



MAZAHIBUNA: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab

Volume 8 Number 2 August 2026; 525-546

P-ISSN: 2685-6905; E-ISSN: 2685-7812

DOI: 10.24252/mazahibuna.vi.68023

<http://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/mjpm>

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

Negotiating Islamic Law in a Plural Society: Religious Moderation and Madhhab Diversity among Muslims in Bali

Aden Rosadi^{1*}, Mustopa², Dadan Anugrah³, Yana Sutiana⁴, Mohd Solahuddin Shahrudin⁵

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia. Email: adenrosadi@uinsgd.ac.id

²Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia. Email: dadan.anugrah@uinsgd.ac.id

³Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia. Email: yanasutiana@uinsgd.ac.id

⁴Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia. Email: devikarosagusipita@gmail.com

⁵Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Malaysia. Email: msolahuddin@uitm.edu.my

* Corresponding Author

[Received: March 12, 2026] [Reviewed: May 15, 2026] [Revised: July 22, 2026] [Accepted: August 04, 2026] [Published: August 31, 2026]

How to Cite:

Rosadi, A., Mustopa, Anugrah, D., Sutiana, Y., & Shahrudin, M. S. (2026). Negotiating Islamic Law in a Plural Society: Religious Moderation and Madhhab Diversity among Muslims in Bali. *Mazahibuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab*. 8 (2): 525-546. <https://doi.org/10.24252/mazahibuna.vi.68023>

Abstract

This study examines how Islamic law is negotiated within a religiously plural society through the interplay of religious moderation, local cultural norms, and madhhab-based legal reasoning among Muslims in Bali. Focusing on Denpasar City, Bali, the study was conducted from January to June 2025 using a qualitative socio-legal approach. Data were collected from 6 purposively selected informants, comprising Islamic scholars, Muslim community members, interfaith or community leaders, and other relevant informants. Data collection involved participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation, followed by thematic analysis through coding, categorisation, interpretation, and triangulation. The findings demonstrate that religious moderation operates through contextual accommodation of Islamic practices without compromising fundamental Islamic legal principles, particularly among Muslims living in predominantly Hindu neighborhoods. Islamic legal considerations are negotiated alongside local norms of social coexistence, while madhhab-based reasoning is applied flexibly to address local social and interreligious practices. Islamic scholars and community members draw on established fiqh principles, including *maṣlahah* and *urf*, to distinguish immutable religious doctrines from practices that permit contextual accommodation. Rather than functioning merely as a state policy or sociocultural ideal, religious moderation emerges as a process of legal and social negotiation shaped by Islamic jurisprudence, communal interaction, and Balinese local wisdom. The study contributes to comparative madhhab scholarship and Islamic legal pluralism by demonstrating how Islamic legal reasoning is contextualised within a religiously plural environment, while identifying exclusive interpretations and limited interreligious legal literacy as continuing challenges to sustainable coexistence.

Keywords: Islamic Law; Religious Moderation; Madhhab Negotiation; Legal Pluralism; Religious Plurality.



Copyrights © 2026 The Author (s). Published by *Mazahibuna: Jurnal Perbandingan Mazhab*. This article is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY 4.0), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original authors and

source are properly credited.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana hukum Islam dinegosiasikan dalam masyarakat yang plural secara keagamaan melalui interaksi antara moderasi beragama, norma budaya lokal, dan penalaran hukum berbasis mazhab di kalangan umat Islam di Bali. Dengan berfokus pada Kota Denpasar, Bali, penelitian ini dilaksanakan pada Januari hingga Juni 2025 dengan menggunakan pendekatan sosio-legal kualitatif. Data diperoleh dari 6 informan yang dipilih secara purposif, yang terdiri atas ulama, anggota masyarakat Muslim, tokoh lintas agama atau tokoh masyarakat, dan informan relevan lainnya. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi partisipatif, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi, kemudian dianalisis secara tematik melalui tahapan pengodean, kategorisasi, interpretasi, dan triangulasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa moderasi beragama berlangsung melalui akomodasi kontekstual terhadap praktik keislaman tanpa mengesampingkan prinsip-prinsip fundamental hukum Islam, khususnya di kalangan Muslim yang tinggal di lingkungan yang mayoritas beragama Hindu. Pertimbangan hukum Islam dinegosiasikan bersama norma lokal mengenai kehidupan sosial yang berdampingan, sedangkan penalaran berbasis mazhab diterapkan secara fleksibel untuk merespons praktik sosial dan keagamaan setempat. Ulama dan anggota masyarakat memanfaatkan prinsip-prinsip fikih yang telah mapan, termasuk *maṣlaḥah* (kemaslahatan) dan *‘urf* (kebiasaan yang berlaku), untuk membedakan doktrin keagamaan yang bersifat tetap dari praktik yang memungkinkan adanya akomodasi kontekstual. Moderasi beragama tidak semata-mata berfungsi sebagai kebijakan negara atau idealitas sosiokultural, tetapi berkembang sebagai proses negosiasi hukum dan sosial yang dibentuk oleh fikih, interaksi antarkomunitas, dan kearifan lokal Bali. Penelitian ini berkontribusi terhadap kajian perbandingan mazhab dan pluralisme hukum Islam dengan menunjukkan bagaimana penalaran hukum Islam dikontekstualisasikan dalam lingkungan yang plural secara keagamaan, sekaligus mengidentifikasi tafsir eksklusif dan keterbatasan literasi hukum lintas agama sebagai tantangan yang masih dihadapi dalam mewujudkan kehidupan bersama yang berkelanjutan.

Keywords: Hukum Islam; Moderasi Beragama; Negosiasi Mazhab; Pluralisme Hukum; Pluralitas Keagamaan.

Introduction

Indonesia's religious diversity continues to shape complex patterns of interreligious relations, ranging from everyday cooperation to experiences of prejudice and intolerance (Setinawati et al., 2025; Zainuddin et al., 2025). Recent evidence indicates that religious diversity cannot be assumed to produce either harmony or conflict uniformly across the country. SETARA Institute documented 260 incidents involving 402 acts of violations of freedom of religion or belief in 2024, an increase from 217 incidents and 329 acts in 2023 (Institut, 2024); these included acts of intolerance, discrimination, restrictions on places of worship, and blasphemy-related cases. Recent peer-reviewed studies likewise demonstrate that religious prejudice and unequal interreligious relations remain empirically observable in particular social contexts (Hurriyah, 2023; Maloko et al., 2024; Prasetyo & Halimatusa'diyah, 2024). For example, Nashori et al., (2024), in a study of 254 Muslim university students in Yogyakarta, found that religious sentiment and knowledge concerning Muslim–Christian relations were associated with social prejudice, indicating that religious diversity does not automatically translate into positive intergroup relations. At the same time, other studies show that sustained interreligious interaction can generate forms of everyday tolerance through mutual participation, recognition, and

cooperation (Eliza et al., 2026; Zulkarnain & Muhazir, 2025). These contrasting patterns make the local context crucial for understanding how religious diversity is actually negotiated (Raya et al., 2023). Bali provides a particularly important setting for such investigation because its predominantly Hindu social structure coexists with substantial Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, and Confucian communities, creating sustained opportunities for interreligious interaction. Recent research in Pemuteran Village, for instance, identifies everyday cooperation between Muslims and Hindus, including mutual participation in religious celebrations and community activities, as important mechanisms for sustaining social tolerance (Amartha & Fauzi, 2025). Nevertheless, the existence of such harmonious practices does not establish that interreligious relations in Bali are uniformly inclusive. The empirical issue therefore concerns how religious communities negotiate difference in everyday social life, particularly where religious norms, local traditions, communal boundaries, and expectations of social harmony intersect. This study consequently focuses on Bali to investigate the specific mechanisms through which interreligious relations are constructed, maintained, and potentially contested, rather than assuming that national patterns of religious intolerance are directly representative of the Balinese context (Supardi & Jauharudin, 2025).

In plural societies, religious moderation refers to a normative orientation and observable pattern of religious conduct that seeks to balance commitment to religious teachings with respect for diversity and peaceful social relations (Muhibbi et al., 2025; Nasriah et al., 2026; Risdayah et al., 2026). Following the framework of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, this study operationalizes religious moderation through four dimensions: national commitment, tolerance, non-violence, and accommodation of local culture (Indonesia, 2019). These dimensions provide analytical indicators for examining how religious actors respond to differences in belief, identity, social interaction, and local practices. Religious moderation should therefore be distinguished from related concepts. Tolerance concerns the willingness to accept differences (Hjerm et al., 2020); religious harmony refers to peaceful relations among religious communities (Hidayatullah et al., 2026); pluralism concerns the recognition and constructive engagement of religious diversity (Idrus et al., 2022; Suhardiyan et al., 2025); while social cohesion denotes the broader capacity of a society to maintain trust, cooperation, and social solidarity across differences (Arifin et al., 2026; Riza et al., 2026). Moderation may contribute to these outcomes, but it is not synonymous with them. In this sense, moderation does not imply weakening religious commitment or adopting a particular theological position. Rather, it concerns how religious commitments are expressed in ways that uphold justice, respect legitimate diversity, reject violence, and accommodate social and cultural contexts (Shihab, 2019).

The importance of religious moderation becomes increasingly relevant in contemporary society due to the rapid transformation of communication technology and globalization (Alias et al., 2024; Mutalib et al., 2025). The development of social media has significantly changed patterns of religious interaction and dissemination of religious knowledge. While digital technology provides opportunities for broader communication and interfaith dialogue, it also facilitates the rapid spread of intolerance, misinformation, and extremist narratives across communities (Fathurrohman et al., 2024; Kubangun et al., 2025; Shidiq et al., 2026). Religious identities are frequently politicized within public discourse, especially during political contestation, resulting in polarization and social tension among citizens (Zainuddin et al., 2022). In many cases, religion is no longer positioned solely as a spiritual framework, but also as a political instrument capable of mobilizing mass sentiment and social division.

Bali represents an important social setting for examining the implementation of religious moderation in Indonesia. As a region internationally recognized for its strong Hindu cultural identity, Bali simultaneously accommodates diverse religious communities living side by side within the same social environment. Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, and Confucian minorities have long interacted harmoniously with the Hindu majority through patterns of coexistence shaped by local wisdom, communal ethics, and cultural accommodation. The Balinese experience demonstrates that diversity does not inevitably lead to conflict; rather, it may become a foundation for social harmony when supported by inclusive cultural values and collective commitment toward peaceful coexistence.

One of the unique characteristics of Balinese society lies in the strong influence of local philosophical traditions such as *Tri Hita Karana* and *menyama braya* (Dewi et al., 2024; Padmadewi et al., 2025). These cultural values emphasize harmony between humans and God, harmony among human beings, and harmony between humans and nature. Such philosophies contribute significantly to shaping inclusive attitudes toward diversity and strengthening social solidarity across religious boundaries. In practice, local wisdom functions not only as cultural heritage but also as a social mechanism regulating communal interaction and preventing sectarian conflict within society.

Recent scholarship has generated substantial insights into religious moderation in Bali by examining the roles of local wisdom, customary institutions, and interreligious relations. Studies on *menyama braya*, for instance, demonstrate how principles of social brotherhood, mutual assistance, and communal solidarity contribute to Hindu–Muslim harmony, while research on *Tri Hita Karana* highlights the importance of balanced relationships between God, human beings, and the environment in fostering social and religious coexistence. Other studies have examined *desa adat* as a customary institution

that contributes to the transmission and institutionalisation of tolerance, social integration, and religious moderation. Nevertheless, these studies have predominantly approached Balinese religious moderation from sociological, cultural, educational, or theological perspectives, leaving insufficient attention to how such local practices intersect with the normative framework of Islamic law. In particular, previous scholarship has not adequately explained how Muslim communities negotiate local traditions such as *menyama braya* and the social authority of *desa adat* through Islamic legal concepts such as *‘urf*, *maslahah*, and *ta’ayush*, nor how their legitimacy may be assessed through comparative madhhab reasoning. This study therefore addresses a more specific gap by examining religious moderation in Bali as an intersection between local customary practices, interreligious relations, and Islamic jurisprudence. It asks how *menyama braya*, *Tri Hita Karana*, and *desa adat* shape Muslim engagement with religious diversity, how these practices relate to Islamic legal principles concerning local custom and coexistence, and how comparative madhhab perspectives, particularly the Shafi’i tradition, assess the accommodation of Balinese local traditions within Muslim social and religious life. By bringing local Balinese mechanisms of religious coexistence into dialogue with comparative Islamic legal reasoning, this study advances existing scholarship beyond a general sociocultural account of religious moderation and aligns the analysis with the comparative madhhab and Islamic-law orientation.

This study aims to analyze the implementation of religious moderation in Bali by focusing on several important dimensions, namely understanding of moderation, national commitment, tolerance and interreligious relations, rejection of violence and extremism, and the role of local wisdom in maintaining social harmony. In addition, this research also explores contemporary challenges faced by religious communities in sustaining moderation amid globalization and digital transformation. Through a qualitative approach, this study seeks to contribute to broader academic discussions concerning multiculturalism, interreligious relations, and peacebuilding within plural societies.

Methods

This study employed a qualitative socio-legal approach to examine how Islamic law is negotiated within a religiously plural society through the intersection of religious moderation, local cultural norms, and madhhab-based Islamic legal reasoning among Muslims in Bali. The research was conducted in Denpasar City, Bali, from January to June 2025. Denpasar was selected as the research site because of its religious and cultural diversity and the interaction between Muslim communities and other religious groups. The study involved 6 informants, comprising Islamic religious leaders/ulama, Muslim community members, interfaith/community leaders, and other relevant informants.

Participants were selected purposively based on their direct involvement in Islamic religious practice, community activities, interreligious relations, or knowledge of religious moderation and local cultural norms. Informants were recruited through religious institutions, community networks, and referrals from initial participants. Inclusion criteria required participants to be adults, have relevant knowledge or experience, and be willing to participate voluntarily. Recruitment continued until thematic saturation was reached, indicated by the point at which additional interviews produced no substantially new themes. Data were collected through participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and documentation.

Data were analysed thematically through data condensation, initial coding, categorisation, thematic development, interpretation, and conclusion drawing (Naeem et al., 2023). After repeated reading of the transcripts, observation notes, and documents, meaningful segments were assigned initial codes and subsequently grouped into broader categories and themes. The analytical framework operationalised religious moderation through four dimensions: national commitment, tolerance, non-violence, and accommodation of local culture. National commitment was coded through references to acceptance of the Indonesian state, constitutional principles, civic responsibility, and participation in national or community life; tolerance through respect for religious differences, freedom of religious practice, and interreligious interaction; non-violence through rejection of coercion, intimidation, hostility, and violence in religious and social relations; and accommodation of local culture through the acceptance, adaptation, negotiation, or rejection of local cultural practices in relation to Islamic norms. Additional codes were developed for madhhab-based legal reasoning, particularly references to the Shafi'i and Maliki schools, local customary norms, religious negotiation, and legal-cultural tensions. The analysis proceeded iteratively, with emerging themes continuously compared across informant groups and data sources. Contradictory or negative cases were retained rather than excluded and were examined in relation to informants' social positions, religious backgrounds, and contextual differences. This procedure enabled the study to identify both dominant patterns and significant variations in the negotiation of Islamic law and religious moderation.

The credibility of the findings was strengthened through source and method triangulation (Lemon & Hayes, 2020). Source triangulation involved comparing accounts from Islamic religious leaders, Muslim community members, interfaith/community leaders, and other relevant informants, while method triangulation compared interview data with participant observations and documentary evidence. Where discrepancies occurred, the researchers revisited the relevant transcripts, field notes, and documents and, where

necessary, sought clarification from participants to determine whether the differences represented substantive variations rather than data inconsistencies. The researchers also maintained reflexive field notes to acknowledge their positionality and monitor how their academic, religious, or institutional backgrounds might influence participant interaction, data interpretation, and coding decisions. Ethical procedures included voluntary participation, informed consent, the right to decline questions or withdraw where applicable, confidentiality, and anonymisation through pseudonyms or removal of identifying information. Research materials, including recordings, transcripts, and field notes, were securely stored and accessed only by the research team. Ethical approval was obtained from (insert institution/ethics committee and approval number, if applicable). Where formal ethical approval was not required, the study followed the relevant institutional and national ethical guidelines for research involving human participants.

Result and Discussion

Understanding Religious Moderation in Bali

Religious moderation in Bali cannot be separated from the broader sociocultural structure that shapes the character of Balinese society itself (Bakar et al., 2025). Bali is widely recognized as one of the most culturally resilient regions in Indonesia, where religion, tradition, and communal life are deeply interconnected. Although Hinduism remains the dominant religion, Bali simultaneously accommodates Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, and Confucian communities that have coexisted for decades within the same social environment. This multicultural reality creates a distinctive social atmosphere in which diversity becomes part of everyday life rather than a source of permanent tension (Nugroho, 2024). In this context, religious moderation develops not merely as a formal discourse promoted by the state, but as a collective social consciousness reproduced continuously through interaction, tradition, and local wisdom.

The findings of this study demonstrate that the people of Bali generally understand religious moderation as an attitude that prioritizes balance, tolerance, mutual respect, and social harmony. Moderation is not interpreted as reducing commitment toward religious teachings, nor as an attempt to blur theological boundaries between religions. Instead, moderation is perceived as the ethical capacity to practice one's religion sincerely while simultaneously acknowledging and respecting the existence of others who possess different beliefs and traditions (Ahmad, 2021; Rahmadi & Hamdan, 2023). This understanding reflects a mature pattern of religiosity in which personal faith remains strong without developing into exclusivism or hostility toward other communities. Such findings strengthen Yusuf al-Qardawi's argument that moderation (*wasathiyah*)

represents the ideal position of Islam in balancing spiritual commitment and social responsibility (Qardhawi, 2020).

Several informants emphasized that harmony constitutes the central foundation of social life in Bali. Social conflict is considered highly undesirable because it may disrupt not only interpersonal relations but also the spiritual and cultural balance of the community. For this reason, religious expression in Bali tends to prioritize peaceful coexistence and collective stability over confrontational attitudes. The maintenance of social harmony is viewed as a shared responsibility involving religious leaders, traditional authorities, local institutions, and society at large. This collective orientation strengthens social cohesion and contributes significantly to minimizing sectarian tensions within multicultural settings.

An important aspect revealed during the research process is the strong influence of local philosophy in shaping moderate religious attitudes. The philosophy of Tri Hita Karana occupies a central position within Balinese society because it teaches the importance of maintaining harmony between humans and God, harmony among fellow humans, and harmony between humans and nature. Informants explained that this philosophy functions not only as a cultural ideal but also as a practical ethical framework guiding everyday social interaction. Through this value system, communities are encouraged to prioritize cooperation, empathy, and mutual understanding in dealing with diversity. (Geertz, 1973:417) previously argued that Balinese culture is deeply rooted in symbolic systems emphasizing collective equilibrium and communal integration.

The research further found that moderation in Bali develops naturally through patterns of social interaction occurring within daily communal life. Individuals from different religious backgrounds interact continuously in markets, schools, workplaces, neighborhood associations, and public institutions. Such repeated interaction gradually builds familiarity, social trust, and emotional closeness among communities (Sheng & Kairam, 2020). As social relations become stronger, prejudices and stereotypes tend to diminish because people encounter one another not merely as representatives of religious groups, but as neighbors, colleagues, and fellow citizens sharing common social experiences.

Another important finding concerns the role of family and traditional community structures in transmitting moderate values across generations. Parents, customary leaders, and religious authorities collectively shape social norms emphasizing respect for diversity and peaceful coexistence. Since childhood, individuals are introduced to communal ethics that discourage hostility and encourage mutual assistance regardless of religious identity. Consequently, moderation becomes internalized as part of social character formation rather than functioning solely as an external political or religious

campaign. This finding confirms Abdurrahman Wahid's view that tolerance in Indonesia grows effectively when rooted in local culture and communal ethics rather than imposed through rigid formalism (Wahid, 2006)

The study also identified that religious moderation in Bali is strengthened by the active involvement of religious leaders in maintaining interreligious communication. Religious leaders frequently participate in social dialogues, communal meetings, and interfaith activities aimed at reinforcing relationships among communities. Their presence within public discourse plays a significant role in preventing misunderstanding and reducing the potential for religious polarization. Several informants even emphasized that religious leaders possess moral legitimacy capable of calming tensions during moments of social sensitivity.

Nevertheless, the findings indicate that moderation in Bali is not entirely free from contemporary challenges. The rapid growth of digital communication and the increasing influence of transnational ideological movements have introduced new forms of religious discourse into local communities (Ahmed et al., 2025; Aidulsyah, 2023). Several informants expressed concern regarding the spread of intolerant narratives through social media platforms, particularly those promoting exclusivism and rejecting local cultural traditions. Modern religious transformation often creates tension between local traditions and puritanical interpretations emerging from global ideological movements (Rahman, 2017).

From a broader analytical perspective, the Balinese experience demonstrates that religious moderation is fundamentally a social process requiring continuous reinforcement through education, culture, dialogue, and collective participation. Moderation cannot survive solely through formal regulation or governmental policy; it must also be rooted within everyday social practices and communal ethics. Bali therefore offers an important sociocultural example regarding how plural societies may cultivate peaceful coexistence through the integration of religion, local wisdom, and social solidarity.

National Commitment in Multicultural Society

National commitment constitutes one of the most important dimensions of religious moderation identified in this study. The findings demonstrate that religious communities in Bali generally possess strong commitments toward Indonesia as a pluralistic nation-state founded upon Pancasila. Religious identity and national identity are not perceived as contradictory elements; rather, both are integrated harmoniously within social and civic life. This condition reflects the broader Indonesian Islamic tradition that places nationalism and religion within complementary rather than opposing frameworks (Effendy, 2003).

Religious leaders interviewed during this study consistently emphasized that maintaining national unity constitutes part of religious responsibility. According to them, religion should function as a moral force supporting peace, justice, and collective welfare rather than becoming an instrument of political division. This perspective contributes significantly to strengthening social cohesion within Bali's multicultural environment. Such findings are in line with Hefner's argument that Indonesian Islam historically developed through accommodative interactions between religion, democracy, and civic pluralism (Hefner, 2000).

The integration between religious and national values can be observed through various forms of communal cooperation involving different religious groups (Qamaruddin et al., 2025; Setinawati et al., 2025a; Supriadi et al., 2026). During national commemorations, disaster relief activities, social programs, and cultural festivals, communities participate collectively regardless of religious affiliation. Such cooperation reinforces social solidarity and nurtures a shared sense of belonging as Indonesian citizens. Informants explained that collective participation in social activities strengthens emotional attachment among communities and reduces the possibility of sectarian division.

The study further found that Pancasila is widely perceived as an inclusive ideological foundation capable of accommodating Indonesia's religious diversity. Informants frequently described Pancasila as a meeting point enabling different religious communities to coexist peacefully without losing their respective identities. This perception strengthens public support toward national integration and discourages sectarian exclusivism. Indonesian pluralism can only survive when religion contributes positively toward democratic coexistence and civic tolerance (Majid, 2008).

Another significant finding concerns the rejection of radical ideological movements threatening national stability. Religious leaders in Bali strongly oppose extremist groups attempting to politicize religion or replace the constitutional foundation of the state with exclusive ideological systems. Radicalism is viewed as incompatible with both religious ethics and Indonesian multicultural values (Ludigdo & Mashuri, 2021; Muhammad & Hiariej, 2021). Several informants stated that radical movements often exploit social dissatisfaction and religious sentiment for political purposes, thereby threatening social harmony and national stability.

Historical consciousness also contributes to strengthening national commitment among Balinese communities. Informants often referred to Indonesia's struggle for independence as evidence that unity across religious and ethnic differences remains essential for national survival. This historical awareness reinforces collective responsibility

toward maintaining social harmony and preventing sectarian conflict (Liu et al., 2025). In this regard, national commitment is not merely political loyalty but also a moral responsibility rooted in collective historical memory.

Educational institutions play an important role in cultivating national commitment through multicultural learning, civic education, and interreligious interaction (Abdullah, 2024). Schools and universities in Bali frequently become spaces where students from diverse backgrounds engage collaboratively in academic, cultural, and social activities. Such interaction contributes positively to shaping inclusive perspectives among younger generations and preventing exclusivist attitudes from developing within educational environments.

In sociological terms, the findings indicate that national commitment functions as a social adhesive connecting diverse communities within a shared civic framework. Religious moderation therefore operates not only at the theological level but also within the broader context of citizenship, collective identity, and social responsibility. Bali demonstrates that nationalism and religious diversity may coexist harmoniously when supported by inclusive leadership, civic ethics, and communal solidarity.

Effective Tolerance and Interreligious Relations

Tolerance represents one of the most visible manifestations of religious moderation within Balinese society. The findings of this study reveal that interreligious relations in Bali are generally characterized by openness, mutual respect, and active social cooperation. Religious communities interact naturally in various dimensions of daily life without allowing theological differences to become sources of social hostility. This finding supports Yasid's argument that moderation can only develop effectively when social interaction is built upon mutual respect and recognition of diversity (Yazid, 2014).

One of the clearest expressions of tolerance is the reciprocal respect demonstrated during religious celebrations and communal ceremonies. Muslim communities frequently assist in maintaining security and social order during Hindu religious festivals such as *Nyepi* and *Galungan*. Conversely, Hindu communities show respect toward Islamic religious observances, including Friday prayers and Eid celebrations. These reciprocal practices strengthen emotional ties among communities and contribute significantly to preserving social harmony.

The research found that tolerance in Bali is not merely symbolic but deeply rooted within everyday social interaction. People from different religious backgrounds commonly work together in markets, schools, government offices, and neighborhood organizations. Such interaction creates social familiarity that gradually reduces stereotypes and prejudice

among communities. Inclusive social interaction within Indonesian society historically played a major role in maintaining coexistence among religious groups (Woodward, 2011).

The concept of *menyama braya* also plays an essential role in shaping tolerant attitudes within Balinese society (Arjawa & Zulkifli, 2021). This cultural principle encourages individuals to regard others as members of one extended family regardless of religious or ethnic differences (Fahmi et al., 2025). Informants explained that this philosophy has long functioned as a moral guideline promoting social inclusion and communal harmony across diverse communities. Consequently, social relations are often based more upon kinship and communal solidarity than rigid religious categorization.

The study additionally found that traditional institutions (*desa adat*) contribute significantly to maintaining interreligious harmony. Community leaders often mediate social tensions through deliberation and dialogue before conflicts escalate into larger disputes. This communal conflict-resolution mechanism strengthens social stability and prevents sectarian polarization within local communities. Such findings indicate that local institutions remain highly relevant in preserving peace within multicultural societies.

Nevertheless, several challenges to tolerance were identified during the research process. Informants expressed concern regarding the rapid spread of hate speech, misinformation, and identity politics through social media platforms. Digital communication has enabled intolerant narratives originating outside Bali to influence local social dynamics. Digital religious networks increasingly influence patterns of religious understanding among contemporary Muslim communities, including the spread of intolerant narratives (Handayani & Alfida, 2025; Zaimina, 2025).

Despite these challenges, the findings suggest that Bali's strong social traditions continue to provide resilience against polarization and communal conflict. Religious leaders, traditional authorities, and local communities collectively maintain inclusive social norms that prioritize harmony over confrontation. Bali therefore offers an important example regarding how multicultural societies may sustain tolerance through local wisdom, social interaction, and communal solidarity.

Rejection of Violence and Religious Extremism

Another important dimension of religious moderation identified in this study is the collective rejection of violence and religious extremism. Religious communities in Bali generally perceive violence committed in the name of religion as contradictory to both religious teachings and humanitarian principles. This perception has become increasingly significant following traumatic historical experiences related to terrorism and radical

violence in Indonesia. Extremism often emerges from narrow religious interpretations detached from broader ethical and humanitarian values (Azra, 2016).

The Bali bombings left deep social and psychological impacts on local communities. Informants explained that the tragedy strengthened public awareness regarding the dangers of religious extremism and intolerance. Since then, religious leaders, local authorities, and community organizations have intensified efforts to promote peacebuilding, interfaith dialogue, and social solidarity as preventive measures against radicalization. Several informants emphasized that collective trauma encouraged communities to become more proactive in protecting social harmony.

The findings reveal that religious leaders consistently emphasize peaceful interpretations of religious teachings within sermons, educational activities, and communal engagement. Violence is considered incompatible with the ethical foundations of religion, which fundamentally promote compassion, justice, and human dignity. Moderation in Islam requires the rejection of excessive attitudes leading to hostility, intolerance, and destruction (Shihab, 2019).

Several informants highlighted that radicalism frequently develops through narrow textual interpretations detached from broader social realities. Extremist groups often manipulate religious doctrines selectively while ignoring ethical principles concerning mercy, coexistence, and humanity. Therefore, contextual religious understanding is regarded as essential in preventing the spread of intolerant ideologies. Religious interpretation should consider changing social realities rather than relying solely upon rigid literalism.

Educational institutions were also identified as strategic arenas for preventing extremism. Schools, universities, and religious boarding institutions increasingly incorporate multicultural education, civic values, and moderate religious perspectives into their learning processes (Azmira, 2026). Informants argued that younger generations require critical understanding and digital literacy to resist radical propaganda circulating through online platforms.

The study further found that local culture functions as an important social barrier against radicalization. Balinese traditions emphasizing communal harmony, consensus-building, and social responsibility discourage confrontational behavior and sectarian hostility. Communities generally prefer dialogue and mediation rather than aggressive confrontation when dealing with social tensions. This finding demonstrates the important relationship between cultural resilience and social stability within multicultural societies.

Nevertheless, the influence of global ideological networks remains a continuing challenge. Digital media enables transnational extremist narratives to spread rapidly across geographical boundaries. Some informants expressed concern regarding the

vulnerability of younger individuals who consume unverified religious content through social media without sufficient critical guidance. Martin van Bruinessen noted that transnational ideological movements increasingly influence patterns of religious authority and identity formation within contemporary Indonesian Islam ([Bruinessen, 2013](#)).

In broader terms, the rejection of violence in Bali reflects the integration between religious ethics, local wisdom, and civic responsibility. Religious moderation therefore functions not merely as a theological concept but as a practical social strategy for preserving peace and protecting multicultural coexistence from the threats of extremism and sectarian conflict.

Local Wisdom and Cultural Accommodation

The findings of this study indicate that local wisdom constitutes one of the most important foundations supporting religious moderation in Bali. Cultural values deeply embedded within Balinese society significantly influence social attitudes toward diversity, coexistence, and communal harmony ([Humairah & Hasanah, 2025](#); [Malthuf & Fitri, 2026](#); [Nindya et al., 2026](#)). Rather than functioning separately from religion, local culture interacts dynamically with religious life and contributes to shaping inclusive patterns of social interaction. Balinese social life is strongly influenced by symbolic cultural systems emphasizing collective integration and equilibrium ([Geertz, 1973](#)).

One of the central cultural principles identified during the research is Tri Hita Karana, which emphasizes harmony between humans and God, harmony among human beings, and harmony with nature. This philosophy serves as an ethical framework guiding social relations within Balinese society ([Hisyam et al., 2024](#)). Informants explained that these values are continuously reproduced through family education, communal ceremonies, and customary institutions, thereby strengthening social cohesion among diverse communities.

Another important cultural concept is *menyama braya*, which promotes the idea of regarding all people as brothers and sisters regardless of religious or ethnic identity. This value plays a significant role in fostering social inclusion and reducing communal prejudice ([Arjawa & Zulkifli, 2021](#)). According to several informants, the philosophy of *menyama braya* encourages people to prioritize solidarity, empathy, and collective welfare over sectarian interests.

The research found that Muslim communities in Bali often adapt socially to local customs while maintaining their Islamic identity. Such accommodation can be observed in patterns of social interaction, cultural participation, and communal cooperation.

Informants emphasized that cultural adaptation does not necessarily weaken religious principles; instead, it strengthens social acceptance and facilitates harmonious coexistence within multicultural environments. This finding supports Wahid's perspective that Indonesian Islam historically developed through dialogue with local culture rather than through rigid cultural rejection (Wahid, 2006).

Traditional institutions also contribute substantially to maintaining social harmony. Customary leaders possess moral authority within communities and frequently mediate social disputes through dialogue and consensus-building mechanisms. These institutions function as important social regulators capable of preventing conflicts from escalating into larger communal tensions. In many cases, local communities trust customary mechanisms because they are perceived as culturally legitimate and socially inclusive.

Interestingly, the findings reveal that cultural accommodation strengthens rather than weakens religious moderation. Communities capable of engaging constructively with local culture tend to demonstrate more flexible and inclusive attitudes toward diversity. Conversely, rigid rejection of local traditions may increase social exclusivism and weaken communal relationships. This indicates that cultural openness plays an important role in preserving peaceful coexistence within plural societies.

However, cultural accommodation also faces challenges from groups promoting puritanical religious interpretations rejecting local traditions as incompatible with religious teachings. Several informants expressed concern regarding the gradual decline of cultural literacy among younger generations influenced by globalized digital culture. Such conditions may potentially weaken traditional mechanisms supporting social harmony and moderation within Balinese society.

Despite these challenges, local wisdom continues to function as a crucial social resource sustaining peaceful coexistence in Bali. The integration between cultural ethics, religious values, and communal solidarity demonstrates that moderation can develop organically through local social traditions. Bali therefore provides an important example of how cultural accommodation may strengthen religious moderation within multicultural societies.

Challenges of Religious Moderation in Contemporary Society

Although Bali is often portrayed as a successful example of religious harmony in Indonesia, the findings of this study reveal that the sustainability of religious moderation continues to face complex contemporary challenges. Social transformation, globalization, political polarization, and the rapid expansion of digital communication have significantly affected patterns of religious interaction within society. These developments create new

dynamics requiring continuous adaptation from religious institutions, community leaders, and government authorities in maintaining social cohesion amid diversity.

One of the most significant challenges identified during this research is the increasing influence of social media in shaping religious perceptions and public opinion. Digital platforms provide unrestricted access to religious narratives originating from various ideological backgrounds, including those promoting exclusivism, intolerance, and hostility toward diversity. Barton and Fealy explained that digital media has transformed religious authority by enabling radical and conservative narratives to circulate rapidly across social networks.

Several religious leaders interviewed in this study expressed concern regarding the emergence of rigid religious attitudes influenced by transnational ideological movements. These movements often promote literal interpretations of religious texts while rejecting local culture, interreligious dialogue, and multicultural values. In some cases, such perspectives create social distance between communities because religious identity becomes increasingly exclusive and confrontational.

The study further found that identity politics constitutes another important challenge to religious moderation in contemporary Indonesia. Political contestation frequently utilizes religious symbols and sentiments to mobilize public support, particularly during electoral periods (Karman et al., 2024). Informants argued that the politicization of religion may intensify social polarization because communities are encouraged to view political differences through theological perspectives. This phenomenon potentially undermines interreligious trust and weakens social cohesion within multicultural societies.

Economic inequality and social marginalization were also identified as factors contributing to the vulnerability of certain groups toward radical narratives. Several informants explained that social frustration and feelings of exclusion may create fertile conditions for extremist ideologies promising identity, recognition, or social solidarity. Social instability and unequal access to economic opportunities often contribute to the emergence of radical social movements within plural societies (Hefner, 2000).

Another challenge concerns the gradual decline of cultural literacy among younger generations. Bali's traditions of moderation have historically been supported by local wisdom, customary institutions, and communal cultural practices emphasizing togetherness and social balance. However, globalization and digital culture have increasingly shifted the orientation of younger people away from local traditions toward more transnational forms of identity formation.

Educational institutions consequently play an increasingly important role in addressing these contemporary challenges. The findings indicate that schools, universities, and religious educational institutions must actively strengthen multicultural education, critical digital literacy, and moderate religious understanding among students. Informants consistently emphasized that younger generations require spaces for interreligious interaction and constructive dialogue to develop inclusive perspectives toward diversity.

The study additionally highlights the importance of collaboration among religious leaders, customary institutions, civil society organizations, and government authorities in preserving moderation within contemporary society. Religious moderation cannot be sustained through isolated institutional efforts because the challenges faced today are multidimensional and interconnected. Effective responses require collective engagement involving educational reform, community empowerment, cultural preservation, and digital literacy programs capable of countering extremist narratives in both physical and virtual spaces.

Despite these challenges, the findings suggest that Bali continues to possess strong social resilience rooted in communal solidarity, local wisdom, and interreligious cooperation. Social harmony in Bali is not the result of the absence of differences, but rather the product of continuous negotiation, dialogue, and collective commitment toward peaceful coexistence. Bali therefore offers valuable lessons for strengthening religious moderation within diverse societies facing contemporary social transformation.

Conclusion

This study concludes that religious moderation in Bali develops not merely as a formal discourse promoted by the state, but as a sociocultural practice deeply rooted in communal life, local wisdom, and interreligious interaction. The values of tolerance, mutual respect, and peaceful coexistence are continuously reproduced through cultural traditions, educational processes, and collective social engagement within Balinese society. Philosophical principles such as *Tri Hita Karana* and *menyama braya* significantly contribute to shaping inclusive attitudes toward diversity and strengthening social cohesion among religious communities. The findings further demonstrate that religious moderation in Bali is reflected through strong national commitment, harmonious interreligious relations, rejection of violence and extremism, and constructive cultural accommodation among communities. Religious leaders, customary institutions, educational environments, and local communities collectively maintain social harmony through dialogue, cooperation, and peaceful conflict resolution. Nevertheless, the sustainability of moderation continues to face contemporary challenges related to digital

radicalism, identity politics, globalization, and the spread of intolerant narratives through social media. Therefore, strengthening religious moderation requires continuous efforts through multicultural education, digital literacy, preservation of local wisdom, and collaborative engagement among social institutions. Overall, the Balinese experience offers an important sociocultural model for understanding how plural societies may cultivate peaceful coexistence through the integration of religious ethics, local culture, and civic values.

References

- Abdullah, M. A. (2024). From Dialogue to Engagement: Experiences of Civil Society Organizations in Religious Literacy Programs for Multicultural Education Curriculum in Indonesia. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 21(2), 264–274. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v21i2.10234>
- Ahmad, A. S. (2021). Religious Moderation In Islamic Religious Practices Through Wasathiyah Concept. *Sunan Kalijaga International Journal on Islamic Educational Research*, 5(2), 72–84. <https://doi.org/10.14421/skijier.2021.52.06>
- Ahmed, S. S., Salman, A. S., Mohammed, A. G. A., Apyshova, A., & Jawad, A. M. (2025). Reimagining Islamic Political Structures in Contemporary Muslim Societies: The Role of Global Networks and Transnational Movements. *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 10(2), 513–534. <https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v10i2.13368>
- Aidulsyah, F. (2023). The Rise of Urban Salafism in Indonesia: The Social-Media and Pop Culture of new Indonesian Islamic Youth. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 51(4), 252–259. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajss.2023.07.003>
- Alias, M. A. A., Mohd Jailani, M. R., Wan Ismail, W. A. F., & Baharuddin, A. S. (2024). The Integration of Five Main Goals of Shariah in The Production of Science and Technology for Human Well-Being. *AL-MAQASID: The International Journal of Maqasid Studies and Advanced Islamic Research*, 5(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.55265/al-maqasid.v5i1.79>
- Amartha, T. Z., & Fauzi, A. M. (2025). Social Tolerance in Daily Life Between Muslims and Hindus In Pemuteran Village, Bali. *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi*, 14(1), 142–155. <https://doi.org/10.20961/jas.v14i1.94363>
- Arifin, B. S., Ruswandi, U., Badrudin, B., Utami, R., & Marlina, Y. (2026). From Internalization to Social Norms: An Integrative Model of Religious Moderation in Rural Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 14(2), 1229–1324. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v14i2.1979>
- Arjawa, I. G. P. B. S., & Zulkifli, Z. (2021). The Social Integration of Hindu and Muslim Communities: The Practice of “Menyama-Braya” in Contemporary Bali. *Studia Islamika*, 28(1), 149–178. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v28i1.10914>
- Azmira, T. (2026). Multicultural Islamic Education Curriculum and Social Cohesion: Negotiating Religious Identity in Diverse Communities. *Multicultural Islamic Education Review*, 4(1), 145–162. <https://doi.org/10.23917/mier.v4i1.16875>
- Azra, A. (2016). *Transformasi Politik Islam: Radikalisme, Khilafatisme, dan Demokrasi Kencana*.
- Bakar, A., Prastyo, A. T., Ismail, A. B., Arifin, M. S., Inayati, I. N., & Himmatin, U. (2025).

- Transformative Islamic Religious Education Model for Muslim Student Minorities at Madrasah Aliyah in Bali. *J-PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 12(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.18860/jpai.v12i1.36374>
- Bruinessen, M. van. (2013). *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the "Conservative Turn"*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Dewi, C. I. R. S., Triyuwono, I., & Hariadi, B. (2024). Corporate social responsibility model based on Tri Hita Karana philosophy. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 10(1), 2295056. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2295056>
- Effendy, B. (2003). *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Vol. 109). Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Eliza, Samad, D., Erwin, Fahmi, K., & Hadi, R. T. (2026). From Coexistence to Cooperation: Religious Moderation, Civil Pluralism, and Interfaith Social Capital in Kampung Pondok. *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies*, 12(1), 23–44. https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v12i1.10973
- Fahmi, M., Nuruzzaman, M. A., Hilmy, M., Alfiah, H. Y., Nadlir, N., Abdul Aziz, N. A., & Huriyah, L. (2025). Multicultural Islamic Education as Strategy for Strengthening Social Cohesion in Islamic School. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 8(1), 154–175. <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v8i1.67>
- Fathurrohman, R., Anna, D. N., Sibawaihi, S., & Fahmi, M. Z. (2024). Framing Religious Hoaxes: Logical, Religious, and Legal Perspectives in Indonesia. *Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Dan Lintas Budaya*, 8(2), 141–156. <https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v8i2.15545>
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures; Selected Essays*. Basic books.
- Handayani, R., & Alfida, A. (2025). Religious Moderation Discourses on Digital Platforms. *Insaniyat: Journal of Islam and Humanities*, 9(2), 165–177. <https://doi.org/10.15408/gmqz2712>
- Hefner, R. W. (2000). *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7szvv>
- Hidayatullah, M. F., Nasih, A. M., Sultoni, A., Ismail, Z., Gümrükçüoğlu, S., & Syamsu, A. (2026). Fostering Dialogue, Tolerance, and Religious Harmony in Indonesia through the Local Tradition of 'Bersih Desa.' *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, 21(1), 301–316. <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol21no1.18>
- Hisyam, M. A., Damyati, A. R., Hambali, K. B. M. K., & Toksoz, H. (2024). Tri Hita Karana and Islamic Ethics: Bridging Universal Values for Social Harmony and Environmental Sustainability. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam*, 14(2), 167–194. <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2024.14.2.167-194>
- Hjerm, M., Eger, M. A., Bohman, A., & Fors Connolly, F. (2020). A New Approach to the Study of Tolerance: Conceptualizing and Measuring Acceptance, Respect, and Appreciation of Difference. *Social Indicators Research*, 147(3), 897–919. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-019-02176-y>
- Humairah, & Hasanah, N. (2025). The Dynamics of Religious Conflict and Tolerance in a Multicultural Village. *Jurnal Al-Hikmah*, 23(2), 109–126. <https://doi.org/10.35719/zjzz4108>
- Hurriyah. (2023). Asserting Civic Space of Micro Religious Minorities: Evidence from Indonesia. *Asian Politics & Policy*, 15(2), 185–204. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12685>
- Idrus, A. M., Mustafa, A., & Asti, M. J. (2022). Pengembangan Moderasi Mazhab di Kalangan Mahasiswa Perbandingan Mazhab dan Hukum UINAM: Relevansi Pemikiran Islam Moderat. *KURIOSITAS: Media Komunikasi Sosial Dan Keagamaan*,

- 15(1), 138–158. <https://doi.org/10.35905/kur.v15i1.2923>
- Indonesia, K. A. R. (2019). *Moderasi beragama*. Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Kementerian Agama RI.
- Institut, T. S. (2024). *Kondisi Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan (FoRB) di Indonesia pada Tahun 2024*. <https://setara-institute.org/publikasi/kondisi-kebebasan-beragama-dan-berkeyakinan-forb-di-indonesia-pada-tahun-2024/>
- Karman, Hamad, I., & Rusadi, U. (2024). Commodification of Instrumental Islamic Piety in Indonesian Political Contestation 2019. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 34(3), 265–283. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2023.2295871>
- Kubangun, N. A., Kubangun, M. T., & Noya, A. (2025). Polemic of Religious Intolerance among Indonesian Users on YouTube. *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)*, 9(2), 189–206. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2025.9.2.25590>
- Lemon, L., & Hayes, J. (2020). Enhancing Trustworthiness of Qualitative Findings: Using Leximancer for Qualitative Data Analysis Triangulation. *The Qualitative Report*, 25(3), 604–614. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2020.4222>
- Liu, Y., Rakthin, C., & Budianto, L. (2025). Religious Moderation and Community Cohesion: Exploring Social Memory, Identity, and Solidarity in the Phu Khao Thong Muslim Community, Ayutthaya. *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, 24(1), 379–392. <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol24.iss1.art10>
- Ludigdo, U., & Mashuri, A. (2021). Negative Evaluations of National Ethics and Its Impact on Islamic Radicalism. *Sage Open*, 11(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440211041099>
- Majid, N. (2008). *Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan*. Mizan Pustaka.
- Maloko, M. T., Chotban, S., Fuady, M. I. N., & Hasdiwanti. (2024). Analyzing the Prohibition of Interfaith Marriage in Indonesia: Legal, Religious, and Human Rights Perspectives. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 10(1), 2308174. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2308174>
- Malthuf, M., & Fitri, D. K. (2026). Fostering Social Harmony in Diversity: Inter-Ethnic Interactions Among Sasak, Bali, and Samawa Communities in Lunyuk District, Sumbawa. *Society*, 17(1), 42–51. <https://doi.org/10.20414/society.v17i1.14888>
- Muhammad, A., & Hiariej, E. (2021). Deradicalization program in Indonesia radicalizing the radicals. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 7(1), 1905219. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2021.1905219>
- Muhibbi, M. S., Iksan, Yaakob, Mohd Faiz Mohd, Sibawaihi, Utama, S., & Fahmi, M. (2025). Religious Moderation Practices in Indonesian Higher Education Institutions: A Systematic Literature Review on Typology, Strategy, and Evaluation. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 22(2), 423–445. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v22i2.11691>
- Mutalib, L. A., Ismail, W. A. F. W., Baharuddin, A. S., Hassan, B. M. M., Gunardi, S., Mamat, Z., & Hashim, H. (2025). Kewajiban Berpegang Kepada Mazhab: Memahami Bahaya Pemahaman “La Mazhaby” dalam Konteks Masyarakat Era Globalisasi dan Digitalisasi. *LexForensica: Journal of Forensic Justice and Socio-Legal Research*, 2(2), 44–56. <https://doi.org/10.33102/bn4rt117>
- Naeem, M., Ozuem, W., Howell, K., & Ranfagni, S. (2023). A Step-by-Step Process of Thematic Analysis to Develop a Conceptual Model in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231205789>
- Nashori, F., Nurjannah, N., Diana, R. R., Faraz, F., Khairunnisa, N. Z., & Muwaga, M. (2024).

- Inter-Religious Social Prejudice among Indonesian Muslim Students. *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, 23(1), 241–274. <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol23.iss1.art8>
- Nasriah, S., Herman, Ramli, Yaqinah, S. N., & Aderus, A. F. A. (2026). Institutionalization of Da'wah and Religious Moderation: A Siyasah Syar'iyah Analysis in Gowa Regency, Indonesia. *Jurnal Al-Dustur*, 9(2), 324–341. <https://doi.org/10.30863/aldustur.v9i2.11474>
- Nindya, N. M. A. N. D., Mudzakkir, M., Fauzi, A. M., & Syaifullah, K. (2026). Sustaining the Ngerebong Tradition: Reinterpreting Rituals in an Interfaith and Intercultural Context. *INFERENSI: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 19(2), 187–204. <https://doi.org/10.18326/infsl3.v19i2.187-204>
- Nugroho, M. A. (2024). Religious Tolerance Model in Salatiga: Analysis of the Implementation of Religious Moderation Concept in a Multicultural City. *International Journal on Advanced Science, Education, and Religion*, 7(4), 27–43. <https://doi.org/10.33648/ijoaser.v7i4.732>
- Padmadewi, N. N., Sukadana, I. M. S. A., Artini, L. P., & Ana, K. T. A. (2025). Inclusive Education Practices with Balinese Local Values of “Menyama Braya” in a Primary Bilingual School in North Bali. *Jurnal Kajian Bali (Journal of Bali Studies)*, 15(1), 258–284. <https://doi.org/10.24843/JKB.2025.v15.i01.p10>
- Prasetyo, H., & Halimatusa'diyah, I. (2024). Examining Muslim Tolerance Toward Ordinary Non-Muslims: Social, Religious, and Political Tolerance in Indonesia. *International Journal of Sociology*, 54(2), 112–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207659.2024.2301881>
- Qamaruddin, M. Y., Salju, S., Harahap, B., Tamami, A., Isman, A. F., & Katman, M. N. (2025). Islamic Legal Hybridity in the Mappatoi System: Sharia Economic Adaptation among Minority Muslim Communities in Plural Society. *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah*, 23(1), 139–155. <https://dx.doi.org/10.30984/jis.v23i1.3556>
- Qardhawi, Y. (2020). *Islam Jalan Tengah: Menjauhi Sikap Berlebihan dalam Beragama*. Mizan Pustaka.
- Rahmadi, R., & Hamdan, H. (2023). Religious Moderation In the Context of Islamic Education: A Multidisciplinary Perspective and Its Application in Islamic Educational Institutions In Indonesia. *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora*, 21(1), 59–82. <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v21i1.8487>
- Rahman, F. (2017). *Islam & Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Vol. 15). University of Chicago Press.
- Raya, M. K. F., Siswati, V., Kawakip, A. N., Tohari, A., Setyawan, W. H., & Mukhibat, M. (2023). Menyama Braya : Balinese Hindu-Muslim Ethnoreligious construction in the creation of peace education. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 10(1), 2237289. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2237289>
- Risdayah, E., Paryati, Junaedi, J., Kohar, W., Iwan Setiawan, A., Aziz, R., & Faizin, B. (2026). Synergizing Customary Law and Religious Moderation in the Societal Life of Tigawasa Village, Buleleng, Bali. *Khazanah Hukum*, 8(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v8i1.49673>
- Riza, M., Nurdin, R., Qodir, I., Wirianto, D., & Mardianto, M. (2026). Reframing Sufism as A Framework for Religious Moderation: Negotiating Islamic Authority and Social Cohesion in the Indonesian Majelis Pengkajian Tauhid Tasawuf (MPTT-I). *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 50(1), 418. <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v50i1.1520>
- Setinawati, Jeniva, I., Tanyid, M., & Marilyn. (2025). The Framework of Religious Moderation: A socio-Theological Study on the Role of Religion and Culture from Indonesia's Perspective. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 11, 101271. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2024.101271>

- Sheng, J. T., & Kairam, S. R. (2020). From Virtual Strangers to IRL Friends. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction*, 4(CSCW2), 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3415165>
- Shidiq, A. R., Muhtadi, B., & Yusuf, A. A. (2026). Social Media and Religious Intolerance in Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, 33(1), 1–33. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v33i1.45489>
- Shihab, M. Q. (2019). *Wasathiyyah Wawasan Islam tentang Moderasi Beragama*. Lentera Hati Group.
- Suhardiyanto, A., Wijayanti, T., & Irawan, H. (2025). Exploring the Concept of Cultural Divinity in Supporting Religious Moderation in Indonesia. *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, 22(1), 58–74. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v22i1.83209>
- Supardi, & Jauharudin. (2025). Crafting Interfaith Harmony through Ritual and Identity Integration: A Localised Muslim-Hindu Model from Saren, Bali, Indonesia. *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya*, 10(1), 65–80. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v10i1.44464>
- Supriadi, D., Sanusi, A., Reslawati, R., Burhanudin, D., & Pinem, M. (2026). Religious Traditions and Cultural Integration: Pathways to Harmonization and the Promotion of Moderation in Contemporary Muslim Societies. *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, 16(1), 110–126. <https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.161.07>
- Wahid, A. (2006). *Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita: Agama Masyarakat Negara Demokrasi*. The Wahid Institute.
- Woodward, M. (2011). Reflections on Java and Islam 1979-2010. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 49(2), 281–294. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2011.492.281-294>
- Yazid, A. (2014). *Islam Moderat*. Penerbit Erlangga.
- Zaimina, A. B. (2025). Addressing Digital Religious Polarization: Policy Analysis of Religious Moderation Narratives on Indonesian Government Social Media. *Al'Adalah*, 28(1), 21–44. <https://doi.org/10.35719/aladalah.v28i1.572>
- Zainuddin, Z., Amir, B., & Yani, A. (2025). Religion, Identity and Multiculturalism: Finding The Balance Between Spirituality and Social Tolerance. *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora*, 23(1), 95–118. <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v23i1.17392>
- Zainuddin, Z., Efendi, R., Mirdad, J., & Yaacob, S. E. (2022). Siyasah Shar'iyyah and the Politicization of Religion in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 22(2), 357–384. <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v22i2.28165>
- Zulkarnain, Z., & Muhazir, M. (2025). Living Together in Difference: Enhancing Intercultural Communication through Religious Moderation in Post-Conflict Aceh. *MUHARRIK: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial*, 8(2), 49–65. <https://doi.org/10.37680/muharrik.v8i2.7979>
- Interviews:
- IS-1. (2025). Islamic scholar, age 47, Denpasar, Bali.
- IS-2. (2025). Islamic scholar, age 50, Denpasar, Bali.
- MC-1. (2025). Muslim community member, age 42, Denpasar, Bali.
- MC-2. (2025). Muslim community member, age 56, Denpasar, Bali.
- CL-1. (2025). Interfaith/community leader, age 37, Denpasar, Bali.
- OI-1. (2025). Other relevant informant, age 60, Denpasar, Bali.