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Islamic Elites' Perceptions Of Muslim Liyan And Their Impact On Religious Moderation InIslamic Education

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Abstract
This study examines how Islamic elites in Jember Regency perceive Muslim Liyan (other Muslims) and how these perceptions influence the development of religious moderation within Islamic education. Using a qualitative phenomenological design, the research explores the subjective meanings underlying intra-Islamic differences through in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and document analysis involving kiai, organizational leaders, and influential preachers. Findings reveal three main typologies of perception: (1) mainstream orthodoxy that prioritizes doctrinal purity, (2) conditional tolerance that accepts diversity within certain boundaries, and (3) rigid exclusivism that rejects the legitimacy of differing groups. These perceptions are shaped by religious educational backgrounds, institutional interests, historical conflicts, and media-driven identity narratives. The study shows that inclusive elite perspectives support the cultivation of religious moderation in Islamic educational institutions, whereas exclusive views tend to foster polarizing attitudes among learners. This research contributes to the discourse on intra-religious exclusivism and offers practical implications for strengthening moderation-oriented curricula, teacher training, and dialogical learning environments within Islamic education.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Religious diversity within the Muslim community is an undeniable historical and sociological reality. Since the early development of Islam, differences in interpretation, legal schools, and religious practices have formed an integral part of Islamic civilization. In the Indonesian context, religious plurality among Muslims encompasses not only theological dimensions but also intertwines with local politics, culture, and historical dynamics. Jember Regency in East Java exemplifies this complexity, where various Islamic organizations and movements, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Persis, Salafi groups, LDII, and Shia communities, coexist with distinct theological and sociocultural characteristics.

This diversity fundamentally carries great potential for enriching religious life and strengthening social networks. However, in practice, plurality does not always translate into tolerance and openness. Several incidents in Jember indicate tensions among Muslim groups, ranging from ideological debates to open conflict. The attack on a Shia pesantren in Puger, for example, demonstrates how

exclusive religious identities can erupt into symbolic and physical violence. Such occurrences affirm that intra-religious exclusivism is shaped not merely by theology but also by social construction, identity politics, and collective historical memory (see Umam, 2016).

The role of religious elites (kiai, organizational leaders, and charismatic preachers) becomes strategically significant in this context. They function not only as theological interpreters but also as influential social actors within pesantren, madrasah, Islamic study groups, and broader religious networks. Their perceptions regarding other Muslim groups directly influence religious attitudes, community behavior, and educational processes, including curriculum design, pedagogical practices, and value internalization among students. Consequently, understanding how elites perceive Muslim Liyan is crucial for assessing the potential development or obstruction of religious moderation within Islamic educational institutions.

Conceptually, the study of Muslim Liyan aligns with the theory of othering, in which dominant groups construct the image of "the other" to assert their own identity and legitimacy. Within intra-Islamic contexts, othering occurs when certain Muslims label others as deviant, heretical, or non-orthodox. Pratt (2007) categorizes this phenomenon as intra-religious exclusivism, which includes open exclusivism, closed exclusivism, and extreme exclusivism, an analytical framework highly relevant for examining elite attitudes and their implications for Islamic education, particularly in shaping moderation, character formation, and tolerance-based curricula.

Although scholarship on religious moderation and Islamic education has grown, especially regarding curriculum development and teacher roles (e.g., Tuna, 2024; Yağdı, 2025), a clear research gap remains. Existing studies largely address national-level curriculum frameworks, teacher competencies, or pedagogical models, but very few examine how local religious elite discourses shape the implementation of moderation within Islamic educational spaces such as pesantren and madrasah. In other words, the relationship between elite discourse and educational practice has not been sufficiently explored in localized settings. Studies on curriculum design that foster pluralism similarly highlight the need for examining how elite perspectives influence school-level educational processes.

Previous research, such as Umam (2016), which analyzes symbolic constructions of "the others," or studies emphasizing moderation integration in curricula, has not yet explicitly connected elite perceptions with measurable outcomes in Islamic education (e.g., student attitudes, pedagogical choices, institutional policies). Therefore, this study addresses this gap by positioning religious elite perceptions as a key variable influencing religious moderation within Islamic education in Jember.

This research thus focuses on three main questions: (1) How do Islamic religious elites in Jember perceive Muslim Liyan? (2) What factors shape these perceptions? and (3) What implications do these perceptions have for strengthening religious moderation within Islamic education, including curriculum development, teacher training, and instructional practices? Employing a qualitative phenomenological approach, this study seeks to uncover the subjective meanings behind inclusive and exclusive elite perspectives and analyze their influence on educational processes.

The findings are expected to contribute theoretically to studies on intra- religious exclusivism and Islamic pluralism, and practically to educational policy-making, curriculum development, and the creation of dialogical, inclusive learning environments in pesantren and madrasah.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach with a phenomenological design to explore the lived experiences, meanings, and interpretive frameworks used by Islamic elites in understanding Muslim Liyan and their implications for religious moderation in Islamic education. The phenomenological orientation was chosen because it enables the researcher to grasp social realities as experienced and articulated by participants rather than merely describing observable phenomena

(Creswell, 2014). Through this lens, the study seeks to uncover how religious elites interpret intra-Islamic differences, construct symbolic boundaries, and position themselves within the broader socioreligious landscape of Jember. The phenomenological design is particularly relevant given that perceptions of Muslim Liyan are deeply embedded in subjective, historical, cultural, and theological contexts that shape the elites' pedagogical orientations in pesantren, madrasah, and other Islamic educational institutions.

The research was conducted in Jember Regency, East Java, a region known for its high degree of Islamic diversity and historical dynamics among Islamic organizations. The presence of NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, LDII, Jamaah Tabligh, Salafi networks, and Shia communities creates a vibrant yet potentially contentious religious ecosystem. These dynamics, illustrated by past conflicts such as the attack on a Shia pesantren in Puger, provide a socially rich but complex setting for examining how exclusivist or inclusive elite discourses emerge and influence Islamic educational practices. The selection of Jember is thus grounded not merely in geographic relevance but also in its socioreligious significance for studying intra-religious exclusivism and its educational implications.

The participants of this study consisted of Islamic elites in Jember, including kiai and pesantren leaders with authority in traditional scholarship networks, leaders of Islamic organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, and LDII, and influential preachers (da'i) who shape public religious discourse. A purposive sampling technique was used to identify individuals who possess relevant knowledge, social influence, and experience in inter-organizational religious relations. Criteria included religious authority, involvement in community leadership, participation in cross-group activities, and direct engagement with issues of intra-Muslim relations and Islamic education. To capture a comprehensive spectrum of perspectives, participants were selected from diverse ideological, institutional, and educational backgrounds.

Data collection relied on three primary techniques: in-depth semi- structured interviews, participant observation, and document and media analysis. Interviews were conducted to explore elite perceptions, their theological justifications, and their reflections on religious diversity and moderation in Islamic education. These interviews, each lasting 60–120 minutes and recorded with participants' consent, probed how elites define orthodoxy, draw boundaries of acceptance, and understand their pedagogical responsibilities. Participant observation was carried out in religious gatherings, organizational meetings, study circles, and forums involving educational actors, enabling the researcher to see interactions that may not surface during interviews, such as symbolic gestures, communication patterns, and implicit forms of acceptance or exclusion. Document analysis covered organizational manuscripts, FKUB reports, local news archives, khutbah texts, and institutional publications to identify how discourses on Muslim Liyan are constructed and disseminated in public and educational settings. These three techniques were triangulated to ensure data credibility and contextual depth.

Data analysis followed the inductive and interactive procedures outlined by Miles and Huberman (2014), consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Interview transcripts, observation notes, and documents were analyzed to identify central themes such as elite perception patterns, formative influences, and implications for Islamic education. Thematic matrices and analytical narratives were used to understand the relationships among these categories. Subsequent rounds of analysis and comparison allowed emerging conclusions to be refined and validated. A phenomenological thematic analysis was also applied to extract meaning units and essence descriptions from participants' narratives, which were later interpreted using the theoretical lens of intra-religious exclusivism to assess degrees of openness or

exclusivity in elite attitudes and their educational consequences.

To ensure data validity and reliability, several strategies were employed: source triangulation across different types of informants and documents; methodological triangulation involving interviews, observations, and document analysis; member checking by confirming interpretations with key participants; and the maintenance of an audit trail documenting all research procedures. These strategies enhance the trustworthiness of the findings and ensure that the interpretations reflect the authentic perspectives of the religious elites.

Throughout the research process, ethical considerations were strictly upheld. Participants were informed about the study objectives, confidentiality rights, and voluntary nature of their involvement. Sensitive identities were anonymized to ensure safety, particularly in relation to groups involved in past inter-group conflicts. The researcher also maintained academic neutrality, refrained from partisan alignment, and engaged reflectively as a participant observer in the field to respect the integrity of all religious groups.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1.The Profile of Islamic Diversity in Jember Regency

Jember Regency represents a microcosm of Indonesia's broader Islamic diversity and serves as a socioreligious arena where various Islamic expressions interact, negotiate influence, and construct their identities. As the region with the second-highest number of pesantren in East Java after Banyuwangi, Jember exhibits a multifaceted Islamic landscape. The majority of its population is affiliated with the Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah tradition through the strong presence of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), while Muhammadiyah maintains a significant role through its modern educational institutions, literacy-based dakwah, and structured organizational networks. In addition to these dominant streams, other Islamic groups, such as Salafi communities, Persis, LDII, Jamaah Tabligh, and Shia congregations, coexist with varying degrees of interaction and acceptance.

This configuration demonstrates a dynamic and fluid set of Islamic identities. Theological differences, ritual practices, and dakwah orientations shape symbolic boundaries that categorize individuals into "insiders" and "outsiders." Within this context, the concept of Muslim Liyan (the Muslim other) gains relevance. It not only refers to minority groups such as Shia or LDII but also includes Sunni groups whose doctrinal or ritual variations, such as Salafi or certain Persis communities, are perceived as significant deviations from dominant local norms.

These dynamics reveal that religious diversity is not a neutral social fact; rather, it is continually negotiated through religious authority, power relations, and historically embedded collective memory. Practices such as tahlilan, grave visitation, maulid, or tarbiyah-oriented routines become markers of identity, reinforcing social boundaries among groups. When such differences are viewed negatively, processes of othering, as conceptualized in Pratt's (2007) typology of intra-religious exclusivism, may emerge in the form of open, closed, or extreme exclusivism.

In the context of Islamic education, this diversity carries profound implications. Pesantren, madrasah, and nonformal institutions such as majelis taklim serve as spaces where religious values, identity markers, and attitudes toward other Muslim groups are reproduced and transmitted. Traditional pesantren aligned with NU tend to reinforce normative ritual traditions; Muhammadiyah schools emphasize rationality and modern pedagogical reforms; Salafi institutions adopt more scripturalist orientations; while LDII and Jamaah Tabligh cultivate tightly knit and disciplined internal religious environments.

These educational differences shape not only curricular orientations but also perceptions of orthodoxy and legitimacy. The ways in which pesantren leaders, Islamic teachers, and preachers

articulate their understanding of divergent Muslim groups directly influence how students identify and interact with Muslim Liyan. Hence, Islamic diversity in Jember constitutes not merely a demographic profile but an epistemic landscape that deeply affects how religious moderation is cultivated or hindered within Islamic educational settings.

3.2.Typologies of Islamic Elites' Perceptions of Muslim Liyan

Based on in-depth interviews, participant observations, and document analysis, the perceptions of Islamic elites in Jember regarding Muslim Liyan can be grouped into three major typologies. These typologies reflect not only theological orientations but also broader sociocultural constructs, power relations, and educational patterns. Each typology illustrates how religious moderation is either strengthened or constrained within Islamic educational institutions such as pesantren, madrasah, and nonformal religious forums.

a. Orthodox-Defensive Perspective (Exclusivist Mainstream)

This group believes that Islam possesses a singular and non-negotiable truth grounded in the Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah tradition. Any deviation from this doctrine is perceived as a threat to religious purity. Several kiai expressed that differences are acceptable as long as they do not contradict fundamental principles such as tauhid and sharia, yet groups like Shia and LDII are often positioned as being outside legitimate Islam.

Such views are reproduced within educational settings through pesantren curricula, classical texts, sermons, and public religious lectures that emphasize vigilance against "deviant sects." This pattern aligns with Pratt's (2007) concept of closed exclusivism, which rejects theological legitimacy without necessarily manifesting physical aggression. In Islamic education, this perspective fosters cultural distancing and shapes students to perceive religious differences as threats.

b. Conditional Inclusivism Perspective

The second typology reflects a more open and dialogical attitude toward diversity while maintaining certain boundaries. Elites in this category generally come from Muhammadiyah, progressive NU circles, Islamic higher education institutions, and younger pesantren leaders with moderate orientations. They acknowledge interpretive plurality in Islam but emphasize maintaining social harmony and preventing communal conflict.

These elites actively engage in cross-organizational forums such as FKUB and intergroup discussions. In Islamic education, their influence results in more inclusive curricula, inter-mazhab references, and dialogical pedagogies that promote ukhuwah islamiyah and critical thinking. This perspective corresponds to Pratt's open exclusivism, which accepts differences without abandoning the belief in one's own doctrinal truth.

c. Hard-line Exclusivism Perspective

The third typology is characterized by strict rejection of other groups and an uncompromising stance toward perceived deviations. This view is commonly found among puritan or Salafi-oriented elites who oppose local traditions such as tahlilan, grave visitation, and maulid celebrations, considering them bid'ah.

In practice, this perspective can lead to social actions such as restricting minority religious activities, exerting pressure on local communities, or mobilizing supporters. The violent confrontation involving the Shia community in Puger is a clear example of how extremist exclusivism can escalate into physical conflict. In educational settings, this typology leads to rigid, scripturalist curricula and monolithic pedagogy that leave little space for religious moderation or dialogue.

Together, these three typologies reveal how theological beliefs, social experiences, and educational frameworks shape elite perceptions of Muslim Liyan, and how these perceptions directly influence the cultivation or obstruction, of religious moderation in Islamic education.

3.3.Factors Shaping Religious Elites' Perceptions of Muslim Liyan

A deeper analysis reveals that Islamic elites' perceptions of Muslim Liyan do not emerge spontaneously but are constructed through longstanding social, cultural, and historical processes. These factors shape how elites interpret intra-Islamic differences and influence how such interpretations are reproduced within Islamic educational institutions such as pesantren, madrasah, and community-based religious forums. Understanding these formative elements is therefore essential to understanding how exclusivism or inclusivism is transmitted to students and how religious moderation either develops or becomes constrained within Islamic education.

a. Educational Background and Intellectual Tradition

Educational trajectories play a crucial role in shaping elites' theological orientations. Those who were educated primarily within traditional pesantren tend to maintain orthodox and exclusivist views. The pesantren's classical Islamic canon, lineage-based scholarship, and fiqh-oriented learning cultivate a strong sense of doctrinal boundaries. These orientations are reflected in pedagogical practices, curriculum choices, and interpretations of religious rituals.

In contrast, elites educated in modern Islamic universities or state Islamic institutions often adopt more open and dialogical approaches to religious diversity. Exposure to contemporary Islamic thought, inter-mazhab studies, and pluralism-related discourse makes them more inclined toward religious moderation. The contrast between these two educational traditions underscores how Islamic education systems function as sites for reproducing exclusivism or fostering inclusivism.

b. Historical and Cultural Memory

Interorganizational relations among Islamic groups in Jember have been shaped by a long history of interaction, rivalry, and competition. Differences in religious rituals, such as tahlilan, qunut, maulid, or various dakwah styles function as symbolic markers of ideological boundaries. Over time, these distinctions have formed a "collective memory" that divides communities into "us" and "them."

This collective memory is preserved not only in elite discourse but also in family traditions, pesantren teachings, and everyday religious practices. As a result, even minor ritual differences may be perceived as serious threats to identity, contributing to tensions or conflicts as seen in several incidents in Jember.

c. Organizational Interests and Identity Politics

Competition among Islamic organizations, such as NU, Muhammadiyah, LDII, and Salafi groups, also shapes elites' perceptions of Muslim Liyan. In identity politics, religious symbols become tools for mobilizing followers and affirming group legitimacy. Discourses on "purity of doctrine" or "deviant sects" often serve as rhetorical instruments to strengthen organizational identity and loyalty.

Within Islamic education, these interests are reflected in curriculum design, textbook selection, and pedagogical practices aligned with specific ideological orientations. Consequently, educational institutions may socialize students into exclusive patterns of identity that heighten distinctions between Muslim groups.

d. Media Influence and Information Mediation

Local and national media, along with social media platforms, significantly influence public perceptions of religious groups. Sensational coverage of "deviant sects" or intra-Muslim conflicts reinforces negative stereotypes and magnifies the marginalization of those labeled as Muslim Liyan. Elites sometimes use such media narratives to bolster group identity or justify exclusionist attitudes.

Furthermore, digital media has become a powerful channel for disseminating religious content that is not always aligned with moderation. Reactionary or intolerant religious messages circulate widely and are consumed by various audiences, including students in pesantren and

madrasah. This media environment profoundly shapes learners' attitudes toward diversity and plays a crucial role in determining how religious moderation is internalized.

3.4.Dynamics of Interaction and the Process of Othering in the Field

The dynamics of interaction among Muslim groups in Jember reveal that othering operates not only within theological discourse but also in concrete social practices, religious spaces, and educational settings. Othering refers to a social mechanism in which one group constructs its identity by differentiating and positioning another group as the "other" or the "less legitimate". The findings show that othering in Jember occurs through three interrelated forms, reproduced by religious authorities and reinforced through Islamic educational institutions.

a. Labeling and Theological Discourse

Labeling is the most common and fundamental expression of othering. Some religious elites frequently employ terms such as "deviant", "heretical", "bid'ah", or "outside the manhaj" to describe groups that differ in theological interpretation or ritual practice. These labels function not merely as religious classifications but as instruments of power that delineate symbolic boundaries of membership within the Muslim community.

Such labeling is often reproduced in educational contexts through classical kitab instruction, fiqh lessons, and sermons that reinforce the dichotomy between "orthodox" and "deviant". For many students in pesantren and madrasah, these labels shape their attitudes toward other Muslim groups, fostering exclusivism rather than openness. This aligns with Pratt's (2007) notion of closed exclusivism, in which theological legitimacy is denied without necessarily involving overt aggression.

b. Social Exclusion and Religious Space

Beyond labeling, othering manifests in the form of social exclusion. Certain Muslim groups experience restricted access to religious facilities or communal activities. For instance, some LDII communities have encountered difficulties in using public mosques due to ideological differences.

Such exclusion is not solely rooted in theology but also reflects identity politics and local power dynamics. In Islamic education, exclusion may appear when institutions refuse collaboration with particular groups, omit them from dialogue forums, or reject literature that diverges from the dominant tradition. This contributes to religious segregation and reduces opportunities for fostering religious moderation among learners.

c. Symbolic and Physical Violence

The most extreme form of othering emerges in symbolic and physical violence. Symbolic violence occurs through stigmatizing narratives, derogatory sermons, or systematic denial of legitimacy. Physical violence arises when exclusivist rhetoric expressed by elites mobilizes communal action or legitimizes repression, as seen in the attack on the Shia pesantren in Puger.

Within Islamic education, symbolic violence influences the learning environment. Students may internalize narratives warning about "dangerous sects", leading to suspicion and resistance toward intra-Muslim diversity. When such narratives are endorsed by authoritative figures such as kiai or preachers, they become part of the hidden curriculum that undermines the cultivation of religious moderation.

Overall, these dynamics demonstrate that othering among Muslim groups in Jember is embedded in contested meanings, identities, and structures of authority. These interactions shape not only social relations but also educational processes, particularly the formation of religious attitudes among the younger generation.

3.5.Efforts Toward Dialogue and Reconciliation

Although exclusivism remains strong in several segments of the Muslim community, this study identifies notable initiatives that indicate emerging prospects for intra-Muslim reconciliation in Jember. These efforts originate from religious elites, educational institutions,

and formal forums facilitated by local governance, showing that Muslim relations in Jember are not static but continuously negotiated.

One key initiative is the establishment of cross-organizational communication forums initiated by kiai, ustadh, and leaders of various Islamic groups. These platforms function as safe spaces for discussing sensitive issues, such as interpretive differences, ritual practices, and methods of jurisprudential reasoning without prejudice. Within these settings, elites adopt dialogical approaches and seek to reduce suspicion, recognizing diversity as an inherent part of the Muslim community rather than a threat.

The Jember FKUB (Interfaith Harmony Forum) illustrates this dialogical potential. The forum brings together NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, and, importantly, provides space for minority groups such as LDII and Shia communities to articulate their positions. Discussions within FKUB employ persuasive and deliberative methods that, while not eliminating ideological differences, foster a growing awareness of the value of coexistence and peaceful engagement.

Islamic educational institutions also play a central role in reconciliation efforts. Several pesantren have begun introducing cross-mazhab discussions, courses on religious moderation, and intellectual dialogues among younger kiai who adopt more open and reflective orientations. Likewise, madrasah have integrated religious moderation into their curricula, emphasizing tolerance, conflict resolution, and appreciation of ritual diversity. These developments align with national Islamic education policies aimed at preparing a generation of Muslims who are intellectually grounded, reflective, and dialogically oriented.

Collectively, these efforts demonstrate promising pathways for future reconciliation and indicate that spaces for constructive dialogue among Muslim groups in Jember are gradually expanding.

Theoretically, this study enriches the discourse on intra-religious exclusivism by incorporating contextual dimensions often overlooked in previous literature. These include the role of pesantren networks, historical memory, and local media narratives in shaping exclusivist orientations. As a result, exclusivism is understood not merely as a theological construct but as a product of complex sociocultural interactions involving religious authority, organizational structures, and discursive reproduction within educational settings. The findings also strengthen the framework of othering by showing how labeling, social exclusion, and symbolic violence operate systematically within local intra-Muslim relations.

Practically, several recommendations emerge from this study. First, Islamic education curricula should undergo reform to incorporate more inclusive approaches, emphasizing cross-mazhab perspectives and dialogical competencies. Second, religious media literacy must be strengthened to prevent communities, especially students in pesantren and madrasah, from being influenced by sensational or exclusionary narratives. Third, cross-elite communication forums at the district level need to be institutionalized to promote social collaboration and mitigate potential conflict. Fourth, local governments can partner with Islamic educational institutions and religious organizations to mediate sensitive issues and strengthen social cohesion policies rooted in inclusivity and harmony.

In sum, this study underscores that intra-Muslim reconciliation and the advancement of religious moderation depend on the synergy between education, religious leadership, and inclusive social governance.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This study demonstrates that Islamic religious elites in Jember Regency hold diverse perceptions of Muslim Liyan, reflecting the complex social, historical, and educational realities of the region. Three major typologies were identified: (1) the orthodox-defensive perspective, which emphasizes doctrinal purity and rejects the legitimacy of groups perceived as deviant; (2) the conditional

inclusivism perspective, which acknowledges interpretive diversity and opens space for dialogue as long as social stability is maintained; and (3) the hard-line exclusivism perspective, marked by rigid rejection of other groups and the manifestation of labeling, social exclusion, and symbolic violence.

These typologies are shaped by multiple interacting factors, including the elites' educational backgrounds, historical-cultural memory, organizational interests, and media-driven identity narratives. Islamic educational institutions—such as pesantren, madrasah, and community- based religious forums—emerge as central arenas for the reproduction of exclusivism but also hold potential as transformative spaces for strengthening religious moderation. Education thus becomes a decisive factor in either reinforcing exclusivist orientations or promoting openness and tolerance.

Despite the persistence of exclusivism, this study identifies promising pathways for reconciliation. Cross-organizational communication forums, intellectual exchanges among young kiai, FKUB initiatives, and the integration of religious moderation into Islamic education curricula illustrate the gradual expansion of dialogical spaces. These efforts foster social cohesion and contribute to a more inclusive understanding of intra-Islamic diversity.

Theoretically, this research expands the discourse on intra-religious exclusivism by incorporating local and institutional dimensions—such as pesantren networks, intra-organizational dynamics, and local media influences—that have been understudied. Practically, the findings underscore the need for curriculum reform emphasizing moderation, enhanced religious media literacy, strengthened inter-elite dialogue, and partnerships between local government and Islamic educational institutions to mediate sensitive issues.

In conclusion, this study offers two significant contributions: first, an empirical account of how religious elites construct and frame the notion of Muslim Liyan within a specific local context; and second, concrete policy recommendations for reinforcing religious moderation and intra-Muslim harmony through the educational system. Future research is recommended to conduct comparative studies in other regions to identify broader patterns and local variations in the formation of intra-religious exclusivism and reconciliation efforts.

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