

Religious Pluralism in the Perspective of Muhammadiyah Youth in Surabaya

Kenneth Sulthon Alafi Al Hallaj*¹, Eka Firmansyah², Erfanda Andi Mada Arectya³, Humanika Dian Nusantara⁴, Suci Yuni Setiawati⁵

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia, elaphy19@gmail.com

²Universitas Muhammadiyah Palu, Indonesia, ekafirmansyah689@gmail.com

³Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya, Indonesia, erfandaandi99@gmail.com

⁴Universitas Muhammadiyah Sidoarjo, Indonesia, dhumanika@gmail.com

⁵Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia,

suciyuni2002@gmail.com

*elaphy19@gmail.com

Received: 2026-April-15

Rev. Req: 2026-May-09

Accepted: 2026-June-20

ABSTRACT: Indonesia's social cohesion depends on how citizens, including young Islamic cadres, interpret religious pluralism. Within Muhammadiyah, internal debates persist between cadres embracing pluralism as a sociological necessity and those rejecting it as theological deviation. This qualitative case study examines how young Muhammadiyah members in Surabaya construct their understanding of religious pluralism and how it shapes their everyday social attitudes. Data were collected via semi-structured interviews with sixteen purposively selected youth wing cadres (Pemuda Muhammadiyah and IMM) in Surabaya, alongside non-participant observation and documentary analysis. Data were analyzed using interactive qualitative modeling (condensation, display, conclusion drawing) with source and method triangulation. The findings reveal three dominant orientations: inclusive-pluralist, tolerant-exclusivist, and selectively pragmatic. Most informants distinguished social pluralism (coexistence and civic cooperation) from theological pluralism (equal salvific validity), affirming the former while rejecting the latter. These orientations are shaped by family socialization, higher education, interfaith exposure, Majelis Tarjih doctrine, and urban social interactions. The study concludes that Muhammadiyah youth in Surabaya practice a moderate, dialogical pluralism anchored in Islamic boundaries (tasamuh) rather than religious relativism. This contributes to the sociology

of religion literature on youth religiosity, moderation, and intra-organizational diversity.

Keywords: *religious pluralism, Muhammadiyah, youth, religious moderation, Surabaya*

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the largest Muslim majority country in the world and, simultaneously, one of the most religiously diverse nations on earth. The state formally recognizes several official religions and numerous local belief systems, and its constitutional foundation, Pancasila, enshrines belief in one God while guaranteeing freedom of religion for every citizen. This plurality is both a national asset and a recurring source of social tension. Civil society monitoring shows that interreligious harmony in many Indonesian cities has stagnated rather than improved in recent years, with hundreds of documented incidents and violations of religious freedom recorded annually, underscoring the urgency of strengthening tolerant religious attitudes at the grassroots level [1]. Within this landscape, how the younger generation of mass religious organizations interprets pluralism becomes critical, because youth cadres are the future custodians of organizational doctrine and everyday social practice.

Muhammadiyah, founded by Ahmad Dahlan in 1912, is one of the two largest socio-religious organizations in Indonesia, with an extensive network of schools, universities, hospitals, and charitable institutions that reaches even Muslim minority provinces such as Papua, West Papua, and East Nusa Tenggara, where the proportion of non Muslim students and teachers in Muhammadiyah's educational institutions can reach seventy to ninety percent [1]. Through preaching, Muhammadiyah has long emphasized that religious and cultural diversity is *sunnatullah*, a natural law willed by God that every believer must respect and even celebrate, and the organization remains actively involved in inter-faith dialogue, peacebuilding, and counter-terrorism programs both nationally and internationally [1]. At the same time, scholarship on Muhammadiyah demonstrates persistent internal contestation. Burhani shows that although Muhammadiyah is predominated by members with moderate religious inclinations, a significant number of cadres remain exclusively puritan in their theology, and the organization's institutional success in social, educational, and economic fields does not automatically translate into the embrace of pluralistic or relativistic religious values [2]. Earlier work by the same author on young Muhammadiyah intellectuals found that understandings of religious pluralism vary considerably even within a single generation: those who accept it

tend to draw on social, political, anthropological, philosophical, and theological arguments and explicitly distinguish pluralism from mere plurality, tolerance, or relativism, whereas those who reject it interpret pluralism strictly as theological relativism incompatible with Islamic doctrine [3]. Brown further situates Muhammadiyah's posture within a broader "civic Islam" framework, arguing that Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama have together built an organisational logic of consensus-making that privileges social harmony even where theological convergence is absent [4].

This ambivalence is not confined to Muhammadiyah's national leadership; it is also reproduced, reinterpreted, and occasionally contested at the grassroots level by youth cadres who navigate competing influences from family religious socialization, formal education, organizational doctrine, digital media, and direct intergroup contact. Philosophically, the very possibility of theological pluralism remains contested in comparative religious thought. D'Costa argues that a genuinely pluralist view of religions is philosophically untenable because any criterion used to validate religious traditions as equally true is itself derived from a particular tradition, making pure neutrality between religions logically impossible [5]. In the Indonesian context, Abdullah traces how the late Muslim intellectual Nurcholish Madjid attempted to reconcile Islamic theology with religious pluralism by grounding tolerance in Qur'anic notions of universal submission (Islam in its lower-case, generic sense) rather than in relativism, an approach that continues to influence progressive currents within Muhammadiyah [6].

National religious-moderation policy has amplified these debates inside Islamic educational and organizational institutions. Nasir and Rijal found that Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia play a critical role in inculcating religious moderation values, particularly through *pesantren* style residential programs that transmit moderate Islamic norms through curriculum and religious activities [7]. Helmy, Kubro, and Ali similarly demonstrate that the Islamic concept of *wasatiyyah* (moderation) is actively reinterpreted by *pesantren* communities in Java to frame inter religious relations, drawing on prophetic traditions to justify peaceful coexistence with non-Muslims [8]. Rahman and Humaidi show that critical thinking pedagogy, particularly through the teaching of Islamic philosophy, can instill religiously moderate dispositions among students by encouraging reflective rather than dogmatic engagement with theological difference [9]. Complementary research on *pesantren* based environmental and social activism in East Java illustrates how moderate Islamic networks translate doctrinal openness into concrete community practice [10].

Youth-focused studies reinforce the importance of generational analysis. Pajarianto, Pribadi, and Galugu found that the younger generation plays a strategic role in promoting moderation through education, social activities, and digital media, with intellectual humility serving as a key psychological mechanism for fostering inclusive religious attitudes [11]. Sumbulah, Zainuddin, and Bawazier draw on the thought of Yusuf al-Qardhawi to argue that flexible, non-binding (ghairu tasyri'iyah) prophetic traditions provide an Islamic legal basis for contextual religious moderation [12], while Fakurulloh emphasizes the role of Pancasila education in shaping a pluralistic civic generation [13]. Athoillah and colleagues likewise document how pesantren institutions operationalize religious-moderation policy into daily pedagogical practice [14]. Beyond the Indonesian context, comparative literature confirms that religious tolerance functions as a measurable contributor to national development [15], and that facilitator guidance during structured inter-faith dialogue meaningfully shapes participants' openness to religious others [16]. Qualitative research on digitally mediated religiosity among Gen Y and Gen Z across multiple faith traditions further shows that family socialization, rather than online influencers, remains the most substantial source of religious orientation among educated youth, even as digital media increasingly shapes epistemic authority [17].

Despite this rich body of literature on Muhammadiyah's institutional position and on religious moderation among Indonesian youth in general, empirical studies that specifically probe how Muhammadiyah's youth cadres in a major metropolitan center such as Surabaya construct, narrate, and practice religious pluralism remain limited. Surabaya is Indonesia's second-largest city and East Java's commercial and educational hub, characterized by dense religious and ethnic diversity, including substantial Christian, Confucian, Hindu, and Buddhist communities living alongside a Muslim majority. As the city in which Muhammadiyah maintains one of its oldest and most active regional branches, Surabaya offers a strategic site for examining how organizational doctrine is interpreted and lived out by younger cadres under conditions of everyday urban plurality. This study therefore aims to (1) describe how young members of Muhammadiyah in Surabaya understand and define religious pluralism, (2) identify the social and organizational factors that shape these understandings, and (3) analyze how these understandings translate into social attitudes and practices toward adherents of other religions. By extracting and reframing findings originally developed in an undergraduate thesis at Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, this article seeks to contribute new empirical evidence to the sociology of religion literature on youth religiosity and religious moderation within Indonesian Islamic mass organizations.

II. METHOD

This study employed a qualitative approach using a case study design, which is appropriate for investigating a contemporary social phenomenon in depth within its real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident [17]. The case under investigation was the construction of religious pluralism among young cadres of Muhammadiyah in Surabaya, treated as a bounded social unit defined by organizational membership, generational position, and geographic location.

Research Setting and Informants. The research was conducted in Surabaya, East Java, focusing on members of two Muhammadiyah youth wings: Pemuda Muhammadiyah, the organization's autonomous body for young adult cadres, and Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM), its university-student wing. Informants were selected through purposive sampling with the following criteria: (a) active membership in Pemuda Muhammadiyah or IMM for at least one year, (b) residence or primary activity within Surabaya, and (c) willingness to be interviewed about religious attitudes. Sixteen informants aged between 18 and 35 years were recruited, comprising eight members of Pemuda Muhammadiyah and eight members of IMM, with attention to balancing gender, educational background, and level of organizational leadership in order to capture a range of perspectives rather than a single dominant viewpoint.

Data Collection. Three techniques were used to collect data. First, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with each informant, guided by an interview protocol covering definitions of religious pluralism, sources of religious knowledge, attitudes toward interreligious social interaction, organizational doctrinal influences, and personal experiences of religious difference in Surabaya's urban environment. Interviews lasted between forty-five and ninety minutes, were audio-recorded with informed consent, and were subsequently transcribed verbatim. Second, non-participant observation was carried out during routine organizational activities, including study circles (*kajian*), leadership training (Darul Arqam), and social service programs, to observe how discourse about religious diversity was articulated in collective settings rather than only in individual interviews. Third, documentary analysis was conducted on relevant organizational materials, including *Majelis Tarjih* fatwas related to religious plurality, Muhammadiyah congress (*Muktamar*) resolutions, and regional branch publications, to contextualize informants' statements within the organization's official doctrinal positions.

Data Analysis. Data were analyzed using the interactive qualitative analysis model, which consists of three concurrent flows of activity: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Data condensation involved selecting, simplifying, and organizing interview transcripts, observation notes, and document excerpts into coded categories related to definitions of pluralism, perceived doctrinal boundaries, and social practice. Data display involved arranging condensed information into thematic matrices comparing informants across organizational affiliation, educational background, and depth of interreligious social contact. Conclusion drawing involved interpreting patterns across the displays to identify dominant orientations toward religious pluralism among the informants. To enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings, the study applied source triangulation, comparing accounts across informants with differing organizational roles, and method triangulation, comparing interview data against observation and documentary evidence. Negative case analysis was also used, in which statements that contradicted emerging patterns were deliberately sought out and examined to refine the final typology rather than being discarded.

Ethical Considerations. All informants provided informed consent prior to participation, were informed of their right to withdraw at any time, and were assured of confidentiality; pseudonyms are used throughout this article in place of informants' real names. The research protocol followed standard ethical guidelines for qualitative social research involving human participants at Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Three Orientations Toward Religious Pluralism

Analysis of the interview, observation, and documentary data identified three dominant orientations toward religious pluralism among the Muhammadiyah youth informants in Surabaya: inclusive-pluralist, tolerant-exclusivist, and selectively pragmatic. These categories are not rigid types but represent points along a continuum of how informants negotiated the tension between social openness and theological commitment.

Informants in the inclusive-pluralist orientation, comprising roughly one-third of the sample and concentrated among IMM members with backgrounds in comparative religion or philosophy coursework, articulated religious pluralism as both a sociological fact and a value to be actively cultivated. These informants frequently invoked the Qur'anic principle of *la ikraha fi al-din* (no compulsion in

religion) and described interfaith friendship, joint community service, and dialogue forums as expressions of Islamic ethical commitment rather than mere civic tolerance. This finding parallels Burhani's earlier observation that a segment of young Muhammadiyah intellectuals embraces pluralism on social, political, anthropological, philosophical, and theological grounds, explicitly distinguishing it from relativism [3], and resonates with Abdullah's account of Nurcholish Madjid's effort to ground inter-religious openness in a universalist reading of submission to God rather than doctrinal equivalence [6].

Informants in the tolerant-exclusivist orientation, the largest group in the sample, affirmed the social and civic value of coexistence while firmly maintaining that Islam alone offers the complete and final truth, and that salvation in the theological sense is not equally available across religious traditions. These informants typically cited *Majelis Tarjih* guidance and invoked the same theological caution that D'Costa identifies in comparative philosophy of religion: that affirming the equal truth of all religions is incoherent, because the very standard used to judge religions as equally valid must itself originate from within one tradition [5]. For these informants, social pluralism, defined as living peacefully and cooperating constructively with people of other faiths, was readily endorsed, but theological pluralism, defined as accepting that all religions lead equally to salvation, was firmly rejected. This bifurcation directly echoes Burhani's broader finding that Muhammadiyah's moderate majority coexists with a significant puritan current that resists relativistic religious pluralism even while supporting practical tolerance [2].

A smaller, selectively pragmatic group approached pluralism instrumentally, supporting interreligious cooperation primarily in contexts of social welfare, disaster response, and economic activity, while expressing ambivalence or limited engagement with pluralism as a philosophical or theological question. These informants' attitudes were less driven by doctrinal reasoning than by direct social necessity arising from living and working in Surabaya's multi-ethnic, multi-religious urban economy, a pattern consistent with civic-Islam accounts emphasizing pragmatic consensus-building over doctrinal convergence [4].

Distinguishing Social Pluralism from Theological Pluralism

A striking pattern across nearly all informants, regardless of orientation, was the conceptual separation of social pluralism from theological pluralism. Even informants classified as inclusive-pluralist rarely affirmed that all religions are equally salvifically valid; instead, they affirmed that all citizens, regardless of religion, deserve equal civic respect, protection, and freedom of worship. This

distinction mirrors the conceptual move long emphasized in Muhammadiyah's official preaching that diversity (*kemajemukan*) is *sunnatullah* and therefore must be respected, without this respect requiring theological equivalence between religions [1]. It also mirrors the *wasatiyyah* framework documented among Javanese *pesantren* communities, in which moderation is achieved by affirming peaceful coexistence through prophetic example while preserving Islamic theological particularity [8].

This finding has important implications for how religious pluralism should be operationalized in Indonesian public discourse. Much of the controversy surrounding past Indonesian Ulema Council positions opposing pluralism, liberalism, and secularism, and the corresponding internal Muhammadiyah debates, arguably stems from an unresolved ambiguity between these two senses of the term. The informants in this study largely resolved that ambiguity intuitively in daily practice well before being asked to articulate it conceptually during interviews, suggesting that lived religious moderation among educated urban youth may be considerably more nuanced than binary public debates over "pro-pluralism" versus "anti-pluralism" positions suggest.

Sources Shaping Pluralist Orientation

Four interrelated sources emerged as shaping informants' orientation toward pluralism: family religious socialization, formal education, organizational doctrinal transmission, and direct interreligious social contact. Informants raised in families with frequent cross-religious social ties, common in Surabaya's commercial neighborhoods where Muslim, Chinese-Confucian, and Christian families often live and trade side by side, were more likely to display inclusive-pluralist orientations. This finding is consistent with research on digitally mediated religiosity among educated Gen Y and Gen Z populations, which found that family remains a more substantial influence on religious orientation than online or peer sources even amid extensive digital media exposure [17].

Formal education, particularly exposure to comparative religion, Islamic philosophy, and sociology coursework at university, was strongly associated with the inclusive-pluralist orientation among IMM informants. This corroborates findings that critical thinking pedagogy through Islamic philosophy instruction cultivates religiously moderate dispositions by encouraging reflective engagement with theological difference rather than rote doctrinal transmission [9], and aligns with evidence that Islamic higher education institutions play a critical role in inculcating moderation values through both curriculum and residential community life [7].

Organizational doctrinal transmission, primarily through *Majelis Tarjih* fatwas, Darul Arqam leadership training, and senior cadre mentorship, exerted a moderating but theologically conservative influence, reinforcing the tolerant-exclusivist orientation among most Pemuda Muhammadiyah informants. Several informants explicitly referenced organizational teaching materials when explaining why they distinguished civic tolerance from theological pluralism, illustrating how flexible, non-binding prophetic guidance, of the kind discussed in relation to Yusuf al-Qardhawi's jurisprudence, can be selectively invoked to justify contextual openness without abandoning core theological commitments [12].

Direct interreligious social contact, whether through neighborhood relationships, university friendships, joint community service, or commercial interaction, was consistently described by informants as the most transformative factor in moving them toward more inclusive orientations, regardless of their formal theological position. Several informants in the tolerant-exclusivist category reported that, despite maintaining firm theological boundaries, sustained personal friendship with non-Muslim peers had softened earlier suspicion or prejudice, a pattern that supports findings on the effectiveness of structured inter-faith dialogue in shaping participants' openness to religious others [16] and aligns with broader claims that religious tolerance functions as a practical, measurable contributor to peaceful coexistence and national development [15].

Generational and Civic Dimensions

Compared to senior Muhammadiyah leaders described in earlier literature, the young informants in this study displayed a markedly stronger civic and rights-based framing of religious pluralism, often linking it explicitly to constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and to Pancasila as a shared civic foundation rather than treating it purely as a theological question. This generational pattern echoes Fakurulloh's argument regarding the role of Pancasila education in shaping pluralistic civic dispositions among Indonesian youth [13], and is consistent with broader findings that younger cadres of Indonesian Islamic organizations tend to be more socially engaged with minority-rights advocacy than older generations. It also mirrors how religious-moderation policy is increasingly operationalized through everyday institutional practice in pesantren and campus settings rather than through abstract doctrinal pronouncement alone [10], [14].

Taken together, these findings suggest that religious pluralism among Muhammadiyah youth in Surabaya should not be understood as a single, fixed position but as a dynamic negotiation between inherited theological boundaries and lived urban plurality. The dominant pattern, affirming social pluralism while

withholding theological pluralism, reflects a coherent and theologically defensible position within Islamic thought, consistent with D'Costa's broader philosophical argument that genuine cross-traditional neutrality on truth claims is difficult to sustain even as practical coexistence remains fully achievable [5]. Rather than representing doctrinal stagnation, this bifurcated stance allows Muhammadiyah's younger cadres to actively participate in Surabaya's plural civic life while preserving a coherent sense of religious identity, a balance that appears central to the organization's broader strategy of consensus-based civic Islam [4].

IV. CONCLUSION

This study examined how young cadres of Muhammadiyah in Surabaya understand and practice religious pluralism. The findings identify three orientations, inclusive-pluralist, tolerant-exclusivist, and selectively pragmatic, with the tolerant-exclusivist orientation predominating among the sixteen informants studied. Across all orientations, informants consistently distinguished social pluralism, understood as civic coexistence and cooperation, from theological pluralism, understood as the equal salvific validity of all religions, generally affirming the former while withholding the latter. This pattern was shaped by the interaction of family religious socialization, university education, organizational doctrinal transmission through Majelis Tarjih, and direct interreligious social contact within Surabaya's multi-ethnic urban environment, with sustained personal relationships across religious lines emerging as the most consistently transformative factor toward inclusive attitudes. These findings indicate that Muhammadiyah youth in Surabaya generally practice a moderate, dialogical form of pluralism rooted in Islamic theological boundaries rather than religious relativism, consistent with Muhammadiyah's broader historical posture of promoting *tasamuh* without conceding equal theological truth across traditions.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the sociology of religion literature by demonstrating that youth religious moderation in Indonesia cannot be adequately captured through a binary pro-pluralism/anti-pluralism framework, but instead requires conceptual disaggregation between social and theological dimensions of pluralism. Practically, the findings suggest that Muhammadiyah's youth wings and Islamic higher education institutions could further strengthen religious moderation by deliberately expanding structured opportunities for direct interreligious social contact, given its demonstrated effect on softening exclusivist attitudes even among theologically conservative cadres. This study is limited by its focus on a single city and a relatively small purposive sample, which constrains the generalizability of its findings to Muhammadiyah youth elsewhere in Indonesia; future research could extend this inquiry through comparative multi-city case

studies or quantitative survey instruments capable of testing the prevalence of the orientations identified here across larger populations.

V. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to express sincere gratitude to the Faculty of Ushuluddin and Philosophy, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, for academic and institutional support throughout the research process, and to the thesis supervisors and examiners whose guidance shaped the original study from which this article is extracted. The author also thanks the leadership and members of Pemuda Muhammadiyah and Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah in Surabaya for their willingness to participate as informants and for their openness in sharing their views and experiences. Finally, the author thanks family and colleagues for their continuous encouragement during the completion of this work.

VI. REFERENCES

- [1] Biyanto, B. (2020). Promoting and practicing religious pluralism: Muhammadiyah experience. *Journal of Social Studies (JSS)*, 16(2), 197-210. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jss.v16i2.34711>
- [2] Burhani, A. N. (2018). Pluralism, liberalism, and Islamism: Religious outlook of Muhammadiyah. *Studia Islamika*, 25(3), 433-470. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v25i3.7765>
- [3] Burhani, A. N. (2009). Pluralism discourse: The views of young Muhammadiyah intellectuals. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 3(2), 314-340. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2009.3.2.314-340>
- [4] Brown, G. (2019). Civic Islam: Muhammadiyah, NU and the organisational logic of consensus-making in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 43(3), 397-414. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1626802>
- [5] D'Costa, G. (1996). The impossibility of a pluralist view of religions. *Religious Studies*, 32(2), 223-232. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034412500024240>
- [6] Abdullah, M. A. (2021). Nurcholish Madjid and religious pluralism in Indonesian Islam. In *Philosophy and Politics - Critical Explorations* (Vol. 16, pp. 189-199). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66089-5_11
- [7] Nasir, M., & Rijal, M. K. (2021). Keeping the middle path: Mainstreaming religious moderation through Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 11(2), 213-241. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i2.213-241>
- [8] Helmy, M. I., Kubro, A. D. J., & Ali, M. (2021). The understanding of Islamic moderation (wasatiyyah al-Islam) and the hadiths on inter-religious relations in the Javanese pesantrens. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 11(2), 377-401. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i2.377-401>

- [9] Rahman, Y., & Humaidi. (2022). Critical thinking and religious moderation: Instilling religiously moderate values through the teaching of Islamic philosophy in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 16(1), 49-74. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2022.16.1.49-74>
- [10] Hasan, N., Mardhatillah, M., Abadi, Moh. M., & Hidayat, A. R. (2022). Environmental activism in Indonesian pesantren: The role of Lora in mainstreaming Islamic eco-theology in Tapal Kuda, East Java. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 12(2), 280-306. <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2022.12.2.280-306>
- [11] Pajariato, H., Pribadi, I., & Galugu, N. S. (2023). Youth religious moderation model and tolerance strengthening through intellectual humility. *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 79(1), Article 8196, 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v79i1.8196>
- [12] Sumbulah, U., Zainuddin, M., & Bawazier, D. A. (2022). Sunnah ghairu tasyri'iyah Yusuf Al-Qardhawi's perspective and its relevance in building religious moderation. *Jurnal Living Hadis*, 6(2), 197-215. <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadis.2021.2732>
- [13] Fakurulloh, Y. A. (2022). Urgensi pendidikan Pancasila bagi peserta didik dalam upaya mengembangkan generasi Pancasila. *Paidea: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pembelajaran Indonesia*, 2(2), 60-65. <https://doi.org/10.56393/paidea.v2i2.1107>
- [14] Athoillah, M., Rahman, A. S., Firdaus, A. S., & Septiadi, M. A. (2024). Policies and practices religious moderation in pesantren. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 10(2), 387-396. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v10i2.27543>
- [15] Oyetoro, T. R., & Talabi, J. M. (2023). Religious tolerance: A tool for national development. *Edumania - An International Multidisciplinary Journal*, 1(1), 33-47. <https://doi.org/10.59231/edumania/8972>
- [16] Pope, E. M. (2021). Facilitator guidance during interfaith dialogue. *Religious Education*, 116(4), 369-382. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344087.2021.1943139>
- [17] Missier, C. A. (2025). A qualitative study of digital religious influence: Perspectives from Christian, Hindu, and Muslim Gen Y and Gen Z in Mumbai, India. *Religions*, 16(1), Article 73, 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel16010073>

