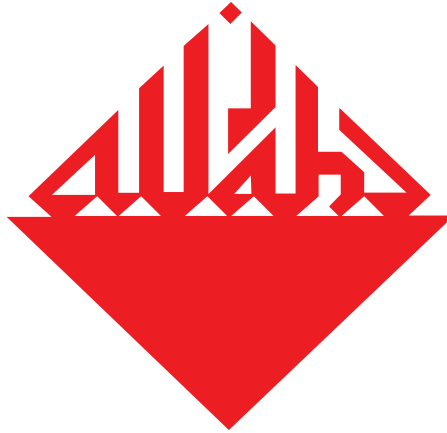


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CLIMATE, SUSTAINABILITY, AND FUTURE GENERATIONS: AN ECOTHEOLOGY FOR INDONESIA'S UMMAH OF 'NONIDENTITY'

Anna M. Gade

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AS GLOBAL SUSTAINABILITY CHAMPIONS: ISTIQLAL MOSQUE'S GREEN MOSQUE PROGRAM AND THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Nadia Farabi & Anjani Tri Fatharini

REJECTING GEOTHERMAL PROJECTS: MUSLIM ENVIRONMENTALISM IN THE SAPAR MOVEMENT FOR ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE AND SUSTAINABLE NATURAL RESOURCES

Muizudin

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Muizudin

Rejecting Geothermal Projects: Muslim Environmentalism in The SAPAR Movement for Ecological Justice and Sustainable Natural Resources

Abstract: *This study investigates the Syarekat Perjuangan Rakyat Padarincang (SAPAR) movement, which resists a geothermal project on Mount Parakasak, Banten, through the lens of Muslim environmentalism. The project provoked strong opposition due to concerns that water scarcity would threaten agriculture and socio-religious life, underscoring the community's inseparable relationship with nature. Using a qualitative case study approach, the research draws on online reports, journal articles, and documentary videos to analyze SAPAR's resistance strategies. Findings reveal that SAPAR operationalizes principles of Islamic environmental ethics, such as khalifah, amanah, and mizān, into collective action, framing environmental stewardship as both an ethical and cultural imperative. Religious rituals such as tahlilan and istighosah function as instruments of protest, demonstrating the religious, social, and political engagement. The movement's discourse reflects a hybridization of Islamic values and local ecological knowledge, challenging dominant "green energy" narratives. This study underscores the need for inclusive policies that prioritize ecological justice and recognize local communities as key actors in sustainable resource governance.*

Keywords: Geothermal, Muslim Environmentalism, SAPAR Movement, Green Energy, Ecological Justice.

Abstrak: Studi ini menganalisis gerakan Syarekat Perjuangan Rakyat Padarancang (SAPAR), yang menentang proyek panas bumi di Gunung Parakasak, melalui lensa Muslim environmentalism. Proyek tersebut memicu penentangan keras karena kekhawatiran akan kelangkaan air yang mengancam pertanian dan kehidupan sosial-keagamaan, yang menggarisbawahi hubungan tak terpisahkan masyarakat dengan alam. Artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa SAPAR mengoperasionalkan prinsip-prinsip etika Islam seperti, khalifah, amānah, dan mizān, ke dalam aktivisme lingkungan kolektif, membingkai pengelolaan lingkungan sebagai keharusan etika lingkungan Islam dan budaya. Ritual keagamaan seperti tahlilan dan istighosah berfungsi sebagai instrumen protes, menunjukkan keterlibatan keagamaan, sosial, keagamaan, dan politik. Wacana gerakan tersebut mencerminkan hibridisasi nilai-nilai etika lingkungan Islam dan pengetahuan ekologi lokal, yang menantang narasi “energi hijau” yang dominan. Studi ini menggarisbawahi perlunya kebijakan inklusif yang memprioritaskan keadilan ekologis dan mengakui masyarakat lokal sebagai aktor kunci dalam tata kelola sumber daya yang berkelanjutan.

Kata kunci: Geothermal, Muslim Environmentalism, Gerakan SAPAR, Energi Hijau, Keadilan Ekologis.

ملخص: تُحلّل هذه الدراسة حركة «شركة نضال شعب بادرنجانج» (SAPAR)، التي عارضت مشروع الطاقة الحرارية الأرضية في جبل «باراكاساك»، من منظور البيئية الإسلامية (Muslim Environmentalism). وقد أثار هذا المشروع معارضة شديدة بسبب المخاوف من ندرة المياه التي تهدد الزراعة والحياة الاجتماعية والدينية، مما يؤكد الارتباط الوثيق بين المجتمع والطبيعة. وتُبين المقالة أن الحركة قامت بتفعيل المبادئ الأخلاقية الإسلامية، مثل الخلافة والأمانة والميزان، وتحويلها إلى نشاط بيئي جماعي، مع صياغة حماية البيئة كضرورة أخلاقية وثقافية إسلامية. كما تُستخدم الطقوس الدينية، مثل «التهليل» و«الاستغاثة»، كأدوات للاحتجاج، مما يعكس تداخل الأبعاد الدينية والاجتماعية والسياسية. ويعكس خطاب الحركة تهجيناً بين القيم البيئية الإسلامية والمعارف الإيكولوجية المحلية، مما يتحدى السردية السائدة حول «الطاقة الخضراء». وتشدد الدراسة على ضرورة وجود سياسات شاملة تمنح الأولوية للعدالة الإيكولوجية وتعترف بالمجتمعات المحلية كفاعلين رئيسيين في الإدارة المستدامة للموارد الطبيعية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الطاقة الحرارية الأرضية، البيئة الإسلامية، حركة سافار، الطاقة الخضراء، العدالة البيئية.

The Paris Agreement, a global climate policy, aims to limit the increase in global average temperature to below 2°C. One of its targets is the transition from fossil fuels to geothermal energy (UNFCCC 2016). This policy aligns with the definition of green energy, which refers to renewable energy derived from natural resources such as water, wind, and sunlight and generates less carbon emissions (Spellman 2024, 6). In Indonesia, geothermal regulation has evolved significantly. A presidential decree in the 1990s initially regulated the development of geothermal energy to reduce Pertamina's monopoly and lower taxes. Subsequently, Law No. 27 of 2003 was enacted, decentralizing authority by granting local governments greater regulatory powers. However, the law still classified geothermal resources as part of mining; as a result, exploration was not permitted in forest areas, particularly conservation forests. Finally, Law No. 21 of 2014 removed the classification of geothermal energy as mining, thereby allowing exploration in various types of forests (Hermanto and Narindro 2019, 3–5).

Indonesia's geographical advantage, located on the “ring of fire,” as reported by CELIOS and WALHI (2024), indicates abundant geothermal resources, estimated at 11,073 MWe (potential) and 17,506 MWe (reserves), which could increase national electricity generation by 18%. This geothermal utilization aligns with Indonesia's target to reduce carbon emissions by 31.89% (independent) or 41% (with international support) by 2030, in accordance with the Paris Agreement. Furthermore, Indonesia has increased its geothermal power capacity from 1.2 GW in 2014 to 2.6 GW in 2024. This increase indicates that Indonesia can utilize 11% of its national energy potential to meet 5.3% of its energy needs. This makes Indonesia the second-largest geothermal electricity producer in the world, thereby demonstrating “Indonesia's commitment to clean energy” (Adi 2024).

Geothermal projects offer a “green energy” solution to reduce CO₂ emissions and global warming, in line with energy transition projections (Greiner, Klagge, and Owino 2023; Renoth et al. 2023; Spijkerboer et al. 2022). Several studies (Dhar et al. 2020; Griebler et al. 2016; Shortall, Davidsdottir, and Axelsson 2015) have shown that geothermal utilization has positive impacts, including improved local economies, education, energy independence, employment, and clean energy with lower emissions and reduced land use. However, there are also negative impacts, including changes in groundwater

quality, reduced biodiversity, and damage to local culture, including religious sites. Legal-formal mechanisms often constrain preventive efforts against these negative impacts, failing to incorporate sensitivity to societal values and ethics. Law No. 21 of 2014 prescribes criminal penalties for geothermal-related offences, ranging from two to five years or more (Sukmawan 2018, 60). However, sentences of two years or less are typically classified as minor crimes, a categorization that inadequately reflects the severity of environmental degradation.

Local communities near exploration sites often hinder the acceptance of geothermal projects in Indonesia. Several factors drive this resistance, such as limited public understanding and education, minimal direct economic benefits, inadequate dissemination of regulations, and restricted community participation. These conditions are compounded by perceived threats to social, political, cultural, economic, and environmental stability (Adityatama et al. 2019; Fadhillah et al. 2022). For example, Banyumas communities rejected geothermal projects because developers failed to address socio-environmental impacts, provided inadequate public engagement, limited community participation, and offered minimal opportunities for local employment (Muslihudin et al. 2023). In West Sumatra, geothermal projects have not fully accounted for local community participation, procedural fairness in the process, and distributive justice in project outcomes and impacts; furthermore, cultural acceptance and regional political dynamics have not been addressed (Anggreta, Somantri, and Purwanto 2022).

Some of the studies above view the issue of geothermal rejection from a technical perspective, treating economic interests as the primary factor and often overlooking the complex relationship between society and its environment. This limited perspective fails to highlight the ethical and intrinsic commitments that drive local communities to respond to contemporary environmental issues, such as geothermal energy. This situation raises critical questions about how the label “green energy” is often used to justify projects that are ecologically, ethically, and socially problematic, thereby provoking confrontation from local communities with a relational relationship to nature and whose livelihoods depend on the sustainability of forests and water resources. Thus, their resistance is not merely opposition to infrastructure projects but also a reaffirmation of profound ethical values and the relational nature of humans and nature.

This article is based on a case study of a geothermal project on Mount Prakasak, which directly affects the local community of Padarincang in Serang Regency in Banten Province. PT Sintese Banten Geothermal has implemented the project in the Prakasak Protected Forest Area, located in Batukuwung Village in the Padarincang District. As the first geothermal initiative in Banten, the project holds significant strategic importance. The government has designated it as a National Strategic Project and included it in the geothermal project, as set out in Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020 and Government Regulation No. 4 of 2016 (Permatasari 2024, 283). The Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources further reinforced its status through Decree No. 0026 K/30/MEM/2009 (Saturi 2024). However, the Padarincang community, which is predominantly farmers who depend on agricultural land for their livelihoods, feels threatened by the project because it could deprive them of their livelihoods.

The Padarincang community highlighted the existence of a geothermal project with minimal publicity, a potential threat to the agricultural sector, and the absence of security guarantees from the government or the project developers. This opaque process has led the community to perceive the geothermal project as nothing more than the plundering of local resources through the exploitation of protected forests, which regulate the water cycle and provide essential irrigation water for agriculture in Padarincang (Sulistyaningrum and Ramadhan 2023, 32). Consequently, mounting anxieties and concerns prompted the emergence of the Padarincang People's Struggle Unity Movement (SAPAR) as an organic, grassroots movement. Dual interests drive this movement: 1) maintaining local knowledge of food sovereignty through hereditary farming practices, and 2) grounding it in Islamic environmental ethics to answer the *khalīfah's* responsibility to maintain the balance of nature (*mīzān*).

Several studies conducted on the Padarincang geothermal project have focused on the dilemma between the interests of energy development versus the protection of the socioeconomic rights of local communities (Permatasari 2024), the SAPAR resistance movement and its various arguments for rejection (Sulistyaningrum and Ramadhan 2023), the dynamics of communication and conflict between different stakeholders (Saryani, Framanik, and Muldi 2023), the SAPAR resistance movement operating with *Gerakan Perempuan SAPAR*

(GRAPAS) as a women's resistance group in Padarincang (Sulistiani and Indriyany 2024), and the dynamics between government policies, criminal law aspects, and their overlapping implementation (Sukmawan 2018). This study addresses a gap in the literature by incorporating the intrinsic values and dimensions of power discourse in the environmental practices of the SAPAR movement. This commitment to environmental sustainability is articulated and mobilized through a hybridization of religious resources and local knowledge, enabling a practical reinterpretation of Islamic environmental ethics to address the challenges posed by the geothermal project.

To further explore dimensions of resistance, this study analyzes how the SAPAR movement opposes geothermal projects using Muslim environmental ethics. The inclusion of SAPAR within the framework of Muslim environmentalism is justified by the predominantly Muslim (88.28%) demographic composition of the Padarincang community (BPS 2024). This finding contributes to the central role of Muslim environmental ethics as a source of legitimacy and mobilization in contemporary ecological struggles. Therefore, this study argues that the SAPAR Movement represents a distinctive form of Muslim environmentalism. This distinction is rooted in the hybridization of Islamic environmental ethics and local ecological knowledge, and in their attachment to the Mount Prakasak ecosystem, as they respond to threats to their living spaces. This hybridization is manifested concretely through discourse, practice, and symbolism in the protests, which function as a counter-discourse that challenges the hegemony of the pro-development "green energy" discourse and that demands ecological justice.

This study investigates a specific phenomenon (Mabry 2008), focusing on socio-religious aspects and their relationship to existing facts and problems, particularly within the SAPAR movement's geothermal resistance. The data used are not interview results but rather documentary and investigative YouTube videos, as well as journal articles, field reports, and news sources. Subsequently, data were analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). As described by Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000), CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that fundamentally focuses on the reciprocal relationship between language, power, and ideology. This analysis involves three steps: textual description at the micro level, interpretation of discourse practices at the meso level, and

explanation of socio-cultural practices at the macro level (Fairclough 2013). This analysis helps explain how the choice of words used by the government, geothermal project developers, and the SAPAR Movement reflects the ideology and power structures underlying the conflict.

The Muslim environmentalism model, developed by Anna M. Gade (2019), serves as the substantive theoretical framework guiding the interpretation of findings in this study. This model elucidates the motivation and legitimacy of the SAPAR Movement, which is rooted in Muslim environmental ethics and in hybridized social movements that incorporate local values, demonstrating how Islamic teachings on the environment intrinsically influence and legitimize the SAPAR movement's resistance. This study further adopts the environmental network framework, which offers a more inclusive perspective than traditional "movements" or "lobbies." Rooted in a hybrid understanding of 'old' and 'new' social movements, this framework emphasizes the cultural, identity-based, and fluid nature of environmental action. As defined by Saunders (2013), ecological networks comprise formal and informal organizations with a shared concern for protecting or preserving the environment, employing a variety of tactics, from conventional conservation and lobbying efforts to sabotage and the formation of eco-communes (Saunders 2013, 28). This perspective helps analyze the dynamics of temporary coalitions, the latent activities of solidarity and mobilization, and the evolution of the NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) group into the broader NIABY (Not In Anybody's Backyard) campaign through learning and connectivity. While acknowledging the strengths of new social movement theory in highlighting cultural and dynamic aspects, the environmental network framework overcomes its limitations by offering a broader scope that accommodates the fluidity of both informal and formal components.

Furthermore, this study incorporates the political opportunity framework, which posits that external political conditions can create crucial "opportunities" or "constraints" for social movements. While valuable, its application requires careful consideration of the types of opportunities, the specific outcomes to be explained, and the mechanisms underlying those opportunities (Meyer and Minkoff 2004). By integrating this framework, this study examines how the broader political landscape shaped the SAPAR movement's strategies and the development of its resistance.

Islam and Contemporary Environmental Issues

Research on religion and ecology, which has developed as an academic discipline, demonstrates the significant relationship between religious discourse and the environmental crisis. Scholars from various religion and scientific backgrounds argue that religious and ecological discourse are relevant to understanding the environmental crisis and critiquing various aspects of modern life (Gottlieb 2006; Hart 2017; Jenkins, Tucker, and Grim 2016). Several of the studies have shown that religious teachings also relate to the environment. Although ecological understanding has expanded beyond the study of purely biological interactions, it also encompasses ethical dimensions in socio-environmental interactions for sustainability. This perspective contrasts with the paradigm of modern industrialization, which instrumentalizes nature as a resource separate from humans (Jenkins 2016, 28).

According to Lynn White Jr. (1967), human interaction with the environment is influenced by human beliefs and perspectives. However, such discourse tends to essentialize religious conceptions of ecology. This discourse neglects Eurocentric biases, thus ignoring the diverse environmental thoughts and practices within religious traditions that vary across local contexts. Despite these biases, scholars have demonstrated that the teachings of major world religions, including Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam, share fundamental principles of environmental ethics. Their sacred texts consistently urge followers to act as guardians and protectors of nature, emphasizing that human well-being is inseparable from living in harmony with the environment (Okyere-Manu, Morgan, and Nwosimiri 2022, 98). In the Islamic context, the core of environmentalism is *tauhid*, a fundamental principle affirming the Oneness of God. This principle teaches that the entire universe, in all its diversity, is interconnected and reflects divine unity, thus requiring humans to maintain the harmony of God's creation (Dien 2003; Foltz 2003; Nasr 2003). However, despite the richness of these teachings, their understanding and application in addressing the environmental crisis must be viewed through a critical, contextual lens rather than as static theological claims.

This perspective aligns with the discourse of religious environmentalism, which has emerged as a dynamic force, particularly within local communities. It conceptualizes environmental conservation as a hybridi-

zation of beliefs, teachings, and practices (Tucker and Grim 2016, 8). However, in this context, Foltz's view becomes particularly relevant; the ecological crisis is a complex issue that requires a reinterpretation of tradition and active engagement, rather than mere theological claims. To achieve an "environmentally friendly Islam," adaptation and re-evaluation of existing worldviews are necessary (2003, 274–75). This argument complements the view that, while various conceptions have addressed environmental problems, it is also important to look beyond the postcolonial framework that highlights the universalization of the concept of "environment" through power structures originating in the colonial era (Gade 2019). These conceptions often do not incorporate local communities' perspectives in understanding their environment. Thus, the approach of reinterpreting tradition and active engagement can be seen as a response to this trend toward universalization, ensuring that the environmental solutions offered are authentic and rooted in local worldviews.

Therefore, Gade (2019) proposes the concept of "Muslim environmentalism," which draws on Islam's intrinsic meaning as a starting point for environmental understanding and on "Muslim ethical commitment" in ecological practices. This framework is grounded in core Islamic teachings, including the Qur'an and Hadith, eschatological perspectives, Islamic law and ethics, and pious practices, all of which are motivated by a profound sense of religious purpose and accountability in both worldly and eschatological contexts. Thus, Muslim environmentalism represents more than a response to decolonization within environmental humanities, it underscores the authentic manifestation of Islamic teachings in addressing ecological concerns. This approach enriches the global discourse on sustainability by integrating a deep spiritual and ethical dimension and emphasis on authentic manifestation is also consistent with the concept of religious creativity (Jenkins 2009), in which religion is understood through the dimensions of creativity that emerge at the local level in responses to environmental problems, grounded in religious resources and local values.

Muslim environmentalism, as a concept, approaches Islam as an autonomous knowledge system regarding the environment, predating modern environmental discourses (Gade 2019). This framework seeks to develop environmental theory and practice grounded in an Islamic worldview. In contrast to the concept of "Islam and the environment,"

which often attempts to adapt Western ecological definitions to Islamic contexts, Muslim environmentalism allows Islam to shape environmental understanding from within. This approach avoids superficial Islamization of external concepts and instead emphasizes authentic ethical commitments, while acknowledging the risk of essentializing Islam as a universal principle at the expense of its contextual diversity. Therefore, Muslim environmentalism allows Islam to shape environmental understandings from within, producing authentic ethics and practices that contribute uniquely to global environmental discussions (Gade 2019, 40–41). Thus, it opens up space for diverse perspectives in ecological studies, where Islam understands it through traditional commitments such as cosmology, ethics, science, and art (Gade 2019, 76), and even includes environmental justice, which provides an eschatological basis for relations with the environment (Gade 2019, 83).

The case study of the SAPAR Movement reinforces this view. Their struggle significantly supports the argument that the focus of Islam's role in the environmental crisis must shift from the theoretical and textual realm to the ecological practices actually implemented by Muslim communities (Bagir and Martiam 2016, 85). Although Islam has strong ecological principles (Dien 2003, 119), environmental issues are often marginalized (Koehrsen 2021, 14). The SAPAR movement demonstrates the opposite by articulating its resistance through the framework of Islamic environmental ethics.

The SAPAR movement embodies the concept of *khalifah* by viewing themselves as guardians and managers of the earth, responsible for maintaining the balance of nature (*mizān*). In line with this, Islam asserts that one-eighth of the Qur'an emphasizes the importance of nature for humans and views nature relationally, not as a site of domination (Saniotis 2012, 157). Their struggle demonstrates how Islamic ethical principles can serve as a powerful ethical guide, transforming teachings into concrete actions. More broadly, the SAPAR case indicates that the 'greening' of religion is not a linear process, but rather a field marked by religious tensions and innovations (Koehrsen, Blanc, and Huber 2022).

Ultimately, religion, with its pervasive influence, is precluded from remaining neutral on environmental issues (Bagir 2015, 100). Religious contributions must address contemporary environmental challenges without diminishing the intrinsic dimensions of religion that underpin

ethical action. The concept of Muslim environmentalism bridges this paradigm by integrating Islamic ethics with local community practices. This framework also justifies applying CDA to examine the contextual factors, discursive strategies, and actors involved in resistance practices, as demonstrated in the natural resource conflicts faced by the SAPAR movement.

The SAPAR Movement: Protecting Living Spaces from the Impact of Geothermal Developments

Opposition to geothermal energy in Padarincang gave rise to the SAPAR movement, an organic, grassroots, informal movement without a hierarchical organizational structure. This movement has become the vanguard in rejecting geothermal projects, including the Padarincang women's movement (GRAPAS), part of SAPAR women's movement that has voiced its rejection and resistance to the Padarincang geothermal project (Tama 2023; WALHI 2023). Members of this movement comprise various elements of society, including women, religious leaders, Islamic boarding school students (*santri*), university students, and environmental activists (Sulistyaningrum and Ramadhan 2023, 26). The movement began in 2013 and gained strength in 2016–2017 when the developers conducted clandestine exploration (Sulistyaningrum and Ramadhan 2023, 32). The presence of these diverse elements illustrates that SAPAR operates through a broad, decentralized network that facilitates information sharing, solidarity, and rapid mobilization. This structure enables the formation of temporary coalitions and supports latent activities essential for sustaining resistance against powerful external actors.

The emergence of this movement is based on various concerns about the threats and impacts of geothermal energy, such as the loss of food sovereignty and water sources, environmental pollution and damage, and adverse effects on the culture and religious values of the community, as well as the push for land market liberalization (Rizki 2024; Saturi 2024). From an economic perspective, the project fails to address the community's economic development needs, as it is dominated by farmers who require additional agricultural facilities (Permatasari 2024, 280). From a project management perspective, closed and top-down communication patterns position the community as less knowledgeable about geothermal energy and compel it to accept the company's version

of the truth. These patterns trigger doubt and rejection rather than fostering acceptance. (Saryani, Framanik, and Muldi 2023, 111). At the same time, for the Padarincang community, the threat to their living space represents not only an environmental challenge but also an existential crisis and an ethical obligation to address their role as *khalifah* in safeguarding creation. The geothermal project endangers environmental integrity and provokes collective resistance. Moreover, Seyyed Hossein Nasr's perspective helps explain this resistance, as Nasr argues that ecological degradation reflects a profound spiritual deficit in humanity (2001, 17). In the context of SAPAR, this view provides an ethical foundation for rejecting the geothermal project. This rejection is not only pragmatic but also rooted in an ethical awareness that environmental threats reflect a spiritual failure in viewing nature.

SAPAR's rejection of the geothermal project relies on a theological lexicon that connects Muslim environmentalism with counter-discourse strategies. A statement by Dhoif, a key figure in the SAPAR movement, illustrates this correlation, framing resistance as an ethical and spiritual obligation rather than a pragmatic act: "Rejecting geothermal energy is a form of gratitude for God's blessings" (Times Indonesia 2023). The quotation "grateful for God's blessings" is crucial because it demonstrates that SAPAR's resistance is not merely a pragmatic act but rather one legitimized by Islamic environmental ethics. This concept of gratitude refers to the fulfillment of *amanah* (trust) and to the realization of the role of the *khalifah* in maintaining God's gifts in the surrounding ecosystem, namely water and soil fertility, for the sustainability of the environment and the lives of the Padarincang community. Their rejection of the project that harms the environment is also interpreted as an effort against *fasad* (destruction), an action that contradicts the principle of gratitude.

Furthermore, this ethical commitment is understood to extend beyond formal worship rituals, as emphasized by a woman religious figure in the SAPAR movement, Eha Sehaeni, who states, "Islam is not just about worship rituals...we all have an obligation to understand and protect nature" (Raissa 2025). This statement fundamentally challenges the developer's economic-technocratic rationality by situating environmental issues within the realm of living ethics (Peterson 2001, 3). Thus, SAPAR's rejection of the geothermal project is not a mere pragmatic response, it constitutes a deliberate manifestation of Muslim

environmentalism, legitimized by Islamic environmental ethics and grounded in an ethical commitment that extends beyond formal worship rituals. This commitment, rooted in profound moral and spiritual principles, translates into collective action through discursive practices within social movements and evolves into explicit demands for environmental justice.

In practice, the use of religious rituals, such as *tablilan*, was part of the protest and also served as a substitute for physical confrontation. “We do not want to fight with our hands, so we fight with *tablilan*” around the demonstration location (Raissa 2025). Additionally, the provision of *istighosah* (practice of seeking help from God) has been carried out in conjunction with the commemoration of International Human Rights Day (WALHI 2023). These practices demonstrate that religious rituals transformed into instruments of resistance bridge ethical foundations and social action. Indeed, this phenomenon reflects the hybridization between Islamic values and the discourse of socio-ecological justice. Thus, this rejection aligns with the highest goal of Islamic law in concept of *maqāṣid al-shari‘ah*, which aims to protect fundamental human needs (Mangunjaya and McKay 2012, 290). Collectively, the use of environmental action alongside the instrumentalization of religious rituals, demonstrates that Muslim environmentalism within the SAPAR movement manifests as an ideology of liberation that provides moral, spiritual, and political legitimacy to demands for environmental justice.

In addition to oral narratives, Islamic symbolism shapes the visual dimension of SAPAR’s resistance. Demonstrators actively express this symbolism through performative practices on the ground, wearing clothing associated with Islam, such as the *tauhid flag*, sarongs, and *peci* (traditional Islamic headgear). These practices illustrate how SAPAR integrates religious identity into its protest strategies, transforming visual representation into a powerful instrument of resistance (tvOnenewscom 2020; Watchdoc Documentary 2024). These performative practices and the symbolization of identity collectively enrich the movement’s claims of hybridization, demonstrating that Islamic ideology is constructed as a whole. Such holistic manifestations challenge the rigid separation among environmental politics, social movements, and Islam. This strategy is effective because the use of religious rituals and symbols in the public sphere significantly challenges the common assumption that

religion should remain in the private sphere and be separate from the public, thereby affirming Muslim environmentalism as an ideological form of resistance.

In line with the strategy, counter-discourse. While SAPAR was built internally, its resistance was also fueled by externally constructed asymmetrical discourse. Therefore, the Padarincang community actively sought out and highlighted several negative impacts of geothermal energy in various regions of Indonesia, including the Mataloko geothermal project (Watchdoc Documentary 2024). This dominance of positive narratives from government and industry, emphasizing energy independence and economic opportunities, illustrates how pro-development discourse marginalizes alternative perspectives. However, aspects of social impact, environmental contributions, and the perspectives of local communities, NGOs, activists, and scientists remain underrepresented (Trisiah, de Vries, and de Bruijn 2022, 996). This underrepresentation demonstrates the asymmetrical construction of discourse in government-led geothermal projects, as reflected in national news narratives and grassroots reporting.

The ecological impacts of geothermal projects are often overlooked because their influence on national discourse is indirect, including government narratives. This pattern reflects Rob Nixon's concept of "slow violence," which characterizes environmental degradation as a gradual and imperceptible process with long-term consequences, in contrast to Galtung's notion of structural violence, which is static and immediate (2011, 11). Furthermore, Nixon deliberately distinguishes it from direct violence, or structural violence in Galtung's concept, because slow violence requires a multilayered analysis. This violence is often ignored by dominant and structural-authoritative structures of understanding, where violence must involve the shedding of blood. At the same time, the voices of affected communities are sidelined, leaving them unaccommodated for the suffering they experience (Nixon 2011, 16). Geothermal projects are part of projects that cause environmental degradation for the community. This project reflects "slow violence," in which its long-term impacts are often overlooked. Therefore, narratives emerging from local communities, such as the SAPAR movement, are challenging to construct and fail to secure the necessary political and media recognition.

The analysis of these dynamics is further deepened by the political opportunity framework, which posits that external political conditions

can create crucial “opportunities” or “constraints” for social movements. The closed, top-down communication patterns of project management, coupled with the dominant positive narrative in national media and the slow violence nature of its impacts, clearly constituted significant constraints for the SAPAR movement. The state and industry’s framing of geothermal energy as “green energy” fostered a political discourse that marginalized local grievances, marginalizing community testimony and making it difficult for their narratives to gain political and media recognition. The lack of responsiveness from formal political channels forced the SAPAR movement to adopt alternative strategies. The movement emphasized direct resistance and mobilized its deeply rooted communal values because conventional mechanisms failed to address its concerns (Meyer and Minkoff 2004).

Thus, there is a dichotomy of discourse and ideological differences surrounding the geothermal project at the state and local Padarincang communities. The State frames the project as a discourse of sustainable development, while geothermal energy is a green energy project. Meanwhile, the Padarincang community views the project as a form of environmental destruction that will cause a water crisis, ecosystem degradation, and threaten their livelihoods. They are demanding that the state address their fundamental ecological rights.

Accommodating Local Commitments to the Environment

Religion is understood to shape environmental existence through religious actions and practices, mediated by its own beliefs and values (Jenkins 2016). This relationship between religion and the environment in contemporary ecological issues is mutually influential, for instance, the Padarincang community and its surrounding ecosystem continuously shape one another. As a predominantly Muslim community, Padarincang draws inspiration from Islamic teachings on responsible environmental stewardship. Simultaneously, the presence of geothermal projects in the area has prompted new ecological practices, including various forms of resistance aimed at preserving environmental sustainability.

This commitment to rejection arises from the community’s awareness of Islamic environmental ethics and local ecological knowledge. The depth of this awareness is evident in Dhoif’s statement: “Regarding the geothermal project, we have not seen any positive benefits for the community, especially regarding our ecological sovereignty...we want

to be left as is and live in harmony with our nature” (tvOnenewscom 2020). This demand for “our ecological sovereignty,” through the lens of Muslim environmentalism, serves as a counter-discourse linking the issue of living in harmony with the surrounding natural ecosystem, which stems from the knowledge and experience of the Padarincang community with the Islamic environmental ethic of *mīzān* (balance). This discourse is an effort to reject *fasad* (destruction) caused by greed, while also affirming that the Muslim ethical commitment to the environment, which goes hand in hand with local knowledge passed down from generation to generation, is an ethical priority above the logic of short-term economic gain brought by the hegemonic discourse of “green energy.”

This resistance is reinforced through discursive practices and symbolism that reflect the hybridization of Islamic values and responses to the project’s social impacts. Eha Suhaeni employs a metaphorical narrative: “...If nature is green, humans will not starve... especially the people here who work as farmers, if nature is destroyed, what will they eat?” (Saturi 2024). The narrative “if nature is green, humans will not starve” emphasizes that environmental sustainability is relational and integral to local knowledge and Islamic constructions within the *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* for the survival of the farming community in Padarincang. At the same time, this narrative is translated into broader discursive practices, as seen in how Eha mobilizes women to engage in “*Ngaji Ekologis*,” a forum that connects religious teaching for ecological sustainability, and *istighosah* as a collective resistance strategy (Raissa 2025). This expansion of awareness demonstrates how the movement transforms religious rituals into discursive practices that foster understanding of Muslim environmental ethics that align with local social and religious practices.

Despite the strategic role of religious leaders, the analysis reveals severe impacts, including internal social destabilization. Ainullah, one of the religious leaders driving the SAPAR initiative, testified that corporate efforts deliberately undermined social ties. “It is like ‘to instigate conflict’ such as religious leaders (*kyai*) against each other and children and parents against each other” (tvOnenewscom 2020). This internal conflict exemplifies a strategy of co-optation and social fragmentation driven by structural power. The corporation’s actions, as indicated by the emotionally charged term “to instigate conflict” and

its targeting of fundamental social units such as “between *kyai*” and “children and parents,” demonstrate that the damage extends beyond ecology to the community’s moral order and social bonds. This strategy seeks to erode the moral authority of Islam and the family unit, which constitute key members’ resources for legitimizing SAPAR’s resistance. Consequently, the conflict becomes explicit as a struggle against *fasad*, an ethical decay produced by the logic of capital, thereby expanding SAPAR’s resistance from environmental protection to the defense of social and spiritual integrity.

Furthermore, Ainullah’s describes a refusal of bribery. “Even though I was offered any amount I wanted, I refused because I did not want to be a traitor who would leave damage to my children and grandchildren” (Raissa 2025). This statement strengthens the argument that their refusal is rooted in a non-negotiable ethical commitment to environmental justice. The financial refusal and the resulting social conflict indicate that the issue has shifted from a mere land dispute to an ideological struggle against moral and ethical betrayal of future generations. This context emphasizes that this ethical commitment is grounded not only in Islamic doctrine but also in local ecological knowledge and the community’s collective experience with its environment, shaped over generations. Local ecological knowledge reinforces the claim that current environmental damage betrays the *khalifah* mandate and threatens the food sovereignty and living spaces of future generations.

Meanwhile, Islamic teachings as a source of inspiration for rejecting geothermal projects emerge from the symbolism of mountains, which is understood to be essential to remember, as in the following statement:

“We do not see any positive benefits from this geothermal project; unlike other investments, we have never rejected it. We question the project’s claims of being ‘environmentally friendly’ given that, in 2018, flash floods and major landslides occurred in this area, including Cikoneng. Our rejection is justified; the community believes that this mountain is God’s creation as a protector, without which our safety is threatened [as stated in the Quran (An-Naba’: 7)].” (TvOnenewscom 2020)

The quoted statement illustrates the multilayered discourse construction within SAPAR’s resistance, which combines pragmatic, empirical, and ethical considerations to establish legitimacy. The discourse begins by framing the rejection as a rational exception, “unlike other investments, we never reject it,” and then shifts toward ideological contestation. In practice, SAPAR challenges the claims of geothermal

energy being “environmentally friendly,” an ideologically contested term in this natural resource conflict, by invoking local ecological knowledge, particularly the threat of local disasters such as “flash floods and major landslides in this region.” The narrative culminates in the use of the highest authority for Muslims, the Qur’an which asserts that “this mountain is God’s creation as a protector, without which our safety is threatened” (An-Naba’: 7). This multilayered structure reflects a deliberate effort to shift the basis of rejection from empirical evidence to theological grounds. It demonstrates how the community activates Islamic members’ resources alongside local knowledge as an integrated whole. By positioning floods and landslides as evidence of ecological vulnerability and interpreting the mountain as an *awtad* (earth peg), a manifestation of God’s power and mercy, the discourse constructs drilling on Mount Prakasak as an act that violates the principle of tauhid and betrays *amanah* (trust).

This hybrid narrative functions as a form of ideological struggle at the societal level. SAPAR draws on both sacred texts and empirical evidence, supported by local ecological knowledge, to challenge the authority of scientific texts brought by the government and industry. This strategy has two structural effects. First, it broadens the mobilization base by invoking religious legitimacy. Second, it increases the political costs for the state and corporations by targeting movements on the pretext of religious resources and difficult local knowledge, rather than by suppressing ordinary economic protests. Therefore, this discourse functions creatively, challenging the hegemonic discourse of “sustainable development” and reproducing Muslim environmentalism as a liberation ideology. This conception asserts that Muslim environmentalism is not merely a static claim of Islamic environmental ethic, but rather a dynamic strategy of resistance that demands ecological justice and the sustainability of natural resources, grounded in environmental ethics and ecological sovereignty, rooted in uncompromising, inherited local knowledge.

Other views are also conceptualized in the apocalyptic view that appears in the statement, “...the truth will endure until the day of judgment.” (Watchdoc Documentary 2024). This truth is understood as a path to eternal life. This commitment needs to be seen in the context of how the thrust of Islamic teachings relates to the apocalyptic dimension, for example, of the Prophet Muhammad, which in the

Western environmental tradition is rarely seen and difficult to grasp in dominant socio-environmental analyses (Gade 2019, 199). It can also be understood as the core of Muslim environmental motivation and ethics.

It should also be noted that Islam fundamentally embraces diverse conceptions of the environment, such as *khalīfah* (Go's representative), *tauhīd* (unity), *mīzān* (balance), *fiṭrah* (original essence), *iḥsān* (goodness), *insān al-kamīl* (perfect human being present before God), and *taqwā* (obedience) (Almujaddidy 2021, 17). All of these concepts serve as the basis for Muslims' interactions with the environment. However, it is crucial to recognize that these concepts are not monolithic in their interpretation of environmental sustainability. A monolithic perspective simplifies the diverse practices of religious environmentalism and its focus on 'text and context' (Gade 2019, 4). Meanwhile, according to Jenkins (2009), patterns of religious environmentalism are creative through conceptual hybridization, contextual imagination, and contestation and improvisation (Smith, Adam, and Maarif 2024, 3). Therefore, it is essential to examine how Islamic teachings are interpreted, practiced, and adapted across the social, cultural, historical, and lived contexts of Muslim communities, thereby shaping complex, layered environmental commitments. This approach requires considering the broader context, including diverse religious practices that embody ethical commitments to environmental stewardship. In contemporary ecological activism, the intrinsic religious values of the SAPAR movement occupy a dynamic space in which religious engagement is expressed through innovative, contextually grounded environmental practices.

Furthermore, the resistance of the SAPAR Movement can be understood through the lens of new materialism, as Bruno Latour (2012) advocates. This movement critically rejects idealistic views that reduce nature to a "thin body" amenable to exploitation. Instead, the Padarincang people view mountains, forests, and water as "thick bodies" that have intrinsic agency and an active role in their lives. Furthermore, Latour also emphasizes the need to abandon the rigid dichotomy between nature and culture, as all societies live in a hybrid "nature-culture" (Latour 2012, 106).

In this regard, the SAPAR Movement is a concrete expression of this hybridity. Their resistance is concrete evidence of the fusion of

Islamic ethics and local knowledge. They integrate them with creative environmental practices tailored to their specific problems. This engagement demonstrates how the agency of non-human entities, mountains and forests, is integrated into social and religious life, in line with the perspective of new materialism (Fox and Alldred 2019; Gamble, Hanan, and Nail 2019). This perspective also aligns with traditional African eco-bio-communitarian metaphysics, which views humans as inseparable from nature (Tangwa 2005, 389), in contrast to the anthropocentric Western perspective. Therefore, the SAPAR Movement bridges the concept of hybridity by integrating Islamic values with local ecological knowledge, thereby creating authentic, contextually relevant environmental practices. This hybridity manifests in creative environmental actions that align with ecological concerns, reinforcing the movement's authenticity. The depth of this integration is evident in the following statement by Dhoif:

“Natural wealth is a gift of tradition, passed down from generation to generation, and is eternal. We will not despair or fear; as long as we are on the right path, God willing, God will protect us. The concept of ‘sustainability’ is not necessarily eternal, but ‘custom’ is certainly sustainable, and nature’s current contributions have proven to be more prosperous. Therefore, we will continue to defend our territory and reject any measure that threatens the preservation of nature, which has provided benefits and prosperity for the community. We feel its benefits and are obliged to preserve it for future generations” (Satari 2024).

This statement demonstrates a fundamental ideological contestations over the meaning of sustainability and authority over nature. This discourse deliberately uses ideologically contested terms. It explicitly brings into debate the concept of “sustainability,” often associated with discourses of state and industrial development, and the idea of “custom,” associated with “eternal” and “hereditary.” It builds solidarity through the inclusive pronoun “we” and asserts certainty through the strong modals “surely sustainable” and “obliged.” This statement activates a powerful member’s resources, which combine local ecological knowledge, informed by local cosmology, with theological principles.

The statement above also shows that natural resources are a “gift of custom,” meaning they are both a divine gift and a communal inheritance, transforming environmental issues into an intergenerational obligation. By emphasizing that “custom is sustainable,” Dhoif interprets local ecological knowledge (custom) as a moral and temporal framework

superior to the concept of “sustainability,” which he considers temporary. This assertion directly links the preservation of nature with the concept of gratitude for “blessings and prosperity” and *amanah*, the obligation to preserve for “future generations.” This discourse is an ideological resistance strategy that aims to reproduce Muslim environmentalism as an absolute moral authority.

By combining customary and religious authority, this creates an ideology of resistance that is believed to be absolutely true: “as long as we are on the right path, God willing, God will protect us.” This hybridization strategy effectively enhances the legitimacy of the SAPAR movement’s demands, rendering them not merely a rejection of self-interest but a defense of divine principles and intergenerational justice, grounded in local knowledge. This discourse creatively challenges the state’s hegemonic discourse on “green energy,” establishing counterdefinitions of true prosperity and sustainability.

Furthermore, religion plays a central role in the lives of the Padarincang community. Also, the environment is understood as an inseparable whole, linked to the development of religious education, life, economic stability, and social well-being (WALHI 2023). The community’s dependence on nature motivates them to protect and preserve it for future generations. Religious involvement in contemporary environmental issues is exemplified by the SAPAR movement, which is rooted in intrinsic Islamic values. This involvement is reinforced by local wisdom that recognizes the ecological damage caused by geothermal energy. Together, these factors underpin the community’s resistance to geothermal projects.

From this data, it is evident that Islamic ethical commitment within the framework of Muslim environmentalism fundamentally drives environmental struggles. However, the values embedded in these movements are not monolithic; the SAPAR movement is shaped by local knowledge and lived experiences. This complexity resonates with the Padarincang community, whose relationship with the environment reflects a long collective history. Most community members have worked as traditional farmers and gardeners for generations, and this intergenerational practice has made nature an integral part of their identity. Consequently, the SAPAR movement creates a space for the interaction of intrinsic Islamic values and local ecological knowledge, enabling the community to respond to contemporary

environmental challenges by repositioning its relationship with nature and reformulating relevant actions. This approach contrasts sharply with development discourse, which fails to recognize the environment's significance for local communities and instead frames environmental resistance as opposition to progress.

Muslim Environment as an Instrument of Resistance in the SAPAR Movement

Religion is obligated to respond environmental degradation and engage in political efforts to formulate a practical movement orientation (Berry 2022). In this regard, Muslim environmentalism reflects a holistic approach in which Islamic teachings serve not only as moral guidelines but also as drivers of concrete action, rooted in tradition and contextually adapted to address contemporary environmental challenges. Environmental activism within the SAPAR movement focuses on local issues by connecting religious instruments to religious representations that resonate with the relationship between humans and nature. Furthermore, this movement uses religion as a political tool to challenge power structures. In this regard, it is necessary to examine further the interconnectedness of identity, culture, economics, and politics (Berry 2022, 132). A monolithic understanding of community responses would overlook the contestation among the material, ethical, and symbolic dimensions across the religious, scientific, social, and experiential frameworks used to address contemporary environmental challenges.

In this regard, SAPAR's resistance to geothermal projects can be understood as a direct response to the environmental issues they pose. The movement operationalizes this resistance through three models. First, the contestation model involves demonstrations, road blockades to prevent access to geothermal sites, public awareness campaigns on the dangers of geothermal energy, long marches to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, and collective prayers and *istighosah* as protest strategies (Sulistyaningrum and Ramadhan 2023, 31). Second, a collaboration model in which SAPAR partners with NGOs such as WALHI to advocate rejection of geothermal projects. Third, a subversion model posits that government efforts subvert the logic of development through religious arguments, such as the symbolism of mountains as a benchmark and the claim that development should

not precede fundamental environmental rights. The various models of resistance highlight the dynamic and networked nature of SAPAR's engagement. Therefore, these models demonstrate how SAPAR functions as a flexible environmental network, integrating conventional tactics, spiritual practices, and collaboration to achieve its goals.

This approach aligns with Berry's argument that religion functions within institutional and ideological social phenomena (2022, 125), or as a moral framework for, and in the interests of, individuals or communities to change their behavior in response to environmental issues (Tomalin 2024, 263). Thus, the SAPAR Movement's protection of nature from geothermal projects is not only a form of resistance to the threat of environmental damage. However, it is also understood as resistance to the oppression of colonial and patriarchal power structures that simplify nature as an object of exploitation. The struggle for ecological justice and sovereignty is an intrinsic dimension of Islam, internalized in society's collective consciousness regarding its living space.

The SAPAR movement's resistance closely aligns with the ecological justice framework proposed by Brian Baxter (2004), which emphasizes the universal human responsibility to ensure equitable resource distribution and protect all forms of life, not only humans. SAPAR advocates for community rights and the right to inhabit natural areas, such as mountains and forests, that they regard as possessing "intrinsic well-being interests." This struggle signifies a fundamental shift from an anthropocentric environmental ethic to a holistic ethic that embraces all living beings. A comparable approach appears in the case of Māori communities in New Zealand, where the Whanganui River has been legally recognized as a living entity (Strang 2019, 116–17). These examples suggest that such values can be integrated into social and legal frameworks to challenge exploitative economic systems.

Meanwhile, in other respects, the SAPAR movement struggle also involved women's groups in Padarincang who were members of the SAPAR women's movement (GRAPAS), which was based on the struggle for human rights through the right to live safely, the right to sources of life, and the right to develop life (WALHI 2023). Meanwhile, according to the Watchdoc Documentary (2024), women are a frontline symbol of vulnerability to ecological damage. Contestation in the SAPAR Movement can be seen not only materially but also

through community narratives that emerge from their lived experiences and illustrate the complexity of their relationship with nature. In other cases, the complexity of this movement cannot be separated from internal rejection within the Padarincang community and even from family-level conflicts between parents and children. The community became a political object for state interests through “job guarantees.” At the same time, parents resisted the project in hopes of continuing their farming to sustain their families (Watchdoc Documentary 2024). This struggle highlighted the lack of formal political opportunities available to the community, forcing them to create alternative pathways to assert their rights. Therefore, various forms of the SAPAR movement, ranging from public demonstrations to the articulation of religious narratives, are efforts to expand the political space for their resistance.

Ultimately, SAPAR’s involvement in the resistance to the geothermal project represents a creative response to their contemporary position in relation to their environment and an effort to preserve nature. Thus, their environmental struggle is also grounded in their religious goals. Environmental activism within this movement stems from an ecological piety rooted in the struggle to sustain their living space and, in a sense, transcends the material dimensions of that space itself. It is also worth noting that the wave of protests, through collective prayer and *istighosah*, represents a contextual legacy of normative Islamic piety.

Thus, a Muslim environmental framework helps analyze how the SAPAR movement, which rejects geothermal projects through the instrumentalization of religious rituals such as communal prayer and *istighosah*, is not merely a prayer, but rather a way to reaffirm the world order they believe in as Islamic teachings and their collective experience of coexisting with their environment. The SAPAR movement considers the geothermal project as a disruption of the existing balance of nature and society. Through demonstrations and by blocking access to the Padarincang project, the SAPAR movement’s involvement cannot be reduced to a simple demand for local sovereignty over nature; rather, it is grounded in a Muslim environmental ethical consciousness.

Conclusion

This study analyzes the SAPAR Movement, finding that the hegemonic claims of “green energy” by the government and industry at the national level are contested at the local level. This contestation is

realized through a layered counter-discourse strategy, in which Islamic environmental ethics and traditional cosmological conceptions are transformed from mere doctrines into everyday political manifestations that organize resistance. The use of religious rituals such as *tablilan* and *istighosah* in the context of protest demonstrates the integrative social, ecological, and political function of religion. These practices are not merely rituals of worship, but operational manifestations that demonstrate a commitment to ethical praxis and serve as strategies for mobilizing and legitimizing resistance in the public sphere.

Muslim environmentalism operates as an ideology of liberation in contemporary natural resource conflicts. SAPAR's discourse construction comprises three interrelated dimensions. First, the discourse of Islamic environmental ethics employs the principles of *khalifah*, *amanah*, and *mizān* to define nature as a divine trust that must be protected from *fasad*. Second, the historical and empirical discourse draws on local ecological knowledge and hereditary food sovereignty, contrasting project claims with evidence of local disaster risks. Third, the discourse of living space sovereignty demands recognition of human rights over the imperatives of modern industrialization.

These findings suggest that the dynamics of geothermal resistance are shaped by a fundamental tension between neoliberal development ideology and Muslim environmentalism, which values nature conservation and local ecological sovereignty. The analysis also highlights that external political constraints compel the SAPAR movement to adopt direct resistance tactics grounded in communal values as a creative response to the failure of conventional political channels. SAPAR's struggle demands ecological justice and transparency, asserting that the right to determine the fate of living space sovereignty should not be overridden by global market considerations. Thus, Muslim environmentalism serves as an effective source of legitimacy and mobilization in challenging structural power.

Finally, this study is based on secondary data from online digital sources, with findings derived from various literature sources, online articles, and documentary videos. Therefore, this study lacks the authority of research drawn from field observations or in-depth interviews with direct participants. Hence, further research is urgently needed to conduct in-depth ethnographic studies that directly observe the complexity of the hybridization of Islamic environmental ethics

and local ecological knowledge, as well as the movement's internal dynamics, to produce a more comprehensive analysis.

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Muizudin, *Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia*. Email: muizudin@mail.ugm.ac.id .

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The journal invites scholars and experts working in all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences pertaining to Islam or Muslim societies. Articles should be original, research-based, unpublished and not under review for possible publication in other journals. All submitted papers are subject to review of the editors, editorial board, and blind reviewers. Submissions that violate our guidelines on formatting or length will be rejected without review.

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2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
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4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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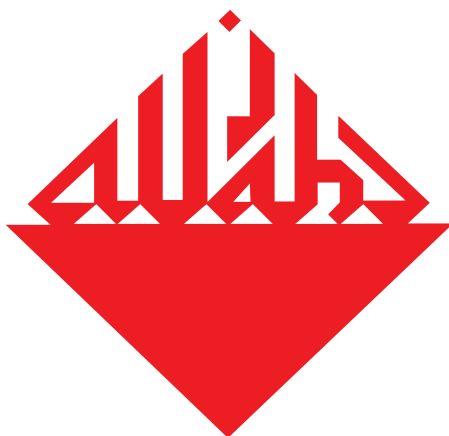
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