CONTEXTUALIZING ISLAMIC BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN NAHDLATUL ULAMA AND SALAFI IN THE REALIZATION OF SOCIAL HARMONY

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Abstract

The contextualization of ukhuwah islamiyah (Islamic brotherhood) within the Muslim community has become a crucial issue amid increasing internal fragmentation based on ideology, particularly between NU and Salafi. In Pasuruan, differences in religious views and social frictions often create tensions, indicating that ukhuwah is not uniformly understood or practiced but shaped by each group's ideological construction. This study employs a qualitative approach with a sociological perspective and Alfred Schutz's social phenomenology. Data were collected through passive participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and documentation studies, then analyzed phenomenologically through the stages of horizontalization, clustering, textural and structural description, and essence formulation. Data validity was ensured through source and technique triangulation. The study aims to: (1) describe the conceptual paradigm of ukhuwah islamiyah as understood by NU and Salafi; (2) explore how ukhuwah islamiyah is practiced in the social life of both groups in Pasuruan; and (3) explain the interpretative differences of ukhuwah islamiyah in building social harmony. The findings reveal that NU embraces an inclusive understanding of ukhuwah within the framework of the trilogy of brotherhood—islamiyah, wataniyah, and bashariyah—emphasizing tolerance, intergroup cooperation, and social harmony. In contrast, Salafi interprets ukhuwah exclusively within the boundaries of shared creed and manhaj, restricting social interaction to those with the same orientation. Field practices show complex dynamics: while cooperation exists in activities such as funeral rites (takziah) and communal work (gotong royong), ideological divides continue to weaken solidarity. These findings highlight the importance of multicultural, dialogical, and spiritual approaches to realizing ukhuwah islamiyah

as a universal value that transcends sectarian boundaries and strengthens social harmony.

Keywords: *Ukhuwah Islamiyah; Nahdlatul Ulama; Salafi; Sociology of Religion; Social Phenomenology.*

Abstrak

Kontekstualisasi ukhuwah Islamiyah dalam tubuh umat Islam menjadi isu penting di tengah meningkatnya fragmentasi internal berbasis ideologi, termasuk antara NU dan Salafi. Di Pasuruan, perbedaan pandangan keagamaan dan gesekan sosial sering kali menimbulkan ketegangan, menunjukkan bahwa ukhuwah belum termaknai secara seragam, melainkan dipengaruhi oleh konstruksi ideologis masing-masing kelompok. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan perspektif sosiologis dan fenomenologi sosial Alfred Schutz. Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi partisipasi pasif, wawancara mendalam, dan studi dokumentasi, lalu dianalisis dengan teknik fenomenologis melalui tahapan horizontalization, clustering, deskripsi tekstural dan struktural, hingga perumusan esensi makna. Keabsahan data dijamin melalui triangulasi sumber dan teknik. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk: (1) mendeskripsikan paradigma konseptual ukhuwah Islamiyah menurut perspektif NU dan Salafi; (2) menggambarkan praktik ukhuwah Islamiyah dalam kehidupan sosial kedua kelompok di Pasuruan; dan (3) menjelaskan perbedaan penafsiran ukhuwah Islamiyah dalam membangun harmoni sosial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa NU memahami ukhuwah secara inklusif dalam kerangka trilogi ukhuwah—Islamiyah, wataniyah, dan bashariyah—yang menekankan toleransi dan kerja sama lintas kelompok. Sebaliknya, Salafi menafsirkan ukhuwah secara eksklusif dalam koridor akidah dan manhaj, membatasi interaksi sosial hanya pada kelompok "semanhaj." Praktik di lapangan memperlihatkan dinamika kompleks: ada kerja sama dalam takziah dan gotong royong, tetapi sekat ideologis tetap melemahkan solidaritas umat. Temuan ini menegaskan pentingnya pendekatan multikultural, dialogis, dan spiritual agar ukhuwah Islamiyah dapat berfungsi sebagai nilai universal yang memperkuat harmoni sosial.

Kata Kunci : *Ukhuwah Islamiyah; NU; Salafi; Sosiologi Agama; Fenomenologi Sosial.*

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of Islamic brotherhood (ukhuwah islamiyah) in Indonesia faces significant challenges, particularly in relation to rising religious intolerance and issues of radicalism often associated with Islam, leading to negative stigma against the Muslim community (Muna et al., 2025). However, the values of ukhuwah play a crucial role in building a harmonious social life within Indonesia's pluralistic society. This spirit of brotherhood, togetherness, mutual respect, and communal cooperation aligns with Pancasila, specifically its second and third principles

(Cahyati et al., 2025). History shows that internal conflict among Muslims is not a new phenomenon. Even during the caliphate of Ali, disputes with Aisyah, the wife of Prophet Muhammad, occurred and triggered bloodshed among Muslims. This historical fact serves as a reminder that conflict among co-religionists can recur in various forms and social contexts (Prerianda et al., 2024).

Within the Indonesian context, this dynamic is clearly visible through the roles of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the Salafi movement as two major groups in Islam. NU, established in 1926 by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, emphasizes the teachings of Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah that are moderate and accommodative of local wisdom (Asy'ari, 2010). Meanwhile, the Salafi movement, which developed in the modern era, focuses on the purification of Islam by rejecting practices considered heretical innovations (bid'ah), superstitions (khurafat), and myths (takhayul) (Hasan, 2007). This difference in approach often leads to friction, particularly in the practice of religious traditions such as tahlilan (prayer gatherings for the deceased), yasinan (communal recitation of Surah Yasin), and celebrations of major Islamic holidays, which NU views as valid parts of religious culture, but are rejected by Salafi for being deemed inconsistent with the purity of Islamic teachings (Masitah & Kartiko, 2022).

Legally, Indonesia guarantees freedom of religion as regulated in Article 29 Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution, as well as Presidential Decree Number 1 of 1965 (PNPS 1/1965) Concerning the Prevention of Religious Misuse and/or Desecration (1965). However, the implementation of this policy often faces challenges when differing religious interpretations lead to internal conflict within the Muslim community. This situation became increasingly complex post the 1998 Reformation, during which radical groups flourished and religion-based violence increased (Amal, 2020). Conflicts between NU and Salafi also frequently arise, such as the incident in Yogyakarta in 2016 triggered by differing views regarding the practices of tahlilan and yasinan/clash between NU and Salafi in Yogyakarta (Kompas, 2016).

Islam in Pasuruan has deep historical roots dating back to the 16th century during the Demak Sultanate, with rapid development in the 18th century through the role of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) scholars such as Kiai Abu Dzarrin. The 19th to 20th centuries were marked by the proliferation of *pesantren*, making Pasuruan known as a city of santri (students) with approximately 256 *pesantren* in 2023 (Pasuruan, 2015). *Pesantren* in Pasuruan developed in various orientations—salaf (traditional), khalaf (modern), to modern—with the majority affiliated with NU and practicing traditions such as 20-unit Tarawih prayers, the Qunut prayer in Fajr, tahlilan, and Mawlid celebrations. On the other hand, Salafi *pesantren* such as

Pesantren Persis (established 1942) and As-Sunnah (2000) emerged with a different approach, even creating tensions with NU-affiliated *pesantren*.

The tension between NU and Salafi in Pasuruan became more evident in the 2018 conflict concerning the celebration of the Prophet's Mawlid and the dispute over trusteeship rights of the Hidayatullah endowment mosque. Salafi rejected the Mawlid celebration as an innovation and took unilateral control of the mosque, which later led to a legal dispute at the Indonesian Waqf Board (BWI), with the ruling favoring the Pasuruan PCNU (Nupasuruan, 2019). This phenomenon shows that although the teaching of Islamic ukhuwah emphasizes brotherhood, differing interpretations between NU and Salafi often give rise to intra-religious conflict. NU emphasizes *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, *Wataniyah*, and *Bashariyah*, while Salafi emphasizes only *ukhuwah Islamiyah* with an exclusive interpretation.

Previous research by Masitah (2020), Syawaludin (2020), Abdullah (2017), Chirzin (2007), dan Hamidah (2015), focused more on the ideal meaning of Islamic ukhuwah in relation to harmony and humanity, as well as modern thinkers like Quraish Shihab. However, studies that delve deeply into the differing perspectives between NU and Salafi in a local context like Pasuruan remain limited. Therefore, this research becomes important to explore alternative narratives regarding the contextualization of Islamic ukhuwah, to avoid being trapped in narrow politicization that potentially fosters *ukhuwah 'ashabiyah* or group fanaticism. These findings are expected to strengthen intra-religious dialogue, build more inclusive social strategies, and support religious harmony policies at both local and national levels.

The concept of ukhuwah in Islam is understood variously by scholars. Syafruddin Prawiranegara asserted that Islamic ukhuwah is the primary foundation for a strong Muslim society, which must be based on faith (iman) and piety (taqwa) and realized in the form of social solidarity, mutual assistance, and respect among fellow Muslims. Furthermore, he warned that the greatest challenge for the ummah does not only come from outside but also from internal weaknesses such as ignorance, arrogance, and hatred. Therefore, Prawiranegara emphasized the importance of strengthening brotherhood among fellow Muslims before expanding interactions with other faiths (Prawiranegara, 1996).

This view aligns with the contemporary understanding of Islamic ukhuwah as the bond among fellow Muslims regardless of differences in race, skin color, or nationality (Herwani, 2020). This bond is based on Islamic creed, which unites the hearts of all believers, even though they come from different backgrounds, so that every Muslim is inherently connected to other Muslims (Tijani & Husnah, 2022). Within this framework, Islamic ukhuwah is seen as a concept of brotherhood

capable of maintaining harmonious relations among Muslims in daily life (Soleman & Hamja, 2022).

Quraish Shihab (2007) emphasized that *ukhuwah* means affection and solidarity that makes Muslims like one body, so that if one part suffers, the whole body feels it. He divided *ukhuwah* into four: *Ukhuwah Ubudiyah* (brotherhood as servants of Allah), *Ukhuwah Insaniyyah* (brotherhood among humanity), *Ukhuwah Wataniyah* (brotherhood among compatriots), and *Ukhuwah fi ad-Din al-Islami* (brotherhood in the Islamic faith). This explanation is reinforced by Quranic verses such as QS. Al-Hujurat:10 and QS. At-Taubah:11, which emphasize the essence of brotherhood in faith. Similarly, KH. Ahmad Siddiq expanded this perspective with the trilogy of *ukhuwah*: *Islamiyah, Wataniyah*, and *Bashariyah*, reflecting the balance between vertical and horizontal relationships in social life (Siddiq, 1992).

In addition, other thinkers have enriched the concept of ukhuwah. Said Nursi emphasized that brotherhood is a religious bond born from love, serving as a social fortress and a source of happiness (Nursi, 2022). Abdul Somad, in Arifin & Maulana (2017), added that differences in schools of thought (madhhab) are an intellectual nature of humanity. Therefore, differences in religious practices should not be a reason for division but should remain united within a single "ukhuwah madhhab." This view aligns with the fundamental value of ukhuwah emphasized in the Quran and hadith, namely that believers are brothers and sisters and must maintain harmony among themselves.

Thus, this research aims to explore, analyze, and understand the contextualization of Islamic ukhuwah from the perspectives of NU and Salafi in Pasuruan. Its main focus is on how the conceptual paradigm of ukhuwah is understood, how it is realized in social life, and how these differing interpretations affect community harmony. This research is expected to contribute academically by offering a new understanding of the role of ukhuwah in shaping the religious and social identity of the community, while also providing practical implications for strengthening intra-religious dialogue and policies supporting religious harmony at both local and national levels.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach with a sociological perspective and Alfred Schutz's social phenomenology to understand the meaning of Islamic *ukhuwah* as perceived by NU and Salafi in Pasuruan (Denzin, 2009). The research location was set in Pasuruan Regency and City because this area represents intensive interaction between the two groups. Data were obtained from NU figures,

Salafi figures, congregation members, Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) figures, and the general public through purposive sampling (Creswell, 2013).

Data collection techniques included passive participant observation of religious and social activities, in-depth interviews with key informants, and documentation studies of sermon texts, organizational bylaws, da'wah publications, and regional policies (Stainback & Stainback, 1988). Data analysis was conducted phenomenologically through theme identification, description of experiences, and formulation of essential meaning (Stainback & Stainback, 1988), with validity ensured through source and technique triangulation (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

This method was chosen to produce a comprehensive understanding of how differing interpretations of Islamic *ukhuwah* between NU and Salafi influence social dynamics, while also providing practical contributions for strengthening intra-religious harmony at the local level.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this study illustrate the dynamics of understanding and practicing Islamic *ukhuwah* between NU and Salafi in Pasuruan, which is imbued with theological, social, and cultural nuances. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation studies, then analyzed using a social phenomenology approach. The research findings indicate a shared conceptual foundation based on the Qur'an and Hadith, but with differences in emphasis and scope of application. These differences directly impact social interaction patterns and the way the two groups build harmony within the community. To facilitate understanding, these findings are presented in three main focuses: the conceptual paradigm of Islamic *ukhuwah*, the practice of *ukhuwah* application in social interaction, and the differing interpretations in building social harmony in Pasuruan.

Conceptual Paradigm of Islamic Ukhuwah from the Perspectives of NU and Salafi

This study found that NU understands Islamic *ukhuwah* within the framework of the Trilogy of *Ukhuwah (Islamiyah, Wataniyah, Bashariyah)*, popularized by KH. Ahmad Siddiq at the 1984 NU Congress in Situbondo (Siddiq, 1992). This concept is supported by Quraish Shihab, who emphasizes the variations of *ukhuwah*, namely *ubudiyah, insaniyah, wataniyah*, and *fi ad-din al-Islami* (Shihab, 2007). In the context of Pasuruan, which tends to be homogeneous and pesantren-based, the implementation of *ukhuwah* becomes relatively easier, although it has the potential to be limited in more complex pluralistic areas. This aligns with Prawiranegara's

idea about the importance of anticipating internal threats to the Muslim community through the values of *Mabadi' Khoirul Ummah*, such as *ash-shidq, amanah, ta'awun, 'adl*, and *istiqamah*. Unlike Prawiranegara (1996) , NU continues to emphasize *ukhuwah wataniyah* and *bashariyah*, which embrace non-Muslims as part of the expansion of Islamic *ukhuwah*. This finding reinforces the results of Makhfud Syawaludin (2020) on the contextual meaning of *ukhuwah* in Islamic organizations in Pasuruan and Warsito (2015) on Sufi-based *ukhuwah*.

Meanwhile, the Salafi paradigm shows an emphasis on exclusive *ukhuwah* that applies only to fellow monotheistic Muslims, while non-Muslims are viewed as subjects of da'wah. This aligns with Quraish Shihab, who limits *ukhuwah fi ad-din al-Islami* to those with the same creed and worship, and with Said Nursi (2022) who places faith as the foundation of brotherhood. Although Abdul Somad (Arifin & Maulana, 2017) emphasizes the importance of a "ukhuwah madhhab" as a container for differences in jurisprudential branches, Salafi practices in Pasuruan still prioritize purity of monotheism as a condition for *ukhuwah*. This result is consistent with the findings of Din Wahid (2015) and Dewi Masitah (2021), which confirm the orientation of Indonesian Salafi towards internal community development based on the Salafi methodology (*manhaj*), but differ in their openness to interfaith cooperation.

The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) of Pasuruan Regency and City displays an inclusive paradigm by emphasizing universal *ukhuwah*, across madhhabs and organizations. This view is based on the spirit of the Medina Charter, which accommodates *ukhuwah wataniyah* and *bashariyah*, in line with Quraish Shihab's emphasis on *ukhuwah insaniyah* as an inseparable part of Islamic *ukhuwah* (Shihab, 2007). In practice, MUI utilizes the foundation of QS. Al-Mumtahanah:8 to strengthen tolerance. The United Muslim Forum (FUIB), despite lacking formal bylaws, plays an active role in strengthening *ukhuwah* through agendas of friendship and cross-organizational forums. This finding complements the studies of Cecep Sudirman Anshori (2016) on *ukhuwah* as the foundation of professional organizations and the results of Tatang Hidayat & Udin Supriadi (2019) on synergy among cross-madhhab organizations.

The three paradigms—NU, Salafi, and MUI/FUIB—show normative similarities in basing *ukhuwah* on QS. Al-Hujurat:10, which affirms brotherhood among the believers. However, differences emerge in the scope and orientation of implementation. NU expands *ukhuwah* to include national and humanitarian dimensions, Salafi restricts it to unity of creed, while MUI/FUIB emphasizes inter-organizational *ukhuwah* with an integrative approach.

In the social context of Pasuruan, which is religiously and culturally homogeneous, the implementation of these concepts proceeds relatively smoothly. However, if applied in a more plural society, differing perspectives could pose new challenges, especially in managing interfaith and intercultural relations. Thus, this study affirms that the paradigm of *ukhuwah* functions not only as a normative religious concept but also as a social strategy in building harmony within a diverse society (Shihab, 2007; Wahid, 2015; Syawaludin, 2020).

The theoretical implications of this study strengthen the conceptual framework of Islamic *ukhuwah* by showing a spectrum of interpretations between the exclusive model (Salafi) and the inclusive models (NU, MUI, FUIB), thereby enriching the study of inter-Islamic organization relations in both homogeneous and plural societies. Practically, the research results provide a social strategy guide for building harmony, namely by optimizing common ground on socio-humanitarian aspects, strengthening the role of mediators such as MUI and FUIB, and integrating the principles of *ukhuwah wataniyah* and *bashariyah* to strengthen social cohesion amidst differences in madhhabs or religious ideologies (Shihab, 2007; Wahid, 2015; Syawaludin, 2020).

Practical Application of Islamic Ukhuwah in Social Interaction between NU and Salafi in Pasuruan

The findings indicate that NU in Pasuruan practices Islamic *ukhuwah* with the *Trilogy of Ukhuwah (Islamiyah, Wataniyah, Bashariyah)* approach as conceptualized by KH. Ahmad Siddiq (1992). NU's attitude is characterized by *tasamuh* (tolerance), fostering relationships across groups, and avoiding open confrontation, except on matters of creed principles and Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah traditions. This approach aligns with Quraish Shihab (2007) which sees *ukhuwah* as a broad spectrum encompassing *ubudiyah, insaniyah, wataniyah*, and *fi ad-din al-Islami*. NU's emphasis on *ukhuwah wataniyah* and *bashariyah* also resonates with Prawiranegara's warning about the danger of the "enemy from within," namely slander and hatred (Prawiranegara, 1996). Previous research confirms NU's tendency to interpret *ukhuwah* contextually (Syawaludin, 2020; Warsito, 2015), and this finding expands that description by showing concrete practices in the field despite facing cultural resistance.

Conversely, the Salafi community in Pasuruan interprets *ukhuwah* more selectively, emphasizing *ukhuwah fi ad-din al-Islami*. Relations with NU are limited to neutral social spheres, such as humanitarian activities, but avoid religious cooperation that might contain elements of innovation (*bid'ah*). This overlaps with Quraish Shihab's concept (2007) Shihab's concept (2007) of *ukhuwah fi ad-din*,

which requires shared faith and worship, and with the view of Badiuzzaman Said Nursi (2022), who places faith as the foundation of love. However, this pattern risks reinforcing internal barriers, as cautioned by Prawiranegara (1996). Studies by Din Wahid (2015) and Dewi Masitah (2021) confirm that Salafi communities in Indonesia tend to maintain the purity of their methodology (*manhaj*) and limit cross-organizational cooperation, a pattern also observed in Pasuruan.

MUI and FUIB appear as mediators bridging the differences between NU and Salafi. By referring to the Medina Charter, they prioritize *ukhuwah insaniyah* and *wataniyah* through cross-organizational forums, dialogue, and social cooperation. This model aligns with Quraish Shihab's perspective (2007), which emphasizes *ukhuwah insaniyah* as an integral part of Islamic *ukhuwah*, and with the vision of KH. Ahmad Siddiq (1992) regarding the harmonization of three types of *ukhuwah*. This view also corresponds to al-Ghazali's message in *Ihya' Ulumuddin* not to become a "helper of Satan" that divides brotherhood. Studies by Cecep Sudirman Anshori (2016) and Hidayat & Supriadi (2019) show that cross-organizational forums effectively strengthen *ukhuwah* when based on a shared vision, although FUIB in Pasuruan faces challenges such as the absence of a formal structure.

In comparison, the practice of Islamic *ukhuwah* in Pasuruan shows a normative similarity: all parties acknowledge *ukhuwah* as a fundamental Islamic teaching sourced from the Qur'an and Hadith, particularly QS. Al-Hujurat:10 concerning brotherhood among believers. However, differences are evident in the level of inclusivity: NU interprets *ukhuwah* within national and humanitarian frameworks, Salafi restricts *ukhuwah* to pure faith, while MUI/FUIB attempts to bridge the two through organizational inclusivity. This pattern demonstrates a tension between social collaboration and ideological segregation.

Practically, NU–Salafi interaction is more prominent in the socio-humanitarian sphere than in the theological sphere. Relations at the elite level are relatively harmonious due to management through dialogue and coordination, but at the grassroots level, social segregation and ideological stigma persist. This pattern illustrates a form of "pragmatic coexistence" that maintains social stability but does not fully erase identity barriers. The main challenge moving forward is to transform *ukhuwah* from a pragmatic social strategy into a more profound, cross-boundary collective consciousness.

Theoretical and practical implications: This study enriches the discourse on Islamic *ukhuwah* by revealing a spectrum of application ranging from an exclusive model (Salafi) to inclusive models (NU and MUI/FUIB). Theoretically, these findings affirm the importance of expanding the concept of *ukhuwah* to remain relevant to

plural societies. Practically, this study shows that social harmony can be built by strengthening common ground on socio-humanitarian issues, the role of mediators like MUI/FUIB, and the internalization of *ukhuwah wataniyah* and *bashariyah* values to the grassroots level as a strategy to enhance social cohesion (Shihab, 2007; Wahid, 2015; Anshori, 2016).

Differences in Interpretation between NU and Salafi in Building Social Harmony in Pasuruan

The study shows that NU in Pasuruan interprets Islamic *ukhuwah* inclusively, emphasizing the *Trilogy of Ukhuwah* by KH. Ahmad Siddiq (1992): *ukhuwah Islamiyah, ukhuwah wataniyah*, and *ukhuwah bashariyah*. NU places brotherhood among fellow Muslims as the foundation but extends it to national and humanitarian spheres, including in building relationships with Salafi groups. This interpretation aligns with Quraish Shihab's view (2007) regarding the broad dimensions of *ukhuwah* and resonates with Prawiranegara's warning (1996) about the danger of the "internal enemy" in the form of hatred and slander. This finding also supports the research of Syawaludin (2020) and Warsito (2015), which affirms NU's tendency to interpret *ukhuwah* contextually. However, resistance at the grassroots level towards Salafi remains a challenge, particularly related to ideological stigma.

Conversely, Salafi in Pasuruan interprets Islamic *ukhuwah* more selectively, focusing on *ukhuwah fi ad-din al-Islami*—brotherhood among Muslims who meet their standard of pure monotheism. Relations with NU are limited to the socio-humanitarian sphere, while interaction in religious fields is often avoided to prevent innovation (*bid'ah*). This interpretation is close to the concept of *ukhuwah fi ad-din* in Quraish Shihab (2007) and aligns with the view of Badiuzzaman Said Nursi (2022), who places faith as the foundation of brotherhood, albeit in an exclusive manner. This finding reinforces the research of Din Wahid (2015) and Dewi Masitah (2021), which show similar patterns among Salafi groups in Indonesia. This approach is ideologically consistent but has the potential to reinforce social barriers within a plural society.

MUI and FUIB emerge as mediators by interpreting *ukhuwah* in an integrative and inclusive manner, removing barriers of madhhab or organization for the broader interest of the Muslim community. They adopt the values of the Medina Charter and emphasize *ukhuwah insaniyah* and *wataniyah* through cross-organizational forums, social programs, and dialogue. This interpretation aligns with the vision of Quraish Shihab (2007) and KH. Ahmad Siddiq (1992), who emphasize the harmonization of three types of *ukhuwah*, and corresponds with al-Ghazali's message in *Ihya' 'Ulumuddin* to avoid division (Al-Ghazali, n.d.). The

research of Cecep Sudirman Anshori (2016) supports the effectiveness of cross-organizational forums when they have a collective vision, although in the case of FUIB Pasuruan, limitations in organizational structure and outreach are obstacles to sustainability.

When synthesized, NU, Salafi, and MUI/FUIB interpret Islamic *ukhuwah* with the same foundation—the Qur'an and Sunnah—but differ in the breadth of interpretation and implementation. NU emphasizes inclusivity through social and national collaboration, Salafi restricts *ukhuwah* to pure faith, while MUI/FUIB strives to be a bridge mediating these two models. The concept of "cautious coexistence" emerges, where relationships are established in safe areas like the socio-humanitarian sphere, but theological areas with potential for conflict are avoided.

This pattern supports social harmony at the elite level through dialogue and forums, but at the grassroots level, social segregation and stigma are still felt. Through the lens of QS. Al-Anfal:63, true unity of hearts has not been fully achieved because brotherhood remains more of a social strategy than a cross-group collective consciousness. The future challenge is to transform *ukhuwah* from normative discourse into a lived social habitus in the daily life of the community. The "ukhuwah madhhab" model proposed by Abdul Somad—acknowledging differences in jurisprudential branches but uniting in faith—can serve as inspiration for strengthening social harmony in Pasuruan (Arifin & Maulana, 2017).

Theoretical and practical implications: Theoretically, this study expands the understanding of the concept of Islamic *ukhuwah* in the context of plurality, showing that interpretations of *ukhuwah* can range from exclusive to inclusive models. Practically, these results emphasize the importance of the mediator's role (MUI/FUIB) in bridging differences and the need to internalize the values of *ukhuwah wataniyah* and *bashariyah* to the grassroots level. Collaboration strategies based on socio-humanitarian issues can be an effective middle path for strengthening social cohesion in Pasuruan (Shihab, 2007; Wahid, 2015; Anshori, 2016).

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the conceptual paradigms of Islamic ukhuwah between NU and Salafi in Pasuruan show significant differences in aspects of meaning and implementation. NU interprets ukhuwah inclusively within the framework of the Trilogy of Ukhuwah (Islamiyah, Wataniyah, and Bashariyah), thus placing greater emphasis on tolerance, cross-group cooperation, and efforts towards social harmonization. In contrast, Salafi understands ukhuwah exclusively

within the boundaries of creed and methodological unity (manhaj), causing its social practices to tend to be limited to internal circles.

In everyday practice, social interaction between NU and Salafi shows a pattern of cautious coexistence. On one hand, there is cooperation in socio-communal fields such as mutual assistance (gotong royong) and humanitarian activities; yet on the other hand, ideological barriers persist, hindering the creation of comprehensive harmony. These differences in interpretation confirm that although both parties acknowledge Islamic ukhuwah as a fundamental teaching, the quality of its implementation is influenced by differing perspectives.

Thus, this study emphasizes the importance of transforming ukhuwah from a normative concept into a collective consciousness that is universal. Dialogical, multicultural, and spiritual efforts are key to strengthening ukhuwah as a foundation for social harmony within Pasuruan's plural society, ensuring that Islamic ukhuwah does not merely function as a group identity but also as a unifying value for the Muslim community.

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