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Between 'Ibādah and Mu'āmalah: A Comparative Madhhab and Maqāṣid al-Sunnah Analysis of Interfaith Salam in Indonesia

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Abstract

The Indonesian controversy over *Salam Lintas Agama* (SLA), intensified by the 2024 *Ijtima'* Ulama fatwa declaring Muslim participation in multi-religious greeting formulae impermissible, is commonly read either as a sociological problem of tolerance or as a settled doctrinal question. Existing scholarship has not adequately examined SLA as a contemporary *mas'alah fiqhiyyah ijtihādiyyah* whose legal evaluation depends on its *takyif* (juristic characterization), whether positioned as 'ibādah, mu'āmalah, or *tahīyyah ijtīmā'īyyah*, and on the *uṣūlī* methods used across competing schools. This article addresses that gap. Employing a qualitative study of the SLA controversy as a national discourse, this research draws on in-depth interviews with key informants purposively sampled across several Indonesian locations (Jakarta, Bandung, Tana Toraja, and Papua) to capture maximum variation in actor positions, triangulated with classical *fiqh* literature, the 2019 MUI Jawa Timur *taushiyah*, and the 2024 fatwa. Three complementary lenses structure the analysis: Social Identity Theory maps boundary-work activated by SLA; Hayden's antagonistic tolerance characterizes its public-space dynamics; and *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* reading of the prophetic *ḥadīth* on greeting provides the normative interpretive frame. Findings show that SLA is classified as 'ibādah when foregrounded as a doctrinal speech-act invoking divine attributes, and as mu'āmalah/*tahīyyah ijtīmā'īyyah* when foregrounded as civic recognition; the shift is governed by *niyyah*, *'urf*, *maṣlaḥah*, and *sadd al-ẓarā'i*. The article contributes to comparative madhhab scholarship by demonstrating that the SLA dispute is fundamentally a methodological disagreement among *fiqh* schools. Respectful silence (*ṣamt al-tawaqqur*), universal greetings (*tahīyyah kulliyyah*), and communicative clarification emerge as *Maqāṣid*-consonant pathways honoring both doctrinal integrity and civic coexistence.

Keywords: Comparative Madhhab; Interfaith Greetings; Ibadah; Muamalah; Maqasid al-Sunnah.



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source are properly credited.

Abstract

Kontroversi Salam Lintas Agama (SLA) di Indonesia, yang mengemuka pasca fatwa Ijtima' Ulama 2024 tentang ketidakbolehan partisipasi Muslim dalam formula salam multi-agama, lazim dibaca sebagai persoalan sosiologis tentang toleransi atau sebagai persoalan doktrinal yang sudah selesai. Literatur yang ada belum cukup mengkaji SLA sebagai mas'alah fihiyyah ijtihādiyyah kontemporer yang evaluasi hukumnya bergantung pada takyif-nya, apakah diposisikan sebagai ibadah, muamalah, atau taḥiyyah ijtīmā'īyyah, dan pada metode-metode uṣūlī yang dipakai di antara mazhab-mazhab yang berbeda. Artikel ini mengisi celah itu. Dengan desain kualitatif yang memperlakukan kontroversi SLA sebagai satu wacana nasional, kajian ini bersandar pada wawancara mendalam dengan informan kunci yang dipilih secara purposif di beberapa lokasi di Indonesia (Jakarta, Bandung, Tana Toraja, dan Papua) untuk menangkap variasi maksimum posisi aktor, dan ditriangulasi dengan literatur fikih klasik, taushiyah MUI Jawa Timur 2019, serta fatwa 2024. Tiga lensa saling melengkapi menstrukturkan analisis yaitu Teori Identitas Sosial memetakan kerja-batas yang diaktifkan oleh SLA, Toleransi Antagonistik Hayden mencirikan dinamika ruang publiknya, dan pembacaan Maqāṣid al-Sunnah atas hadis-hadis salam menyediakan kerangka interpretatif normatifnya. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa SLA diklasifikasikan sebagai ibadah ketika ditonjolkan sebagai tindak-tutur doktrinal yang menyeru nama-nama Ilahi, dan sebagai mu'āmalah/taḥiyyah ijtīmā'īyyah ketika ditonjolkan sebagai pengakuan sipil; pergeseran ini ditentukan oleh niyyah, 'urf, maṣlaḥah, dan sadd al-ẓarā'i'. Artikel ini berkontribusi pada kajian perbandingan mazhab dengan menunjukkan bahwa sengketa SLA, pada dasarnya, adalah ketidaksepakatan metodologis di antara mazhab fikih. Respectful silence (ṣamt al-tawaqqur), salam universal (taḥiyyah kulliyyah), dan klarifikasi komunikatif muncul sebagai jalan yang selaras dengan Maqāṣid untuk menjaga integritas doktrinal dan koeksistensi sipil sekaligus.

Keywords: Perbandingan mazhab; Salam Lintas Agama; Ibadah; Muamalah; Maqāṣid al-Sunnah.

Introduction

The practice of Interfaith Greetings (*Salam Lintas Agama*, hereafter SLA) (They are: Islamic (*Assalāmu 'alaikum waraḥmatullāh wabarakātuh*), Christian (*Shalom*), Catholic (*Salam Sejahtera*), Hindu (*Om Swastiastu*), Buddhist (*Namo Buddhāya*), and Confucian (*Salam Kebajikan/Wei De Dong Tian*), has become one of the most contested symbols of religious tolerance in contemporary Indonesia. Consisting of consecutive invocations drawn from all six recognized religions, SLA has been institutionalized as a standard opening formula in formal state settings (Rahman et al., 2025). This practice reflects Indonesia's constitutional commitment to pluralism and the state's ongoing project of religious moderation as a mechanism for managing socio-religious diversity (Riady & Amri, 2025; Saefullah et al., 2025). Yet SLA simultaneously functions as a social identity marker that can threaten the very tolerance it performs (Barbato, 2020). It can affirm religious identity and heighten negative sentiment toward adherents of other religions, strengthening group boundaries and triggering intolerance (Ciftci et al., 2016). This underscores that religious identification in the social sphere remains a “double-edged sword”, capable of improving interfaith relations while simultaneously damaging them (Kanas et al., 2016).

The inclusivity that SLA performs has generated significant institutional controversy. Two major rulings have framed the national debate: the 2019 advisory

(*taushiyah*) of MUI Jawa Timur (Nasution et al., 2025) and the 2024 ruling of the National Commission on Fatwa (*Ijtimā' Ulama' Komisi Fatwa se-Indonesia VIII*). Both documents declared that delivering the salutary formulae of other religions constitutes an impermissible mixing of doctrinal worship acts (*'ubudiyyah*), with the 2024 fatwa explicitly categorizing it as *ḥarām* (Kaunda et al., 2025). These rulings have provoked sustained counter-responses from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Nahdlatul Ulama leadership, and multi-religious civil society organizations, sustaining a polarized national discourse that intersects theology, law, and social politics (Margiansyah et al., 2025). The 2024 fatwa rests on a chain of methodological choices, the *takyīf* of SLA as *'ibādah* inseparable from doctrinal sincerity, the deployment of *sadd al-ẓarā'i'* to forestall syncretic confusion, and a restrictive reading of *qiyās* drawn from narrations on *ibtidā' al-salām*. At the heart of this controversy lies a fundamental question of *fiqh* classification, whether SLA falls under *'ibādah*, *mu'āmalah*, or *taḥiyyah ijtimā'iyyah*, a question this article takes up directly.

Within classical Islamic jurisprudence, greeting religious others is a long-established but unsettled question. It turns on an apparent tension between two bodies of prophetic evidence, the general injunction to spread peace (*afsyū al-salām*) and the Qur'anic command to return any greeting in kind (Q. 4:86), set against narrations restricting the initiation (*ibtidā'*) of the Islamic greeting toward Jews and Christians (Nurunnasikin et al., 2025). Classical commentators read the latter not as a blanket prohibition but as evidence requiring reconciliation, the dominant resolution tying the restriction to contexts of hostility rather than to civility as such. In negotiating this tension, the four Sunni schools diverge less in their conclusions than in the methodological instrument each foregrounds for contextual accommodation, *ḥājah* and *'urf*, *istiṣlāḥ* and *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursalah*, textual adherence, or *sadd al-ẓarā'i'*. This juristic plurality, examined in detail below, is not a relic of the past; it is the very vocabulary through which contemporary Indonesian *fiqh* deliberates SLA (Andriana, 2018; Haris, 2020).

SLA, however, is not a straightforward instance of this classical question. The classical *khilāf* concerns extending the Islamic *salām* to a non-Muslim; SLA poses a compound question, whether a Muslim may recite the salutary formulae proper to other religions within a civic-ceremonial setting. Three registers are therefore at stake and should be kept distinct, namely *salām* as devotional expression, *taḥiyyah* as social etiquette, and interfaith greeting as a civic practice of public recognition. Because the practice is genuinely new (*mustaḥdaṣah*), the schools furnish no ready-made ruling, only the tools through which one must be reasoned. The decisive question becomes one of *takyīf* (legal characterization) the 2024 *Ijtimā' Ulama* fatwa characterizes SLA as *'ibādah* and deploys *sadd al-ẓarā'i'* accordingly (Sholeh et al., 2024), whereas characterizing it as *mu'āmalah* or *taḥiyyah ijtimā'iyyah* yields a markedly different range of permissibility. The

controversy is therefore not finally a theological-political quarrel but a methodological *fiqh* debate over the *takyīf* of an emerging social practice (Jubba et al., 2024).

Despite considerable scholarly attention to interfaith relations in Indonesia, covering dialogue (Agustin, 2019; Bukido et al., 2021), religious moderation (Daheri et al., 2023; Hanafi et al., 2023; Qorib & Umiarso, 2025), and interfaith *Maqāṣid* syncretism (Prihantoro, 2025), the specific phenomenon of SLA as a site of socio-religious identity contestation remains understudied. Existing research has predominantly employed either theological-normative (Haris, 2020) or communicative frameworks (Bouchara, 2015; Barbato, 2020), with limited attention to the intersection of social identity dynamics, antagonistic tolerance, and the prophetic *Maqāṣid* of greetings. Recent scholarly engagement with the 2024 MUI fatwa (Dharta et al., 2025; Kaunda et al., 2025; Rahman et al., 2025) has not systematically examined how everyday actors negotiate SLA at the intersection of identity, ritual, and civic belonging, nor has any study examined the dispute as a comparative madhhab methodological problem in which competing *uṣūlī* commitments produce divergent legal characterizations of the same public practice.

This study addresses that gap by applying an integrated analytical framework combining Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner's Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) with Robert Hayden's Antagonistic Tolerance and Shared/Mixed Space theory (Hayden, 2002), supplemented by a *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* approach to the prophetic teaching on greeting. Analysing qualitative interview data from informants purposively sampled across multiple Indonesian locations to maximize variation in religious affiliation, institutional role, and majority–minority position, this study pursues three research questions: (1) How do identity dynamics and antagonistic tolerance shape the negotiation of SLA among Indonesian interfaith actors? (2) What normative framework does a *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* reading of the prophetic teaching on greeting offer for navigating SLA? (3) How does a comparative madhhab reading illuminate the *takyīf* of SLA between 'ibādah and mu'āmalah? The article argues that the legal controversy over SLA depends fundamentally on its *fiqh* classification, and proposes *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* as a normative framework for navigating SLA in Indonesia's plural public life, contributing to comparative-*māẓhab* scholarship by demonstrating that this dispute is, at root, a methodological disagreement among Sunni schools over adjudicating emerging practices in Muslim-majority plural societies.

Methods

This study employs a qualitative, interpretive research design that treats the national controversy over *Salam Lintas Agama* (SLA) as a single bounded case of contested religious practice in a plural society. Rather than a multisite comparative design, the study

analyses SLA as one discursive phenomenon negotiated by differently positioned actors across Indonesia. To capture both the lived negotiation of SLA and its juristic stakes, the design integrates two complementary strands of data, namely primary empirical data from in-depth interviews with key informants, and juristic-textual data drawn from classical and contemporary *fiqh* literature, *ḥadīth* commentaries, and institutional fatwas. The first strand illuminates how SLA is experienced and contested in plural public life; the second situates these experiences within the comparative madhhab reasoning through which Islamic law evaluates the practice.

Informants were recruited through purposive sampling guided by a maximum-variation logic. Recruitment began with documented public actors in the SLA debate and proceeded through snowball referral, with each successive selection chosen to widen variation across religious affiliation, institutional role, and majority–minority position. Several Indonesian locations functioned not as comparative research sites but as recruitment contexts that together span the principal axes of the debate: Jakarta, for the institutional density of religious-moderation policy actors; Bandung, for civil-society interfaith networks operating outside state institutions; and Tana Toraja and Papua, for Christian-majority settings in which SLA is received from a minority-becomes-majority vantage point. The study draws on seven key informants, namely two religious-moderation activists and national instructors (RM-01, RM-02), two Islamic scholars and former government officials (IS-01, IS-02), one Catholic clergy member (CC-01), and two Protestant Christian community leaders and academics (PC-01, PC-02). The sample size reflects the study's reliance on information power rather than numerical representativeness, a narrowly focused research aim, information-rich elite informants whose institutional positions lend their accounts dense specificity, and a strong theoretical framework together reduce the number of participants required for analytical adequacy (Malterud et al., 2016). Recruitment concluded upon theoretical saturation, the point at which additional interviews ceased to generate new analytical categories within the study's three dimensions of investigation. All informants are referenced solely by anonymized codes to protect their identities.

The comparative-*maḏhab* strand of the study draws on three categories of textual material. The first comprises classical *ḥadīth* commentaries on the narrations concerning greeting, notably al-Nawawī's *al-Minhāj* and Ibn Ḥajar's *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. The second comprises representative *fiqh* literature of the four Sunni madhhabs (Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfi'ī, and Ḥanbalī) on greeting, *taḥiyyah*, and social interaction with non-Muslims. The third comprises the two institutional rulings that frame the contemporary debate, the 2019 *taushiyah* of MUI Jawa Timur and the 2024 *Ijtima' Ulama* fatwa. These sources were examined through a comparative-juristic reading (*dirāsah muqāranah*) attentive not only

to divergent legal conclusions but to the differing *uṣūlī* methods through which each school reasons toward them.

Empirical data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted between July and October 2024. All interviews were carried out in Indonesian, audio-recorded with informed consent, and subsequently transcribed verbatim. The interview protocol was organized around the study's three analytical dimensions while remaining open to themes raised by informants themselves. Quotations drawn from publicly available sources, such as printed-media interviews, retain attribution to the original speaker as a matter of public record.

Interview transcripts were analysed through thematic analysis following a hybrid inductive–deductive procedure (Braun & Clarke, 2022). A set of *a priori* categories was derived deductively from the study's three theoretical lenses, while additional codes emerged inductively from repeated close reading of the transcripts. Codes were then clustered into themes, compared across informants, and refined through cross-checking between researchers to strengthen interpretive consistency. Each theoretical lens was operationalized for a distinct analytical task. Social Identity Theory was applied to identify boundary-marking, in-group identification, and intergroup comparison in informants' narratives. Hayden's antagonistic tolerance framework was applied to characterize the public space generated by SLA as either "shared" or "mixed." The *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* approach was applied to interpret the normative-legal valence of informants' justifications and to connect the empirical findings with the juristic-textual analysis. The *maqāṣid* analysis is employed here not as a free-standing method of legal derivation (*istinbāṭ*) but as a normative interpretive lens that reads the *ḥadīth* on greeting in light of their higher objectives.

Triangulation was used in three explicit ways: 1) to verify institutional positions cited by informants against original fatwa documents and public statements; 2) to contextualize informants' legal arguments within the historical *fiqh* literature; 3) to compare informants' framings with published scholarship on contemporary Indonesian interfaith debates. Interpretive trustworthiness was further supported by cross-coding among researchers, the maintenance of an audit trail linking themes to their source data, and deliberate attention to disconfirming cases that complicated the study's analytical categories.

Result and Discussion

Contesting Salam Lintas Agama in Indonesia

The application of Social Identity Theory (SIT) to the interview data reveals that SLA functions as a powerful activator of identity mechanisms across all three of Tajfel and

Turner's analytical stages (categorization, identification, and comparison) though with markedly different outcomes depending on which identity is made salient.

The first mechanism, social categorization, operates each time an SLA is performed. The sequential invocation of six distinct religious formulae taxonomically maps the religious landscape and assigns each audience member to a named religious category. As one religious moderation activist and national instructor explained:

"Using interfaith greetings indicates a willingness to build an identity as an Indonesian Muslim. The emphasis is on being Indonesian. Because we emphasize being Indonesian Muslims, it means we also acknowledge that there are Indonesians of other religions" (RM-01, 2024).

This statement illustrates how SLA functions not merely as a greeting but as an act of identity politics, simultaneously foregrounding religious differentiation and national unity. The phrase "also acknowledge" is particularly significant. In SIT terms, performing SLA enacts a positive outgroup attitude by recognizing the co-citizenship of religiously different others, even as it sharpens the categorical boundaries between religions. This recategorization dynamic, in which civic-pancasilaist identity becomes salient over denominational identity, mirrors patterns observed in tolerant urban environments such as Salatiga ([Anas et al., 2025](#)) and converges with arguments emphasizing cultural divinity as a unifying frame in Indonesian religious moderation ([Masykur et al., 2024](#); [Suhardiyanto et al., 2025](#)).

The second mechanism, social identification, becomes visible when informants describe how their religious identity is engaged by SLA. Among conservative Islamic constituencies and institutional actors who issued advisory rulings against SLA, identification with an exclusive in-group religious category produces explicit resistance:

"If we use mixed greetings, that is mixing religions; religious pluralism is not allowed. ... Religion is an exclusive system of belief, and religion has its own system of worship" (KH. Abdusshomad Buchori, MUI East Java, cited in Detik News, 2019).

By contrast, among religious moderation activists, identification with a superordinate national identity relativizes in-group theological exclusivity. Several informants articulate a deliberate decoupling of the theological and social dimensions of SLA, a move that SIT would characterize as recategorizing the relevant in-group from "Muslim" to "Indonesian", in order to make SLA participation consistent with religious identity:

"The theological aspect is put aside. There is no theological aspect in it [SLA]" (RM-01, 2024).

This decoupling strategy is not denial of religious identity but its strategic desalience in a context where national solidarity is prioritized. The informant does not claim

that the Islamic greeting is theologically equivalent to others; rather, she brackets the theological dimension in order to allow the social-solidarity dimension to predominate, a negotiation of identity salience consistent with the SIT concept of context-dependent self-categorization.

The third SIT mechanism, social comparison, manifests most clearly in the asymmetric receptions of SLA across religious communities. Non-Muslim informants, particularly from Protestant and Catholic traditions, describe their adoption of Islamic-style salutary practices not as a theological act but as an adaptive social strategy oriented toward reducing minority-status vulnerability:

“There was a tendency because many Christian officials would still deliver the Islamic greeting to their Muslim colleagues, because they did not want to be seen as different and wanted to be accepted in the environment. ... The safe way in the end was to deliver all religious greetings” (PC-01, 2024).

This testimony reveals that social comparison in the SLA context produces not competition but mimetic adaptation, non-Muslim minorities “borrow” the salutary idiom of the Muslim majority in order to achieve social acceptance and reduce perceived status asymmetry. This dynamic resonates with Berger’s (2018) observation that minority religious groups in pluralistic societies tend to adapt their identity markers in response to dominant culture pressures, though here the adaptation paradoxically involves performing the dominant group’s own symbol, a finding consistent with Shamo-Nir’s (2024) and Leder et al.’s (2025) recent extensions of contact theory to majority-minority salutatory dynamics.

A further dimension of identity dynamics emerges from the Catholic informant’s disclosure that *Salam Sejahtera*, the salutation commonly attributed to Catholicism within SLA, is not actually part of Catholic liturgical tradition, since “Catholics usually say God bless you” and the formula “only developed as a trend” (CC-01, 2024). This misattribution reveals a structural feature of SLA, namely that its six-religion symbolic order inadvertently imposes an Abrahamic-inflected framework on traditions that do not share the same salutary theology. As one informant observed from a religious-studies perspective, the greetings are not in fact equal, and the religions are “somewhat forced to become Abrahamic by using those greetings” (PC-01, 2024). The implicit logic of universality within the SLA repertoire thus masks a particularist Abrahamic norm, reinforcing intergroup asymmetry even as it performs inclusion.

Antagonistic Tolerance and the Ambivalent Space of Interfaith Greetings

The antagonistic dimension of SLA tolerance is most evident in the institutional responses of Islamic organizations. The 2024 Ijtima` Ulama fatwa, which declared Muslim

participation in multi-religious SLA as religiously impermissible, exemplifies Hayden's "competitive" dimension of co-presence. The dominant religious group defines the terms of symbolic participation from a position of normative authority, limiting the extent to which shared symbolic territory can be genuinely constructed (Dharta et al., 2025). The fatwa permits Muslims to greet with the Islamic formula alone, or with a neutral national greeting (*Selamat pagi/siang*), a provision that positions Islamic theological sovereignty as the presupposed baseline of interfaith interaction. This institutional pattern is consistent with Hayden's model of antagonistic tolerance, which the formal co-existence of religious formulae in SLA is tacitly conditioned on the maintenance of distinct hierarchical positions.

However, the data also reveals a more complex picture that complicates a straightforward application of Hayden's framework. Among religious moderation activists, the co-presence produced by SLA is experienced not as competitive but as generative, a mixed space that through habituated practice, gradually acquires the characteristics of genuine sharing:

"At the end of the day, the theological reason and the sociological reason, which were initially on separate tracks, actually converge. Doing good makes people happy, sociologically. But why should we do good? It is also a religious command. That means the universal one. The universal command of religion" (RM-02, 2024).

This convergence narrative suggests that for practitioners who foreground humanitarian values, the "mixed space" of SLA can evolve toward genuine sharing through the discovery of common purposes underlying diverse theological formulae. This resonates with Iris Marion Young's (2002) call for openness in interfaith communication and aligns with recent ethnographic findings on interfaith *Maqāṣid* syncretism in Indonesian ritual spaces (Prihantoro, 2025).

A particularly subtle manifestation of antagonistic tolerance in the data is the practice of non-response to SLA, remaining silent when encountering it in formal settings rather than either participating or explicitly objecting. This strategic silence exemplifies Hayden's observation that antagonistic tolerance often operates through avoidance rather than confrontation. Symbolic territory is contested through strategic absence rather than direct conflict. The data also shows that SLA's "mixed space" contains a recursive exclusion, even within its formally inclusive six-religion framework, communities of indigenous spiritual belief (*penghayat*) are systematically unaddressed. As a Catholic clergy member observed:

"When we formulate greetings only for officially recognized groups, what happens to the others? They are also Indonesian citizens. By not accommodating them, we are actually being discriminatory" (CC-01, 2024).

The “shared space” of SLA is thus bounded by state-sanctioned religious hierarchies that replicate the very exclusionary dynamics it purports to transcend, confirming Hayden’s insight that apparent tolerance may mask deeper structures of competitive dominance ([Margiansyah et al., 2025](#)).

At the same time, the data documents instances of organic cross-religious symbolic borrowing that suggest the capacity for mixed space to evolve beyond antagonistic co-presence. The habitual use of Islamic phrases such as ‘*In Sya Allah*’ and ‘*Alhamdulillah*’ by Christian Indonesians, documented by both Christian and Muslim informants, indicates that at the level of everyday social practice, religious language boundaries are more permeable than formal theological disputes would suggest:

“Even in Christian forums, when decisions are to be made, people say ‘In Sya Allah’ without any problem. Because ‘In Sya Allah’ is the same as ‘hopefully’” (PC-02, 2024).

This organic linguistic borrowing, unconstrained by the formal politics of SLA, exemplifies the potential for genuine shared space to emerge from below, through vernacular religious practice rather than institutional decree. The contrast between institutional antagonism and vernacular solidarity constitutes a key finding of this study. The “mixed space” of formal SLA coexists with, and is sometimes superseded by, the genuinely shared space of everyday interreligious social exchange, an insight that converges with comparative findings on religious moderation in Indonesian and Malaysian educational settings ([Muslih et al., 2024](#)).

This finding extends Hayden’s Antagonistic Tolerance framework, originally constructed to analyze shared and contested physical sacred sites, to the domain of religious verbal symbols. Prior scholarship has largely confined the framework to spatial analysis ([Hayden, 2022](#)), while recent work has examined how communication dynamics shape the reception of inter-religious symbolic acts in formal settings ([Dharta et al., 2025](#); [Kaunda et al., 2025](#); [Rahman et al., 2025](#)). The present study bridges these literatures by demonstrating that the competitive co-presence, mixed/non-shared space dynamics, and recursive exclusion that Hayden theorized for sacred sites operate with equivalent force in contested salutatory formulae. This extension is conceptually significant because verbal religious symbols are more pervasive, portable, and socially invisible than sacred buildings; their contestation is therefore more continuous and diffuse, embedded in everyday interaction rather than concentrated at identifiable flashpoints. The discovery of a divergence between formal institutional antagonistic tolerance and organic vernacular solidarity further nuances Hayden’s framework, suggesting a two-tier model of interreligious co-presence in which the quality of tolerance differs systematically between regulated formal contexts and unregulated everyday exchange. This finding invites reconsideration of how tolerance is measured in plural societies, studies that rely on

formal institutional indicators may systematically underestimate the genuine solidarity generated at the vernacular level (Verkuyten et al., 2022; Anas et al., 2025).

The contrast between formal institutional antagonism and organic vernacular solidarity carries practical implications for the design of religious moderation programs, namely that bottom-up, relationship-grounded forms of interfaith exchange may generate more genuine solidarity than top-down symbolic co-performance. The recursive exclusion of *penghayat* communities from the six-religion SLA framework, similarly, surfaces as a matter of civic equity for further institutional attention.

Maqāṣid al-Sunnah and the Higher Objectives of Greeting: A Normative Framework for Navigating SLA

The third analytical dimension draws on the *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* approach, the established interpretive method that reads prophetic *ḥadīth* in light of their higher objectives rather than their literal form alone (Auda, 2022; Hoque et al., 2023). This approach distinguishes the permanent, universally binding purposes embedded in the Sunnah from its context-bound particulars. Applied to the *ḥadīth* concerning greeting, both *afsyū al-salām* and the narrations restricting *ibtidā' al-salām* toward *Ahl al-Kitāb*, this method identifies the higher objectives internal to the prophetic teaching on greeting, the spread of peace (*ifsyā' al-salām*), the strengthening of brotherhood (*tawāṣuq al-ukhuwwah*), the expression of respect and civility (*taẓhīr al-ikrām*), the opening of harmonious communication, and the cultivation of moral etiquette. Reading the restrictive narrations through this lens suggests that their objective was situational, bound to specific conditions of hostility, rather than a permanent prohibition on civility toward religious others.

Analysis of the interview data reveals that the most compelling arguments in favor of inclusive SLA practice are grounded not in theological equivalence, but in the shared *Maqāṣid* of prophetic *salām*, the fundamental purposes that the prophetic teaching on greetings was intended to realize. A spiritualist argument, articulated most fully by an Islamic philosopher and BPIP official, posits that all religious greetings are ultimately addressed to the same divine mystery, transcending their particular theological formulations:

“Om Swastiastu, Namo Buddhāya, then Assalāmualaikum Waraḥmatullāh Wabarakātuh, these are the same. They are all directed toward the Supreme Mystery, the *Ilahi* that cannot be depicted. While all those greetings are attributed to the Divine” (IS-01, 2024).

This spiritualist reading reframes the controversy by shifting the unit of analysis from the theological proposition encoded in each formula to the spiritual orientation

underlying all of them. While it risks a philosophical over-universalization that may not be acceptable to strict theological reasoning, it maps closely onto the objective of spreading *rahmah* identified within the *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* on greeting.

A complementary humanitarian-pragmatic argument grounds SLA acceptance in the Islamic principle of *ukhuwah basyariyyah* (universal human brotherhood) and the contextual interpretation of prophetic *ḥadīth*:

“The essence of religious teaching is to maintain human relations, to protect the humanity of our brothers and sisters regardless of their faith. Because in Islam we are urged to maintain brotherhood, not only with those of the same faith, but brotherhood of nationhood, brotherhood of humanity, ukhuwah bashariyyah. Maintaining that is itself an act of religious obligation” (IS-02, 2024).

This argument engages directly with one of the core *Maqāṣid* of prophetic *salām*, the spread of social goodness and the protection of human solidarity, and applies it to the SLA context through the principle of *maṣlahah* (public interest) as one of prioritized consideration in applying law in Indonesia (Syatar et al., 2024). Consistent with Khaled Abou el-Fadl’s moderate-humanistic approach to Islamic law, it foregrounds the humanitarian telos of religious teaching over its formal prescriptions (Hefni et al., 2022; Saefullah et al., 2025).

Both arguments converge on a practical navigational implication. Rather than seeking to resolve the theological dispute over SLA, a task that exceeds the capacity of social practice, this *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* reading supports two strategies that enact the prophetic purposes of *salām* without requiring doctrinal capitulation. This reading positions itself within a broader body of *maqāṣid*-based scholarship on the SLA fatwa while operating at a narrower analytical register. Where Musadad et al. (2025) read the fatwa against *maqāṣid al-syarīʿah* and human-rights instruments, and Rahman et al. (2025) trace its *maqāṣid* implications for multicultural families, the present analysis works specifically with *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* applied to the *ḥadīth* on greeting. This narrower register grants the analysis sharper purchase on the act of greeting as such, distinguishing the higher objectives proper to *salām* from the broader universals that *maqāṣid al-syarīʿah* typically engages (Mutawali, 2023).

Respectful Silence (*ṣamt al-tawaqqur*). The first strategy involves the principled choice to refrain from delivering religious formulae that one does not personally affirm, while maintaining full social presence and attentiveness. This is not a form of antagonistic withdrawal but a dignified acknowledgment of doctrinal difference that preserves social harmony. The MUI fatwa’s provision permitting Muslims to use only the Islamic greeting, or a neutral national salutation, creates formal space for respectful silence, if exercised with genuine respect rather than antagonism. Respectful silence honors the *Maqāṣid* of

salām by prioritizing harmony and the avoidance of social harm (*dar' al-mafṣadah*) over formal symbolic participation.

Universal Greetings (*tahīyyah kullīyyah*). The second strategy involves the adoption of non-denominational salutations, such as *Salam Damai untuk Kita Semua* (Peace Greetings to All), *Salam Pancasila*, or *Salam Kebhinekaan*, that invoke the values of peace, solidarity, and respect without appropriating the specific theological idiom of any religion. These universal greetings resonate most directly with the *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* by enacting the prophetic purposes of greetings, peace, harmony, respect, and brotherhood, through language that all participants can affirm without doctrinal compromise. The vision articulated by Yudian Wahyudi's *Salam Pancasila*, a greeting derived from the inclusive salutation of national independence (*Salam Merdeka*), represents one institutionalized expression of this approach (Anam & Kuswanto, 2021).

Together, respectful silence and universal greetings constitute a *Maqāṣid*-based navigational framework that addresses the social identity tensions and antagonistic tolerance dynamics identified in the preceding sections. The identity tensions analyzed through SIT are partially dissolved by shifting the relevant in-group from “Muslim” or “Christian” to “Indonesian” or “human being,” a recategorization that the *Maqāṣid* framework legitimizes by grounding it in prophetic teaching on universal salutary obligation. The antagonistic tolerance dynamics analyzed through Hayden's framework are attenuated by replacing competitive symbolic co-presence with either principled abstention or the construction of genuinely shared non-denominational symbolic territory.

The data also documents a significant conceptual emergence, the modes of religious selfhood enacted by SLA practitioners share features with what scholars have theorized as Multiple Religious Belonging, Hybrid Religiosity, and Mixed Religious Practice (Mercadante, 2017; Yang & McPhail, 2023). Multiple informants describe a mode of engagement with the symbolic idiom of another religion that does not constitute doctrinal conversion but rather cultural borrowing grounded in shared humanistic commitment:

“In my heart I say Alhamdulillah, but when I am with a Christian friend I say ‘Thank the Lord, you have arrived.’ ... In my heart, the God I mean is Allah” (RM-01, 2024).

This articulation is consistent with Mercadante's (2017) concept of Mixed Religious Practice, though with a crucial distinction. Practitioners of SLA do not seek to inhabit multiple religious identities but to honor the divine in others through culturally sensitive communication, an act that is itself consistent with the prophetic spirit of *salām* as a universal benediction. The phenomenon is better characterized as religiously rooted cosmopolitanism than as spiritual hybridity, practitioners retain their theological commitments while developing a cross-religious empathic communication competence enabled by the *Maqāṣid*-oriented understanding that *salām* is fundamentally for all

(Prihantoro, 2025). This pattern suggests a category that may be termed religiously-rooted cosmopolitan communication, namely cross-religious symbolic engagement driven by humanistic solidarity rather than spiritual eclecticism.

The empirical pattern documented here extends the Social Identity Theory literature in two respects. The strategic de-salience of in-group theological identity in favor of a superordinate national identity maps onto the Common Ingroup Identity Model's recategorization mechanism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2014), but with an important qualification, recent evidence indicates that recategorization under a superordinate identity can simultaneously increase bias toward groups excluded from the new category (Goldberg & Sliman, 2025; Leder et al., 2025), as illustrated by the recursive exclusion of *penghayat* communities from the six-religion SLA framework. The asymmetric mimicry of dominant-group salutatory idiom by non-Muslim minorities, documented in this study, further extends SIT analyses of minority adaptation in majority-dominated environments (Shamoa-Nir, 2024; Suhardiyanto et al., 2025).

Greeting the Religious Other across the Sunni Schools: Juristic Plurality and Its Methodological Roots

The juristic-textual strand of this study reveals that the SLA controversy, when read against the classical *fiqh* of greeting non-Muslims, is best understood not as a contest between permission and prohibition but as a disagreement over juristic method. The discussion in the four Sunni schools proceeds from a recognized tension between two bodies of prophetic evidence. The first frames *salām* expansively, the injunction to spread peace (*afsyū al-salām*) and the Qur'anic command to return any greeting with one equal or better (Q. 4:86). The second restricts it, the narration instructing Muslims not to initiate (*ibtidā'*) the Islamic greeting toward Jews and Christians, and the guidance to answer a guarded greeting only with *wa 'alaykum*. Classical commentators such as al-Nawawī in his *Al-Aẓkār al-Muntakhabah* (1994) and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī in his *Fath al-Bārī* (1959) did not treat the restrictive narrations as an unconditional prohibition; they reconciled the two bodies of evidence (*jam'*) by tying the restriction to circumstances of hostility, while holding that responding to a greeting remains broadly obligatory. A contextual, purpose-sensitive reading of the restrictive material is thus not a modern liberal innovation but a position internal to the classical commentarial tradition itself. The comparative-juristic method employed here builds on Hisan, Imawan, and Haqqiya's (Hisan et al., 2025) recent recovery of Ibn Qudāmah's *al-Mugnī* as a working model of *muqāranah al-maḏāhib*, extending it to a contemporary case with an empirical layer that connects textual *uṣūlī* registers to the lay reasoning of informants on the ground.

Against this shared baseline, the schools diverge primarily in the methodological instrument each foregrounds for contextual accommodation. The Ḥanafī tradition, as articulated in Ibn 'Ābidīn's *Radd al-Muḥtār* (1992), treats initiating *salām* toward a non-Muslim as disliked (*makrūh*) in principle, yet expressly lifts that dislike where a genuine need (*ḥājah*) or relational benefit obtains consistent with the school's broader readiness to let *ḥājah* and custom (*'urf*) modulate default rulings. The Mālikī school, while classically cautious about initiation, supplies the tradition's most developed apparatus for welfare-based reasoning through *istiṣlāḥ* and *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursalah*. The significance of the Mālikī contribution for the SLA debate lies less in any Mālikī permission as such than in this methodological lineage, contemporary arguments that ground inclusive greeting in public benefit reason in a recognizably Mālikī register, treating *maṣlaḥah* as an operative legal consideration rather than a merely rhetorical one.

The Syāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī schools foreground more restrictive instruments. The Syāfi'ī tradition, dominant in Indonesia and represented in al-Nawawī's extended treatment in *Al-Aẓkār* (1994) and *al-Majmū'* (1985), adopts a more text-bound posture in which the restrictive narrations weigh heavily; al-Syāfi'ī's own critique of *istiḥsān* narrows the room for unmoored accommodation, so that Syāfi'ī flexibility runs through *'urf* and narrowly construed need rather than through *istiḥsān*. The Ḥanbalī tradition, in the writings of Ibn Taimiyyah and Ibn al-Qayyim, foregrounds the blocking of pretexts (*sadd al-ẓarā'ī*) and a heightened concern with resemblance (*tasyabbuh*) in the religious distinctives of others, a concern given systematic treatment in Ibn Taimiyya's *Iqtidā' al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (1999) and Ibn al-Qayyim's *Aḥkām Ahl al-Ḍimmah* (1997). It is this precautionary temperament, rather than the Syāfi'ī affiliation of Indonesian *fiqh* as an institution, that the reasoning of the 2024 MUI fatwa most closely resembles.

Two analytical observations follow from this mapping. First, the disagreement among the schools is *uṣūlī* rather than merely substantive. It concerns which instrument, textual adherence, *ḥājah*, *'urf*, *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursalah*, or *sadd al-ẓarā'ī* is granted priority in characterizing and adjudicating an act. Second, the classical literature itself supplies a distinction the SLA debate cannot do without, the separation between *salām* as a religious benediction and other forms of courtesy (*taḥiyyah*) extended to non-Muslims. Jurists who restricted the initiation of the Islamic *salām* generally did not restrict ordinary social civility, inquiring after a person's welfare, honouring a guest, returning a kindness, and the Prophetic Sunnah itself preserves ample instances of such civility toward non-Muslims, from commercial dealing and treaty-making to standing in respect for a passing funeral. This means that even a conservative classical reading distinguishes between participating in another religion's benediction and extending non-devotional courtesy in a shared civic space, precisely the distinction on which the legal characterization of SLA turns.

Read against this background, the 2024 *Ijtima' Ulama* fatwa represents one defensible juristic temperament rather than the singular verdict of Sunni law. By characterizing SLA as an act of 'ibādah and deploying *sadd al-ẓarā'ī* to forestall syncretic confusion, the fatwa reasons in a recognizably Ḥanbalī-precautionary register. There is a notable irony here, Indonesian *fiqh* is institutionally Syāfi'ī, yet the fatwa's methodological temperament aligns more closely with the Ḥanbalī emphasis on *tasyabbuh* and the blocking of pretexts than with the Syāfi'ī school's own engagement with 'urf and need. The controversy over SLA is therefore best understood not as a confrontation between Islamic law and civic pluralism, but as an instance of intra-Sunni methodological plurality, a single emerging practice refracted through competing but each individually orthodox *uṣūlī* commitments.

This *takyīf* choice fits patterns documented in the institutional scholarship on MUI methodology. MUI's deployment of *istislāḥ* and *maṣlaḥah* has been characterized as institutionally inconsistent across fatwa episodes (Azwar & Rinaldi, 2024; Jamaa, 2018; Rosyid & Irfan, 2019), and Syafei (Syafei, 2017) has argued that MUI tends to invoke an archaic rather than a progressive *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah*, producing controversial outcomes in plural Indonesian contexts (Ansori, 2022). That progressive *maqāṣid*-based reasoning is institutionally possible is shown by the COVID-19 fatwa (Ni'am Sholeh, 2020). The diagnosis offered by Syafei thus shifts here from the level of doctrinal substance to the level of methodological procedure. The disagreement is not whether to use *maqāṣid*, but which *uṣūlī* instrument is granted priority at the moment of *takyīf*. That this remains juristically reconsiderable, despite the fatwa's public weight, is also clarified by the institutional studies establishing MUI fatwas as material rather than statutory law (Mahendra & Junaidi, 2023; Pelu, 2019).

This comparative-*maḥab* mapping also illuminates the empirical findings presented in the preceding subsections. The juristic logics catalogued here are not confined to the texts. They surface, in lay form, in the reasoning of the informants. Actors who described SLA as forbidden mixing were, in effect, reasoning in a *sadd al-ẓarā'ī* register, foregrounding the danger of symbolic confusion. Actors who described it as civic recognition and public benefit were reasoning in a *maṣlaḥah*-oriented register, foregrounding intention, context, and social consequence. The disagreement documented in the interview data is thus not a gap between the devout and the lax but a lay reproduction of a long-standing methodological pluralism within the tradition itself. What the comparative mapping contributes is a vocabulary for naming that pluralism and, in doing so, it sets up the decisive question to which the next subsection turns: whether SLA is more soundly characterized (*takyīf*) as 'ibādah or as mu'āmalah.

'Ibādah or Mu'āmalah? The Takyīf of SLA in Light of Empirical and Juristic Evidence

The convergence of the empirical analysis and the comparative-*maḏhab* mapping suggests that the central legal question raised by *Salam Lintas Agama* is one of *takyīf*, how the act is characterized within the categorial architecture of Islamic law. When SLA is characterized as 'ibādah, or as participation in the religious symbols of another faith, the prohibitive position adopted by the 2024 MUI fatwa becomes legally intelligible. It reasons from the premise that the act carries devotional weight, and on that premise mobilizes *sadd al-zarā'i* to preserve doctrinal integrity and forestall *tasyabbuh*. The juristic temperament behind this characterization is internally orthodox, as the preceding subsection has shown. Yet the empirical material complicates the premise. Few of the practitioners interviewed for this study describe SLA as devotional speech. Most describe it as a form of public civility, social recognition, and civic politeness in a plural Indonesian setting. The salient question, then, is not whether SLA should be permitted but whether the characterization on which the prohibition rests adequately captures what the act, in its actually performed register, is.

A second characterization is available within the same juristic tradition SLA as *mu'āmalah* more precisely as *taḥiyyah ijtīmā'iyyah*, a social greeting whose legal evaluation turns on intention *niyyah*, context 'urf, public benefit *maṣlaḥah*, and social consequence. Under this characterization, the act is not annexed to 'ibādah and therefore is not governed by the strict mimetic logic that 'ibādah requires rather, it falls within the broad domain of social transaction where the schools have long recognized the modulating force of need, custom, and public welfare. The interview data weighs heavily in this direction informants describe SLA as civic recognition before they describe it as theological assent, and several explicitly decouple the social solidarity dimension of the act from its doctrinal one. On a *mu'āmalah* characterization, SLA becomes a contemporary *mas'alah fiqhiyyah ijtihādiyyah* an open question of *ijtihād* on a novel practice rather than a settled prohibition under 'ibādah.

This contest of characterizations is not external to the empirical material it is reproduced within it. As the previous subsection noted the lay reasoning documented in the interviews tracks the *uṣūlī* registers of the schools themselves. Actors who described SLA as forbidden mixing reasoned in a *sadd al-zarā'i* register foregrounding the danger of symbolic confusion actors who described it as civic recognition reasoned in a *maṣlaḥah* oriented register foregrounding intention context and social consequence. The disagreement on the ground is therefore not a clash between religious commitment and secular accommodation but a contemporary instance of a long standing methodological pluralism internal to Sunni jurisprudence. What the data adds to the textual record is evidence about how the act is actually meant and received predominantly as social

greeting rather than devotional formula which on classical principles concerning *niyyah* and *'urf* bears directly on its juristic characterization.

This analytical instrument is complementary rather than competing with other recent approaches. Where Dharta et al. (2025) read the SLA controversy through Negotiated Identity Theory, foregrounding intercultural communication, and where Subuki et al. (2023) and Azmi (2020) bring critical discourse analysis and empirical-juridical fieldwork to the analogous fatwa on non-Muslim religious attributes, the present study reads the SLA controversy at the level of the *takyīf* decision itself. These other approaches address dimensions external to the *takyīf*, while the present analysis reconstructs the *uṣūlī* options open within Sunni law that the fatwa text chooses among.

The two practical strategies that emerged from the *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* analysis respectful silence *ṣamt al-tawaqqur* and universal greetings *taḥiyyah kullīyyah* can now be re-read in this *uṣūlī* light. They are not sociological compromises offered in place of legal reasoning they are *maqāṣid* consonant operationalizations of a *mu'āmalah* characterization. Respectful silence preserves individual doctrinal integrity while avoiding overt social rejection embodying the legal maxim of repelling harm *dar' al-mafṣadah* universal greetings construct a shared civic register that secures the higher objectives of greeting peace respect civic recognition without requiring a Muslim to pronounce another traditions specific devotional formula. Both strategies thereby honour two juristic concerns the literature has long held in tension the precautionary attentiveness associated with *sadd al-ẓarā'ī'* and the welfare oriented reasoning associated with *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursalah*. They are in this sense the practical form taken by a *takyīf* that lets each concern operate in its appropriate register.

A *mu'āmalah* characterization it should be emphasized does not negate the concerns animating the prohibitive position. It relocates them. The danger of symbolic confusion the integrity of doctrinal speech the avoidance of *tasyabbuh* all remain live legal considerations. What changes is where they enter the analysis not as definitional features of the act itself but as contextual factors that depending on intention and setting may or may not be implicated. Some performances of interfaith greeting in Indonesia genuinely approach the devotional and on a *mu'āmalah* characterization may warrant restraint many do not and on the same characterization warrant permissibility. This is the kind of contextual differentiation a *mu'āmalah* register is designed to enable and a blanket *'ibādah* characterization is designed to foreclose.

Taken as a whole, the foregoing analysis advances three claims that are jointly novel for the literature on SLA. Theoretically, it is the first to read the SLA controversy as a *takyīf* problem refracted through the methodological pluralism of the four Sunni schools, rather than as a problem of communication (Dharta et al., 2025), human rights (Musadad

et al., 2025), or discourse (Subuki et al., 2023). Methodologically, it is the first to triangulate empirical interview data with juristic-textual analysis of classical *fiqh* and contemporary fatwa documents in the specific case of SLA, demonstrating that lay reasoning on the ground reproduces *uṣūlī* registers documented in the textual tradition. Conceptually, it operationalizes *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* as applied to the *ḥadīth* on greeting, a register distinct from the broader *maqāṣid al-syarī'ah* idiom prevalent in current *maqāṣid* analyses of the same fatwa (Mutawali, 2023; Rahman et al., 2025). On these grounds, the article relocates the archaic-versus-progressive contrast in MUI methodology (Syafei, 2017) from doctrinal substance to *takyīf* procedure, identifying a precise site at which fatwa reasoning may be juristically renewed without abandoning institutional orthodoxy, and operationalizes the *muqāranah al-maḏāhib* method recently advanced for contemporary *ijtihād* (Hisan et al., 2025) into a socially anchored interpretive practice. Respectful silence and universal greetings thereby emerge not as external compromises with secular pluralism but as *maqāṣid*-consonant operationalizations of a *mu'āmalah* characterization that the classical *fiqh* tradition itself supports, demonstrating that contemporary public religious practices in plural Muslim-majority societies cannot be adjudicated through the binary of permissibility and prohibition alone.

Conclusion

The controversy over *Salam Lintas Agama* in Indonesia is, at root, a dispute over *fiqh* classification, that is, over the *takyīf* of an emerging public practice, rather than over religious symbolism alone. Read through *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* as applied to the prophetic teaching on greeting, the analysis demonstrates that SLA cannot be evaluated adequately through a purely binary framework of permissibility and prohibition. Insofar as SLA in plural civic contexts functions primarily as social recognition rather than devotional participation, it is more appropriately approached under the domain of *mu'āmalah*, where intention (*niyyah*), context (*'urf*), *maṣlaḥah*, and the avoidance of social harm operate as constitutive rather than auxiliary legal considerations.

The article's distinctive contribution lies in demonstrating that a *Maqāṣid al-Sunnah* reading of the *ḥadīth* on greeting provides the normative bridge between scriptural ethics and practical legal navigation. On this basis, respectful silence (*ṣamt al-tawaqqur*), universal greetings (*taḥiyyah kulliyyah*), and communicative clarification are proposed not as external compromises but as context-sensitive applications of the higher purposes of greeting already internal to revelation. The study thereby contributes to contemporary Islamic legal thought, and particularly to comparative-*maḏhab* scholarship, by showing how *maqāṣid*-based reasoning, *fiqh* classification, and empirical analysis may be brought

together in evaluating contested interreligious practices in plural Muslim-majority societies.

The study foregrounds the voices of activists, scholars, and community leaders, and its findings therefore reflect the perspective of actors already engaged in the moderation discourse. The most pressing next step is to descend from this elite layer to the grassroots, where SLA is received, contested, or quietly improvised in everyday life. Such ethnographic immersion among ordinary believers will reveal whether the strategies proposed here resonate beyond institutional settings and acquire traction in the lived rhythms of Indonesian religious community.

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