



Religious Moderation in Contestation: Dynamics and Impacts of Intergroup Tensions in Karangduwur Village, Petanahan, Kebumen

Shohibul Adib¹, Tahrir Rosadi², Muh. Hanif^{3*}

¹²Institut Agama Islam Nahdlatul Ulama Kebumen, Kebumen

³Universitas Islam Negeri Profesor Kiai Haji Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto

Corresponding Author: muh.hanif@uinsaizu.ac.id

Article History:

Submitted:

2024-10-18

Accepted:

2024-12-23

Published:

2025-02-03

Abstract

Religious moderation is essential for fostering harmony in pluralistic societies, yet its contestation poses significant challenges in certain communities. This study examines the dynamics of religious moderation in Karangduwur Village, Petanahan, Kebumen, where four religious groups Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (Moderate Islamic Group), Salafi Wahabi, and Salafi Jihadi (Conservative Islamic Group) compete within the domains of worship, education, and social institutions. Using a qualitative research methodology, data were gathered through documentation studies and content analysis to explore the drivers of contestation and their impact on communal harmony. Findings reveal that tensions arise from differing interpretations of religious moderation, ideological divides, and contested religious authority. These factors foster a community dynamic marked more by *serawung kalis* (together but apart) than *serawung nyawiji* (together but unified). Influences such as shifting religious authorities, the rise of social media, and improved education levels further amplify these challenges. The study underscores the interplay between these local dynamics and broader issues like democracy and Islamic populism in Indonesia. By highlighting the complexities of religious moderation, this research emphasizes its importance in promoting social harmony and democratic inclusivity.

Keywords: Religious moderation, contestation, communal harmony, ideological divides

1. Introduction

Examining the issue of religious moderation in the context of Indonesia's pluralistic territory is both interesting and challenging.¹ It contains a variety of acceptance and rejection both in the

¹ Khairul Amri, 'Moderasi Beragama Perspektif Agama-Agama di Indonesia', *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses*, 2021

struggle for narratives and even becomes a field of contestation among existing social organizations, both in real and virtual worlds.”²

Contestation in the form of rejection and acceptance begins with the term moderation or moderate itself. M.A. Muqtedar Khan’s literature explains that some Muslims reject the use of the term moderate due to their suspicion that this term is Western propaganda that is deliberately discussed to weaken the spirit of Muslim unity.³ The moderate label in Tariq Ramadhan’s view is interpreted as selling religion to the West.⁴ The rejection of this term is also triggered by foreign political developments related to the issue of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which is used as a frame for those who reject the use of moderation.⁵

Meanwhile, the group that can accept the term religious moderation is more based on the argumentation of religious teachings that moderation has a strong foothold from the Qur’an and the Prophet’s hadith.⁶ Thus, the fundamental cause of the difference is their perspective on the concept of moderation. The group that rejects moderation sees it as a representation of Western politics. While the group that accepts more sees the concept of moderation as a representation of theological religious teachings.

This research is based on Carool Kersten’s view that there is a “vibrant” or passionate Islamic intellectual thought in Indonesia with the presence of various progressive moderate Islamic figures and institutions.⁷ However, on the other hand, there are also radical and conservative Islamic figures

<<https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v4i2.2909>>; Sufratman, ‘Relevansi Moderasi Beragama di Tengah Masyarakat Majemuk’, *Jurnal Keislaman*, 2022.

- ² Claire-Marie Hefner, ‘Models of Achievement: Muslim Girls and Religious Authority in a Modernist Islamic Boarding School in Indonesia’, *Asian Studies Review*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1229266>>. Hasan Albana, ‘Kontestasi Narasi Moderasi Beragama Di Instagram’, *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v0i0.3791>>. Suheri Suheri and Yeni Tri Nurrahmawati, ‘Moderasi Beragama Di Era Disrupsi Digital’, *Proceedings of Annual Conference for Muslim Scholars*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.36835/ancoms.v6i1.453>>; Muria Khusnun Nisa and others, ‘Moderasi Beragama: Landasan Moderasi Dalam Tradisi Berbagai Agama Dan Implementasi Di Era Disrupsi Digital’, *Jurnal Riset Agama*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.15575/jra.v1i3.15100>>; Abdullah A Afifi and Afifi Fauzi Abbas, ‘Worldview Islam Dalam Aktualisasi Moderasi Beragama Yang Berkemajuan Di Era Disrupsi Digital’, *AL-IMAM: Journal on Islamic Studies, Civilization and Learning Societies*, 2023 <<https://doi.org/10.58764/j.im.2023.4.31>>.
- ³ M. A. Muqtedar Khan, *Debating Moderate Islam: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, *Debating Moderate Islam: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, 2007.
- ⁴ Abimanyu Iqbal Soesanto, ‘Radical Reform: Studi Analitis Konsep Ijtihad Tariq Ramadan’, *AL-MANHAJ: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial Islam*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.37680/almanhaj.v4i1.1545>>; Shatha Almutawa, ‘Ramadan, Tariq. Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation . New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. 372 Pp. \$29.95 (Cloth).’, *The Journal of Religion*, 2012 <<https://doi.org/10.1086/665295>>; Ahmet T. Kuru, ‘Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation. By Tariq Ramadan. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. Ix + 372 Pp. \$29.95 Cloth’, *Politics and Religion*, 2010 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/s1755048310000441>>.
- ⁵ Graham E. Fuller, ‘Freedom and Security: Necessary Conditions for Moderation’, in *Debating Moderate Islam: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, 2007.
- ⁶ Sumaiya Hamdani, ‘ABOU EL-FADL, Khaled, Speaking in God’s Name: Islamic Law, Authority and Women, Oxford, One World Publications, 2001, Xiii + 361 Pp.’, *Hawwa*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.1163/15692078-00101009>>; Abdul Majid, ‘Hermeneutika Hadis Gender (Studi Pemikiran Khaled M. Abou El Fadl Dalam Buku Speaking in God’s Name; Islamic Law, Authority And Women)’, *Al-Ulum*, 2013.
- ⁷ C.W. Watson, ‘Carool Kersten, Islam in Indonesia; The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values. London: Hurst & Company, 2015, Xx + 373 Pp. ISBN: 9781849044370. Price: GBP 25.00 (Soft Cover).’, *Wacana*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v17i3.459>>; Chiara Formichi, ‘Carool Kersten. Islam in Indonesia: The Contest for Society, Ideas, and Value. London: Hurst & Co. Publishers and Oxford University Press, 2015. 392 Pp.’, *Indonesia*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2017.0005>>.

and institutions.⁸ So, the contestation of religious moderation will continue to exist in a plural society plus the birth of fanaticism, and radicalism that can undermine harmonious life in society.⁹

This research takes the object of a narrower area as a case study where the contestation of religious moderation occurs amid religious diversity in Karangduwur Village, Petanahan Subdistrict, Kebumen Regency. Field data shows that in this village there are various religious variants, which if divided globally, there are two main currents, namely, first, the moderate current group in the form of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama and second, the conservative religious current group in the form of jihadi Salafi (pon-pes Anwarussunnah Kyai Ahmad) and Wahabi Salafi (Az-Zuhud Mosque under the care of Mukhtar Ibnu Rifa'i. MA institution. Wathoniyah Islamiyah under the care of Jauhar Muhammad who has close ties with the Imam Bukhari Solo group and descendants of AOI Sumolangu. SDIT Imam Syafi'i educational institution led by Subhan Bawazir).

Based on the background of the problem above, it can be concluded that there is a main question regarding the reasons for the contestation of religious moderation among religious groups in Karangduwur Village, Petanahan, Kebumen. This main question gave birth to two research focuses, namely: first, the form of religious moderation contestation that occurs in Karangduwur Village, and second, the impact of the religious moderation contestation on the harmonization of community life in the village.

2. Literatur Review

1. Contestation

Contestation is defined as a dialogical atmosphere involving two or more groups in which there is an element of controversy, debate, or competition.¹⁰ Debates of thought and hostile actions are often a series of triggers for the emergence of a contestation.¹¹ Contestation is not only an analytical concept but also normative which describes the existence of opposing norms, where one party provides a form of backlash against the other party.¹² Contestation can occur in three arenas, namely individual narratives, public with the state, and theoretical contestation.¹³ Meanwhile, Bourdieu in his contestation theory analyses contestation in two units of analysis, namely the arena and capital

⁸ Martin Van Bruinessen, 'Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and the "Conservative Turn" of the Early Twenty-First Century', *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the 'Conservative Turn'*, 2013 <<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814414579-005>>; Okamoto Masaaki, 'Anatomy of the Islam Nusantara Program and the Necessity for a "Critical" Islam Nusantara Study', *ISLAM NUSANTARA: Journal for Study of Islamic History and Culture*, 2020 <<https://doi.org/10.47776/islamnusantara.v1i1.44>>.

⁹ Nazar Naamy and Ishak Hariyanto, 'Moderasi Beragama Di Ruang Publik Dalam Bayang-Bayang Radikalisme', *Sophist : Jurnal Sosial Politik Kajian Islam Dan Tafsir*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.20414/sophist.v3i2.51>>; S Susanti, 'Moderasi Beragama dalam Masyarakat Multikultural', *TAJID: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman Dan ...*, 2022; Ahmad Mustafidin, 'Moderasi Beragama dalam Islam dan Relevansinya dengan Konteks Keindonesiaan', *Jurnal PROGRESS: Wahana Kreativitas Dan Intelektualitas*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.31942/pgrs.v9i2.5713>>.

¹⁰ Hafidhuddin, 'Kontestasi Hadis di Era Multimedia : Kajian Hadis di Youtube Mengenai Alat Musik', *Al-Bayan: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadist*, 5.1 (2022), 30–42.

¹¹ Sapriillah Sapriillah And Others, 'Kontestasi Keagamaan dalam Masyarakat Muslim Urban', *Al-Qalam*, 2020 <<https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v26i1.844>>.

¹² Nicole Deitelhoff, 'What's in a Name? Contestation and Backlash against International Norms and Institutions', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 22.4 (2020), 715–27 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148120945906>>; Jo Coghlan and Lisa J Hackett, 'Parliamentary Dress', *M/C Journal*, 2023 <<https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.2963>>.

¹³ Hakimul Ikhwan, Vissia Ita Yulianto, and Gilang Desti Parahita, 'The Contestation of Social Memory in the New Media: A Case Study of the 1965 Killings in Indonesia', *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0010>>.

symbolic framed in the concept of habitus.¹⁴ Contestation can occur in three forms, namely mild contestation which shows two or more parties who differ in opinion but accept and complement each other; open contestation which distinguishes one law from another; and contestation which seeks to impose an influence among the contestants.¹⁵ Thus, a clash of arguments is a “child” born from the womb of contestation in the absence of agreement and/or unavoidable disagreement.¹⁶

Religious contestation is a necessity that often occurs in a variety of groups¹⁷ in the circle of various issues surrounding it. For example, starting from issues of religious freedom, gender justice, and sexual orientation.¹⁸ In the context of religious life, contestation can be understood as competition and opposition between religious groups to gain recognition, equality, and legitimacy of identity that can lead to two things, namely separation and segregation or integration, and reconciliation.¹⁹ Religious contestation is a form of power relations that brings together various parties between those who dominate and those who are subordinated. The position of domination and subordination is the key word to understand contestation.²⁰ Religious contestation makes religion an arena to show in society that the teachings of its religious organization are the most correct.²¹ Religious contestation occurs as a result of various identity struggles so it tends to be found in forms of fierce conflicts that often lead to intolerance. Contestation can occur in public spaces through various symbols, traditions, practices, and artifacts that are given meaning as ‘religion’ through various uses.²²

2. Wahabi Salafi Conservative Islam and Jihadi Salafi Ultra Conservative Islam

Van Bruinessen defines conservative Islam as “various schools of thought that reject liberal and progressive reinterpretations of Islamic teachings, and tend to maintain fixed interpretations and social systems”.²³ Najib Burhani defines conservative Islam as referring to strict adherence to Salafi Islam and is mainly associated with Wahabism. It tries to bring back old practices to contemporary times without considering the context and treats differences with contempt. It differs from radical

¹⁴ A Lutfi, ‘Praktik-Praktik Kebenaran Agama Analisis Kontestasi Komunitas Muslim di Hadapan Katolik di Ponorogo The Practices of Religious ...’, *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya*, 2019.

¹⁵ Mustaqim Pabbajah and others, ‘Pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A Contestation between Islamic Identity and Local Tradition’, *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 2021.

¹⁶ Basuki Agus Suparno, ‘Kontestasi Makna Dan Dramatisme Komunikasi Politik Tentang Reformasi Di Indonesia’, *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2014.

¹⁷ Yulia Nafa Fitri Randani, Jalimah Zulfah Latuconsina, and Mukhsin Achmad, ‘Kontestasi Otoritas Agama (Studi Kasus : Fenomena War di Facebook dan Instagram Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Internal Umat Islam)’, *At-Thullab : Jurnal Mahasiswa Studi Islam*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.20885/tullab.vol4.iss1.art13>>.

¹⁸ Muh Tasrif, ‘Kontestasi Wacana Hak Asasi Manusia dalam Tafsir Al- Qur’an Indonesia Kontemporer: Kasus Tafsir Tematik Kementerian Agama’, *Proceeding of The 2nd Conference on Strengthening Islamic Studies in the Digital Era Vol 2(2022) Faculty of Ushuluddin, Adab and Dakwah IAIN Ponorogo*, 2 (2022), 31–44.

¹⁹ Sapriallah and others; S Pepi, ‘Kontestasi Keagamaan Dalam Masyarakat Muslim Urban (Munculnya Gerakan Urban Salafisme)’, *Al-Qalam*, 2020.

²⁰ E M Rosa and others, ‘Kontestasi Keberagamaan Di Media Sosial: Kontra Interpretasi Radikalisme Di Platform Youtube’, *Jurnal Penelitian ...*, 23.2 (2022), 175–96.

²¹ Khairil Umami and Arif Wibowo, ‘Kontestasi Merebut Kebenaran Agama (Studi Analisa Di Kecamatan Jatipurno, Kabupaten Wonogiri)’, *Panangaran: Jurnal Penelitian Agama Dan Masyarakat*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/panangaran.2021.0501-03>>.

²² Mia Lövhelm and Liv Ingeborg Lied, ‘Approaching Contested Religion’, in *Contesting Religion*, 2018, pp. 65–80 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110502060-009>>.

²³ Van Bruinessen, ‘Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and the “Conservative Turn” of the Early Twenty-First Century’; Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand, and Martin van Bruinessen, ‘Introduction: Behind the Walls: Re-Appraising the Role and Importance of Madrasas in the World Today’, in *The Madrasa in Asia*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/9789048501380.001>>; Masaaki; Martin Van Bruinessen, *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the ‘Conservative Turn’*, *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the ‘Conservative Turn’*, 2013 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2013.850644>>.

Islam in the sense that conservatives do not impose their beliefs on others. When they take steps to enforce it, especially using violent means, then they turn radical.”²⁴

The character of conservative thought tends to be unchangeable and tends to choose the status quo²⁵ so conservative groups tend to understand religious texts using a textual approach.²⁶ In other words, conservatives tend to be known for their objection to the idea of gender equality and opposition to power, and the modern hermeneutic approach to religious texts.²⁷ In general, academics divide the typology of Islamic religious views in Indonesia into three groups, namely Conservative Islam, Liberal Islam, and Moderate Islam.²⁸ The conservative Islamic movement is opposed to liberal Islam or progressive Islam which is defined as a movement that supports the idea of reinterpreting Islamic teachings contextually.²⁹ Halimatussa’diyah breaks down Islamic conservatism into two variants, namely conservatives who emphasize their movement on the political system to establish an Islamic state through constitutional channels and radical conservatives who agree and use violence as a tool to achieve their goals.³⁰ Conservative Islamic thought is oriented towards the past and is based on normative understanding where this thinking is based on the assumption that existing Islamic law is very complete and can answer all the problems of the people.³¹ According to Van Bruinessen, conservative Islam emerged and strengthened after the reform era in Indonesia due to the waning of liberal and progressive Islamic views, the strengthening of Middle Eastern influences, and the weakening of Muslims’ trust in existing Islamic organizations in Indonesia.³²

Discussing religious organizations about the theme of Conservative Islam is usually linked to two major themes: salafi wahabi and Salafi jihadi. The influence of the Wahabism movement has received international attention because its purification teachings have rigid and textual teachings in understanding religious teachings.³³ Researcher G. Simpson sees Wahhabism as an “extreme, intolerant, literal and very strict interpretation of Islam,”³⁴ In research, Ayoob, M., & Kosebalaban show that the phenomenon of fundamentalism, Islamic radicalism, such as in the al-Qaida network

²⁴ Ahmad Najib Burhani, ‘Pluralism, Liberalism and Islamism: Religious Outlook of Muhammadiyah’, 25.3 (2018); Ahmad Najib Burhani, ‘Between Social Services and Tolerance: Explaining Religious Dynamics in Muhammadiyah’, in *Between Social Services and Tolerance*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814881128-003>>; Anggi Afriansyah, ‘Konstruksi, Kontestasi, Fragmentasi, Dan Pluralisasi Otoritas Keagamaan Indonesia Kontemporer’, *Studia Islamika*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v28i1.20514>>.

²⁵ Haryati Haryati and others, ‘Impelentasi Pendekatan Pendidkan Konservatif Al Ghazali Dalam Pembelajaran Di Raudatul Athfal (RA) Taud Saqu Cahaya Hati Halmahera Selatan’, *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan*, 9.6 (2023), 166–74.

²⁶ Ihab Habudin, ‘Diskursus Feminisme Dalam Hukum Keluarga Islam Pada Situsweb Islam Indonesia: Respons Kelompok Islam Konservatif Dan Islam Moderat’, *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 12.1 (2020), 99 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2019.12108>>.

²⁷ Amin Mudzakkir, ‘Konservatisme Islam dan Intoleransi Keagamaan di Tasikmalaya’, *Harmoni*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v16i1.56>>.

²⁸ Alfiansyah Alfiansyah and Fajriyah Fajriyah, ‘Social Media as a Public Sphere, Menguatnya Gerakan Islam Konservatif Dalam Dunia Pendidikan’, *Molang : Journal Islamic Education*, 1.01 (2023), 36–54 <<https://doi.org/10.32806/jm.v1i01.228>>.

²⁹ Siti Mupida, ‘Media Baru dan Konflik Politik Islam di Indonesia’, *Idarotuna*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.24014/idarotuna.v2i1.8185>>.

³⁰ Alfiansyah and Fajriyah. Social Media as a Public Sphere, Menguatnya Gerakan Islam Konservatif Dalam Dunia Pendidikan’, *Molang : Journal Islamic Education*, 1.01 (2023), 36–54 <<https://doi.org/10.32806/jm.v1i01.228>>.

³¹ Agus Muchsin, ‘Transformasi Hukum Islam Ke dalam Bentuk Qanun Dauli Dusturi’, *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum*, 12.2 (2014), 145–52.

³² Ganesh Trisunu, I Putu Sukadana, and Niken Ayuningtyas Abstract, ‘Perbedaan Islam Konservatif Dengan Penerapan Keislaman Di Indonesia Berdasarkan Pancasila’, *Conference.Untag-Sby.Ac.Id*, 1.1 (2021).

³³ David Commins, ‘Wahhabis, Sufis and Salafis in Early Twentieth Century Damascus’, in *Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia*, 2009.

³⁴ George L. Simpson, ‘Force and Fanaticism: Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and Beyond’, by Simon Ross Valentine’, *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2016.1147922>>.

and related groups that target the United States and its allies as enemies is sourced from Wahabi teachings.”³⁵

In Noorhaidi Hasan’s perspective and Abu ‘Abdirrahman al-Thalibi’s rotation, the Salafi movement is divided into two major groups, namely the Yemeni Salafi group and the second is the Haraki Salafi or Sururi Salafi group. The Yemeni Salafi group is a Salafi group centered in Yemen following their leader Sheikh Muqbil bin Hadi al-Wadi’i, one of the great scholars in Yemen and founder of the Darul Hadith Islamic Boarding School. Meanwhile, the Salafi Haraki group is a group under the direct leadership of Sheikh Muhammad Surur bin Nayef Zainal Abidin.³⁶ Meanwhile, in Din Wahid’s view, the Salafi movement groups that grow and developed in Indonesia are divided into three main categories, namely the “Salafi purist group”, the “Salafi haraki group” or movement, and the third “Salafi jihadi group”.

In the author’s category, the Salafi-jihadi organization falls into the Ultra-Conservative Islamic group that tends towards terrorism. This is based on two main criteria; First, this group emphasizes the importance of returning to “pure” Islam, namely Salaf Islam, the pious ancestors. Second, the group believes that violent jihad is fardhu ‘ain (personal religious duty) by taking up arms.”³⁷ Meanwhile, the Salafi-Wahabi group is categorized as conservative Islam which is non-violent. This is as research by Natana J. DeLong Bas that Wahabism is not the cause of puritanical, misogynistic, militant, terrorist, and contemporary radical Islamic movements such as the al-Qaeda group.³⁸ Hegghammer as cited by Meijer offers a new model based on analytical categories, namely political categories. If the group has a high concern for political programs, then he is a Jihadi Salafi like Ikhwan al-Muslimin who has a political orientation and nationalism. If it is low, then it is a Salafi Wahabi group like Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi’s group with a Muslim orientation, where he has revised and moderated his ideas about the concept of jihad.³⁹ Based on the explanation above, the categorization of Conservative Islam can be described as in the table below:

Categorization of Conservative Islam

Category	Organization/ group	Trend	Characteristics
Conservative Islam	Salafi-Wahabi Salafi preacher/ purist	Theological	Expression of religious elevation Islamic lifestyle rigid and textual Islamic purity and anti-heresy Back to the Koran and Hadith anti-violence

³⁵ ‘Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State’, *Choice Reviews Online*, 2009 <<https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.46-5862>>; Carolyn Barnett, ‘Islam in Saudi Arabia’, *Political Science Quarterly*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1002/polq.12538>>.

³⁶ ‘Noorhaidi Hasan *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia* Ithaca, New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications. 2006, 266p.’, *Southeast Asia: History and Culture*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.5512/sea.2008.37_171>. Wahid, Din. (2015), *Kondisi Faktual Kelompok Keagamaan Radikal di Indonesia: Kasus Gerakan Salafi*. Makalah disampaikan dalam Seminar —Merajut Ukhuwah dalam Memperkuat Nilai-Nilai NKRII dilaksanakan oleh Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan.

³⁷ Seth G. Jones, *A Persistent Threat The Evolution of Al Qa’ida and Other Salafi Jihadists*, *Rand National Defense Research Institute*, *Www.Rand.Org*, 2014.

³⁸ Natana J. DeLong-Bas, ‘Wahhabism and Salafism in Global Perspective’, in *Wahhabism and the World*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197532560.003.0002>>.

³⁹ Hegghammer, T. The ideological hybridization of jihadi groups. *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, (2009). 9, 26-46.

Category	Organization/ group	Trend	Characteristics
Ultra-Conservative Islam	Salafi-Jihadi Salafi-Haraki Salafi-Takfiri	Ideological- Political	rigid and textual Takfiri, Radicalism Terrorism, Jihad, Islamism, Enforcement of Sharia and Islamic Caliphate

3. Religious Moderation

Religious moderation is defined as our perspective on religion in a moderate manner, namely understanding and practicing religious teachings without extremes, either extreme right or extreme left.⁴⁰ Moderation can be defined as something between two opposites or two extremes.⁴¹ The discourse on religious moderation emerged in response to the many intolerant movements that emerged in the name of religion.⁴² The concept of religious moderation is taken from norms and rules which are then applied fairly with the understanding of taking the middle way so as not to cause extreme conflicts and not excessive when living religious teachings.⁴³ This is different from the definition of religious moderation by extreme groups who define religious moderation as a half-hearted way of practicing Islam and using Western ways of thinking that threaten kaffah Islam. In other words, they equate religious moderation with pluralism, liberalism, and secularism.⁴⁴

Moderation is a solution to the contestation of diversity because the presence of religion is to maintain human dignity as God's creatures by carrying the mission of welfare, benefit, and peace.⁴⁵ Referring to the idea of being in a middle position between two opposites or two extremes, religious moderation shows acceptance, openness, and synergy from different religious groups.⁴⁶ In other words, religious moderation as a middle way in dealing with differences in both extreme and fundamental groups has forms of attitudes that include recognition of the existence of other parties, having a tolerant attitude, respect for differences of opinion and not imposing their will using violence.^{47, 48} Therefore, moderation will build an attitude that is not self-contained, not exclusive, or closed but

⁴⁰ Fauziah Nurdin, 'Moderasi Beragama Menurut Al-Qur'an Dan Hadist', *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Mu'ashirah*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.22373/jim.v18i1.10525>>.

⁴¹ Thameem Ushama, 'Is Islam a Religion of Moderation or Extremism? A Study of Key Islamic Teachings', *Asian Social Science*, 2014 <<https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v10n8p184>>; Andrea Römmele and others, 'Book Reviews.', *Party Politics*, 2014. especially in relation to the method of moderation applied in religious teachings, requirements and human relations and substantiates that it is a religion of flexibility, goodness, ease, moderation and not extremism. It employs content analysis of relevant verses of the Scripture and statements of the Prophet that refer to the method of moderation and explanations of selected Qur'anic exegetes. It focuses on understanding the concept of moderation and explains important terms (1

⁴² Ashif Az Zafi, 'Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Moderasi Al-Qur'an Dalam Pendidikan Islam', *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis*, 2020.

⁴³ Rachma Widiningtyas Wibowo and Anisa Siti Nurjanah, 'Aktualisasi Moderasi Beragama Abad 21 Melalui Media Sosial', *Madania: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 2021.

⁴⁴ Albana. 'Kontestasi Narasi Moderasi Beragama Di Instagram', *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v0i0.3791>>.

⁴⁵ Rosa and others. Kontestasi Keberagamaan Di Media Sosial: Kontra Interpretasi Radikalisme Di Platform Youtube', *Jurnal Penelitian ...*, 23.2 (2022), 175-96

⁴⁶ Khalil Nurul Islam, 'Moderasi Beragama Di Tengah Pluralitas Bangsa: Tinjauan Revolusi Mental Perspektif Al-Qur'an', *Kuriositas*, 2020.

⁴⁷ Akhmadi, 2019; Moderasi Beragama Dalam Keragaman Indonesia Religious Moderation in Indonesia ' S Diversity', *Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan*, 13.2 (2019), 45-55

⁴⁸ Sutrisno, 2019) Aktualisasi Moderasi Beragama Di Lembaga Pendidikan', *Jurnal Bimas Islam*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.37302/jbi.v12i2.113>>.

rather open, and willing to adapt.⁴⁹ In other words, understanding religious moderation encourages a balanced religious attitude between practicing one's religion and respecting the religious practices of others who have different beliefs.

4. Religious Authority

The study of religious authority in the Islamic tradition has become a concern of Muslims such as Khaled Abou el Fadl, Nahsr Hamid Abu Zaid, and Muhammad Qasim Zaman. Abou el-Fadl explains the dynamic discourse of Islamic law through the approach of critical sciences such as semiotics and hermeneutics. In the scientific tradition of hermeneutics, Hans Georg Gadamer states that a person's understanding is the result of the fusion of the horizons of authority, prejudice, history, the influence of tradition, and the knowledge that surrounds him.⁵⁰ Departing from Gadamer's hermeneutic theory, Khaled Abou el-Fadl in his book *Speaking in God's Name: Islamic Law, Authority and Women* warns that authoritative actions and decisions can occur if religious authority holders misinterpret the most authoritative sources of Islamic teachings (al-Qur'an and Hadith).⁵¹

Studies on the theory of religious authority in Indonesia have been conducted by many researchers. Their literature raises the issue of religious authority theory associated with a variety of themes ranging from social issues such as the work of Rumadi⁵² to political issues by Jacqueline Hicks,⁵³ al-Makin.⁵⁴ The issue of education by Claire-Marie Hefner,⁵⁵ gender issues by Daniel Andrew Birchok,⁵⁶ David Kloos⁵⁷ Nor Ismah⁵⁸ Euis Nurlaelawati⁵⁹ issues of religious authority and social media.⁶⁰

⁴⁹ I Ketut Angga Irawan, 'Merajut Nilai-Nilai Kemanusiaan Melalui Moderasi Beragama', *Prosiding STHD Klaten Jawa Tengah*, 2020.

⁵⁰ Agus Darmaji, 'Dasar-Dasar Ontologis Pemahaman Hermeneutik Hans-Georg Gadamer', *Refleksi*, 2014 <<https://doi.org/10.15408/ref.v13i4.911>>; Hasyim Hasanah, 'Hermeneutik Ontologis-Dialektis (Sebuah Anatomi Teori Pemahaman Dan Interpretasi Perspektif Hans-George Gadamer Dan Implikasinya Dalam Dakwah)', *At-Taqaddum*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.21580/at.v9i1.1785>>.

⁵¹ Hamdani; Muzayyin Muzayyin, 'Hermeneutika Hukum Islam Khaleed Abou El Fadl: Sebuah Tawaran Dalam Membendung Otoritarianisme Fatwa MUI', *Potret Pemikiran*, 2018 <<https://doi.org/10.30984/pp.v20i1.749>>; Muhammad Muzayyin, 'Khaleed Abou El Fadl's Hermeneutic: A Newly Proposed Insight to Review Ibnu Rushd's Theory of Despotism Interpretation of The Qur'an', *Ulumuna*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v20i1.534>>; 'عروض مختصرة، الفكر الإسلامي المعاصر (إسلامية المعرفة سابقا)', *مكتب المعهد في الأردن*, 2002 <<https://doi.org/10.35632/citj.v8i29.2847>>.

⁵² Rumadi Rumadi, 'Islam dan Otoritas Keagamaan', *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 2012 <<https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.20.1.183>>.

⁵³ Jacqueline Hicks, 'Heresy and Authority: Understanding the Turn against Ahmadiyah in Indonesia', *South East Asia Research*, 22.3 (2014), 321-39 <<https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2014.0216>>; Jacqueline Hicks, 'Heresy and Authority: Understanding the Turn Against Ahmadiyah in Indonesia.', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013 <<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2263855>>.

⁵⁴ 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*, 2018 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2017.1380279>>.

⁵⁵ Claire-Marie Hefner.

⁵⁶ Daniel Andrew Birchok, 'Women, Genealogical Inheritance and Sufi Authority: The Female Saints of Seunagan, Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1224999>>.

⁵⁷ David Kloos, 'The Saliency of Gender: Female Islamic Authority in Aceh, Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1225669>>.

⁵⁸ Nor Ismah, 'Destabilising Male Domination: Building Community-Based Authority among Indonesian Female Ulama', *Asian Studies Review*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1228605>>.

⁵⁹ Euis Nurlaelawati and Arskal Salim, 'Gendering the Islamic Judiciary: Female Judges in the Religious Courts of Indonesia', *Al-Jami'ah*, 2014 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.512.247-278>>; Eka Srimulyani, 'Muslim Women and Education in Indonesia: The Pondok Pesantren Experience', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 2007 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02188790601145564>>; Asfa Widiyanto, 'Female Religious Authority, Religious Minority and the Ahmadiyah: The Activism of Sinta Nuriyah Wahid', *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 2015 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2015.9.1.1-24>>.

⁶⁰ Norshahril Saat, *Islam in Southeast Asia: Negotiating Modernity.*, *Islam in Southeast Asia*, 2018; Ahmad Najib Burhani, '7. Plural Islam and Contestation of Religious Authority in Indonesia', in *Islam in Southeast Asia*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814818001-009>>; Ismail Fajrie Alatas, 'Aligning the Sunna and the Jama'a: Religious Authority and Islamic Social Formation in Contemporary Central Java, Indonesia', *Aligning the Sunna and the Jama'a*, 2016.

The theory of religious authority itself examines three things, namely; legitimacy,⁶¹ recognition, and contestation.⁶²

3. Method

The method used in this research is qualitative research. In a study conducted on natural object conditions, researchers as key instruments, data collection techniques are combined, the resulting data is descriptive, data analysis is done inductively, and this research emphasizes meaning rather than generalization. Research with a qualitative approach aims to explain phenomena in the deepest possible way through data collection.

The data collection techniques in this qualitative research are carried out in two ways, namely interactive methods which include interviews, and observations, and non-interactive methods, including content analysis of documents and archives. Meanwhile, the data collection techniques used are: first, documentation studies. Namely one form of non-interactive data collection where researchers collect data from several documents and literature to complete this research. Second, after the data is collected, the next step is to analyze the data using the content analysis method, an attempt to collect and compile data by focusing on documents, papers scientific literature, and others, then analyzing and interpreting the data.

4. Result and Discussion

The findings in the field show that there has been a contestation of religious moderation in several places, namely: places of worship, educational institutions both formal and non-formal education, as well as community religious social institutions supported by actors and their respective agencies as shown in the table below:

Table. I
Actors and Agents in Places of Worship

No.	Place of Worship/Religious Institution	Actors and Agencies	Information
	Annur Karangduwur Mosque	Kyai Parluji (MD)	Muhammadiyah (MD)/Salafi
	Karangduwur East Mosque	Jauhar (MWI/Salafi Wahhabi)	MWI (Salafi Wahabi)
	PP. Anwarussunnah Mosque	Abdul Mu'thi, Ahmad, Kholid	Salafi Jihad
	Darussalam Mosque in Karangduwur	Ahmad Hanifuddin (NU)	Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)

⁶¹ Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke, 'Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies', *Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia*, 2006; Robert Hefner, 'Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia', in *Making Modern Muslims*, 2009 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824863463-003>>. Islamic schools in Southeast Asia have been the focus of international attention. The young men responsible for the Bali attack, in which more than two hundred people died, had been students at an Islamic boarding school in East Java and had ties to the al-Mukmin boarding school in Central Java. Al-Mukmin is the home of Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, a senior Islamic scholar who is alleged to have been the spiritual leader of the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI

⁶² Zaman, *The Ulama Contempory Islam*

No.	Place of Worship/Religious Institution	Actors and Agencies	Information
	Miftahul Huda prayer room in Penegar alley	Kyai Rosihudin	NU, Muhammadiyah, Salafis
	Al-Hidayah prayer room	Kyai Hartono Kyai Suparman	Salafis NU
	Al-Muthahar Salak Mosque	Ustad Ahmad	Salafi Jihad

The data table above shows that the contestation of religious moderation in Karangduwur Village occurs in places of worship in the form of four mosques and three prayer rooms. At the beginning of 2019 in Karangduwur Village there was only the Wetan Mosque. Then, due to ideological differences, several mosques were born, such as the Darussalam Karangduwur mosque. The data above also illustrates how mosques and mushalas have been affiliated with each religious group. There are four groups, namely: 1). Muhammadiyah in Annur Mosque with the actor Kyai Parluji. 2). MWI Salafi Wahabi in Wetan mosque with the actor Ustadz Jauhar. 3). Salafi jihadi in PP.Anwarussunnah mosque with the main actor Ustadz Ahmad and al-Muthahar Salak Mosque by the same actor. 4). Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in the Darussalam mosque with the actor Kyai Ahmad Hanifudin. Meanwhile, two mushalas are occupied simultaneously by several religious organizations, namely: Mushala Miftahul Huda is occupied by NU, Muhammadiyah and Salafi, and Mushala al-Hidayah is occupied by Salafi and NU (Interview with Lasdiono, NU figure on 25/01/2024).

Meanwhile, contestation also occurs in formal and non-formal educational institutions, as shown in the table below:

Table. II
Actors and Agencies in Formal and Non-Formal Educational Institutions

No.	Formal and Non-Formal Educational Institutions	Actors and Agencies	Information
	MTS and MA. Wathoniyah Islamiyah	Ustadz. Jauhar Muhammad Ustadz. Bashori	Muhammadiyah (tends to be Salafi Wahabi)
	Elementary School, Middle School, High School, PP. Anwarussunnah	Abdul Mu'thi, Ahmad, Kholid	Salafi Jihad
	Imam Syafi'i Islamic Elementary School	Subhan Bawazir	Salafi Wahabi
	Baitus Sholihin Salak Islamic Boarding School	Taufiqurrohman	Well

The table above illustrates the different ideologies and religious groups in both formal and non-formal educational institutions. There are four main groups, namely: 1). Muhammadiyah (although closer to Salafi Wahabi), namely MTS and MA. Wathoniyah Islamiyah. 2). Salafi Wahabi at SDIT Imam Syafi'i. 3). Jihadi Salafi in PP junior high school elementary school. Anwarussunnah. 4). Nahdlatul

Ulama at TPQ Baitus Sholihin Educational Institution (interview with MWCNU Petanahan Saebani and Koko, representatives of PCM Petanahan on 22/01/2024).

The contestation of religious moderation that occurs in social community institutions appears in the table below:

Table III
Actors and Agents in Social Institutions

No.	Social Community Institutions	Actors and Agencies	Information
	Baitul Mal/ Darur Rahmah	The Warden of Subekti	Gray
	Orphanage Foundation	The Warden of Subekti	Gray
	Lightning Islamic Boarding School	The Warden of Subekti	Gray

In Karangduwur village there is a social institution in the form of Baitul Mal / Darur Rahmah which oversees the Orphanage Foundation and Islamic Boarding School. The main actor is Ustadz Warjan Subekti who is closer to Salafi groups than moderate Islamic groups such as Muhammadiyah and NU (Interview Jauhar Muhammad, 19/01/2024).

The issue of religious moderation and its contestation in Karangduwur Village does not only occur at the level of community leaders but also occurs in the grassroots area at the RT (Neighborhood Association) level as in the table below:

Table IV
Map of Hamlet Level Contests in Karangduwur Village

No.	Hamlet	Actors and Agencies	Information
	Refresher	Salafi Wahabi and Jihadi	Majority
	Clash	Salafi Wahabi and Jihadi	Majority
	Kenyan	NU, Muhammadiyah	Majority
	Wanasingen	NU, Muhammadiyah	Majority
	Snake fruit	NU, Muhammadiyah	Majority
	Mortar	NU, Muhammadiyah	Majority

The data above shows that all religious groups, including Muhammadiyah, NU, Salafi Wahabi, and Salafi Jihadi, are evenly distributed in each hamlet. Muhammadiyah and NU are the majority groups in Kenya, Wanasingen, Slaak, and Ulekan hamlets. Meanwhile, Salafi Wahabi and Jihadi are the majority in Penegar and Bentaran hamlets (Interview with Kadus Ahmad Saefuddin, 26/01/2024).

Meanwhile, a real picture of the contestation of religious moderation in Karangduwur Village, Petanahan Subdistrict, Kebumen can be described in the table below:

Table V.
**Forms of Contestation of Religious Moderation in the Village of Karangduwur
Petanahan Kebumen**

Forms of Religious Moderation	Contestation	Conservation Islam Group in Karangduwur Petanahan		Moderate Islamic Group in Karangduwur Petanahan	
National Commitment	Khilafah and Pancasila	Salafi Wahabi No flag in ceremony	Salafi Jihadi No flag in ceremony	Muhammadiyah With flag in ceremony	NU With flag in ceremony
	Village Regulation 2017 Ban on Al-Barzanji	Proponents	Proponents	Abstain	Rejecting
Tolerant Attitude	Anwarussunnah 2019 worship permit shalat Jum'at	Proponents	Proponents	Rejecting	Rejecting
	Mushala Miftahul Huda	Fight for Jama'ah	Fight for Jama'ah	Fight for Jama'ah	Fight for Jama'ah
	Mushola al-Hidayah	Accommodating	Accommodating	Accommodating	Accommodating
	Masjid Wetan Karangduwur	Fight for Jama'ah	Fight for Jama'ah	Fight for Jama'ah	Fight for Jama'ah
Acceptance of Local Traditions	Masjid al-Muthahar	Fighting over Jama'ah, distribution of zakat and sacrificial meat	Fighting over Jama'ah, distribution of zakat and sacrificial meat	Fight for Jama'ah	Fight for Jama'ah
	Religious practice Narratives of gazwul-fikr, narratives of terror Tafkiry	Tafkiry	Tafkiry	Terror narrative	Narrative of gazwul-fikr

Table V.
**Forms of Contestation of Religious Moderation in the Village of Karangduwur
Petanahan Kebumen**

Form Moderation Religion	Contest	Islamic Conservation Group in Karangduwur Land		Moderate Islamic Group in Karangduwur Land	
Commitment Nationality	Caliphate and Pancasila	Salafi Wahabi No flag ceremony	Salafi Jihad No flag ceremony	Muhammadiyah There is a flag ceremony	NU There is a flag ceremony

Form Moderation Religion	Contest	Islamic Conservation Group in Karangduwur Land		Moderate Islamic Group in Karangduwur Land	
Attitude Tolerance	2017 Village Regulation Prohibits Al- Barzanji	The bearer	The bearer	Abstain	Reject
	Anwarussunnah 2019 permission to pray Friday	Support	Support	Reject	Reject
	Prayer room Miftahul Huda	The Scramble congregation	The Scramble congregation	The Scramble congregation	The Scramble congregation
	Al-Hidayah prayer room	Accommodating	Accommodating	Accommodating	Accommodating
	East Mosque The Rock	The Scramble congregation	The Scramble congregation	The Scramble congregation	The Scramble congregation
Reception to Tradition Local	Muthahar Mosque	The Scramble Congregation, distribution of zakat and sacrificial meat	The Scramble Congregation, distribution of zakat and sacrificial meat	The Scramble congregation	The Scramble congregation
	Practice religious Narratives of gazwul-fikr, narratives of terror Tarkiri	Interpretation	Interpretation	Narrative of terror	Gazwul-fikr narrative

The data above shows that there has been a contestation of religious moderation between two large groups, namely First, the conservative Islamic groups in the form of Wahabi Salafis and Jihadi Salafis, and Second, Muhammadiyah and NU groups that represent moderate Islamic groups. If analyzed from the pillars of religious moderation, it will appear as follows: 1). National Commitment. In this aspect, the theme that becomes an issue is the caliphate and Pancasila. Salafi Jihadi and Wahabi are more inclined towards the Caliphate while Muhammadiyah and NU are more inclined towards Nationalism and Pancasila. Conservative Islam in Karangduwur Village does not hold flag ceremonies every Monday and other holidays, while moderate groups hold flag ceremonies (interview with Kadus Ahmad Saefuddin, 26/01/2024).

As for the 2nd one). Anti-violence. In this aspect, the issues of jihad, radicalism, and terrorism are the subject of contestation between the two religious groups. In 2017, conservative Islamic groups even proposed a Perdes (village regulation) on the prohibition of al-Barzanji activities. Muhammadiyah in this case abstained while NU rejected it. In the end, the Perdes were not ratified by the local government (Interview with Village Head, Alif Fatta al Aula, 12/01/2024).

While the 3rd aspect). Tolerance. In this aspect of religious moderation, there has been a struggle for the congregation of mosques, mushalas, and recitation forums. In early 2019 the mosque management of PP. Anwarussunnah 2019 submitted a permit so that the mosque could be used as a place of worship for Friday prayers, but the application for permission was rejected by moderate Islamic groups. With the wrapper of the distribution of Zakat and Sacrificial Meat, the al-Muthahar mosque struggles to influence the moderate Islamic group community. What is quite interesting is in Mushala al-Hidayah where there is understanding and mutual accommodation between two conservative and moderate groups.

As for the 4th aspect). Acceptance of local traditions has occurred in *gazwul-fikr* narratives, terror narratives, and even takfiri narratives in all groups, both Salafi Wahabi, Salafi, Jihadi,

Muhammadiyah and NU. For example, the issue of the traditional earth alms tradition has become a matter of contestation that the tradition is a behavior that deviates from the teachings of the Islamic faith (Interview Ustadz Ahmad, 22/01/2024).

Discussion; *Serawung Kalis* and *Serawung Nyawiji*

A contestation sometimes gives birth to a form of resistance. In this case, James Scott has several forms of resistance, namely first, what he calls closed resistance (symbolic or ideological), which takes the form of slander, gossip, rejection of the categories imposed on society, and withdrawal of respect for the authorities. Second, semi-open resistance takes forms such as demonstrations. Third, open resistance, is a more organized, systematic, and principled form of resistance. The manifestation used in resistance is by violent methods such as in the form of rebellion. However, this research found that not all forms of resistance are violent because there are additional variants of resistance responses, namely negotiation resistance, accommodative resistance, and alternative resistance responses as shown in the table below:

Table VI.
The Impact of the Religious Moderation Contest in Karangduwur Petanahan Village, Kebumen

Religious Moderation	Contestation	Conservative Islamic groups in Karangduwur Petanahan		Moderate Islamic Group in Karangduwur Petanahan	
		Salafi Wahabi	Salafi Jihadi	Muhammadiyah	The Nahdlatul Ulama
National Commitment	Caliphate and Pancasila	Kalis Pisan	Kalis Pisan	The Nyawiji Serawung	The Nyawiji Serawung
Anti-Violence	Jihad Radicalism and Terrorism	Kalis	Kalis	The Nyawiji Serawung	The Nyawiji Serawung
Attitude of Tolerance	Fighting over mosque congregations and study forums	Kalis	Kalis	<i>Silky smooth</i>	<i>Silky smooth</i>
Acceptance of local traditions	Religious practices <i>Gazwul-fikr</i> narratives, terror narratives Takfiri,	Kalis Pisan	Kalis Pisan	<i>Silky smooth</i>	<i>Silky smooth</i>

The table above shows that the impact of contestation of religious moderation in Karangduwur Village, Petanahan Kebumen on the harmonization of local community life is at least four categories, namely:

1. *Serawung kalis* (closed resistance) slander, gossip, rejection of the categories imposed on the community, as well as the withdrawal of respect for the authorities.

2. *Kalis* (semi-open resistance) Demonstration.
3. *Kalis pisan* (open) organized principled systematic.
4. *Serawung Nyawiji* moderate resistance in the sense that there are resistance-negotiation, resistance-accommodation, and resistance-alternative responses

On aspect 1). National Commitment. In this aspect of moderation, the related issue is the issue of the caliphate and Pancasila where conservative Islamic groups take a *Kalis Pisan* attitude, namely taking an open, organized, systematic, and principled attitude through educational institutions to always refuse to submit and obey the government. While Muhammadiyah and NU take a *serawung nyawiji* attitude, there are negotiations, accommodations, and certain alternatives. In aspect 2). Anti-violence, conservative Islamic groups take a *Kalis* attitude, namely separating themselves by fighting in the form of demonstrations. Meanwhile, moderate groups take a more *serawung nyawiji* form of attitude. Things are different in aspect 3). Tolerance attitude where conservative groups take *kalis* actions while moderate groups are more to *serawung kalis*, namely maintaining good relations but still rejecting the model and views of conservative groups, especially on issues regarding the struggle for the congregation. Aspect 4). Acceptance of local traditions. The conservative group shows a *kalis* attitude in the sense of resistance to local traditions while the moderate group shows a *serawung kalis* attitude. The data above confirms that the social life of the community in Karangduwur Village illustrates a relationship model that is more *serawung kalis* (Together on the outside but very different on the inside) than *serawung nyawiji* (Together in real authenticity).

5. Conclusion

From the description above, a conclusion can be drawn by the formulation of the existing problem that the form of contestation of religious moderation in Karangduwur Village occurs in all aspects of religious moderation, namely Nationality commitment in the form of Khilafah issues, and Pancasila. Anti-violence in the form of jihad, radicalism, and terrorism. Tolerance in the form of Jama'ah struggles. Acceptance of local traditions in the form of Religious practices, *gazwul-fikr* narratives, terror narratives, and Takfiri.

The factors that influence the contestation of religious moderation are internal factors in the form of Definition of religious moderation, Structural, and cultural. The external factors are the shift in religious authority, the strengthening of the level of education, and economic and political influences. The impact of the contestation of religious moderation can affect the harmony of community life where they have more attitude of “*serawung kalis*” (together but separated and even influencing each other) than the attitude of “*serawung nyawiji*” (true together in the sense of not antagonizing each other).

References

- Abou El Fadl, K. (2005). *The great theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists*. New York, NY.
- Afifi, Abdullah A, and Afifi Fauzi Abbas, ‘Worldview Islam dalam Aktualisasi Moderasi Beragama Yang Berkemajuan di Era Disrupsi Digital’, *AL-IMAM: Journal on Islamic Studies, Civilization and Learning Societies*, 2023 <<https://doi.org/10.58764/j.im.2023.4.31>>
- Afriansyah, Anggi, ‘Konstruksi, Kontestasi, Fragmentasi, Dan Pluralisasi Otoritas Keagamaan Indonesia Kontemporer’, *Studia Islamika*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v28i1.20514>>

- Afrilia, Sella, Rumba Triana, and Syaiful Rokim, 'Pandangan Al-Qur'an Terhadap Realitas Hoax', *Al-Tadabbur: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir*, 2018 <<https://doi.org/10.30868/at.v3i01.254>>
- Akhmadi, Agus, 'Moderasi Beragama Dalam Keragaman Indonesia Religious Moderation in Indonesia ' S Diversity', *Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan*, 13.2 (2019), 45–55
- Alatas, Ismail Fajrie, 'Aligning the Sunna and the Jama'a: Religious Authority and Islamic Social Formation in Contemporary Central Java, Indonesia', *Aligning the Sunna and the Jama'a*, 2016
- Albana, Hasan, 'Kontestasi Narasi Moderasi Beragama Di Instagram', *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v0i0.3791>>
- Alfiansyah, Alfiansyah, and Fajriyah Fajriyah, 'Social Media as a Public Sphere, Menguatnya Gerakan Islam Konservatif Dalam Dunia Pendidikan', *Molang : Journal Islamic Education*, 1.01 (2023), 36–54 <<https://doi.org/10.32806/jm.v1i01.228>>
- Almutawa, Shatha, ' Ramadan, Tariq. Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation . New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. 372 Pp. \$29.95 (Cloth). ', *The Journal of Religion*, 2012 <<https://doi.org/10.1086/665295>>
- Amri, Khairul, 'Moderasi Beragama Perspektif Agama-Agama di Indonesia', *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v4i2.2909>>
- Barnett, Carolyn, 'Islam in Saudi Arabia', *Political Science Quarterly*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1002/polq.12538>>
- Birchok, Daniel Andrew, 'Women, Genealogical Inheritance and Sufi Authority: The Female Saints of Seunagan, Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1224999>>
- Van Bruinessen, Martin, *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the 'Conservative Turn'*, *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the 'Conservative Turn'*, 2013 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2013.850644>>
- , 'Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and the "Conservative Turn" of the Early Twenty-First Century', *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the 'Conservative Turn'*, 2013 <<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814414579-005>>
- Burhani, Ahmad Najib, '7. Plural Islam and Contestation of Religious Authority in Indonesia', in *Islam in Southeast Asia*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814818001-009>>
- , 'Between Social Services and Tolerance: Explaining Religious Dynamics in Muhammadiyah', in *Between Social Services and Tolerance*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814881128-003>>
- , 'Pluralism, Liberalism and Islamism: Religious Outlook of Muhammadiyah', 25.3 (2018)
- Coghlan, Jo, and Lisa J Hackett, 'Parliamentary Dress', *M/C Journal*, 2023 <<https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.2963>>
- Commings, David, 'Wahhabis, Sufis and Salafis in Early Twentieth Century Damascus', in *Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia*, 2009
- Darmaji, Agus, 'Dasar-Dasar Ontologis Pemahaman Hermeneutik Hans-Georg Gadamer', *Refleksi*, 2014 <<https://doi.org/10.15408/ref.v13i4.911>>
- Deitelhoff, Nicole, 'What's in a Name? Contestation and Backlash against International Norms and Institutions', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 22.4 (2020), 715–27 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148120945906>>

- DeLong-Bas, Natana J., 'Wahhabism and Salafism in Global Perspective', in *Wahhabism and the World*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197532560.003.0002>>
- Formichi, Chiara, 'Carool Kersten. Islam in Indonesia: The Contest for Society, Ideas, and Value. London: Hurst & Co. Publishers and Oxford University Press, 2015. 392 Pp.', *Indonesia*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2017.0005>>
- Fuller, Graham E., 'Freedom and Security: Necessary Conditions for Moderation', in *Debating Moderate Islam: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, 2007
- Habudin, Ihab, 'Diskursus Feminisme Dalam Hukum Keluarga Islam Pada Situsweb Islam Indonesia: Respons Kelompok Islam Konservatif Dan Islam Moderat', *Al-Ahwal: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam*, 12.1 (2020), 99 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/ahwal.2019.12108>>
- Hafidhuddin, 'Kontestasi Hadis di Era Multimedia : Kajian Hadis di Youtube Mengenai Alat Musik', *Al-Bayan: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadist*, 5.1 (2022), 30-42
- Hamdani, Sumaiya, 'Abou El-Fadl, Khaled, Speaking in God's Name: Islamic Law, Authority and Women, Oxford, One World Publications, 2001, Xiii + 361 Pp.', *Hawwa*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.1163/15692078-00101009>>
- Haryati, Haryati, Supardi Widodo, Radjiman Ismail, and M Natsir Mahmud, 'Impelentasi Pendekatan Pendidikan Konservatif Al Ghazali Dalam Pembelajaran Di Raudatul Athfal (RA) TAUD SAQU Cahaya Hati Halmahera Selatan', *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidika*, 9.6 (2023), 166-74
- Hasanah, Hasyim, 'Hermeneutik Ontologis-Dialektis (Sebuah Anatomi Teori Pemahaman Dan Interpretasi Perspektif Hans-George Gadamer Dan Implikasinya Dalam Dakwah)', *At-Taqaddum*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.21580/at.v9i1.1785>>
- Hefner, Claire-Marie, 'Models of Achievement: Muslim Girls and Religious Authority in a Modernist Islamic Boarding School in Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1229266>>
- Hefner, Robert, 'Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia', in *Making Modern Muslims*, 2009 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824863463-003>>
- Hicks, Jacqueline, 'Heresy and Authority: Understanding the Turn Against Ahmadiyah in Indonesia.', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013 <<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2263855>>
- , 'Heresy and Authority: Understanding the Turn against Ahmadiyah in Indonesia', *South East Asia Research*, 22.3 (2014), 321-39 <<https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2014.0216>>
- Ikhwan, Hakimul, Vissia Ita Yulianto, and Gilang Desti Parahita, 'The Contestation of Social Memory in the New Media: A Case Study of the 1965 Killings in Indonesia', *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0010>>
- Irawan, I Ketut Angga, 'Merajut Nilai-Nilai Kemanusiaan Melalui Moderasi Beragama', *Prosiding STHD Klaten Jawa Tengah*, 2020
- Islam, Khalil Nurul, 'Moderasi Beragama Di Tengah Pluralitas Bangsa: Tinjauan Revolusi Mental Perspektif Al-Qur'an', *Kuriositas*, 2020
- Ismah, Nor, 'Destabilising Male Domination: Building Community-Based Authority among Indonesian Female Ulama', *Asian Studies Review*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1228605>>
- Kloos, David, 'The Salience of Gender: Female Islamic Authority in Aceh, Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1225669>>

- Krämer, Gudrun, and Sabine Schmidtke, 'Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies', *Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia*, 2006
- Kuru, Ahmet T., 'Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation. By Tariq Ramadan. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. Ix + 372 Pp. \$29.95 Cloth', *Politics and Religion*, 2010 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/s1755048310000441>>
- Lövheim, Mia, and Liv Ingeborg Lied, 'Approaching Contested Religion', in *Contesting Religion*, 2018, pp. 65–80 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110502060-009>>
- Lutfi, A, 'Praktik-Praktik Kebenaran Agama Analisis Kontestasi Komunitas Muslim di Hadapan Katolik di Ponorogo The Practices Of Religious ...', *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya*, 2019
- Majid, Abdul, 'Hermeneutika Hadis Gender (Studi Pemikiran Khaled M. Abou El Fadl Dalam Buku Speaking in God's Name; Islamic Law, Authority And Women)', *Al-Ulum*, 2013
- Makin, Al, "'Not a Religious State": A Study of Three Indonesian Religious Leaders on the Relation of State and Religion', *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 2018 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2017.1380279>>
- Masaaki, Okamoto, 'Anatomy of the Islam Nusantara Program and the Necessity for a "Critical" Islam Nusantara Study', *Islam Nusantara: Journal for Study of Islamic History and Culture*, 2020 <<https://doi.org/10.47776/islamnusantara.v1i1.44>>
- Muchsin, Agus, 'Transformasi Hukum Islam Ke Dalam Bentuk Qanun Dauli Dusturi', *Diktum: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum*, 12.2 (2014), 145–52
- Mudzakkir, Amin, 'Konservatisme Islam dan Intoleransi Keagamaan di Tasikmalaya', *Harmoni*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v16i1.56>>
- Mupida, Siti, 'Media Baru Dan Konflik Politik Islam Di Indonesia', *Idarotuna*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.24014/idarotuna.v2i1.8185>>
- Muqtedar Khan, M. A., *Debating Moderate Islam: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, *Debating Moderate Islam: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, 2007
- Mustafidin, Ahmad, 'Moderasi Beragama dalam Islam dan Relevansinya Dengan Konteks Keindonesiaan', *Jurnal Progress: Wahana Kreativitas Dan Intelektualitas*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.31942/pgrs.v9i2.5713>>
- Muzayyin, Muhammad, 'Khaleed Abou El Fadl's Hermeneutic: A Newly Proposed Insight to Review Ibnu Rushd's Theory of Despotism Interpretation of The Qur'an', *Ulumuna*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v20i1.534>>
- Muzayyin, Muzayyin, 'Hermeneutika Hukum Islam Khaleed Abou El Fadl: Sebuah Tawaran dalam Membendung Otoritarianisme Fatwa MUI', *Potret Pemikiran*, 2018 <<https://doi.org/10.30984/pp.v20i1.749>>
- Naamy, Nazar, and Ishak Hariyanto, 'Moderasi Beragama Di Ruang Publik Dalam Bayang-Bayang Radikalisme', *Sophist : Jurnal Sosial Politik Kajian Islam Dan Tafsir*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.20414/sophist.v3i2.51>>
- Nisa, Muria Khusnun, Ahmad Yani, Andika Andika, Eka Mulyo Yunus, and Yusuf Rahman, 'Moderasi Beragama: Landasan Moderasi Dalam Tradisi Berbagai Agama dan Implementasi Di Era Disrupsi Digital', *Jurnal Riset Agama*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.15575/jra.v1i3.15100>>
- Noor, Farish A., Yoginder Sikand, and Martin van Bruinessen, 'Introduction: Behind the Walls: Re-

- Appraising the Role and Importance of Madrasas in the World Today', in *The Madrasa in Asia*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/9789048501380.001>>
- 'Noorhaidi Hasan Laskar *Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia* Ithaca, New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications. 2006, 266p.', *Southeast Asia: History and Culture*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.5512/sea.2008.37_171>
- Nurdin, Fauziah, 'Moderasi Beragama Menurut Al-Qur'an Dan Hadist', *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Mu'ashirah*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.22373/jim.v18i1.10525>>
- Nurlaelawati, Euis, and Arskal Salim, 'Gendering the Islamic Judiciary: Female Judges in the Religious Courts of Indonesia', *Al-Jami'ah*, 2014 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.512.247-278>>
- Pabbajah, Mustaqim, Irwan Abdullah, Hasse Jubba, M. Taufiq Hidayat Pabbajah, and Zainal Said, 'Pilgrimage to Bawakaraeng Mountain among the Bugis-Makassar in Indonesia: A Contestation between Islamic Identity and Local Tradition', *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 2021
- Pepi, S, 'Kontestasi Keagamaan Dalam Masyarakat Muslim Urban (Munculnya Gerakan Urban Salafisme)', *Al-Qalam*, 2020
- Randani, Yulia Nafa Fitri, Jalimah Zulfah Latuconsina, and Mukhsin Achmad, 'Kontestasi Otoritas Agama (Studi Kasus : Fenomena War di Facebook dan Instagram dan Implikasinya terhadap Internal Umat Islam)', *At-Thullab :Jurnal Mahasiswa Studi Islam*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.20885/tullab.vol4.iss1.art13>>
- 'Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State', *Choice Reviews Online*, 2009 <<https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.46-5862>>
- Römmele, Andrea, Viktoryia Schnose, John T Ishiyama, Michael Marshall, Alessandro Chiaramonte, Vincenzo Emanuele, and others, 'Book Reviews.', *Party Politics*, 2014
- Rosa, E M, M Puspita, R S Mutaqin, and ..., 'Kontestasi Keberagamaan Di Media Sosial: Kontra Interpretasi Radikalisme Di Platform Youtube', *Jurnal Penelitian ...*, 23.2 (2022), 175-96
- Rumadi, Rumadi, 'Islam Dan Otoritas Keagamaan', *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 2012 <<https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.20.1.183>>
- Saat, Norshahril, *Islam in Southeast Asia: Negotiating Modernity.*, *Islam in Southeast Asia*, 2018
- Saprillah, Saprillah, Hamdan Juhannis, Nurman Said, and Hamzah Harun Al-Rasyid, 'Kontestasi Keagamaan Dalam Masyarakat Muslim Urban', *Al-Qalam*, 2020 <<https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v26i1.844>>
- Seth G. Jones, *A Persistent Threat The Evolution of Al Qa'ida and Other Salafi Jihadists*, *Rand National Defense Research Institute* ,*Www.Rand .Org.*, 2014
- Simpson, George L., 'Force and Fanaticism: Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and Beyond , by Simon Ross Valentine ', *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2016.1147922>>
- Soesanto, Abimanyu Iqbal, 'Radical Reform: Studi Analitis Konsep Ijtihad Tariq Ramadan', *AL-MANHAJ: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial Islam*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.37680/almanhaj.v4i1.1545>>
- Srimulyani, Eka, ' Muslim Women and Education in Indonesia: The Pondok Pesantren Experience ', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 2007 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02188790601145564>>

- Sufratman, 'Relevansi Moderasi Beragama di Tengah Masyarakat Majemuk', *Jurnal Keislaman*, 2022
- Suheri, Suheri, and Yeni Tri Nurrahmawati, 'Moderasi Beragama Di Era Disrupsi Digital', *Proceedings of Annual Conference for Muslim Scholars*, 2022 <<https://doi.org/10.36835/ancoms.v6i1.453>>
- Suparno, Basuki Agus, 'Kontestasi Makna Dan Dramatisme Komunikasi Politik Tentang Reformasi di Indonesia', *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2014
- Susanti, S, 'Moderasi Beragama dalam Masyarakat Multikultural', *TAJDID: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman Dan ...*, 2022
- Sutrisno, Edy, 'Aktualisasi Moderasi Beragama Di Lembaga Pendidikan', *Jurnal Bimas Islam*, 2019 <<https://doi.org/10.37302/jbi.v12i2.113>>
- Tasrif, Muh, 'Kontestasi Wacana Hak Asasi Manusia dalam Tafsir Al- Qur'an Indonesia Kontemporer: Kasus Tafsir Tematik Kementerian Agama', *Proceeding of The 2nd Conference on Strengthening Islamic Studies in the Digital Era Vol 2(2022) Faculty of Ushuluddin, Adab and Dakwah IAIN Ponorogo*, 2 (2022), 31-44
- Trisunu, Ganesh, I Putu Sukadana, and Niken Ayuningtyas Abstract, 'Perbedaan Islam Konservatif Dengan Penerapan Keislaman Di Indonesia Berdasarkan Pancasila', *Conference.Untag-Sby. Ac.Id*, 1.1 (2021)
- Umami, Khairil, and Arif Wibowo, 'Kontestasi Merebut Kebenaran Agama (Studi Analisa Di Kecamatan Jatipurno, Kabupaten Wonogiri)', *Panangkaran: Jurnal Penelitian Agama Dan Masyarakat*, 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/panangkaran.2021.0501-03>>
- Ushama, Thameem, 'Is Islam a Religion of Moderation or Extremism? A Study of Key Islamic Teachings', *Asian Social Science*, 2014 <<https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v10n8p184>>
- Watson, C.W., 'Carool Kersten, Islam in Indonesia; The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values. London: Hurst & Company, 2015, Xx + 373 Pp. ISBN: 9781849044370. Price: GBP 25.00 (Soft Cover).', *Wacana*, 2017 <<https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v17i3.459>>
- Wibowo, Rachma Widiningtyas, and Anisa Siti Nurjanah, 'Aktualisasi Moderasi Beragama Abad 21 Melalui Media Sosial', *Madania: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 2021
- Widiyanto, Asfa, 'Female Religious Authority, Religious Minority and the Ahmadiyya: The Activism of Sinta Nuriyah Wahid', *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 2015 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2015.9.1.1-24>>
- Zafi, Ashif Az, 'Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Moderasi Al-Qur'an Dalam Pendidikan Islam', *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis*, 2020
- (إسلامية المعرفة سابقا) الأردن, 2002, مكتب المعهد في, 'عروض مختصرة', الفكر الإسلامي المعاصر <<https://doi.org/10.35632/citj.v8i29.2847>>
- Zaman. Muhammad Qasim, (2002). *The Ulama Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 206-211.
- Divided Muslims: Militant Pluralism, Polarisation and Democratic Backsliding." 2021. In *Democracy in Indonesia*. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814881524-010>.
- Islamic Populism and Indonesia's Illiberal Democracy." 2021. In *Democracy in Indonesia*. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814881524-012>.