic institutions through sociocultural (re)production and institutional habitus (Azaola, 2012; Bates, 2023; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000). This approach challenges liberal thinkers who are optimistic that schools can be tools for reform to achieve social welfare (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000; Lingard et al., 2005; Merry & New, 2017). Instead, Bourdieu suggests that school policy produces unequal social distinctions and legitimizes inequality based on capital ownership, impacting educational rights and prospects (Azaola, 2012; Hart, 2019; Mills et al., 2019). This can socioculturally provide a sociocultural explanation for how hierarchical differentiation based on capital contributes to educational quality stratification, where prestigious schools serve upper-class students.

The reproduced distinctions then generate institutional habitus that is latently socialized to individuals through institutional culture (Byrd, 2019; Çelik, 2021; Tarabini et al., 2017). The reality reflects the rational actions of educational institutions to preserve class inequality and institutionally legitimize quality differentiation (Croizet & Millet, 2024). This influences social practices, individual perceptions, and public opinion toward certain educational institutions. The institutional habitus in school policy further reinforces differences that benefit dominant groups while limiting lower-class mobilization (Byrd, 2019; Schoville et al., 2024). Inequality in pedagogical quality consequently affects performance, achievement, and participation since institutions prioritize dominant class needs over marginalized populations (Akkan & Buğra, 2021; Barrett & Martina, 2012; De Moll et al., 2024). Finally, educational institution reforms intended to reduce inequality through knowledge transmission may fail because the institutional habitus that reproduces distinctions is deeply embedded within education sectors. This issue also impacts the disadvantaged lower class, who are harmed by market-based regulations in the education sector, reinforcing social class segregation in teaching methods, resource allocation, prestigious advantages, alum networks, and societal expectations (Barrett & Martina, 2012; Byrd, 2019; Çelik, 2021; Ho et al., 2020; Schoville et al., 2024).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used a qualitative case study (Seawright & Gerring, 2008) to investigate the divergence in educational institution quality that affected

socioeconomic disparity and institutional reproduction at two SMA Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. This method could contextually capture comprehensive facts about informants' narratives, perspectives, and complex positions inside academic institutions (Booth et al., 2019). This investigation also sought to capture individual interactions in academic institution structures by emphasizing school regulations, learning practices, and administrative policies to understand how these elements boosted institutional reproduction and shaped distinctions and gaps among SMA Muhammadiyah. Finally, the findings highlighted challenges and motivated inclusive practices to improve equal educational quality.

This study focused on two modern Islamic schools in Yogyakarta: SMA Muhammadiyah 1 and SMA Muhammadiyah 4. The schools were purposively selected because they represented a clear institutional contrast in academic achievement, infrastructure, student population, and public reputation, despite their affiliation under Muhammadiyah regulations. Specifically, SMA Muhammadiyah 1, located in the city center of Yogyakarta, was known historically as an elite institution that served upper-class students with high academic rankings. Meanwhile, SMA Muhammadiyah 4 was located on the city's outskirts and was categorized as a developing school with a diversified student demography and limited facilities. These distinctions provided critical insights into factors simulating gaps in education quality within the intra-organizational landscape based on reproduced socioeconomic capital. It could also help to understand how institutional distinctions have functioned as negotiation tactics against academic liberalization by balancing philanthropic values with modern conditions.

The participant selection combined a purposive strategy consistent with the research aims and snowball sampling to expand participant selection (Noy, 2008). Key informants included the school principals, teachers, heads of the Primary and Secondary Education Council, and some students representing the topic. Considering ethical concerns, this study received approval from the university. Written or verbal consent was obtained from all participants before data collection to ensure confidentiality, potential benefits, and voluntary participation, including the right to withdraw at any time without consequences. Interviews were conducted

in private, closed settings, and transcripts were anonymized and stored in an encrypted digital format accessible only to the authors. These steps were designed to guarantee the participants' comfort and scientific integrity throughout the research process.

The participatory observation in two schools during one month facilitated the observation of relevant macro-structural phenomena in institutional and sociocultural contexts at the internal school level. In-depth qualitative interviews using semi-structured question models were conducted to analyze the institutional reproduction and determinants of educational quality disparities among SMA Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta while respecting informants' perspectives. We also employed a literature review to document secondary data from school reports and the Muhammadiyah Education Board regulations. The thematic descriptive analysis that elaborated the primary and secondary data was processed with NVivo 12 through three stages: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Bingham, 2023). The conclusive findings assessed qualitative data patterns and completed a descriptive analysis to answer research questions with interview quotes, conceptual frameworks, and earlier studies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Muhammadiyah School Transformation in Yogyakarta: A Sociocultural Approach



Figure 1. Muhammadiyah Educational Institutions in the Colonial Era
Source: Subarkah (2023)

The initial ethos of Muhammadiyah education, initiated by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan in 1912, pioneered a progressive pedagogical model that synergized Western secular frameworks with moderate Islamic thoughts, initially targeting the Javanese elite (*priyayi*) in Indonesia (Hamami & Nuryana, 2022; Suyatno et al., 2022). The reformist movement articulated the principles of moderation (*tawasuth*) and renewal (*tajdid*) to modernize the academic curriculum beyond traditional *pesantren* approaches, which emphasized classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*) and teacher (*kyai*) figures (Pasha & Darban, 2019). By prioritizing critical thinking and discursive process, the Muhammadiyah educational institutions in Yogyakarta continue to evolve from initial importance on *pesantren* teaching in the Kauman region into modern Islamic schools (Jannah, 2023), reflecting adaptive social transformation.

Furthermore, charitable business for Muhammadiyah education accentuates visionary and pragmatic learning alongside theological knowledge to produce Muslim intellectuals who can overcome modernity's consequences while maintaining its relevance in contemporary Islamic discourse (Hamami & Nuryana, 2022; Qodir et al., 2020; Suyatno et al., 2022; Widodo et al., 2019). Therefore, Muhammadiyah schools in Yogyakarta negotiate social developments and commercialization of education by adopting institutional reproduction, which incorporates modern pedagogy with Islamic significance. This dualism motivates cross-collaboration among Muhammadiyah schools, ensuring equitable distribution of resources to sustain their existence and constantly contributing to Islamic education in Indonesia.

In this case, charitable business in the Muhammadiyah education in Yogyakarta employs institutional multiplication, accentuating socioeconomic segmentation and cultural disparities among schools (Campbell, 2010; Sciortino et al., 2010), which can influence internal dynamics (communication, student interaction, and other cultural dimensions). This state then results in structural and cultural friction, impacting alumni's ability, achievement, and professional opportunity post-graduating. Bourdieu and Passeron (2000) stated that educational quality distinctions are intrinsically social practices conditioned through institutional habitus (Bourdieu, 1998; Byrd, 2019; Han, 2019). An informant stated that the form of institutional reproduction that drives educational discrepancies

between the two schools is infrastructure availability, including geographical location, teachers' qualifications, school buildings, and other supporting resources. As the following statement:

“The school conditions were very distinct. Besides its long historical background, SMA Muhammadiyah 1 had a beneficial and strategic location, complemented by other confluent aspects. Yet, SMA Muhammadiyah 4 did not like that [...] the classrooms were not conducive for an optimal learning experience [...] the school location in the countryside with several access points to outside made it easy for students to skip classes anytime.”

Despite being relocated thrice, SMA Muhammadiyah 1 remains in a strategic urban zone, enhancing its symbolic privilege and elite status. Conversely, SMA Muhammadiyah 4, located in the more peripheral Kotagede region, has limited resources, severely limiting the school's prospects for recruiting students. This spatial division is not coincidental; it is the result of institutional reproduction processes that shape it according to the local socioeconomic and cultural environment (Azaola, 2012; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000). The assumption is that SMA Muhammadiyah 1 targets the upper-middle group, while SMA Muhammadiyah 4 caters to the lower-middle class from local merchant children influenced by Javanese traditions. This benefits urban elites who have greater resources by accessing high-quality schools for intergenerational privilege transfer, limiting opportunities for graduates from the middle-lower class. Consequently, besides creating operational quality disparity, the acts latently reproduce capital inequality in the seemingly meritocratic realm of education.

In recent years, distinct student prospects have illustrated significant differences between the two schools. The graduation percentage of SMA Muhammadiyah 4, with a relatively lower student capacity (150–200 students each year), directs most graduates into the labor market, whereas approximately 10%–20% pursue higher education. However, more than 50% of SMA Muhammadiyah 1 graduates (around 350–400 students) continue their education in the best public or private universities in Indonesia and abroad. This discourse of success increasingly institutionalizes the sentiment that SMA Muhammadiyah 1 is an excellent school. Additionally, this reproduction cycle shows neo-institutional supremacy, where macro-level regulations that classify social hierarchies support

multi-level managerial performance within organizational systems. This not only depoliticizes structural inequality as an organizational strategy but also impacts graduates over time (Kalfa & Taksa, 2017; Saravi, 2015).

Thus, Muhammadiyah schools have undergone a sociocultural shift that aligns their internal bureaucratic systems with current demands. Structural reforms by the Muhammadiyah charitable business council in the education sector, especially codifying student admission and school costs, were designed to protect institutional stability through stratification, impacting academic quality and the socialization process (Bathmaker, 2015; Domina et al., 2017). At the same time, internalized discourses of distinction in schools shape student-teacher habitus, public perceptions, and hierarchical social dispositions (Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000). This dichotomy conditions equality by highlighting academic achievement and hiding systemic injustices in the allocation of resources, capital capacity, and prestige. Finally, this framework reveals the economic-political dimensions of educational reproduction that favor the dominant class while maintaining the hegemonic model that restricts the abilities of marginalized groups (Chawa et al., 2024; Grümme, 2021; Hart, 2019).

Rethinking Public Needs and Social Class Production in the Education Field

The theology of *Al-Maun* and *Al-Ashr*, as taught by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, actualizes the Muslim faith through prophetic approaches in healthcare, education, and social services, which transcend ritual piety (Arifin et al., 2022; Haq et al., 2022; Khoirudin et al., 2020). The *Al-Maun* invokes human solidarity to advocate for the welfare of oppressed people (*dhu'afa* and *mustadh'afin*). In addition, *Al-Ashr's* existential praxis promotes wise kindness, time control, and collective advocacy toward public reforms. This perspective reconfigures beliefs as a dynamic power and a catalyst for justice to overcome inequality. Hence, Muhammadiyah becomes not only a religious movement but also a transformative agent that connects spiritual awareness with broader activism.

Yet, contemporary neoliberal hegemony has caused tensions between Muhammadiyah's theological vision and its institutional pragmatism that social fragmentation and educational exclusion (Julier & Kimbell, 2019; Klees, 2020). As capitalism expands, educational charity businesses in Muhammadiyah schools

overcome challenges through institutional reproduction that creates diversified standards to adjust to market demands. In this context, the beliefs of *Al-Maun* and *Al-Ashr* are simultaneously practiced and negotiated to compromise competitive market pressures by maintaining independence and realizing moral obligations in providing public education for social welfare. This situation is shown by how the Muhammadiyah Primary and Secondary Education Council board navigates ideological dualism, implementing theological ideas through a commitment to emancipation and privatization to accommodate capitalist pragmatism (Haq et al., 2022; Khoirudin et al., 2020). This is clearly evident through the extreme disparity in educational costs among schools, despite being regulated by the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership in Yogyakarta.

“Top leaders had regulated it with a standardized upper and lower threshold for each tuition fee, yet cost decisions were adjusted to the prevailing school rules.”

A participant also confirms that:

“We were consistently associated with expensive charges [...] while many other private schools outside Muhammadiyah had higher expenses [...] Muhammadiyah 1 was indeed a pioneer of excellent Islamic schools due to its existence had been long, so the school’s tuition price was a priority and concern.”

In addition to reproducing different standards, neoliberal capitalism in education reflects economic rationalization, school commercialization, and standardization (Nugroho, 2002). This commodification is not only found in modern public schools but also in Muhammadiyah private schools, which operate as charitable enterprises. Instead of promoting the spirit of *Al-Maun* and *Al-Ashr*, which are the main foundations, the school has fallen into transactional schemes that separate criteria based on socioeconomic distinctions for school survival. Contextually, the involved actors practice humanistic pedagogy for shared prosperity while meeting market desires like rankings and branding. SMA Muhammadiyah 1 also capitalizes on its historical background as the first modern Islamic school in Yogyakarta to attract the upper class. This trend is noticeable in parent demographics, which are dominated by professionals and high-income formal workers, in contrast to the conditions in SMA Muhammadiyah 4.

The stratification is further solidified by capital distribution that concentrates elite populations, worsening the divide between superior and inferior schools. This is evidenced by the high educational development costs in SMA Muhammadiyah 1 (regular program: Rp 9.5–12.5 million and international program: Rp 14.5–17.5 million) with 108 classrooms and 103 teachers. Meanwhile, SMA Muhammadiyah 4 only provides regular classes costing Rp 2 million, with 70 classrooms and 36 teachers. Therefore, institutional reproduction in education policy always helps upper-class students preserve their social status while depriving prospects for lower-strata students to access elite schools (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000; Campbell, 2010; Kozlowski et al., 2024). To counter this, Muhammadiyah schools must reprioritize theological substance through humanistic practices and empower marginalized groups that emphasize education as an instrument for transformative justice, not for widening inequality.

Furthermore, the management board of the Muhammadiyah educational business charity strategically allocates resources to accommodate market demands, adapting institutional reproduction to attract student preferences and parents' priorities. However, this condition contextually differentiates the learning process at SMA Muhammadiyah 1 from other schools because high costs impact the performance quality and rationalize operational independence. The following statement supports this,

“SMA Muhammadiyah 1 was distinctive from other Muhammadiyah schools and public schools [...] we once received a student from Arabia who was willing to pay high tuition costs for his child because the quality of the resources was very well provided [...] after observation to all Muhammadiyah schools, the client said that Muhammadiyah 1 was superior and the best compared to other existing schools.”

In Bourdieu's perspective (1998; 2000), the quality distinction between schools, where SMA Muhammadiyah 1 and 4 function as social fields, represents capital accumulation to symbolize a person's status in society, impacting public perception of social hierarchy formation based on school exclusivity (Bathmaker, 2015; Bourdieu, 1985). This is further reinforced through institutional and class reproductions to construct conditioned preferences (*habitus*) and accepted beliefs (*doxa*), which perpetuate educational divides (Wicaksono, 2024). Instead of

offering equal access, dynamics strengthen the claim that education is a reproduction process that differentiates capital power through meritocracy illusions, which normalize high school fees. Therefore, some parents' decisions to register their children in prestigious schools, especially Muhammadiyah 1, are not only influenced by the rational desire to obtain high-quality facilities compared to other schools but also the need for social recognition as a representation of symbolic capital.

“The first reason parents preferred Muhammadiyah 1 or 2 was the rejection from best public high schools due to grades or zoning regulations [...] some parents who applied to SMA Muhammadiyah 1 wanted the community-recognized reputation and had the financial power to afford superior facilities than other schools, even though the fees were higher.”

Instead, a participant claims that:

“They who registered their children in SMA Muhammadiyah 4 understood that Muhammadiyah 1, 2, and 3 did not accept them [...] deficient social support, limited family economic resources, and other factors contributed to their decision.”

The argument indicates that institutional reproduction, constructing inequality among SMA Muhammadiyah based on socioeconomic capital, has been constituted in societal perceptions, so SMA Muhammadiyah 4 is regarded as the last choice when choosing an educational institution. This understanding cultivates meritocratic values that rationalize power inequality by obscuring the structural obstacles faced by marginalized students. Although it can produce greater social exclusion, the practice is often ignored because it is deeply embedded in the educational institution's habitus and is also normalized by societal expectations (Byrd, 2019; Çelik, 2021; Han, 2019). As such, institutional reproduction that conforms to academic commercialization for the sustainability of school independence must be carefully handled to avoid worsening current socioeconomic segregation (Boterman et al., 2019; Forsberg, 2018).

Institutional Reproduction as Negotiation on the Neoliberalization of Modern Education

The deliberate and persistent institutional reproduction within the Muhammadiyah education system can be understood as the school's negotiation in responding to current education neoliberalism agendas (Purwati et al., 2020; Setiadi, 2021; Suyatno et al., 2022). The procedure diversifies socioeconomic classifications in educational programs to provide sustained sovereignty in adjusting to era transformation. The advantage of institutional reproduction lies in its capacity to provide institutional resilience through an ongoing process of preservation, replication, and adaptation (Campbell, 1998, 2010). This drives reciprocal networks between schools in the organization's financial allocation.

“So far, our institution has received several debt applications from other Muhammadiyah schools [...] *Alhamdulillah*. We have never asked for internal credit since our financial management and operational assets were effective, thereby preventing any problems.

The improved financial condition of SMA Muhammadiyah 1 encouraged other Muhammadiyah schools that require operational financing to apply for assistance. The unequal diversification of educational expenses across Muhammadiyah schools is indeed a major obstruction to advancing academic implementation because school discrepancies trigger modal over-concentration (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000; Domina et al., 2017). However, institutional affinities within SMA Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta have demonstrated cooperation to support institutional sustainability and internal effectiveness.

“In Jogja, collaborative strategic programs were realized to help each other, such as financially power schools supporting those with limited finances [...] some teacher compensation programs also received assistance since several educators staff were only registered as partnership teachers, not civil servants or government officials.”

The above explanation demonstrates that the Muhammadiyah Primary and Secondary Education Council in Yogyakarta manages distinctions in socioeconomic attributes among schools through funding cooperation based on *ta'awun* principles. SMA Muhammadiyah 1, which has substantial financial circulation, must assist other institutions that lack resources, including academic infrastructure and teacher well-being. Although institutional reproduction is related to unequal capital categorization (social, economic, cultural, symbolic), the

relationship between Muhammadiyah schools can complement mutually to strengthen institutional continuity (Campbell, 2010).

“Recently, support among Muhammadiyah schools has also contributed to improving educational infrastructure in Cilacap, Central Java. We provided a budget for instructional equipment for elementary school students. This fund came from the donations of prestigious Muhammadiyah schools that had already been self-reliant around Central Java [...] a vocational school in the Aceh region needed subsidized funding for building land expansion. All Muhammadiyah schools around the location worked together to deliver support, ultimately accumulating a fund of IDR 100 million as an initial investment.”

Consistent with a previous statement, besides fulfilling internal demands, a partnership among Muhammadiyah schools, which comes from student tuition fees or donations, can collaborate in prioritizing the improvement in academic infrastructure quality and the establishment of new Muhammadiyah school buildings in various locations (Afandi et al., 2022; Shodiq et al., 2019). This cooperation serves as a primary indicator of maximizing institutional resource planning and increasing student achievement. In recent years, the proliferation of Muhammadiyah schools has increased significantly across Indonesia, resulting in the formation of high-quality graduates (Shodiq et al., 2019).

Thus, institutional reproduction related to strategic policy evaluation and the applicative critique of Muhammadiyah educational organizations can maintain social structural and sociocultural work functions in society (Campbell, 1998, 2010; Çelik, 2021). The structural modification in Muhammadiyah educational institutions, especially the social hierarchical categorization predicated on individual capital inequality, functions as an arena that challenges dominant thinking about future education commercialization. Furthermore, the contextual knowledge to adopt ideological dualism as a complementary system further supports school stability. It allows institutions to govern social change, respond to external pressures, and reinforce their independent positions (Palier & Thelen, 2010). Ultimately, this negotiation is an inclusive paradigm for modern Islamic educational institutions to strengthen Muhammadiyah’s authority while developing adaptable Muslim intellectual competence in the future.

CONCLUSION

This research presents critical insights into the dynamics of educational business charity in the two SMA Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta within the context of global academic neoliberalization. The empirical findings reveal how institutional reproduction strategies that diversify quality among Muhammadiyah schools based on socioeconomic separation aim to maintain fiscal sovereignty and autonomous philanthropic movement amid competitive capitalist regimes. However, this phenomenon inadvertently generates contradictions as educational meritocracy discourse obscures broader social inequality. Therefore, the paradigm simultaneously illustrates an ideological dualism in which educational charity businesses in Muhammadiyah schools preserve their prophetic ethos while operationalizing capitalist logics. Policy interventions must develop evaluative strategies to manage the vulnerabilities of institutional reproduction and supervise resource distribution to decrease the contrasting differences between Muhammadiyah schools (superior vs. inferior).

However, our study has limitations in its research location, which only focuses on two SMA Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, so it does not adequately represent larger conditions. The limited number of informants restricts the generalizability of the findings to complex events and varied perspectives. To address these limitations, we suggest further investigation focusing on the SMA Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. The more extensive quantitative method can improve credibility and measure socioeconomic prestige within Muhammadiyah educational institutions. Finally, considering a nationwide study to explore inequality in Muhammadiyah schools gives a potential opportunity because the expansion of educational business charity in recent years has rapidly intensified across Indonesia, especially in semi-urban regions.

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