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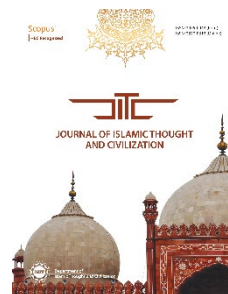|	
Title:	**From Outsider to Engagement: The Transformation of a Puritanical Islamic Organization through Government-Led Religious Moderation Initiatives**
Author (s):	Beni Ahmad Saebani and Mohammad Taufiq Rahman
Affiliation (s):	Sunan Gunung Dati State Islamic University Bandung, Indonesia
DOI:	https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.151.16
History:	Received: October 28, 2024, Revised: February 20, 2025, Accepted: February 24, 2025, Published: April 25, 2025
Citation:	Saebani, Beni Ahmad, and Mohammad Taufiq Rahman. "From Outsider to Engagement: The Transformation of a Puritanical Islamic Organization through Government-Led Religious Moderation Initiatives." *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 15, no. 1 (2025): 277–295. https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.151.16
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Conflict of Interest:	Author(s) declared no conflict of interest

From Outsider to Engagement: The Transformation of a Puritanical Islamic Organization through Government-Led Religious Moderation Initiatives

Beni Ahmad Saebani[*]
Department of Islamic Constitutional Law,
UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia

Mohammad Taufiq Rahman
Sunan Gunung Dati State Islamic University,
Bandung, Indonesia

Abstract

This article explores the complex dynamics between state-led moderation efforts and the lived experiences of adherents of strict religious doctrines, examining opportunities for dialogue and potential challenges that arise in navigating this complex landscape. By focusing on the specific case of the Islamic organization of Persis (Persatuan Islam or Islamic Unity) in Indonesia, this research aims to explain the process of enhancing social cohesion, identity formation, and transformative change in responding to state policies. Through a combination of ethnographic observations, interviews with key stakeholders, and archival analysis, this article seeks to understand how the leaders of the organization maintained strict adherence to Islamic principles while engaging with diverse populations and addressing contemporary challenges. Questions about the intersection between religious practice and state policy, organizational resilience, and adaptive governance models guide this inquiry. Ultimately, this investigation contributes to a richer understanding of how Islamic organizations develop over time, balancing continuity with innovation in achieving their missions and, in the process, perhaps adopting state policies.

Keywords: religious movements; Islamic organizations; inclusive social life; religious homogeneity; behavior change

Introduction

The rise in religious extremism around the world, especially after events such as the 9/11 attacks, has prompted many countries, including Indonesia, to reassess their approach to religious tolerance and moderation. Indonesia's religious moderation policy is a direct response to the perceived threat posed by radical ideology, aiming to foster an environment of peace and coexistence amidst rising sectarian tensions.[1] Indonesia's commitment to international human rights treaties, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), underscores its dedication to protecting the freedom of religion and beliefs. This legal framework supports the country's policy of religious moderation as a national program by promoting inclusivity and respect for various religions, which is in line with global norms regarding human rights.[2]

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[*]Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Beni Ahmad Saebani, Associate Professor, Department of Islamic Constitutional Law, Sunan Gunung Dati State Islamic University Bandung, Indonesia, at beniahmadsaebani@uinsgd.ac.id

[1]Ahmad Suaedy, "Transformasi Islam Indonesia Dalam Trend Gobal: Mencari Penjelasan 'Moderasi Beragama' Di Ruang Publik [Transformation of Indonesian Islam in Global Trends: Seeking Explanation of 'Religious Moderation' in Public Space]," *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya* 24, no. 3 (2022).

[2]Muhammad Daffa, and Indra Anggara, "The Position of Local Religions in Interfaith Relations as a Form of Religious Moderation in Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Religion and Society* 5, no. 2 (2023): 112–24; S Cholil, "First Essay Freedom of Religion amid Polarization and Religious

Indonesia's approach to religious moderation is firmly rooted in cultural pluralism and local wisdom. The principles of Pancasila, the sole foundation of the country which emphasizes unity in diversity, reflect a broader global recognition of the importance of accommodating various cultural and religious identities in national policies.[3] This alignment with global multicultural values enhances Indonesia's position as a model for interreligious dialogue.[4] In recent years, Indonesia has increasingly adopted "religious moderation" as a national policy, reflecting a strategic response to the challenges posed by rising extremism and the need for social cohesion in a diverse society.[5] This policy aims to foster an environment of tolerance and inclusivity among the country's various religious groups, rooted in the principles of Pancasila, which underlies Indonesia's national ideology.[6] The government promotes religious moderation to reduce tensions and foster harmony. However, the policy has drawn criticism from conservative religious groups who feel their beliefs are under threat.[7]

Persatuan Islam (Persis) is a religious organization with conservative and puritan views. Federspiel states that Persis is a reformist organization inspired by the thoughts of Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905). In his time, Abduh's movement created a confrontational cultural change, different from other Islamic organizations that were still influenced by Hindu elements, local beliefs, and traditions.[8] Persis was present to replace these practices with a rational and Puritan approach in the fields of theology, *fiqh*, education, and *da'wah*.[9] The existence of Persis has had a major impact on religious and social life in Indonesia, especially through strict Islamic teachings. Persis' emphasis on

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Moderation Policy," *Interreligious Studies and Intercultural Theology* 6, no. 2 (2022): 196–204, https://doi.org/10.1558/isit.24603.

[3]Rémy Madinier, "Pancasila in Indonesia a" Religious Laicity" under Attack?," in *Asia and the Secular : Francophone Perspectives in a Global Age*, ed. Pascal Bourdeaux et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022).

[4]Paelani Setia, and M Taufiq Rahman, "Socializing Religious Moderation and Peace in the Indonesian Landscape," *Jurnal Iman Dan Spiritualitas* 2, no. 3 (2022): 333–40.

[5]Paskalis Lina, and Robertus Wijanarko, "Faith In God as The Source of Goodness And Religious Moderation In Indonesia: A Christian Moral Perspective," *International Journal of Indonesian Philosophy and Theology* 3, no. 1 (2022): 40–52; Stevri Penti Novri Indra Lumintang, "Christianity and Plurality in Indonesia: Theological and Ideological Synergy for Religious and National Moderation," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Theology, Humanities, and Christian Education (ICONTHCE 2021)*, vol. 669 (Atlantis Press, 2022), 56–60; Timotius Sukarna, and Ibiang O Okoi O Okoi, "Implementing Holistic Mission within The Frame of Religious Moderation," *DUNAMIS: Jurnal Teologi Dan Pendidikan Kristiani* 8, no. 1 (2023): 458–70.

[6]Alda Rifada Rizqi, "Pancasila in the Primordialism and Modernism Intersections," in *International Conference on Agriculture, Social Sciences, Education, Technology and Health (ICASSETH 2019)* (Atlantis Press, 2020), 24–28.

[7]Jumhur Jumhur, and Wasilah Wasilah, "Constitute-Based Religious Moderation Education," *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education* 7, no. 2 (2023): 370–80; Mohammad Taufiq Rahman, "Post-Prohibition Da'wah of Hizb Ut-Tahrir Indonesia and Islamic Defenders Front," *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 17, no. 1 (2023): 79–100.

[8]Howard M Federspiel, *Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals of the 20th Century* (Singapore: Utopia Press, 2006).

[9]Howard M Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia* (Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2009).

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purification and rationality, which stemmed from Abduh's reforms, is the basis for understanding their attitude toward efforts to moderate religion in Indonesia today.[10]

This study uses a normative structuralism approach in religion.[11] This means that religious institutions have simplified various systems of religion, such as rituals and beliefs.[12] The framework of this study focuses on structural functions, leadership, understanding of religious teachings, interaction patterns, and how religion is practiced in the institution.[13]

2. Research Methodology

Through a combination of ethnographic observations, in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, and comprehensive archival analysis,[14] this study aims to explore how strict Islamic organizations maintain their adherence to Islamic principles while engaging with diverse populations and overcoming challenges. Using ethnographic methods, we could capture the nuanced dynamics within these organizations, observing their practices and interactions in real-world contexts.[15] Interviews with community leaders, clerics, and organizational members have provided critical insight into their perspectives on religious moderation policies and their implications for strict religious practice.[16] Furthermore, archival analysis of historical documents and policy papers has contextualized the evolution of this organization within the framework of broader state policies on religious moderation.[17]

This study examines how religious organizations survive (through resilience) and adapt to government policies. The goal is to understand how they maintain their core beliefs while remaining inclusive and relevant in society through the governance models they implement.[18] Resilience means the ability of an organization to maintain its existence and identity, despite pressure from the government, social change, or discrimination. It is not rigidity but the ability to remain relevant.

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[10]Muslim Mufti and M Taufiq Rahman, "Fundamentalis Dan Radikalis Islam Di Tengah Kehidupan Sosial Indonesia [Islamic Fundamentalists and Radicals in Indonesian Social Life]," *TEMALI: Jurnal Pembangunan Sosial* 2, no. 2 (2019): 204–18.

[11]Travis Warren Cooper, "Taxonomy Construction and the Normative Turn in Religious Studies," *Religions* 8, no. 12 (2017): 270.

[12]Michael Vlerick, "The Cultural Evolution of Institutional Religions," *Religion, Brain & Behavior* 10, no. 1 (2020): 18–34.

[13]Isabella Jeniva, and Maidiantius Tanyid, "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 (2025): 101271.

[14]David Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data* (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage Publications, 2015).

[15]Marian Burchardt, and Mariske Westendorp, "The Im-Materiality of Urban Religion: Towards an Ethnography of Urban Religious Aspirations," *Culture and Religion* 19, no. 2 (2018): 160–76.

[16]Al Makin, "'Not a Religious State' A Study of Three Indonesian Religious Leaders on the Relation of State and Religion," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46, no. 135 (2018): 95–116; Lina Gustafsson and Josefine Olandersson, *"I Want Them to Be Better than Me" Parents from Different Socio-Economic Backgrounds Reflect on Their Children's Schooling and Education in Mexico City* (Jonkoping, 2018).

[17]Natasha Slutskaya, Annilee M Game, and Ruth C Simpson, "Better Together: Examining the Role of Collaborative Ethnographic Documentary in Organizational Research," *Organizational Research Methods* 21, no. 2 (2018): 341–65.

[18]Mary Elizabeth Collins, and Judith C Scott, "Intersection of Race and Religion for Youth in Foster Care: Examining Policy and Practice," *Children and Youth Services Review* 98 (2019): 163–70.

Adaptation means the ability to adjust to the environment, especially in relations with the government, without sacrificing core beliefs. This includes the ability to negotiate, communicate, and develop strategies to remain inclusive and serve the community, for example, through internal governance models, communication strategies, or flexible interpretations of religious teachings.

3. Literature Review

Studies on institutional behavior and direction in the context of religion have long been conducted, initiated by Weber through his analysis of Protestant Christianity.[19] Further developments led to the study of the social behavior of religious groups, which then gave rise to studies on conflict and integration as socio-political consequences.[20] Religion, in its function, fulfills collective needs and, in some contexts, has the potential to replace the role of culture in the formation of social identity and community environment.[21] Community diversity contributes to social function and identity equality.[22] Group participation in religious activities has been shown to increase self-confidence and provide a more significant meaning to life compared to individual religious practices. On the other hand, while religious homogeneity in religious organizations can strengthen members' self-confidence in their social identity, however it also has the potential to excessively increase group identification, which risks triggering negative views of other religious groups.[23]

A comprehensive literature review of this multifaceted approach plays an important role in highlighting the internal mechanisms of these organizations while also contributing to a deeper understanding of how national policies influence religious observance in diverse societies.[24] The literature on the influence of culture on socio-religious behavior provides a significant interpretive framework.[25] The complexity of understanding and interpreting the sources of religious teachings, leadership in religious life, religious institutions, and the life history of religious institutions and their

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[19]Bryan S Turner, *Weber and Islam*, vol. 7 (Hove: Psychology Press, 1998).

[20]Benjamin Schneider, "The People Make the Place," *Personnel Psychology* 40, no. 3 (1987): 437–53; Mohammad Taufiq Rahman, "Islam Dan Demokrasi Dalam Wacana Kontemporer [Islam and Democracy in Contemporary Discourse]," *Risalah* 51, no. 11 (2014): 72–75; Donald J Ebel, "The Influence of Religious Homogeneity upon Life Expectancy: A Cross-National Comparative Analysis," *Sociology Department Publications*, no. 42 (2018), https://cornerstone.lib.mnsu.edu/soc_corr_soc_fac_pubs/42.

[21]Benjamin Schneider, "Organizational Climates: An Essay 1," *Personnel Psychology* 28, no. 4 (1975): 447–79.

[22]Rosalia Condorelli, "Cultural Differentiation and Social Integration in Complex Modern Societies Reflections on Cultural Diversity Management Strategies from a Sociological Point of View," *Sociology Mind* 8, no. 4 (2018): 249–303; Maykel Verkuyten, *Identity and Cultural Diversity: What Social Psychology Can Teach Us* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[23]Hansong Zhang et al., "Exploring Social Belonging and Meaning in Religious Groups," *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 47, no. 1 (2019): 3–19.

[24]Ali Raza and Ahmed Hassan, "The Intersection of Religion and Politics: Analyzing Global Trends and Implications," *International Journal of Religion and Humanities* 1, no. 01 (2023): 32–40.

[25]Bulcsu Bognár, "Religious Sensmaking and Social Exclusion in the Western World," *Polish Sociological Review* 197, no. 1 (2017): 21–34; Catarina Kinnvall, "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security," *Political Psychology* 25, no. 5 (2004): 741–67.

founders requires a comprehensive system of meaning.[26] Thus, the meaning of religious institutions and their founders can be interpreted more holistically and deeply.[27]

4. A Case Study: Islamic Union Mass Organization

Islamic Union (Persatuan Islam or Persis) is a religious organization founded in Bandung, Indonesia, by Zamzam and Muhammad Yunus, coming from Palembang. Founded on September 12, 1923 AD, it is quite old. There are a lot of religious thoughts produced by the ulama of this organization, especially by A. Hasan, whose rich works are recorded and made into mandatory literature by the organization to understand Islamic teachings based on the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. The thoughts of Islamic Union religious leaders as a whole shaped the thought patterns and behavior of organizational members in terms of formal rituals and other life activities, namely social, economic and cultural behavior.[28]

In religious organizations, religious groups play a greater role in shaping the religious identity of their members than religion itself.[29] In the thoughts of a Persis central administrator, religious organizations display a variety of social dimensions, including ceremonies, rituals, economic cooperation, moral support, kinship networks, members' attachment to the organization, and interactions with external communities. Structural relationships between members have a significant impact on organizational behavior as members adhere to the Basic Law/Bylaws, but also adhere to a centralized leadership structure. This results in the integrity and uniformity of organizational behavior as well as the religious behavior of all Persis members.[30]

Regarding the principles and objectives of the religious organization being studied (Persis), these can be described in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Direction and Objectives of the Management System of the Islamic Unity (Persis)

No.	Organizational Principles	Organizational Goals	Base
1	Apply Islamic Sharia-based on Al-Qur'ān and As-*Sunnah* in all aspects of life.	Comprehensive application of Islamic Sharia	Articles 2 and 3 of the Basic Law of the Organization and Bylaws
2	Development and empowerment of organizational potential to realize the organization as a miniature image of Islam.	Realizing the empowerment of Islamic Unity members who are united in fighting for Islam	CHAPTER II Article 5 Work Program of Persis

[26]Lilly Weissbrod, "Religion as National Identity in a Secular Society," *Review of Religious Research*, 1983, 188–205; Jeffrey R Seul, "Ours Is the Way of God': Religion, Identity, and Intergroup Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 36, no. 5 (1999): 553–69.

[27]Rachel D Arnett, and Jim Sidanius, "Sacrificing Status for Social Harmony: Concealing Relatively High Status Identities from One's Peers," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 147 (2018): 108–26; Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*; Joan M Eakin and Brenda Gladstone, "'Value-Adding' Analysis: Doing More With Qualitative Data," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 19 (2020): 1609406920949333; Agnieszka Kanas and Borja Martinovic, "Political Action in Conflict and Nonconflict Regions in Indonesia: The Role of Religious and National Identifications," *Political Psychology* 38, no. 2 (2017): 209–25.

[28]Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia*.

[29]Weiwei Xia et al., "Religious Identity, between-Group Effects and Prosocial Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in China," *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics* 91 (2021): 101665.

[30]Interview with MAB, former Persis central administrator, 5/20/2022.

No.	Organizational Principles	Organizational Goals	Base
3	To increase the understanding and practice of Islamic teachings for members in particular and Muslims in general so that the ranks of Islamic scholars, government, friends and helpers are created who always uphold the messages of Allah.	The realization of understanding and practice of Islamic teachings is also realized in the ranks of Islamic scholars, the Islamic Unity in the fight for Islam.	CHAPTER II Article 5 Work Program of Persis
4	Increasing the awareness and capacity of members, as well as Muslims in general, in managing collective affairs that cover all aspects of life.	Realization of awareness and empowerment of members in working together in every aspect of life.	CHAPTER II Article 5 Work Program of Persis
5	Developing and empowering organizational potential to realize the organization as a miniature image of Islam.	Realizing the development and empowerment of organizational potential so that it becomes a miniature image of Islam.	CHAPTER II Article 5 Work Program of Persis
6	Confirm the effective delegation of organizational authority and accountability	Organizing organization and leadership with leadership elements as holders of hierarchical organizational responsibility.	CHAPTER III from the Basic Law of the Organization
7	Principled with unity of command.	Achievement of the organization in implementing the entire vision and mission of the organization with unity of command.	Part Three Articles of Bylaws

Source: Interview with MAB, former central administrator, 5/20/2022.

Imitation of behavior and the inheritance of traditions are common among religious adherents in an institution, including religious organizations that claim to be reformers. For those who lack the scientific knowledge to examine the sources of Islamic teachings, imitation becomes a common practice and is even considered necessary.[31] However, in the context of social systems theory, such behavior is part of an adaptive attitude in achieving goals.[32] Religion has the potential for emancipation in social change, and religious institutions play an important role in strengthening the existence of religion for its adherents. Religion not only regulates formal rituals but also all aspects of life, teaching that life is a devotion to God. Religion becomes a dimension that binds individuals through collective identity, institutional identity, and community culture.[33] Religious identity is internalized through various religious institutions, which then shape individual religious behavior. The formation of this behavior involves the adoption of given values, beliefs, attitudes, practices, and

[31]Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2020); Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, *Al-Islam*, Vol. 2 (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1983).

[32]Mitsuhiro Tada, "Time as Sociology's Basic Concept: A Perspective from Alfred Schutz's Phenomenological Sociology and Niklas Luhmann's Social Systems Theory," *Time and Society* 28, no. 3 (2019): 995–1012; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[33]Michele Dillon, *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

norms.[34] The majority of members who are laypeople understand religious teachings directly. In the Weberian perspective, charisma is an extraordinary personality attribute that distinguishes an individual from the general population and is often considered a gift.[35] In the context of Persis, charismatic leaders are characterized by strong personal magnetism, effective communication skills, and an inspiring vision, which generates respect and obedience from members of the organization. Figures such as M. Natsir, Isa Anshary, and A. Hassan personify this type of leadership. Therefore, the compliance of all members of religious organizations is very necessary to ensure the sustainability of teachings and their delivery between generations.[36]

Unity of command is found in the concept of Persis leadership, which is united under one command of the Jam'iyyah Leader, namely the General Chairperson of the Persis Leadership Center, who may create various policies and final decisions as a doctrine (*nizam*) with one unanimous voice. Leadership highlights the importance of setting an exemplary example, whereas Imarah (emirate) focuses on the authority and power of a leader. The term bunyan marsus (intact building) refers to a strong and well-structured edifice, akin to a fully integrated system, much like the foundational pillars of Islam. The phrase Surah musaghgharah 'an al-Islam wa hikmatuhu al-asma' depicts the Islamic way of life, where Shariah is comprehensively implemented based on the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* in all aspects of life. It can also signify a microcosm of Islam, governed by a unified rule that fosters collective adherence, ensuring that all actions and behaviors serve as a model for other Muslims.. It practically can be seen from the behavior of Persis members who always make the mosque prosperous, pray in congregation, take part in recitations that are useful for broadening their knowledge of Islam, increase friendship, give alms, and care for orphans. All of these behaviors eventuallybecome role models for other Muslims, so they get encouraged to imitate them. This is effective preaching because it is not just words (Interview with SYF, Former Chairman of the Regional Executive of West Java Persis, 25/6/2023).

The Central Leadership must approve representative basic policies. Each region, area, branch and congregation has its leader. Based on the results of this research, there are several unique findings that the Islamic Unity is based on as a religious organization. Persis has an ideal goal, namely, to form a society that practices Islamic law based on the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* in all aspects of life. *Qanun Asasi* (Basic Law of the Organization) and *Qanun Dakhili* (Bylaws), hereinafter the *Qanuns*, from Persis, are supporting tools to achieve this ideal goal.[37]

Adopting Persis' value system and teachings as the ultimate religious reference provides the most straightforward path to achieving religious objectives. This approach aligns with the concept of goal achievement as a functional requirement, ensuring that actions are purposefully directed toward a collective aim. The objective in this context is not an individual pursuit but a shared goal embraced by all members as part of a broader social system. Through this framework, the diversity among members is harmonized by their commitment to achieving common goals, guided by organizational principles that emphasize structured leadership and member loyalty.[38]

The members' loyalty to Persis' decisions regarding religious patterns is getting stronger and homogeneity of behavior is formed in reciprocal interactions and symbolic interactions. This

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[34]Schneider, "The People Make the Place."

[35]Max Weber, "Rational-Legal Authority and Bureaucracy," in *Policy Process* (London: Routledge, 2014), 323–27; Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the" Spirit" of Capitalism and Other Writings* (London: Penguin, 2002).

[36]Bryan S Turner, "Max Weber and the Sociology of Religion," *Revue Internationale de Philosophie*, no. 2 (2016): 141–50.

[37]Interview with ISL, Persis central administrator, 2/7/2017.

[38]Interview with TAB, Persis central leadership, 16/4/2023.

situation is a pattern of integration between teachings, religiosity and Persis members as an indication of the connection between members and the Persis value system. The integration of the value and religious systems of the members becomes stronger because it is supported by solidarity between members so that homogeneity and diversity are formed, and institutional behavior in religion runs effectively. Furthermore, this integration shows the need to ensure that sufficient emotional ties to produce solidarity, and a willingness to work together are developed and maintained by members through the implementation of various activities in the city of Bandung, such as recitation of the Qur'ān, and greetings after Eid Al-Fitr, etc. The *Qanuns* are exactly the lifeblood of the members. The formation of the members' religiosity has experienced strong integration so that they have unique religious and cultural characteristics.[39] This is what Parsons describes as a form of internalization and personality.[40]

However, the formation of the religious and cultural character of the members also shows the formation of latency, which indicates the cessation of interaction. The members' commitment requires extra guidance with various interactive meetings in order to maintain cultural patterns that have been latent in the system. Thus, all Persis leaders must be adherents of the organization's laws and regulations. Members' obedience to the *Qanuns* is a form of obedience to organizational principles and leadership in Persis. The management principle of unity of command is an important part of the authority and right to give orders and the power to be obeyed in order to uphold the principle of discipline, namely, doing everything that has become a mutual agreement.[41] Each member receives centralized instructions regarding the implementation of Islamic law to avoid ambiguity and ensure accountability. This unity of command is in line with the principle of unity of direction. The success of a group or activity depends heavily on having a leader who has a clear vision and a coordinated plan. According to Parsons' functionalism, actions that are adaptive to the environment are directed toward shared goals, aligning individual orientations with communal orientations. Structural function is achieved when the goals of all individuals are met, resulting in cognitive and normative consensus that is internalized in leadership structures and systems.[42]

From a structural-functionalist perspective, shared understanding and appreciation of organizational doctrine among members reflects the integration of cognitive (motivation) and normative (values) dimensions. The action system formed is a behavioral manifestation of an integrated personal, social, and cultural system. This system uses symbolization to achieve the organization's common goals.[43]

In the context of an organization like Persis, "social culture" refers to values, norms, and traditions that have been accepted and benefit its members, while "foreign culture" is elements from outside that can enter through globalization and interaction between nations. Accepting foreign culture requires the right strategy to maintain the positive values of social cultures, such as acculturation, cultural selection, dialogue, education, collaboration and cultural exchange.[44] Thus,

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[39]Interview with MRQ, leader of Islamic Boarding School, Subang Regency, 22/8/2023.

[40]Talcott Parsons, *Christianity and Modern Industrial Society* (London: Routledge, 2017).

[41]Jeffrey Pfeffer, *Managing with Power: Politics and Influence in Organizations* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press, 1993).

[42]Parsons, *Christianity and Modern Industrial Society*.

[43]Interview with SF, West Java Persis regional administrator, 3/7/2017

[44]Lester R Kurtz, *Gods in the Global Village: The World's Religions in Sociological Perspective* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2015).

Persis can bridge the two cultures, adapt to changing times, and maintain its identity. Understanding the meaning of symbols strengthens the sense of belonging to social and cultural systems.[45]

5. Transformation

The change in behavior of Persis members lies not in their religious behavior but in the social system of its members with other individuals or communities apart from Persis. Members who are more open in socializing and religious tolerance show an inclusive attitude. This happened against the background of the influence of urban geography, which gave rise to a social system that was no longer based on kinship but rather friendship. Moreover, it is supported by the fact that the majority of the members are immigrants. In addition, change is motivated by conditions that are different from the past mostly as a result of an organizational process. When individuals or groups are satisfied with the organizational system, changes in mindset and religiosity tend to be positively received.[46] For example, Persis finally agreed to Pancasila as the sole principle of the state for the sake of the organization's sustainability, even though it had previously rejected it because the principle had to be Islamic.[47] Persis' vision is to realize *al-Jam'iyyah* (organization) according to the teachings of the Qur'ān and *As-Sunnah*.[48] Its mission includes returning the people to the Qur'ān and As-*Sunnah*, reviving the spirit of *jihād*, *ijtihād*, and *tajdid* (renewal), and realizing *muwahid*, *mujtahid*, and *mujaddid*.[49] If Persis members feel that this organization truly realizes this vision and mission, they would be more accepting of changes in mindset and religion which are considered part of the Tajdid process. They are increasingly growing and are very dependent on the organization for their religious patterns.

The development of the inclusivism movement can be seen from the perspective of the social relations among Persis members. Society as an object as well as a subject has a functional meaning for conveying Persis messages. The relationship between Islamic Unity and the community in the entire process of religious activities has been planned and carried out deliberately and seriously, accompanied by continuous guidance to gain sympathy from the community in general, and especially the community with a direct interest in Islamic Unity. Community sympathy tends to grow through Persis efforts in establishing relationships intensively and proactively in addition to building a good image of the institution.[50].

The relationship between the Islamic Unity and the community is designed to foster engagement, encourage public interaction with the organization, and gather community feedback on its policies. It also aims to promote transparency in institutional management, ensuring high public accountability. Additionally, this relationship seeks to secure genuine community support for the

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[45]Nathaniel M Lambert et al., "To Belong Is to Matter: Sense of Belonging Enhances Meaning in Life," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 39, no. 11 (2013): 1418–27.

[46]Rein Nauta, "People Make the Place: Religious Leadership and the Identity of the Local Congregation," *Pastoral Psychology* 56 (2007): 45–52.

[47]M Taufiq Rahman, "A. Revivalisi Álims' Response to Development: A. Latief Muchtar of the Persatuan Islam in Indonesia's New Order," *JISPO: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 2, no. 2 (2014): 1–12.

[48]Dadan Wildan et al., "Anatomi Gerakan Dakwah Persatuan Islam [Anatomy of the Islamic Unity Dakwah Movement]" (Tangerang: Amana Publishing, 2015).

[49]Dudung Abdurahman, "Kontribusi Persatuan Islam Dalam Dinamika Kebangsaan Di Indonesia [The Contribution of Islamic Unity to National Dynamics in Indonesia]," *Tsaqafah: Majalah Risalah* 59, no. 10 (2022): 68–73.

[50]Interview with ISL, Persis central administrator, 2/7/2017

sustained presence and influence of the Islamic Unity as a significant Islamic mass organization in Indonesia.[51]

Persis makes efforts to establish relationships with the community through the following: 1) Building a good image with the community. 2) Building public trust in Islamic Unity by showing an example to the wider community. 3) Socializing and publicizing the Islamic Unity program to the wider community, especially in accordance with the guidance of Islamic teachings. 4) Establishing relationships with all Islamic mass organizations.[52]

Persis' relationship with society opens up cross-cultural da'wah, meaning that Persis, previously known as exclusive, has become inclusive. Walking in line with other Islamic mass organizations, Persis today does not condone the religious behavior of other Islamic mass organizations. Likewise, Persis is now working to answer the needs of Muslims by becoming an administrator at the Indonesian Ulama Council as well as the Indonesian Islamic Boarding School Forum.[53]

In the past, Persis had strong views, such as rejecting government assistance and considering saluting the flag as an act of idolatry. However, now Persis members show better awareness in understanding the problem methodologically and sociologically. The progress of understanding in analyzing each existing problem shows the moderation of inclusivist thinking, because each conclusion resulting from understanding is very dependent on the point of view of each scholar and intellectual. Therefore, scientific enrichment in various Islamic studies is always complemented by other scientific knowledge, such as philosophical, sociological and political understanding of every problem that arises in the life of Islamic society.[54]

6. Response to Religious Moderation

Religious moderation is not something that is "given" or already exists by itself in the Qur'ān and Hadith.[55] It is a social construction that emerges through a continuous process of interpretation in a specific social context. Understanding this allows us to be more critical of claims to a single truth and to appreciate the diversity of interpretations within Islam.[56] Social construction theory also reminds us that religious moderation is not an end in itself but a process that is constantly being negotiated and reconstructed in society. About this, a Persis center leader said: "Persis has thoughts, understandings and concepts in religion that always return its arguments, its foundations to the *qati* or *zhanni* postulates contained in the Al-Qur'ān and Al-Hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad. As a fundamental basis and reference before then elaborating with interpretations and thoughts and opinions expressed by competent scholars in their fields."[57]

An elder and a central leader of the organization agreed that all concepts must be based on the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, "... in everything we do must refer to the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* which are the basis of life and law. Because the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* have become guarantees for Muslims, you will not go astray if you stick to these two sources."[58]

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[51]Interview with SF, West Java Persis regional administrator, 3/7/2017

[52]Interview with ISL, Persis central administrator, 2/7/2017.

[53]Interview with DT, Persis central administrator, 2/7/2017.

[54]Interview with AM, Persis central administrator, 2/7/2017.

[55]Peter L Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview*, *The New Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2017); Peter L.; Luckman Berger Thomas, *The Social Construction of Reality* (London: Penguin Books, 1991).

[56]Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Penguin Uk, 1991).

[57]Interview with JEZ, Persis central leader, 10/5/2023

[58]Interview with ZAN, Persis central leadership elder, 10/4/2023.

Senior Persis figures assert that diversity has existed since the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, and the way of religion must emulate the Prophet and his companions.[59] Persis has demonstrated its ability to live side by side with adherents of other religions since its founding, thanks to its moderate stance based on the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*: "If the Persis figures are definitely based on the Al-Qur'ān and *Sunnah* and if they are based on Al-Qur'ān and *Sunnah* they will definitely give birth to correct religious attitudes, and this is also proven in Persis' religious practices… Just look at the context of the Islamic boarding school only number one: Pajagalan is next to a church, the majority there are ethnic Chinese, and there are two other churches that are safe."[60]

A young administrator emphasized that Persis members must adhere to the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* in behaving moderately. This principle is absolute and must be obeyed by all members.[61] An elder of a mass organization emphasized that diversity has existed since the time of the Prophet Muhammad *SAW*. Therefore, the way to respond to diversity must emulate the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his companions, especially the Khulafaur Rasyidin (Interview with RAN, Persis central leadership elder, 5/6/2023). A central leader emphasized that returning to the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* is the foundation of the reform organization. Moderation or wasat is a Qur'ānic concept, so its understanding and implementation must refer to the terminology of the Qur'ān itself. He asserts: "We must refer to the Qur'ān, where the term wasat is used as a synonym for moderation. This designation in the Qur'ān reflects the ideal conduct of Muslims, signifying that those who follow the Prophet—regardless of their status—must maintain a balanced path, avoiding both excess (ifrat) and deficiency (tafrit). True Muslims are those who embody this equilibrium, standing at the center between these two extremes."[62]

However, using the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* as the basis does not make Persis a textualist group. This is because text and ijtihad are interrelated relationships, generally and absolutely. Apart from that, apart from opening the door to ijtihad, Persis consider the opinions of competent and credible ulama as well; this was emphasized: "…as a basic basis and reference before then, elaborating with interpretations and thoughts as well as opinions expressed by competent and credible scholars in their fields to be used as material for consideration in understanding and comprehending the contents of the Al-Qur'ān and *Sunnah* which require further explanation from credible interpretations from ulama who have capacity and integrity in that field."[63]

Based on this, Persis then consider the things conveyed by the credible ulama, one of which is regarding moderation. Regarding the meaning of moderation, Persis refers to Surah Al-Baqarah [2] verse 143, which has an equivalent word, namely, *wasat.* This has the meaning of balance, justice, and the middle between two extreme poles in any aspect, including faith, worship, *muamalah* (transactions), and morals.[64] "n Islamic belief, the concept of wasat (moderation) rejects both atheism, which denies the existence of God, and polytheism, which affirms the existence of multiple gods—both being extreme positions. The principle of moderation also applies to muamalah (social and economic interactions), guiding what is permissible and tolerated in our engagements. This approach encourages meaningful discussions with fellow Muslims and non-Muslims alike, fostering balanced interactions in personal, national, regional, and social spheres."[65]

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[59]Interview with RAN, Persis central leadership elder, 5/6/2023
[60]Interview with LTA, Persis young leader, 2/6/2023.
[61]Interview with ISL, Persis central leader, 1/6/2023.
[62]Interview with TAB, Persis central leader, 16/4/2023.
[63]Interview with JEZ, Persis central leader, 10/5/2023.
[64]Interview with JEZ, Persis central leader, 10/5/2023.
[65]Interview with JEZ, Persis central leader, 10/5/2023.

The Qur'ān and *Sunnah* are the guidelines for life and the reference for action in this organization. In addition, the thoughts of the predecessors have a great influence in shaping the mindset and actions of the organization, driven by strong structural and cultural factors.[66] At this stage of objectivation, there is then the interaction between the institutionalized intersubjective world. This process of objectivation can be conceptualized in three stages: objectivation, institutionalization, and habituation. The exact understanding in this research about religious moderation (*wasatiyah*) has similarities to what was mentioned by the Ministry of Religion in this matter. However, there are also differences based on differences in knowledge and so on, as mentioned at the beginning.

In a moderate context, as a form of national commitment, Persis recognizes and accepts the concept of nationality. Indonesia as a country also accepts that it will not rebel or become separatist. This national commitment is defined as adhering firmly to the constitution that was agreed upon by the founding fathers of the Indonesian nation.[67] Apart from that, Persis recognizes Pancasila as a philosophy in the state; this is emphasized: "So the national commitment that we understand is a commitment to stick firmly to the constitution of our nation and state that has been agreed upon. So the whole life of our nation and state must refer to the preamble of the agreed Constitution (UUD), the Pancasila philosophy, and then the commitment to safeguarding the unity of the Republic of Indonesia."[68]

This is a form of Persis' acceptance of the concept of nation-state. Even an Islamic hadith *al-din wa al-daulah* (religion and state) does not make Persis a fundamentalist mass organization that rejects the concept of the nation-state. Nation states, now that they are a modern government system used by almost the whole world, historically come from Europe, this does not mean that this idea is rejected by Persis (Interview with LTA, Persis young figure, 2/6/2023). This is because Persis also played a role in leading the birth of this republic through Persis figures who took part in the struggle for independence. Apart from that, Persis gave birth to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) through the integral motion of M. Natsir.[69] This concept of a state, even though it exactly refers to the hadīth that religion and the state do not carry the concept of *caliphate* as an ideology and do not force things like that like *Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia.[70]

Regarding Pancasila, several Persis figures appear to reject this concept, such as Isa Anshary. Isa Anshary's rejection of Pancasila was due to his aspiration to make Islam the state ideology at that time and he considered that there was no compatibility between Islam and Pancasila and called

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[66]M Taufiq Rahman, and Beni Ahmad Saebani, "Membangun Gerakan Inklusivisme Model Jamaah Persatuan Islam [Building an Inclusive Movement Model of the Persatuan Islam Congregation]," *TEMALI: Jurnal Pembangunan Sosial* 1, no. 1 (2018): 58–72.

[67]Moeflich Hasbullah, and Mohammad Taufiq Rahman, "Elit Politik Islam Nasional Dan Pengembangan Pesantren Di Daerah [National Islamic Political Elite and the Development of Islamic Boarding Schools in the Regions]," *Socio Politica: Jurnal Ilmiah Jurusan Sosiologi* 8, no. 1 (2018): 45–56.

[68]Interview with JEZ, head of the Persis center, 10/5/2023.

[69]Dimas Aldi Pangestu, and Ajat Sudrajat, "Mohammad Natsir: Konsep Hubungan Antara Negara Dan Islam Dalam Mosi Integral Natsir [Mohammad Natsir: The Concept of the Relationship between State and Islam in Natsir's Integral Motion]," *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)* 10, no. 1 (2020): 69–87; Zainudin Hasan et al., "Peran Mosi Integral Yang Di Usulkan Muhamad Natsir Pada Tahun 1956 Untuk Keutuhan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia [The Role of the Integral Motion Proposed by Mohammad Natsir in 1956 for the Integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia]," *Jaksa: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hukum Dan Politik* 2, no. 3 (2024): 50–69.

[70]Interview with ISL, Persis central leadership, 1/6/2023

Pancasila a political consensus between Islamic circles and secular circles.[71] In fact, he directly said that Muslims who accepted Pancasila were hypocrites. Anshary's refusal was due to his disappointment with the government at that time. As someone who took part in the physical war in West Java during the revolution, Isa Anshary was concerned with upholding Islamic laws after he supported the government during times of crisis during the revolutionary era. This could be achieved if conditions were stable. However, his hopes were not achieved because Pancasila was made the state ideology. This disappointment was not only directed at secular groups but also at Islamic groups, saying they were not *istiqamah* (steadfastness).[72] However, it should be noted that Isa Anshary's attitude did not necessarily involve violence. The criticisms he made were voiced through the Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia and also through the magazine *Daulah Islamiyyah, Aliran Islam* [Islamic Stream] and other writings. This form of criticism is also moderate form in the author's view. "However, not all Persis figures rejected this state philosophy, such as M. Natsir. He said that Pancasila and Islam do not conflict at all and that the formulator of Pancasila was a Muslim who would not have formulated something that was contrary to Islam. He said further that Pancasila is also familiar with Islam. In fact, he further said that Islam must play a role in filling Pancasila to realize Islamic values that are grounded and not dominated by secular values, saying that through Islam, Pancasila will be more fertile."[73]

Likewise, Persis participates in democracy or elections which are held as a form of exercising power. In fact, these democratic principles are also in accordance with the concept of the Qurʾān, which rejects dictatorships such as Namrud and Pharaoh, as stated in Surah Al-Baqarah [2] verse 258 and Ad-Dukhan [44] verse 31. Elections are also the voice of the people and the testimony of the people, which is written in Surah Al-Baqarah [2] verses 282 to 283; the condemnation of society for just ducking is written in Surah Al-Qasas [28] verses 8 and 24, and Islam also upholds high tolerance and plurality as *sunnat Allah* (God's law) which is written in Al-Baqarah [2] verse 256, Hud [11] verse 118 and Yunus [10] verse 99.[74]

Persis do not approve of all the actions taken by the government. When the government makes a mistake by taking unfair decisions or rulings, it must be reminded because this is the duty of everyone to remind each other when they see mistakes; this is emphasized: "There can be no question about this country's commitment. But if we don't commit this country, we will instead turn around and justify or remain silent in situations that we should be talking about, like the country is committing injustice and so on, we need to reject it. No, because we are committed to the state, the state commits injustice, and we must remain silent."[75]

Therefore, when a Muslim is in power, Persis emphasizes that power is trustworthy and he would be held accountable for what he carries out, and when he is in charge, he must be a fair leader even to people outside his group; this is emphasized: "That power, it is a trust and must be obtained correctly and carried out correctly as well as being fair and trustworthy to everyone, even non-Muslims. Because of that, the principles in Islam are moderate..."[76]

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[71]Pepen Irpan Fauzan, *KH. Aceng Zakaria Ulama Persatuan Islam [KH. Aceng Zakaria, Islamic Union Scholar]*, First (Garut: LPPM STAI Persis Garut, 2021).

[72]Pepen Irpan Fauzan, *Negara Pancasila Vis-a-Vis Negara Islam: Pemikiran Politik M. Natsir Dan M. Isa Anshary (1945-1960) [The Pancasila State Vis-a-Vis the Islamic State: Political Thoughts of M. Natsir and M. Isa Anshary (1945-1960)]* (Garut: STAIPI Garut Press, 2019).

[73]Ibid.

[74]Rahman, "Islam Dan Demokrasi Dalam Wacana Kontemporer [Islam and Democracy in Contemporary Discourse]."

[75]Interview with ZAN, Persis central leader, 10/4/2023.

[76]Interview with JEZ, Persis central leader, 10/5/2023.

Indonesia's approach to religious moderation is firmly rooted in its cultural pluralism and local wisdom.[77] The principles of Pancasila, the nation's sole foundation, which emphasizes unity in diversity, reflect a broader global recognition of the importance of accommodating various cultural and religious identities in national policies. This alignment with global multicultural values enhances Indonesia's position as a model for interreligious dialogue.[78] The dynamics of global religious movements also influence Indonesia's moderation policy. As Islamic movements grow around the world, Indonesian policymakers are watching these trends to inform their strategies. For example, the government's emphasis on moderate Islam can be seen as an attempt to offset more radical interpretations that have been gaining traction in other parts of the world.[79] Thus, the government's policy of implementing religious moderation has dispelled the violence and rigidity of puritanical Islamic organizations such as the Persis (Islamic Union).

7. Conclusion

Religious moderation is Indonesia's national strategy to counter extremism and build harmony by balancing state authority and religious expression, and encouraging tolerance and respect for differences of belief. Although challenged by conservative groups, religious moderation has the potential to increase social cohesion and stability through inclusivity and interfaith understanding, thereby easing tensions and reducing the appeal of radicalism. The government's commitment to religious moderation is reflected in its integration into public life, including the adoption of the program by religious organizations such as Persis.

Conflict of Interest

The manuscript author has absolutely no financial or non-financial conflict of interest regarding the subject matter or material discussed in this manuscript.

Data Availability Statement

The data associated with this study will be provided by the corresponding author upon request.

Funding Details

This research did not receive a grant from any funding source or agency.

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[77]Ahmad Hasan Ridwan et al., "Implementing and Interpreting Fazlur Rahman's Islamic Moderation Concept in the Indonesian Context," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 12, no. 2 (2022): 58–73.

[78]Cholil, "First Essay Freedom of Religion amid Polarization and Religious Moderation Policy."

[79]Suaedy, "Transformasi Islam Indonesia Dalam Trend Gobal: Mencari Penjelasan 'Moderasi Beragama' Di Ruang Publik [Transformation of Indonesian Islam in Global Trends: Seeking Explanation of 'Religious Moderation' in Public Space]."

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