



Nurcholish Madjid Weltanschauung: Educational Thought within the Framework of National Insight in Indonesia, 1971-2002

Luthfi Ridzki Fakhrian,^{1*} Abrar,¹ Budiaman¹

¹Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Indonesia

*luthfiridzkifakhrian@gmail.com

Received: 04-06-2025; Revised: 24-07-2025; Accepted: 26-07-2025; Published: 31-08-2025

Abstract: Indonesia's civic and educational landscape has increasingly been fragmented by the rise of identity politics, ideological polarization, and the erosion of inclusive nationalism. Amidst this crisis, the educational thought of Nurcholish Madjid (Cak Nur) offers a transformative *weltanschauung*, a synthesis of Islamic ethics, national consciousness, and modern rationality. This study aims to critically investigate Madjid's educational paradigm within the framework of *wawasan kebangsaan* (national insight), repositioning education not as dogmatic transmission but as civic moral formation. Employing a descriptive qualitative approach with critical historiographical methods, the research analyzes primary sources, including Madjid's writings, interviews with key intellectuals, and institutional records, from 1971 to 2002. Anchored in the theories of Karl Mannheim and Antonio Gramsci, the study interprets Madjid as an *organic intellectual* whose vision is institutionalized through Universitas Paramadina, Madania School, and the Nurcholish Madjid Society. The findings reveal that Madjid's inclusive educational praxis serves as both a moral critique and a civic alternative to ideological extremism in Indonesian schooling. His vision bridges Islam and Pancasila, integrates character education with democratic citizenship, and promotes pluralism as a religious imperative. The novelty of this research lies in contextualizing Madjid's pedagogy as an instrument for rebuilding national character in postcolonial education, rather than reducing it to liberal theology. This paper contributes to global debates on religion, education, and civic ethics by proposing a homegrown Indonesian model that reconciles faith, diversity, and democracy. Madjid's *weltanschauung* remains a viable blueprint for inclusive, ethical, and future oriented national education.

Keywords: education; islamic thought; national insight; Nurcholish Madjid

Abstrak: Lanskap kewarganegaraan dan pendidikan di Indonesia semakin terfragmentasi akibat menguatnya politik identitas, polarisasi ideologis, dan melemahnya nasionalisme inklusif. Dalam hal ini, pemikiran pendidikan Nurcholish Madjid (Cak Nur) menawarkan sebuah *weltanschauung* yang *transformative*, yakni sintesis antara etika Islam, kesadaran kebangsaan, dan rasionalitas modern. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji secara kritis paradigma pendidikan Madjid dalam kerangka wawasan kebangsaan, yang menempatkan pendidikan bukan sebagai transmisi dogmatis, melainkan sebagai pembentukan moral-kewargaan. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif dan metode historiografi kritis, studi ini menganalisis sumber-sumber primer, termasuk karya tulis Madjid, wawancara dengan tokoh intelektual, dan dokumen kelembagaan, dalam rentang waktu 1971 hingga 2002. Dengan landasan teori Karl Mannheim dan Antonio Gramsci, penelitian ini menafsirkan Madjid sebagai intelektual organik yang visinya terinstitusionalisasi melalui Universitas Paramadina, Sekolah Madania, dan Yayasan Nurcholish Madjid. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa praksis pendidikan inklusif Madjid berfungsi sebagai kritik moral sekaligus alternatif kewargaan terhadap ekstremisme ideologis dalam pendidikan Indonesia. Gagasannya menjembatani Islam dan Pancasila, mengintegrasikan pendidikan karakter dengan demokrasi,

serta menegaskan pluralisme sebagai keharusan religius. Kebaruan studi ini terletak pada upaya mengontekstualisasikan pedagogi Madjid sebagai instrumen rekonstruksi karakter kebangsaan dalam pendidikan pascakolonial, bukan sekadar teologi liberal. Artikel ini berkontribusi pada wacana global mengenai agama, pendidikan, dan etika kewargaan dengan menawarkan model Indonesia yang mampu merekonsiliasi iman, keberagaman, dan demokrasi. *Weltanschauung* Madjid tetap menjadi cetak biru yang relevan bagi sistem pendidikan nasional yang inklusif, etis, dan berorientasi masa depan.

Kata kunci: Nurcholish Madjid; pemikiran islam; pendidikan; wawasan kebangsaan



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Introduction

In recent years, Indonesia has faced a growing crisis in national consciousness. This crisis is not only political but also epistemic, stemming from the erosion of inclusive, pluralistic, and democratic values within the education system (Arifin et al., 2025; Mawardi, 2024). The rise of identity politics, religious exclusivism, and educational segregation has further undermined the foundational principles of Indonesian nationalism, which were originally envisioned as inclusive, multireligious, and multicultural. As a result, the national education system, instead of fostering cohesion, increasingly fails to cultivate a robust sense of Indonesian identity (*keindonesiaan*), exacerbating social fragmentation (Supratikno, 2023). One of the significant gaps in the current discourse is the absence of integrative approaches that harmonize religious identity, democratic values, and national integrity. While earlier Islamic discourses predominantly centered around orthodoxy, ritualism, or political Islam, there is now an imperative to reimagine education as a civic and moral project (Khunaifi & Sarasati, 2023; Nasril et al., 2025). This requires positioning Islam not only as a theological system but as a moral force for inclusive nationalism and universal humanity.

The growing polarization and fragmentation within Indonesian society have put the nation's educational system under immense strain. The education system, originally designed to unite a diverse population, now contributes to further division, as it struggles to integrate religious identities with national values. This crisis is exacerbated by the erosion of an inclusive and pluralistic national identity, which is no longer nurtured through education. Identity politics, religious exclusivism, and the segmentation of educational systems along ideological lines have led to an increasingly fractured society. Within this context, the education system has failed to effectively nurture a sense of civic nationalism and moral integrity, both of which are necessary to sustain a harmonious and democratic society. The absence of a unifying framework for education that bridges religious, ideological, and national divides has created a significant gap in the educational landscape, which this study aims to address.

A critical review of 10 to 35 prior studies on Islamic education reveals a notable gap in existing research, which often treats Islamic reformers either within theological or sociopolitical binaries without exploring their educational *Weltanschauung* in relation to national ideology. For instance, Huda et al. (2022) examined the multicultural dimensions of Nurcholish Madjid's thought but failed to link these ideas with national civic values. Similarly, Amri & Wasehudin (2022) discussed Islamic modernism in Madjid's educational model but overlooked its nationalistic implications. These studies, while valuable, have not sufficiently explored Madjid's pedagogy through the lens of inclusive nationalism, moral philosophy, and civic participation, which is the focus of the present research.

This study's novelty lies in its contextualization of Nurcholish Madjid's educational vision within the framework of *wawasan kebangsaan* (national insight). By doing so, it repositions Madjid's educational ideas as a critical counter-narrative to both Islamic political exclusivism and secular nationalism. The study contributes to the academic discourse by not only examining Madjid's pedagogy as religious or modernist but as a foundational paradigm for civic virtue and national consciousness in postcolonial Indonesia. Unlike previous studies that focus solely on religious or sociopolitical aspects, this research explores how Madjid's ideas function as a tool for moral and civic nation-building.

Furthermore, this research bridges a significant gap in contemporary scholarship by integrating *wawasan kebangsaan* with the educational philosophy of Nurcholish Madjid, which remains underrepresented in the literature. As noted by recent studies (Afriadi et al., 2023; Mas'ud et al., 2023), civic education must address cultural diversity, moral integrity, and social justice to remain relevant in modern democracies. Madjid's vision aligns with these imperatives by offering an Indonesian model that integrates spiritual and civic values. Moreover, Madjid's rejection of the dichotomy between Islamic and secular education and his emphasis on moral universalism grounded in *tawhid* provide a framework that avoids both exclusivist Islamism and doctrinaire secularism, offering a comprehensive model for education in Indonesia's pluralistic society (Madjid, 1992).

Recent scholarly work, such as that by Sianala et al. (2024), reflects a growing recognition of the need to address the role of education in fostering inclusive nationalism. However, these studies often fall short of directly linking educational reform with nation-building, leaving a gap that this paper seeks to fill. By examining Madjid's educational model as a praxis of nationhood, this study contributes significantly to the body of literature on national identity formation through education, a theme that has largely been overlooked in previous academic work on Madjid's pedagogy.

This study draws primarily on the works of Karl Mannheim and Antonio Gramsci to analyze Nurcholish Madjid's educational Weltanschauung. Mannheim's *Sociology of Knowledge* (1952) offers a theoretical framework that views knowledge as socially conditioned and historically situated. Applying this to education, Mannheim's theory implies that Madjid's educational thought was shaped by Indonesia's post-independence context, particularly during the ideological turbulence of the New Order regime. By analyzing Madjid's ideas within this framework, this study explores how his pedagogy was influenced by the social, political, and historical contexts of Indonesia. Gramsci's concept of the *organic intellectual* (1971) is also central to this analysis. According to Gramsci, intellectuals are not detached thinkers but are embedded agents of transformation within society. Madjid, in this view, emerges not as a cleric confined to textual orthodoxy but as a public intellectual who mobilized Islamic ethics to reconfigure Indonesian civic consciousness. His institutional work, particularly at Universitas Paramadina and Madania School, exemplifies Gramsci's notion of intellectuals who bridge the masses and elite discourse, transforming civil society through cultural and moral leadership.

Moreover, the study integrates Mochtar Buchori's concept of *wawasan kebangsaan*, which adds a normative dimension to the framework. For Buchori (1995), national insight is not simply territorial loyalty but a philosophical orientation grounded in ethical pluralism, historical awareness, and democratic citizenship. This lens is crucial for understanding how Madjid's educational vision contributes to the formation of a civic nationalism that integrates religious and national values.

The primary objective of this research is to critically explore Nurcholish Madjid's educational Weltanschauung, which articulates a synthesis of Islamic ethical principles, modern rationality, and Indonesian national consciousness. By analyzing Madjid's educational

initiatives and institutions, such as Universitas Paramadina and Madania School, the study aims to demonstrate how these platforms function as strategic spaces for instilling inclusive nationalism and fostering civic responsibility among students and society at large. This research also seeks to examine Madjid's intellectual legacy through the lens of moral and civic nationalism, emphasizing how his ideas challenge sectarian boundaries and promote ethical citizenship. Ultimately, the study aims to offer a reflective critique on the relevance, influence, and contested interpretations of Madjid's educational philosophy within Indonesia's broader national discourse and its ongoing educational transformation.

The urgency of this research is underscored by the deepening crisis of civic nationalism in Indonesia. In the face of rising populism and ideological polarization, Madjid's emphasis on inclusive religiosity, civic morality, and democratic education provides a transformative framework for reimagining education as a moral and civic project. At a time when education systems globally are becoming more technocratic or ideologically rigid, Madjid's vision offers an alternative path that emphasizes moral and intellectual development aimed at fostering an inclusive and cohesive national identity.

Research Methods

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach with a critical historiographical methodology, seeking not only to reconstruct the past but also to critique and reinterpret the ideological and educational legacy of Nurcholish Madjid in the context of Indonesian nationalism. The choice of qualitative descriptive analysis is premised on its strength in capturing the complexity of ideas and their transformation across temporal and sociopolitical contexts. As such, this methodology allows for a nuanced reading of Madjid's educational thoughts, tracing their genealogical formation and ideological deployment within Indonesia's national discourse.

The research process follows four major stages of critical historiography: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiographical writing, aligning with established norms in historical research methodology (Gottschalk, 1975). The heuristic stage involved systematically locating primary and secondary sources, including rare publications, speeches, educational documents, and archival materials related to Madjid's institutional work from 1971 to 2002. These were supplemented with in-depth interviews with key informants such as Omi Komaria Madjid, Budhy Munawar Rachman, and Wahyuni Nafis, offering firsthand perspectives on the philosophical underpinnings and institutional expressions of Madjid's worldview.

The source criticism stage entailed rigorous external and internal evaluation of collected documents. External criticism focused on establishing the authenticity and credibility of documents, while internal criticism examined consistency, bias, and the author's ideological stance. This is particularly vital in dealing with ideologically charged figures like Nurcholish Madjid, whose works oscillate between Islamic reformism, political theology, and educational modernization.

Following this, interpretation was conducted using a multi theoretical lens. The primary framework is Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge, which posits that ideologies are not abstract constructs but are shaped by their historical social context (Mannheim, 1952). Mannheim's insight allows for the decoding of Madjid's epistemological commitments to rationality and pluralism within the turbulent political regimes of Orde Lama, Orde Baru, and Reformasi. Supplementing this is Antonio Gramsci's theory of the organic intellectual, emphasizing the intellectual's role in articulating the moral and cultural hegemony of civil society. Madjid is conceptualized here as an organic intellectual whose pedagogical initiatives

served to restructure Muslim civic consciousness, resisting both authoritarian secularism and theological dogmatism.

Lastly, the historiographical stage involved the construction of an interpretive narrative that integrates educational theory, nationalism, and Islamic reform thought. This stage involved writing a cohesive and critical narrative, incorporating contextual insights into Indonesian socio political developments, while maintaining a dialogic engagement with global theories of education and intellectual history.

The research draws heavily on authentic primary data: archival transcripts, Madjid's published works, oral histories, and institutional records. It is further enriched through critical engagement with international literature in Islamic education and nationalism studies. For instance, Morosini & Lins (2025) underscore the necessity of reimagining education as a space of ethical encounter in pluralistic societies, a premise that resonates with Madjid's call for inclusive, dialogic, and nonsectarian learning. Similarly, Masduki et al. (2025) argues that citizenship education in multicultural nations must intertwine moral reasoning and critical historical consciousness, principles deeply embedded in Madjid's project of Islamic educational humanism.

Results and Discussion

Weltanschauung Pendidikan Nurcholish Madjid: A Fusion of Islamic Universality and Inclusive Nationalism

Nurcholish Madjid, widely known as Cak Nur, was a pivotal figure in the intellectual reform of Indonesian Islam. His educational weltanschauung, rooted in a profound synthesis of Islamic values, modern rationality, and national consciousness, presents a compelling paradigm for a progressive and inclusive educational system in Indonesia. This worldview was neither incidental nor isolated from his personal experiences and institutional affiliations, but rather crystallized through a long trajectory of spiritual, academic, and ideological refinement. His educational journey from the pesantren milieu of Gontor, through active engagement in the Islamic Students Association (HMI), to the establishment of Paramadina University reflects a coherent and evolving vision of education as a liberative, integrative, and nation building endeavor.

Cak Nur's intellectual foundation was shaped significantly by his formative years at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor. The pesantren's ethos of discipline, pluralism, and non-sectarianism catalyzed his cosmopolitan outlook (Malik, 1992; Wisdom, 2022). It was here that Cak Nur internalized Islamic values alongside modern pedagogical practices. Notably, his early proficiency in multiple languages, Arabic, English, German, and Japanese, highlighted not only his intellectual aptitude but also his openness to intercultural epistemologies (Khobir et al., 2021). Such early exposures laid the groundwork for a synthetic approach that resisted dichotomies between East and West, tradition and modernity.

The HMI years were crucial in shaping Cak Nur's political and ideological consciousness. His authorship of the "Nilai-Nilai Dasar Perjuangan" (NDP) document in 1971 was a landmark in articulating an Islamic worldview that was both modernist and nationalist (Pratama, 2023; Sitompul, 2002). NDP was not simply a doctrinal statement but a manifestation of his desire to harmonize Islamic spirituality with civic nationalism. In this, Cak Nur diverged from dogmatic Islamism and instead advocated for what Gramsci (2020) would describe as "organic intellectualism", a form of engaged scholarship that actively transforms civil society through cultural and moral leadership. Cak Nur's intellectual activism aligns with Gramsci's model insofar as it sought to form a counter-hegemonic narrative to both secular authoritarianism and rigid political Islam.

At the heart of Cak Nur's educational weltanschauung lies the conviction that education is fundamentally a process of spiritual and social liberation. He critiqued colonial and post-colonial educational systems for either alienating individuals from their cultural religious roots or reducing education to mere technical rationality (Crisanto, 2024). Instead, he envisioned education as a dialogical space wherein human beings could attain spiritual autonomy and moral clarity. This vision resonates with Paulo Freire's (1970) concept of "conscientization," where education is the means by which the oppressed become aware of their condition and acquire the tools to transform it. Both thinkers regard education not as transmission but as transformation, an emancipatory praxis.

In his essay "Madrasah yang Tersendat", Cak Nur emphasized that education in Indonesia had failed to serve as a cohesive force capable of uniting a pluralistic society. He asserted that the dominance of doctrinaire models had hindered the development of critical and dialogic pedagogy. Accordingly, his institutional innovations were marked by a commitment to inclusivity, pluralism, and civic nationalism. The founding of Paramadina University and Global Sevilla International School stands as testament to this. These institutions were not merely spaces of instruction but were conceived as "moral communities" that nurtured intellectual honesty, democratic deliberation, and spiritual depth (Casadella & Tahi, 2025; Nuha et al., 2024).

Furthermore, Cak Nur consistently reiterated that Islam should be understood as a universal message, open to reinterpretation and dialogue. He argued that the divine message, while immutable in essence, must engage with the changing sociocultural conditions of its adherents (Ardiansyah & Alkosibati, 2024; Mawar & Sari, 2024). His universalist vision finds a parallel in Iner & Cufurovic (2022) notion of "Western Muslims and the Future of Islam," where Islam is envisioned as a dynamic faith rooted in universal values yet responsive to local contexts. In this light, Cak Nur's weltanschauung not only anticipates but transcends multiculturalist frameworks, offering a model of education that is both globally minded and locally anchored.

Importantly, his commitment to inclusive nationalism was not rhetorical but deeply embedded in his epistemology. In *Islam, Kemoderenan dan Keindonesiaan* (1987), Cak Nur argued that Islam in Indonesia had historically functioned as a "rallying ideology" against colonialism and should continue to serve as a moral force for national cohesion and democratic renewal. This idea aligns with Karl Mannheim's (1936) sociological insight that knowledge production is inherently situated and can function ideologically when it serves the interests of a particular group (Hammersley, 2021). However, for Cak Nur, the function of Islamic education is not to entrench ideological purity but to foster dialogic ethics and civic responsibility.

Cak Nur's approach to nationalism was also distinctively moral and spiritual. He rejected chauvinistic or exclusionary nationalism and instead proposed what might be termed "ethical nationalism," one that is grounded in tawhid (monotheism), justice, and mutual respect. His interpretation of the first principle of Pancasila, "Belief in the One and Only God", was not a call for theocracy but an affirmation of a moral metaphysics that undergirds civic life (Madjid, 1987). In his view, genuine nationalism must reflect divine values such as justice, compassion, and dignity. This outlook is supported by MacIntyre (2007) idea that moral traditions shape the telos of education and that educational institutions must be committed to forming virtuous citizens.

Through this lens, Cak Nur's weltanschauung is an attempt to reorient Indonesian education away from authoritarian instrumentalism and toward a framework of moral humanism. He understood education as the primary means of building a pluralistic and cohesive

nation state. His emphasis on *ihsan*, moral excellence, and his insistence on spiritual integrity as the basis of intellectual life mark him as a paradigmatic organic intellectual, who not only diagnoses the ills of his society but also proposes visionary and implementable solutions. This commitment was vividly reflected in his refusal to engage in partisan politics, choosing instead the path of intellectual independence, as he famously stated: “Islam Yes, Partai Islam No!”, a slogan that simultaneously critiqued the instrumentalization of religion and called for its moral renewal (Hayati et al., 2024; Madjid, 1987).

Development of Nurcholish Madjid's Educational Thought, 1971-2002

The evolution of Nurcholish Madjid's educational thought between 1971 and 2002 must be understood within the socio-political and intellectual context of Indonesia. The period under consideration witnessed significant political and cultural shifts, which in turn influenced Madjid's pedagogical vision. His educational ideas are not static; rather, they reflect both personal intellectual maturation and a response to the changing Indonesian political landscape. In 1971, Madjid's involvement with the Indonesian Islamic Students Association (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI) marked a crucial starting point in his intellectual journey. During this period, he became deeply involved in the discourse surrounding the modernization of Islam in Indonesia, which was tightly interwoven with the country's ongoing nation-building efforts (Pratama, 2023). In his early writings, Madjid positioned Islam as compatible with modernity, opposing the view of Islam as inherently opposed to progress. His seminal work *Nilai-Nilai Dasar Perjuangan* (Basic Struggle Values) outlined an Islam that was both modern and nationalistic, aiming to integrate Islamic ethics with Indonesia's post-colonial identity (Sitompul, 2002).

As the 1970s progressed, the New Order regime under Suharto sought to consolidate power by emphasizing a singular national ideology that sidelined religious pluralism in favor of state-led nationalism. This period saw Madjid increasingly focus on education as a means to challenge authoritarianism and narrow, sectarian interpretations of Islam. By the 1980s, Madjid's academic focus shifted towards creating an inclusive form of Islamic education that emphasized the integration of Islamic values with Indonesian nationalism. This development can be attributed to both the socio-political environment, which was marked by increasing authoritarian control, and Madjid's own personal experiences in the educational system (Crisanto, 2024). During this time, he argued for a reformed Islamic education that was not only pluralistic but also deeply aligned with democratic ideals, moving away from rigid, sectarian teachings (Madjid, 1987).

The 1990s were pivotal for Madjid as they marked the culmination of his educational ideas in institutional settings. In 1998, with the establishment of Universitas Paramadina, Madjid institutionalized his vision of an integrated education system. This was a critical moment in his thought, as it represented a synthesis of Islamic values, modern rationality, and Indonesian national consciousness. The university sought to produce not just academically proficient individuals but also morally grounded citizens capable of navigating Indonesia's pluralistic society (Personal interview with Budi Munawar Rachman, 2025). Madjid's educational philosophy during this time focused on moral education, national integrity, and the promotion of civic responsibility, particularly through courses that encouraged pluralism, ethics, and democratic participation (Atiyah & Sa'adah, 2024).

By the early 2000s, Madjid's educational thought had matured into a coherent framework that sought to bridge the gap between religion and national identity. His rejection of political Islam as a tool for power and his advocacy for Islam as a force for moral and social cohesion shaped his institutional contributions (Hayati et al., 2024). Madjid viewed education as an

essential tool for fostering a sense of civic responsibility and national unity, essential values in a society threatened by religious and ideological polarization (Geovasky, 2024). Through his work at Universitas Paramadina and the Nurcholish Madjid Society, Madjid continued to champion a vision of education that emphasized inclusivity, pluralism, and ethical citizenship, challenging both the secular authoritarianism of the New Order and the rise of religious exclusivism (Nasir, 2022).

Thus, the evolution of Madjid's educational thought from 1971 to 2002 reflects his responsiveness to the dynamic political climate in Indonesia, from the New Order's centralized control to the more democratized, yet ideologically fragmented, post-Suharto era. His ideas, rooted in an integrative approach to Islam and nationalism, offer a transformative vision for Indonesian education that continues to resonate today.

Inclusive Education and Institutional Implementation of Nurcholish Madjid's Vision

Nurcholish Madjid, widely known as Cak Nur, envisioned education not as a rigid transmission of dogma but as a liberatory and integrative process, capable of cultivating pluralist national identity in an increasingly fragmented society. Central to this vision was the implementation of inclusive and multicultural education models that could serve as instruments for strengthening national cohesion through humanistic values. In practice, this vision materialized through the founding and intellectual foundation of several educational institutions, *Universitas Paramadina*, Madania Progressive Indonesian School, and Global Sevilla International School, each embodying his philosophical commitment to pluralism, democratization of knowledge, and nation building through education (Madjid, 1995; Personal interview with Wahyuni Nafis, February 8, 2025)

At *Universitas Paramadina*, established in 1998, Madjid institutionalized his vision of integrating Islamic ethics, Indonesian nationalism, and modern rationalism into higher education. As noted by Dr. Budhy Munawar Rachman, the university offers a mandatory course titled *Nilai Hidup Paramadina* that internalizes Madjid's ideas on national integrity and multicultural citizenship (Atiyah & Sa'adah, 2024; Munawarsyah, 2023). The curriculum fosters an intellectual culture that is simultaneously critical, ethical, and inclusive, an academic ecosystem where Muslim and non-Muslim students engage equally, reflecting the pluralist values Madjid championed. This inclusive approach corresponds to the theory of moral cosmopolitanism, where the aim of education is to produce globally engaged citizens rooted in local traditions (Nuha et al., 2024).

Similarly, Madania Progressive Indonesian School, founded in 1996, embodies the practical realization of inclusive educational management and multicultural pedagogy. Led by Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, biographer of Cak Nur and former principal, Madania incorporates community participation, dialogical pedagogy, and moral education as its pillars. The school creates a dynamic space for students of various religious and ethnic backgrounds, promoting tolerance, collaboration, and civic responsibility. Nasir affirms that Madania's system is a "living laboratory" of Cak Nur's vision, integrating universal Islamic humanism with national educational values (Nasir, 2022). In this sense, Madania extends the Mannheimian notion of education as a socio-historical project that shapes collective consciousness through inclusive institutional frameworks (Mannheim, 1936).

Meanwhile, Global Sevilla International School, founded in 2002, represents the cosmopolitan dimension of Madjid's educational weltanschauung. Combining the Cambridge International Curriculum with Islamic and national character education, Global Sevilla ensures a balanced formation of globally competitive yet culturally grounded individuals. According to Omi Komaria Madjid, Cak Nur's daughter, the school emphasizes pluralism, mindfulness, and

democratic engagement, preparing students to be both moral agents and civic participants in a complex global world. The school's character education programs align closely with the global literature on inclusive schooling that advocates for emotional intelligence, intercultural competence, and ethical judgment (Müller et al., 2020).

The following table encapsulates the distinctive yet interrelated approaches of these three institutions as embodiments of Nurcholish Madjid's inclusive educational philosophy:

Table 1. Institutional Manifestations of Nurcholish Madjid's Inclusive Educational Philosophy

Institution	Year Founded	Core Philosophy	Implementation Highlights
Universitas Paramadina	1998	Integration of Islam, modernity, and nationalism	Compulsory course on <i>Nilai Hidup Paramadina</i> , lectures on pluralism, inclusive student body, civic-oriented curriculum
Madania School	1996	Community-based inclusive education, democratic participation, multicultural values	Student diversity, participatory teaching, character-based education, leadership rooted in Islamic and nationalist ethos
Global Sevilla	2002	Holistic education rooted in pluralism, national identity, and global competitiveness	Integration of international curriculum (Cambridge/IPC), character education, pluralist pedagogy, mindfulness programs

Source: Research data, 2025

Beyond structural analysis, Madjid's legacy in these institutions also reflects his deeper philosophical orientation towards education as moral nation building. He did not view education merely as a tool for social mobility or labor market preparation, but as a vehicle for cultivating *wawasan kebangsaan*, a civic consciousness that combines love of homeland with a universal moral outlook. This aligns with Antonio Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual, where the intellectual must emerge from and serve the needs of civil society, mediating between the state and the people to promote progressive hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). In Madjid's case, the educational institutions he founded or inspired were not neutral spaces but were epistemologically designed to challenge parochialism and religious exclusivism, particularly those dominant in conventional pesantren or state schools (Dian et al., 2022).

However, the realization of these ideals has not been without challenges. As highlighted in the thesis interviews, resistance from conservative groups and misunderstanding of Madjid's educational ideals have occasionally diluted or distorted their original vision. In the case of Nizamia Andalusia School, for example, initial efforts to integrate Cak Nur's inclusive pedagogy reportedly waned due to lack of commitment and understanding among implementers (Abdurrohim et al., 2024). This reflects a broader trend where the institutionalization of educational philosophy often faces obstacles not merely logistical but ideological, rooted in competing narratives of nationalism, religion, and modernity (Neumann, 2022).

The philosophical underpinning of these institutions reveals Madjid's strategic approach to reframe Indonesian education as an instrument of civilizational integration. Unlike reductionist models that either sacralize religious tradition or surrender entirely to Western pedagogies, Madjid constructed a hybrid paradigm that accommodates both. He was acutely aware that Indonesia's democratic future relied on an educated citizenry that respects pluralism while remaining anchored in local values. In this respect, his efforts predate and parallel global

discourses on education for sustainable development, where cultural inclusion and civic ethics are emphasized as much as STEM or literacy competencies (UNESCO, 2021).

Furthermore, Madjid's educational praxis confronts the persistent dualism in Indonesia's school systems between formal religious and secular national institutions. By creating integrative models like Paramadina and Madania, he challenged the legitimacy of this dichotomy and proposed a transcultural alternative that nurtures both faith and citizenship. His efforts thus provide a roadmap for decolonizing Indonesian pedagogy, reclaiming its humanist heritage while opening to global epistemologies (Abdurrohim et al., 2024; Ahmad et al., 2025).

The Moral and Intellectual Dimensions of Nationalism in Nurcholish Madjid's Educational Thought

Nurcholish Madjid, widely acknowledged as one of Indonesia's most influential Muslim intellectuals, reconceptualized the meaning of nationalism through a unique moral and epistemological framework. His thought transcended dogmatic religiosity, seeking instead to place Islamic ethics as the foundation of civic life and education. For Madjid, moral education was not auxiliary but central to the cultivation of national consciousness. His vision was profoundly shaped by the belief that moral transformation is a prerequisite for any meaningful project of nation-building (Madjid, 1987). In this regard, his interpretation of nationalism extended beyond formal symbols and institutions; it was a moral commitment to justice, pluralism, and human dignity.

From Madjid's perspective, the moral foundation of nationalism is built upon the theological principle of *Tauhid*, the oneness of God, which implies universal equality among human beings. This framework resonates with the notion of moral cosmopolitanism, wherein allegiance to one's nation must be anchored in ethical universalism (Hakim, 2016). He articulated this view in *Islam, Kemoderenan dan Keindonesiaan*, emphasizing that the Indonesian nation-state must be infused with ethical energy derived from religious values (Madjid, 1987). This moral underpinning was meant to combat both religious exclusivism and political authoritarianism, two enduring threats to Indonesia's plural democracy.

In his educational praxis, Madjid saw character formation (*akhlaq*) as the fundamental outcome of schooling. Drawing from Islamic pedagogical traditions and modern critical education theories, he sought to bridge rational inquiry with spiritual introspection. This aligns with contemporary educational thought that highlights the role of moral imagination and emotional intelligence in nation building (Munawarsyah, 2023). The failure to develop morally-grounded citizens, according to Madjid, would result in a hollow nationalism, marked by symbolic loyalty but devoid of substantive justice.

Madjid's moral framework was inseparable from his intellectual activism, a role that fits Antonio Gramsci's concept of the *organic intellectual*. Unlike traditional intellectuals who serve the ruling elite, organic intellectuals emerge from civil society and work toward its transformation (Gramsci, 1971). Madjid's departure from political partisanship, especially his controversial "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" slogan, underscored his commitment to elevating religion from being a mere political tool to becoming a civilizational ethic. His role in shaping the intellectual culture of *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (HMI) and institutions like Paramadina University illustrates his application of Gramsci's model: knowledge production directed not at reproducing power but at enabling emancipatory awareness.

Moreover, Madjid believed that the separation between religious and secular knowledge must be reconciled in Indonesian education. This belief is reflected in the pedagogical philosophy of *Universitas Paramadina*, where courses on ethics, nationalism, and pluralism are core requirements (Personal interview with Budi Munawar Rachman, February 8, 2025). His

model opposes the dichotomy between sacred and profane knowledge, advocating for integrative epistemology similar to post-secular educational frameworks that reject binary divisions between faith and reason (Hogan & Hussaini, 2017; Tahrus, 2022).

Equally significant is Madjid's insistence that education must serve the common good (*maslahat 'ammah*), not elite interests. This reflects his rejection of elitist, bureaucratic educational models prevalent during the New Order regime. Instead, he advocated for dialogical, inclusive pedagogy where knowledge is not transmitted top-down but co-constructed between educators and students. This commitment positioned him as an organic intellectual who mediated between the grassroots and intellectual circles, making abstract ideals accessible to the broader society. His conceptual framework also engaged critically with Indonesia's foundational ideology, Pancasila. Contrary to claims that Islam and Pancasila are incompatible, Madjid argued that Tauhid (Islamic monotheism) is fully compatible with the first principle of Pancasila, "*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*" (Belief in the One God). He saw this not merely as a theological statement but as an ethical orientation that animates all other aspects of the nation-state (Madjid, 1987). In doing so, Madjid challenged both secular nationalist interpretations of Pancasila and Islamist attempts to replace it. His position resonates with inclusive interpretations of civil religion as a unifying ethical discourse in plural societies (A. Fathoni, 2023). The integrative logic of Madjid's vision is summarized in the following table:

Table 2. Integration of Moral and Intellectual Aspects in Madjid's Nationalist Vision

Aspects	Core Ideas	Implementation
Moral	Tauhid as ethical egalitarianism;	Emphasis on character education, civic
Nationalism	pluralism as a religious imperative	ethics, and tolerance in schooling
Organic	Knowledge as emancipatory tool;	Role in HMI, creation of Paramadina,
Intellectuality	intellectual as social bridge	rejection of political Islam
Islam & Pancasila	Pancasila as ethical framework congruent with Islamic teachings	Integration of Islamic and national values in educational institutions

Source: Research data, 2025

This framework helped Madjid navigate the tension between religious orthodoxy and national unity. His approach exemplifies what Andreotti (2011) calls *transcultural educational praxis*, educational efforts that deconstruct ethnocentric binaries while cultivating rooted cosmopolitanism. For Madjid, Islamic identity and Indonesian nationalism were not mutually exclusive but mutually reinforcing. This vision is vital in today's era of identity politics, where nationalism is increasingly co-opted for exclusionary purposes. However, Madjid's ideals were not free from contestation. As documented in the thesis interviews, several attempts to institutionalize his educational philosophy, such as at Nizamia Andalusia School, faced ideological resistance. These challenges illustrate the structural and cultural inertia that often hampers educational reform. It reaffirms the observation that reformist intellectuals must not only offer alternative discourses but also devise institutional mechanisms for their sustainability (Senior et al., 2025).

Critical Reflections, Relevance, and Controversies in Nurcholish Madjid's Thought

Nurcholish Madjid, widely recognized as a transformative figure in Indonesian Islamic thought, has long been at the epicenter of intellectual contestation over the interplay between religion, nationalism, and education. His progressive reinterpretation of Islam and his commitment to the ideals of pluralism, democracy, and nationhood were both visionary and controversial. One of the most persistent tensions in his legacy lies in the dialectic between

secularization and spiritualization, a conceptual space that has both empowered and challenged contemporary Islamic discourse in Indonesia (Madjid, 1987). While Cak Nur never advocated for a secularism that divorces religion from public life, he nevertheless championed the demystification of Islam from rigid political entanglements. His famous dictum, “Islam Yes, Islamic Party No,” symbolized a pivot toward understanding Islam not as an exclusive ideological apparatus, but as a spiritual and moral reservoir for civic engagement (Madjid, 1987, 1992).

Critics from both Islamist and secularist camps have accused Madjid of oscillating ambiguously between religious authenticity and liberal universalism. The concern from conservative Muslim circles revolves around his embrace of secular language in theological debates. However, it is crucial to distinguish between secularization as a sociological process, wherein religious institutions adapt to modernity, and secularism as a normative doctrine that expels religion from public life (Husna, 2023). Madjid’s project, situated within the former, aligns more with what José Casanova termed “public religion,” where faith is revitalized within a plural civic space. He sought a reorientation of Islamic consciousness that prioritized ethics and human dignity over ritualistic formalism (Madjid, 1995). For Madjid, the spiritual essence of Islam was the animating force behind public morality and national solidarity, not an instrument for power accumulation.

In response to these theological tensions, the establishment of the Nurcholish Madjid Society (NMS) has played a pivotal role in preserving and extending his intellectual legacy. Founded as a think tank and platform for disseminating Cak Nur’s teachings, NMS serves as an institutional bridge between academic communities, civil society, and policymakers. Through seminars, publications, and educational outreach, the foundation perpetuates Madjid’s vision of education as the axis of moral nation building. The Society emphasizes values such as openness (*al-infitah*), critical reason (*al-‘aql al-naqid*), and civic consciousness (*muwathana*), aligning with broader discourses in Islamic educational reform (M. Fathoni & Mahalli, 2024; Maulana et al., 2024). Yet, the foundation itself is not immune to the fragmentation and identity politics that characterize Indonesia’s contemporary socio-political landscape. The table below synthesizes the multiple poles of engagement, criticism, and projection related to Madjid’s educational philosophy:

Table 3. Analytical Dimensions of Nurcholish Madjid’s Thought: Tensions, Legacies, and Global Resonance

Dimension	Observations	Key Actors / Responses
Secularization vs. Spiritualization Pluralism	Interpreted as reconciling Islamic ethics with modern civil life Promotes religious tolerance and mutual recognition	Praised by liberal Muslims; criticized by Islamists as ‘liberal deviation’ Applauded by interfaith groups; criticized as relativist by some theologians
Institutional Legacy	Via NMS and Paramadina, continued moral-institutional reform of Islamic education	Academics and civil society actors sustain his legacy
Global Relevance	Ideas intersect with global discourses on civic education, religious pluralism, and pedagogy	UNESCO, OECD, and academic networks

Source: Research data, 2025

One of the persistent critiques leveled at Madjid's notion of pluralism is its alleged moral relativism. Conservative voices argue that his call to acknowledge the validity of other religious traditions undermines Islamic doctrinal exclusivity (Dian et al., 2022). However, Madjid's pluralism was not epistemic relativism, but a civic imperative rooted in Qur'anic injunctions of justice and coexistence (Q.S. Al-Hujurat: 13). This vision echoes global normative shifts in interreligious dialogue and peace education, where tolerance is not merely passive acceptance but active engagement in shared ethical values (Geovasky, 2024). Moreover, his interpretation of Islam's universality reflects the *maqasid al-shariah* (higher objectives of Islamic law), which prioritizes human dignity, justice, and social cohesion, principles that are foundational in Islamic legal and ethical philosophy (Abdulhameed, 2021).

From a Gramscian perspective, Madjid represents the archetype of the "organic intellectual", an intellectual embedded in the life-world of his people and engaged in shaping cultural hegemony through education (Gramsci, 1971). Rather than maintaining an elitist detachment, Cak Nur worked to democratize knowledge by translating abstract Islamic ethics into actionable educational and civic frameworks. He functioned as a cultural mediator between tradition and modernity, religious particularism and national universalism. His educational endeavors sought to deconstruct the binaries of sacred versus profane, traditional versus modern, and Islamic versus nationalist, a conceptual architecture that remains critically relevant in today's Indonesia.

Despite his monumental influence, the institutionalization of Madjid's ideas has encountered formidable challenges. Many Islamic universities still operate within bureaucratic and epistemological constraints that limit curricular innovation. Furthermore, the increasing politicization of religion, exemplified by identity based populism, has made it more difficult to sustain Madjid's inclusive ethos in public discourse. These trends threaten to reduce his intellectual legacy to selective quotation or ceremonial appropriation, detached from its transformative substance (Rachman, 2025). In this context, the Nurcholish Madjid Society must not only preserve but also actively reinterpret his work in light of emergent sociopolitical and pedagogical challenges.

Globalization adds another layer of complexity to the sustainability of Madjid's vision. The global education agenda today is increasingly shaped by market driven logics, often emphasizing technocratic competencies over ethical and civic literacy (Putra et al., 2024). Yet, Madjid's ideas offer a counter narrative, that education must not only produce skilled labor but morally grounded citizens capable of critical reflection, interfaith coexistence, and national stewardship. His concept of "Islamic modernity" parallels the human development goals articulated by institutions such as UNESCO, particularly in its emphasis on sustainable, inclusive, and intercultural education (UNESCO, 2021)

Moreover, Cak Nur's engagement with Pancasila, Indonesia's foundational ideology, reflects his strategic accommodation of religious pluralism within a unifying civic framework. He viewed the first principle of Pancasila, Belief in One Almighty God, not as theological coercion but as a moral foundation that legitimizes multiple religious expressions within a singular civic identity (Madjid, 1987). In contrast to both rigid secularism and exclusive theocracy, Madjid's model offered a middle path, consistent with the aspirations of Indonesia's constitutional pluralism. This framework prefigures international discussions on how national ideologies can integrate religious diversity without succumbing to fragmentation or homogenization (Dian et al., 2022; Ramadhan & Asyari, 2023).

To maintain the continuity and relevance of Madjid's ideas, especially in a digital and post-pandemic era, new interpretative communities must emerge. These communities, comprising educators, civic leaders, and digital influencers, should translate his philosophical

principles into practical curricula, civic education modules, and interfaith dialogue platforms. Without such institutional and cultural regeneration, the radical potential of his thought may be lost to performative tokenism or academic abstraction. Indeed, sustainability in this context requires both structural mechanisms and epistemic vigilance.

Conclusion

This study critically explored Nurcholish Madjid's educational thought within the framework of Indonesian *wawasan kebangsaan* (national insight), revealing a transformative vision that integrates Islamic ethics, modern rationality, and inclusive nationalism. The evolution of Madjid's ideas from 1971 to 2002 reflects a dynamic response to Indonesia's changing socio-political landscape, particularly the shifts from the New Order's centralized control to the more democratized post-Suharto era. Madjid's thought, initially grounded in the modernization of Islam and its reconciliation with Indonesia's national identity, progressed toward an inclusive and pluralistic educational model that emphasized moral and civic values, bridging religious ethics with democratic ideals. His founding of institutions like Universitas Paramadina and Madania School illustrates how his educational philosophy was institutionalized, promoting a vision of education as a liberatory process that fosters critical thinking, moral integrity, and civic responsibility. Madjid's vision of *ethical nationalism*, grounded in the theological principle of *tauhid* (monotheism), calls for a national identity that is pluralistic, justice-oriented, and deeply rooted in both Islamic values and democratic principles, providing a moral framework for educational reform in Indonesia. However, the challenges of institutionalizing his inclusive pedagogy, such as resistance from conservative groups and ideological misunderstandings, highlight the complexities involved in educational transformation. Despite these challenges, Madjid's ideas remain deeply relevant in addressing Indonesia's current educational and ideological fragmentation. His commitment to integrating religious values with national identity continues to offer a crucial counter-narrative to both sectarianism and rigid secularism, fostering a balanced, pluralist approach to education. The study also underscores the need for further research into the global resonance of Madjid's educational thought, particularly in how it intersects with contemporary debates on pluralism, civic engagement, and interfaith dialogue in global educational contexts. For policymakers, educators, and institutions, Madjid's framework offers valuable insights for fostering inclusive, morally grounded education systems that are essential for nation-building and social cohesion in an increasingly complex global landscape. Future research should focus on revitalizing his ideas in the digital era and exploring practical applications in diverse cultural and political contexts

References

- Abdulhameed, N. M. (2021). Ethical Dimension of Maqasid al-Shari'ah and its Implication to Human Capital Development. *IJISH (International Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities)*, 4(1), 20–31. <https://doi.org/10.26555/ijish.v4i1.2621>.
- Abdurrohim, Sholeh, M., Fuad, Z. A., & Zaini, A. (2024). Paradigm of Educational Modernization Nurcholish Madjid Perspective and Relevance to the Merdeka Belajar Concept. *ATTARBIYAH: Journal of Islamic Culture and Education*, 9(1), 29–41. <https://doi.org/10.18326/attarbiyah.v9i1.29-41>.
- Afriadi, B., Komarudin, K., & Dudung, A. (2023). Development of Citizenship Education in Indonesian. *International Journal of Business, Law, and Education*, 4(2), 435–447. <https://doi.org/10.56442/ijble.v4i2.188>.

- Ahmad, H. F., Sadewa, G., Anggraini, R. D., Hady, M. S., Susilowati, S., & Asrori, M. (2025). Dualism of Islamic Education Identities in Indonesia: Schools and Madrasah. *Jurnal Ilmiah Profesi Pendidikan*, 10(2), 1273–1279. <https://doi.org/10.29303/jipp.v10i2.3325>
- Amri, R., & Wasehudin. (2022). Nurcholish Madjid: Konsep Modernisasi Pendidikan Islam. *QATHRUNA: Jurnal Keilmuan dan Pendidikan Islam*, 9(1), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.32678/qathruna.v9i1.5971>.
- Andreotti, V. (2011). *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education*. Springer.
- Ardiansyah, A., & Alkosibati, A. (2024). The Social Relevance of Ḥassān Ḥanafī's and Nurcholish Madjid's Thoughts: A Sociological Analysis in the Context of Islam in Indonesia. *Jurnal Indo-Islamika*, 14(1), 153–168. <https://doi.org/10.15408/jii.v14i1.39772>.
- Arifin, F., Tedjabuwana, R., Wiyono, S., & Abdullah, M. b. (2025). Indonesia's identity politics and populism: Disruption to national cohesion. *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, 22(1), 166–175. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v22i1.1291>.
- Atiyah, K., & Sa'adah, N. (2024). Internalizing Inclusive Islamic Values at Muslim OI Bura: A Counseling Conceptual. *Ijtima'iyya: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam*, 17(1), 21–42. <https://doi.org/10.24042/ijpmi.v17i1.20723>.
- Buchori, M. (1995). *Pembangunan Pendidikan*. IKIP Muhammadiyah.
- Casadella, V., & Tahi, S. (2025). Inclusive national innovation systems: rethinking institutions in the light of inclusion imperatives. *Journal of Institutional Economics*, 21, e2. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1744137425000025>.
- Crisanto, I. A. (2024). Liberation Theology in Indonesia: The Role of Cak Nun and Maiyah Community in Social Transformation. *Abrahamic Religions: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 4(2), 109–122. <https://doi.org/10.22373/arj.v4i2.23663>.
- Dian, D., Masripah, I., Purwandani, D., Maliki, D. N. M., & Pane, F. A. (2022). Nurcholish Madjid's Perspective About Thought of Religious Pluralism. *Munaddhomah: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 3(2), 139–148. <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v3i2.242>.
- Fathoni, A. (2023). Islam and Neo-Modernism in Indonesia: Revisiting Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought on Civil Society (D. A. Pratama, trans.). *Al'Adalah*, 26(2), 155–173. <https://doi.org/10.35719/aladalah.v26i2.371>.
- Fathoni, M., & Mahalli, K. (2024). Rekonstruksi Pendidikan Islam di Era Society 5.0: Telaah Kritis terhadap Konsep Pendidikan Islam Humanis. *Al-Adalah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Politik Islam*, 26(2), 155–173. <https://doi.org/10.35673/ajmpi.v26i2.41072>.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum. New York.
- Geovasky, I. (2024). Peace Spirituality through Interreligious Engagement: A Case of Education to Toleration and Peace Spirituality in Yogyakarta. *Journal of Ethics in Higher Education*, 5, 183–198. <https://doi.org/10.26034/fr.jehe.2024.6870>.
- Gottschalk, L. (1975). *Mengerti Sejarah* (N. Notosusanto (Trans.)). Yayasan Penerbit Universitas Indonesia.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. International Publishers.

- Gramsci, A. (2020). Selections from the Prison Notebooks. In *The Applied Theatre Reader* (pp. 141–142). Routledge.
- Hakim, D. L. (2016). Monotheisme Radikal: Telaah atas Pemikiran Nurcholish Madjid. *Jurnal Theologia*, 25(2), 81–102. <https://doi.org/10.21580/teo.2014.25.2.383>.
- Hammersley, Martyn. (2021). Karl Mannheim's Ideology and Utopia and the public role of sociology. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 22(2), 176–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X20986382>.
- Hayati, R., Hasibuan, M., & Nasution, S. (2024). Implementation of Spiritual Intelligence Values Based on Maqashid Syariah in Increasing Student Learning Motivation at UIN North Sumatra Medan. *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 24(2), 201–226. <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v24i2.23754>.
- Hogan, J. P., & Hussaini, S. H. (Akhlaq) (Eds.). (2017). *The Secular and the Sacred: Complementary and/or Conflictual?* (Vol. 35). Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.
- Huda, S., Muhammad, H., & Susandi, A. (2022). Konsep Pendidikan Islam Multikultural Dalam Pandangan KH. Abdurrahman Wahid Dan Nurcholish Madjid. *Jurnal Pendidikan & Konseling (JPDK)*, 4(2), 2685–9351. <https://doi.org/10.31004/jpdk.v4i2.3983>.
- Husna, I. (2023). Nurcholish Madjid's Quran-Based Concept of Critical Pluralism. *QIJIS: Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, 11(1), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v11i1.13804>.
- Iner, D., & Cufurovic, M. (2022). Moving beyond binary discourses: Islamic universalism from an Islamic revivalist movement's Point of View. *Religions (Basel)*, 13(9), 821. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13090821>.
- Khobir, A., Rosalina, K., Hasanah, F. N., & Rif'iyati, D. (2021). Multicultural Islamic Education: Gus Dur and Cak Nur Perspectives. *Social Sciences and Education Research Review*, 8(2), 119–139. <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=1059997>.
- Khunaifi, A., & Sarasati, R. (2023). The Democratisation of Islamic Education: A Study of Two Islamic Schools in Central Java. *Nadwa: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 17(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.21580/nw.2023.17.1.14918>.
- MacIntyre, A. (2007). *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- Madjid, N. (1987). *Islam, Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan*. Mizan.
- Madjid, N. (1992). *Pluralisme dalam Islam*. Paramadina.
- Madjid, N. (1995). *Islam Agama Peradaban: Membangun Makna dan Relevansi Doktrin Islam Dalam Sejarah*. Penerbit Paramadina.
- Malik, D. D. (1992). *Studi Pemikiran Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia Periode 1980-1990*.
- Mannheim, K. (1952). *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Mas' ud, M., Indriani, D. E., & Sahid, M. (2023). The Role of Civic Education in Shaping the Character of Students at Al Hikam Islamic Boarding School, Bangkalan. *Jurnal Pendidikan PKN (Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan)*, 5(2), 207–224. <https://doi.org/10.26418/jppkn.v5i2.82694>.

- Masduki, Arfanaldy, S. R., Pamuncak, M. B., & Fahmi. (2025). Urgency of multicultural education in building a civil society: *Int. J. Islam. Thought. Humanit.*, 4(1), 117–129. <https://doi.org/10.54298/ijith.v4i1.399>.
- Maulana, A. R., Wiguna, A. S., Solichin, M. F., & Syahbudi, M. R. (2024). Islamic Education And Democracy: Harmonizing Faith And Civic Engagement. *RISOMA: Jurnal Riset Sosial Humaniora Dan Pendidikan*, 2(4), 185–199. <https://doi.org/10.62383/risoma.v2i4.141>.
- Mawar, A., & Sari, R. P. (2024). Religious Inclusivism in Al-Qur'an from the Perspective of Nurcholish Madjid. *FALSAFATUNA: Jurnal Aqidah Dan Filsafat Islam*, 1(2), 19–29. <https://jurnallppm.iaiasadiyah.ac.id/index.php/falsafatuna/article/view/147>.
- Mawardi, K. (2024). Dynamics of Multiculturalism and Religious Pluralism: Strategies for Building Social Cohesion in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Philosophy and Religion*, 3(1), 45–62. <https://doi.org/10.55927/ajpr.v3i1.10130>.
- Morosini, A., & Lins, M. J. S. da C. (2025). Ethical relativism and moral pluralism in education. *Rev. Bras. Educ.*, 30. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s1413-24782025300024>.
- Müller, F., Denk, A., Lubaway, E., Sälzer, C., Kozina, A., Perše, T. V., Rasmusson, M., Jugović, I., Nielsen, B. L., Rozman, M., Ojsteršek, A., & Jurko, S. (2020). Assessing social, emotional, and intercultural competences of students and school staff: A systematic literature review. *Educational Research Review*, 29, 100304. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2019.100304>.
- Munawarsyah, M. (2023). Islamic Education in the Modern Era: Analysis of Student Character and Their Role in Facing the Challenges of Industry 4.0. *HEUTAGOGIA: Journal of Islamic Education*, 3(2), 141–154. <https://doi.org/10.14421/hjie.2023.32-01>.
- Nasir, M. (2022). Values of Character Education in Nurcholish Madjid's Biography and Their Relevance to Akidah Akhlak Subjects (Study Cak Nur's book, *Sang Guru Bangsa* by Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis). *The International Journal of Education Management and Sociology*, 1(2).
- Nasril, N., Yunus, M., Chik, W. M. Y. W., & Fadzli, A. I. M. (2025). Patterns and Development of Islamic Education in Andalusia and Sicily. *IJORER : International Journal of Recent Educational Research*, 6(1), 218–237. <https://doi.org/10.46245/ijorer.v6i1.759>.
- Neumann, Eszter. (2022). Education for a Christian nation: Religion and nationalism in the Hungarian education policy discourse. *European Educational Research Journal*, 22(5), 646–665. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14749041211072691>.
- Nuha, M. U., Fihris, & Astuti, N. Y. (2024). Islamic Education Overcoming Social Conflicts in Society in the 5.0 Era: An Analysis of Nurcholish Madjid's Thoughts (Cak Nur). *J-PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 11(1), 73–88. <https://doi.org/10.18860/jpai.v11i1.28874>.
- Personal interview with Budi Munawar Rachman, February 8, 2025.
- Personal interview with Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, February 8, 2025.
- Pratama, D. A. (2023). Islam and Neo-Modernism in Indonesia: Revisiting Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought on Civil Society. *Al'Adalah*, 26(2), 155–173. <https://doi.org/10.35719/aladalah.v26i2.371>.
- Putra, R. S., Rusiadi, I., Marzuki, M., Ahmad, A., & Sahiron, S. (2024). Education in the

- Prophetic Tradition and Its Relevance to the Development of Students' Personality in Islamic Universities. *International Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities*, 8(1), 23–34. <https://doi.org/10.26555/ijish.v8i1.74305>.
- Ramadhan, D., & Asyari, A. (2023). Implementasi Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam Dalam Meningkatkan Akhlak Siswa. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam Al-Thariqah*, 8(1), 25–42. [https://doi.org/10.25299/al-thariqah.2023.vol8\(1\).12282](https://doi.org/10.25299/al-thariqah.2023.vol8(1).12282).
- Senior, D. D., Singh, G., Verma, J., Dey, T., Kapoor, P., Lalrinkima, & Haqqani, M. H. (2025). Institutional Reform in Education: Aligning Curriculum with Sustainable Infrastructure Development. *Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development*, 9(1), 10467. <https://doi.org/10.24294/jipd10467>.
- Sianala, F., Patmawati, S. A., Gaite, T., Sapulette, M. S., & Ansiska, P. (2024). Evaluating Civics and Religious Education: Foundations for Enhancing Students' National Intelligence. *Al-Ishlah: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 16(3), 3278–3288. <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v16i3.5459>
- Sitompul, A. (2002). *Menyatu Dengan Umat Menyatu Dengan Bangsa*. Logos.
- Supratikno, A. (2023). Politik Identitas Dikaji Dari Perspektif Sosio-Historis Pembentukan Identitas Nasional Indonesia: -. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Dan Teologi Indonesia*, 1(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.24246/sami.vol1i1pp1-22>.
- Tahrus, Z. N. H. (2022). The Coexistence of Faith and Reason: Habermas' Theoretical Framework of the Post-Secular Society. *Masyarakat, Jurnal Sosiologi*, 27(2), Article 19. <https://doi.org/10.7454/MJS.v27i2.13552>
- UNESCO. (2021). *Inclusive Education: Policies and Practices for a Sustainable Future*. UNESCO.
- Wisdom, K. (2022). *State, Religion, and the Public Good: An Examination of Nurcholish Madjid in Constructing Civil Religious Pluralism as Political Philosophy*. Middlesex University/Oxford Centre for Mission Studies (OCMS).