



INDIGENOUS ISLAMIC MULTICULTURALISM: Interreligious Relations in Rural East Java, Indonesia

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Abstract: This research-based article discusses interreligious relations and religious believers' views as determining forms of interreligious relations. It chose a village in a rural area as the research locus, namely Sukoreno, Jember Regency, East Java Province. This village has four religious communities (Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Catholicism) and one mysticism community (Sapta Dharma). So far, they have displayed a peaceful-productive relationship amid the cultural diversities, especially religious differences. This is interesting in Indonesia's current situation, which is often plagued by religious conflicts. It is also important in the context of multiculturalism discourse, which tends to be urban-biased and its enrichment in an Islamic perspective. Therefore, this study explores forms of interreligious relations and how the Sukoreno community uses them as cultural energy to build social cohesion. From an Islamic perspective, the findings can be used as a pilot model for multicultural Indonesian society, both in rural areas and urban areas, where demographically, the majority of citizens are Muslims. Moreover, interreligious relations in Sukoreno can prove that Indonesian people have the cultural wealth to build their own multiculturalism, rooted in the cultural treasures of their own locality, indigenous Islamic multiculturalism.

Keywords: indigenous islamic multiculturalism, multicultural society, diversity, culture, religion, interreligious relations, social cohesion.

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Introduction

SINCE THE 1998 Reformation era, various tragedies, conflicts, and riots with religious nuances have increasingly occurred in many regions of Indonesia, such as Ambon, Maluku, Ternate, Tidore, Poso, Sampit, Sambas, Kupang, Mataram, Papua, and Aceh.¹

¹ Ismail Hasani, ed. *Submissive to Mass Judgment: State's Justification in Prosecuting Freedom of Religion and Belief* (Jakarta: SETARA Institute, 2007);

These facts justify the common perspective of religion as a cultural entity with an integrative and disintegrative function. Culture, among others through religion, always divides people into their respective cultural poles and becomes the main factor causing conflicts.²

At that point, multicultural awareness is needed for coexistence in diversity. This awareness guides people into a harmonious and peaceful situation, even though they have complex differences in culture, history, language, tradition, ethnicity, race, nation, and religion.³ When peace and social cohesiveness in a multicultural society are created, it reaps its fundamental function as a reinforcement of social integration, where diversity is truly recognized and respected.⁴

This article investigates the multicultural awareness and coexistence at the research locus, namely Sukoreno Village, Umbulsari District, Jember Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. Based on observations, the Sukoreno community displays heterogeneous socio-cultural facts. However, the heterogeneous facts do not make them lose their reasons for living peacefully. This is certainly amazing, especially in issues of interreligious relations; there are four "official religions."⁵ (Islam,

Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "Reconciliation from Below: Indonesia's Religious Conflict and Grassroots Agency for Peace", *Peace Research – The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Vol. 44/45, no. 2/1 (2012/2013): 135-162.

² Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilization?", *Foreign Affairs* (Summer, 1993): 22-49.

³ Manuela Guilherme and Gunther Dietz, "Difference in Diversity: Multiple Perspectives on Multicultural, Intercultural, and Transcultural Conceptual Complexities," *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, Vol. 10, Issue 1 (2015): 1-21.

⁴ Christine Halse, "Building a Collective Multicultural Consciousness," *Multicultural Education Review*, Vol. 14, Issue 1 (2022): 1-12.

⁵ The term "official religions" refers to the Indonesian state policy, which only officially recognizes six religions: Islam, Catholicism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Fawaizul Umam, *Kala Beragama Tak Lagi Merdeka: Majelis Ulama Indonesia dalam Praksis Kebebasan Beragama* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia, 2015), pp. 255-256.

Hinduism, Christianity, Catholicism) Moreover, one sect of mysticism (Sapta Darma) adhered to by the people of Sukoreno.⁶

In the socio-political life of the village, they share the public authority of village government and customary authority based on the principle of proportionality and representativeness, resulting in the problems of interreligious relations between the majority (Muslims) and minorities (the others) are relatively productive. At the level of appreciation for cultural-religious symbols, they blend into each other, although they still maintain their respective characteristics. During Eid al-Fitr, for example, Christians, Catholics, and Hindus also celebrated by providing snacks, forgiving, and visiting each other. Likewise, vice versa, when Christians celebrated Christmas and Hindus celebrated their religious holidays. During the *Ogoh-ogoh* parade to welcome Nyepi day, for example, Muslims and Christians worked together to help Hindus organize it.

It is primarily through the moments of celebrating religious days that each religious community in Sukoreno directly shows their multicultural traditions. The multicultural coexistence symbols can also be seen in the houses of worship built close together. People with different religious beliefs have unique habits in respecting places of worship. They take turns cleaning existing places of worship regardless of differences in religion and belief. This proves that disparities in religion and belief have become a meeting point for social cohesion in Sukoreno.

The social cohesion also indicates that Sukoreno's social capital⁷ is related to awareness of multiculturalism values.

⁶ Sapta Darma is a Javanese mysticism. In Indonesia, it is not classified as a religion but one of the teachings of spiritual belief. This sect has three main teachings, namely *sujud* (prostration), *newarab pitu* (teachings of seven), and *sesanti* (advices). The place of worship is called *Sanggar*. This sect was spread by Bapa Panuntun Agung Sri Gautama, who claimed to receive a revelation from God on December 27, 1952, in Koplakan Village, Pare, Kediri, East Java, Indonesia; this date is believed to be the Sapta Darma's date of birth. See Siti Khoirnafiya, "Marginal Communities and Their White Kebaya: Penghayat of Sapta Darma and The Purity Discourse in Jakarta", *Jurnal Antropologi*, Vol. 22, no. 02 (December 2020): 178-186.

⁷ Alejandro Portes and Erik Vickstrom, "Diversity, Social Capital and Cohesion," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 37 (2011): 461-479.

Multiculturalism is usually appropriate to read about the multicultural life of urban communities in metropolitan cities.⁸ Its values are relevant to be used as a perspective in reading the heterogeneous social coexistence of rural communities like Sukoreno's people; they are different from most village people in Indonesia and are generally homogeneous, with both kinship origins, traditional backgrounds, language, and religious beliefs.

Multiculturalism as a social process relies on negotiations among social practices, namely a cultural political process that only sometimes produces a homogenous and equal public space.⁹ It indeed presupposes a public space where all communities and their respective cultural interests interact and negotiate on an equal basis. It presents various conceptions about the rights and status of minority cultures while also discussing central issues such as language rights, group representation, land claims, federalism, and cultural separatism.¹⁰

Multiculturalism presents an awareness of tolerance and equality and an ideological building and movement.¹¹ As an awareness, multiculturalism is different and must be distinguished from pluralism.¹² As a movement, multiculturalism is closely related to its own normative demands regarding the

⁸ This was in line with the efforts to achieve equality between whites, Indians, blacks, and other ethnic minorities in America in the 1970s. At that time, efforts to strengthen anti-racism and reject socio-cultural discrimination were carried out by disseminating multiculturalism ideas through education and teaching. See Sonia Nieto, *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education* (New York: Longman, 1992).

⁹ See Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1995).

¹⁰ See Jim Parry, "Sport, Universals, and Multiculturalism," in *Concepts of Culture: Art, Politics, and Society*, ed. Adam Muller (Alberta, Canada: University of Calgary Press, 2005), pp. 265-290; Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

¹¹ Thomas Roland Johansson, "In Defense of Multiculturalism: Theoretical Challenges", *International Review of Sociology* (2022): 1-15, DOI: [10.1080/03906701.2022.2045141](https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2022.2045141)

¹² The importance of this distinction in the theoretical debates on multiculturalism is expressed by a number of articles edited by David Theo Goldberg, ed., *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

need for changes in the way of viewing "the others" to celebrate differences together and not negate each other. Therefore, the multiculturalism movement always requires the involvement of various ethnic or minority groups by organizing various inter-community activities.¹³

Meanwhile, the multiculturalism movement urges resistance to elements of liberalism. It challenges the construction of dominant ideologies that promote a uniform agenda, a homogenization of diversity, such as the melting pot, tributaries, tapestries, and garden salad or salad bowl.¹⁴ The melting pot ideology, for example, in the US had been criticized because it urged all immigrants from various cultural origins to assimilate and merge into the dominant culture, namely "native America" with a cultural background of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASP); all cultural aspects attached to immigrants had to be given up in order to become "new Americans".¹⁵

To some extent, multiculturalism as an awareness, ideology, and movement tends to present itself as a form of resistance to liberalism ideology. The liberal issues of human rights and democracy no longer have relevance in multicultural conditions.¹⁶ For this reason, human rights and democracy issues must be read in a new way with a multicultural perspective so that the main issues of liberalism are always relevant to multicultural issues, such as discrimination and social inequality regarding differences in skin color, race, ethnicity, gender, immigrants and religion.¹⁷

¹³ Chris Barker, *Cultural Studies: Teori & Praktik*, trans. Nurhadi (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2004), pp. 379-381.

¹⁴ Alo Liliweri, *Makna Budaya dalam Komunikasi Antarbudaya* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta, 2003), pp. 16-18.

¹⁵ Daniel Woldeab, Robert M. Yawson and Irina M. Woldeab, "Re-examining the Philosophical Underpinnings of the Melting Pot vs. Multiculturalism in the Current Immigration Debate in the United States," in *Harnessing Analytics for Enhancing Healthcare & Business*, Proceedings of the 50th Northeast Decision Sciences Institute (NEDSI) Annual Meeting (2021): 264-285, DOI: [10.31124/advance.14749101.v1](https://doi.org/10.31124/advance.14749101.v1)

¹⁶ Bikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (London: Red Globe Press, 2005).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Multiculturalism studies generally focus on urban communities. In contrast to this trend, this research-based article actually prefers a rural community as the focus, namely Sukoreno community. From the perspective of multiculturalism, this is an interesting study amidst the conflictual facts of interreligious relations in Indonesia. Moreover, the study is carried out in a "moving from below" way, from reality to the conceptualization of a model of multiculturalism; not a "moving from above" way, from selecting a particular model of multiculturalism to then match it with reality.

The "moving from below" way also promises novelty; this is not like multiculturalism studies, which tended to move "from top to bottom". This method particularly reflects postcolonial studies' *tendency*, especially in reviewing the cultural dynamics of subaltern groups.¹⁸ In this context, the Sukoreno people are seen as a subaltern group who are trying to build a practice of multiculturalism with local tendencies; it is an indigenous multiculturalism.

The study "from the bottom up" is the most important characteristic of a qualitative approach. This flow of study distinguishes it from various research on multiculturalism, which usually begins with the concept of "from the outside" (read: West), which is then used to describe local realities. This study examines the interreligious relations of the Sukoreno community and their views on these relationships, which are then used as a basis for affirming a model of indigenous multiculturalism.

The study of the indigenous multiculturalism model in the Sukoreno community is intended to avoid isolating local concepts because multiculturalism and interreligious relations are global issues. This is important for enriching the multiculturalism discourse and providing a basis for revitalizing efforts to create coexistence between religious communities.

¹⁸ For example, the works of Gayatri Spivak edited by Donna Landry and Gerald Maclean, *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (New York: Routledge, 1996). The studies on subaltern groups have recently given rise to a new nomenclature in postcolonial studies, namely subaltern studies. Vinayak Chaturvendi, ed., *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial* (London: Verso-New Left Review, 2012).

This single-case study sets its approach to the phenomenological spirit by placing interreligious relations as the main focus.¹⁹ This is epistemologically relevant because it studies observable facts of interreligious relations and believers' views. The views also form general patterns of interreligious relations in Sukoreno, which in this research context aims to determine a typological model based on multiculturalism perspective.²⁰

The data was collected through participant observation, documents review, and depth interviews with key informants who were chosen purposively because they have significant roles in maintaining interreligious relations and all social institutions in Sukoreno; they are religious leaders and other cultural elites, namely *kiai* and *ustadz* (Islam), *pedanda* (Hindu), *pendeta* (Christian), *romo* (Catholic), leaders of Sapta Darma, village elders, village government elites, and youth leaders. All data were analyzed by applying a constant comparative analysis technique. The results were used to describe forms of interreligious relations based on indigenous multiculturalism in Sukoreno.

Sukoreno, Pancasila Village

Sukoreno Village was originally called Gumuk Lengar, which was taken from the name of a rocky hill where many people used to come to dig for rocks. In an excavation, people found a statue under a "suko" or "suko flower" tree with four different colors flowers. After the discovery of the statue, the name of the village was changed to "Sukoreno" in the late 1930s or early 1940s. According to village elders, the name means various kinds of

¹⁹ Phenomenology is methodically used to classify data in order to describe human religious characteristics, which are all the essential and typical elements of religion. That is a descriptive task, not an interpretive one. See Clive Erricker, "Pendekatan Fenomenologis", in *Aneka Pendekatan Studi Agama*, ed. Peter Connolly, trans. Imam Khoiri (Jogjakarta: LKiS, 2002), pp. 105-146.

²⁰ Multiculturalism is used as a theoretical perspective for describing cultural diversity in a society, namely a rural community in Sukoreno Village. This specifically takes inspiration from Simon Bekker and Anne Leildé, "Is Multiculturalism a Workable Policy in South Africa", *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (2003): 119-134.

pleasures combined with various characteristics of the community, including diversity in terms of religion and belief.²¹

In terms of religion and belief, the majority of Sukoreno's people, a total,1 of 9,123 people, are Muslims.²² As of 2022, there were 8,859 Muslims. The next sequence is Hinduism, adhered to by 364 people. 154 people adhered to Catholicism, and 35 people adhered to Christianity. A small number of residents adhered to the Sapta Darma sect, i.e., only 4 to 16 adherents.²³

The religious preferences are directly proportional to the number of worship facilities or houses of worship owned by each religion and/or belief. Islam, as the religion of most Sukoreno residents, has the largest number of places of worship, both in mosques (7) and *musallās* (46). Hindus only have two temples, and Christians only have one church. Meanwhile, adherents of the Sapta Darma sect have one *sanggar*.²⁴

The heterogeneous religious formation in Sukoreno is certainly an interesting thing, especially because the people of Sukoreno do not use this heterogeneity as a reason for conflict. Instead, it is used as an excuse to maintain togetherness and peaceful coexistence amidst diversity. In general, this appears factual in the daily reality of interreligious relations dynamics, which have successfully maintained productive harmony for social cohesion in Sukoreno. That fact does not mean there is no friction at all. However, every potential conflict so far has always been well managed so that it does not end up becoming an open conflict between religious believers.²⁵ The conducive situation, in general, suggests that religions are playing their integrative function amidst religious diversity.

The religious diversity and how it is celebrated continuously in Sukoreno suggests that the name of the village using name "Sukoreno" is not an exaggeration. The word "Sukoreno" itself

²¹ See "Sejarah Desa Sukoreno" <https://desasukoreno.wordpress.com/histori-desa/> (accessed December 29, 2022).

²² Team Members of BPS, *Umbulsari Subdistrict in Figures 2022* (Jember: BPS-Statistics of Jember Regency, 2022), p. 55.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

²⁵ HAC, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 7, 2023.

comes from two Javanese words, namely *suko* (like) and *reno* (color). According to MUS, a village elder, the word “sukoreno” means loving color and there are many and different colors; by Sukoreno residents, color diversity such as religion and ethnicity is loved and even celebrated together.²⁶

All these facts inspired the Jember Regency Government (Pemkab) to designate Sukoreno Village as a “Pancasila Village”. This was confirmed by the Regent, Dr. Hj. Faida, MMR during *Tawur Agung Kesanga* ceremony or *Ogoh-ogoh* Parade in 2018; She was determined to make Sukoreno a religious tourism destination on Jember Regency's routine tourism agenda.²⁷ This determination is not excessive, considering that the social reality in the village suggests that the practices of life are carried out in the spirit of Pancasila values. Pancasila itself is the official philosophical foundation of the Republic of Indonesia which contains a set of values regarding divinity, humanity, nationality, deliberation and justice. Harmony, coexistence and social cohesion between religious communities in Sukoreno is seen as a direct embodiment of these values.

This fact is certainly interesting when in other places in Indonesia interreligious relations tended to be conflictual, especially since the 1998 Reformation era,²⁸ including in Jember. Referring to the findings of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI; Indonesian Council of Ulama) Jember, in 2013 for example five cases of religious conflicts occurred, one of which resulted in deaths and injuries.²⁹ This makes the existence of Sukoreno Village considered special in Jember, especially as a role model of harmonious and cohesive interreligious relations.

²⁶ MUS, *interview*, Sukoreno, December 3, 2022.

²⁷ See “Desa Sukoreno Didapuk Menjadi Desa Pancasila”, <https://warnaindonesia-news.com/desa-sukoreno-didapuk-jadi-desa-pancasila/> (accessed January 15, 2023).

²⁸ Maksimus Regus, “Interreligious Conflicts in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: Assumptions, Causes, and Implications”, *Jurnal Politik*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (February 2020): 199-219, DOI: [10.7454/jp.v5i2.267](https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v5i2.267)

²⁹ See “MUI: 2013, Lima Konflik Keagamaan Terjadi di Jember”, <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2013/12/02/2202341/MUI.2013.Lima.Religious.Conflict.Happened.Jember> (accessed December 19, 2022).

The social situation of Sukoreno has so far inspired a number of researchers. However, only three are worth mentioning because they are relatively close to the issues of interreligious relations, namely Muzaki,³⁰ Rosadi,³¹ and Tamarin and Widianto.³² These three studies have different focuses from this research, which prefers to focus on interreligious relations. The most significant difference primarily points to this study's choice of multiculturalism as a perspective, something that is clearly absent in previous studies.

As it is known, multiculturalism finds space for discourse in heterogeneous urban society.³³ The description of multiculturalism in Sukoreno community, which is a rural community but ethnically and religiously heterogeneous, will encourage the enrichment of the discourse. This is related to the existence of a number of local dimensions displayed by the people of Sukoreno in maintaining multicultural values.

The research or literature on multiculturalism, in general, still rely on the basic idea of multiculturalism, namely equality between cultural identities.³⁴ This idea emphasizes that equality is only manifest in the public sphere through equal recognition; there

³⁰ Muhamad Arbak Muzaki, "Alasan Partisipasi Umat Muslim terhadap Upacara Ogoh-ogoh Umat Hindu pada Masyarakat Desa Sukoreno Kecamatan Umbulsari Kabupaten Jember," *thesis*, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Jember (2015).

³¹ Rosadi Br, "The Harmonization of Diversity and Interreligious Dialogue in Sukoreno Village Jember," *International Journal of Management and Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (2018): 11-19.

³² Tamarin Erningtyas and Ahmad Arif Widianto, "Toleransi Antarumat Beragama dan Relasinya terhadap Pemeliharaan Kebudayaan Masyarakat Desa Pancasila, Sukoreno, Umbulsari, Jember," *Jurnal Integrasi dan Harmoni Inovatif Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (2021): 142-150, DOI: [10.17977/um063v1i2p142-150](https://doi.org/10.17977/um063v1i2p142-150)

³³ Maurizio Ambrosini and Paolo Boccagni, "Urban Multiculturalism beyond the 'Backlash': New Discourse and Different Practices in Immigrant Policies across European Cities", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol. 36, Issue 1 (2015): 35-53, DOI: [10.1080/07256868.2014.990362](https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2014.990362)

³⁴ Dhruv Pande and Munmun Jha, "Cultural Identity and Human Rights: Minority Claims, Ethnic Identity and Group Rights", *Open Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (2016): 351-362, DOI: [10.4236/ojps.2016.64032](https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2016.64032)

is no neglect of the rights and existence of cultural groups even if they are minorities.³⁵ Therefore, these literatures generally address the main issues of multiculturalism, such as problem of majority-minority relations, minority rights, immigrants, race and ethnicity, gender, geographic regions, language, as well as differences in religion and belief.³⁶

Unfortunately, the last issue, i.e., religion and religious elements, does not attract researchers to really pay attention to it as one of the basic problems of multiculturalism. They have not looked at interreligious relations as seriously as a factor forming multicultural dynamics compared to their attention to the problems of immigrants or majority-minority relations. In fact, religion is actually also a cultural entity. This is related to the position of religion as one of the objective elements of culture.³⁷

Based on a review of a number of literature and research results, various theories of multiculturalism have not paid enough attention to religious variants as one of the determining factors of multicultural dynamics. Interreligious relations have not been seen as such one of the fundamental problems in a multicultural society. In the midst of theoretical inadequacies about multiculturalism in the context of interreligious relations and the absence of similar researches, especially in Sukoreno, this research attempts to study the interreligious relations based on local dimensions of multiculturalism there.

Forms of Interreligious Relations

Based on the results of observations and interviews with key informants, the dynamics of interreligious relations in Sukoreno emerge in a number of forms. There are at least five main forms that confirm a coexistent religious relationship there, namely (1) tolerance, (2) mutuality, (3) togetherness, (4) dialogue habituation, and (5) celebration of diversity. The five have formed a relationship pattern that allows all differences, especially religious

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Johansson, "In Defense...", pp. 1-15.

³⁷ See Huntington, "The Clash...", pp. 22-49.

differences, to become productive energy for the social cohesion of the residents of Sukoreno.

The first form of relationship was carried out in a spirit of tolerance. Ethically, tolerance is the foundation for ensuring that every religious adherent in Sukoreno truly respects all existing differences. This can be seen in the social behavior of village residents to tolerate differences in all social aspects, especially regarding religions and beliefs. According to MUS,³⁸ One of Sukoreno's Muslim leaders, tolerance, is manifested in the adherents' awareness of not interfering with each other's religious beliefs, and they even try to keep each other together at every religious event. "When Hindus hold ritual events, we guard them. When we (Muslims) pray Eid al-Fitr, they also take care of security, they do not disturb us," he said. This mutual care is manifested through establishing an interfaith task force team tasked with maintaining security for holding religious events.

The spirit of tolerance is also manifested in matters of religious freedom, namely cases of religious conversion. Religious conversion is considered and tolerated as normal case; the people of Sukoreno view it as part of their right to religious freedom. There are quite a lot of people in their extended families who adhere to different religions; for example, parents are Muslims, while their children adhere to Christianity and Hinduism, and vice versa. In the context of urban areas, this is a normal phenomenon. However, in the context of rural communities such as in Sukoreno, this is common and, therefore, is unique, considering that most village communities in Indonesia are generally demographically homogeneous, both ethnically and religiously. According to all informants, until now, there has been no conflict stemming from the cases of religious conversion.

According to informants, no conflict occurs because the people of Sukoreno appreciate social harmony from awareness of shared values, namely Pancasila and the spirit of *bhinneka tunggal ika*

³⁸ MUS, *interview*, Sukoreno, December 3, 2022.

(unity in diversity).³⁹ "If it's based on our respective religious beliefs, it's clear we won't be able to get along well; we are, in fact, different. That is why, we use it (note: Pancasila and *bhinneka tunggal ika*). This awareness is what makes harmony possible in this village... Each religion has all been recognized by the state, each has the right to live here, so we obey the state, we use Pancasila," MUS, a Muslim figure, said.⁴⁰

Figures from other religious communities also recognize this conducive social situation based on tolerance. One of them, DER, is a Hindu figure in Sukoreno. He said:⁴¹

"So far, our religious relations have been good because we maintain a sense of unity with each other, and the sense of religious tolerance here is very high. So, there are no problems for us (Hindus) as long as we live together with adherents of other religions. There are relatively no disputes that could divide us. We tolerate each other's religious choices, so we always live in harmony, respecting each other..."

Tolerance is even manifested in the form of reminding each other to obey each other's worship or ritual activities. This is one of the uniqueness of interreligious relations in Sukoreno; Non-Muslims are accustomed to reminding their Muslim neighbors when they are caught not carrying out Friday prayers to leave for *jumatan* prayers immediately. This was expressed by TGH, a Sukoreno Catholic religious figure, when talking about the harmonious situation and unique tolerance in the village. Note the following interesting story:⁴²

"Our relationship is so harmonious, very tolerant. Sukoreno's residents have never differentiated religious matters; instead, they remind each other. For example, my attitude towards my Muslim neighbors. 'Well, why do not *njenengan* (you, Javanese language) go to the regular Thursday evening recitations now?' I said this, 'Even though it would be good if, for example, the forum was at your house, but *njenengan look menu loh you* (don't be angry; Javanese).' 'Why, sir?' he asked back. 'You know, your house means it is occupied by prayer or recitation, so automatically, your house will be prayed for, your family will be prayed for, and blessings will be present

³⁹ This Sanskrit phrase is a motto or slogan that means diverse but united. It is enshrined in the paws of the Pancasila Garuda bird, which is the national symbol of the Republic of Indonesia.

⁴⁰ MUS, *interview*, Sukoreno, December 3, 2022.

⁴¹ DER, *interview*, Sukoreno, November 27, 2022.

⁴² TGH, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 30, 2023.

amid your house,' I reminded him. *Wow*, he continued to join (the recitation), then he said thank you, and after that, he started to participate actively again. He told me the reason he did not participate before was because the problem was not always having money, considering that the recitation had a regular social gathering, 'Well, the social gathering was 50 thousand per person. I do not always have that much.' 'Oh, that's the problem anyway, so I want to come to the head of recitation.' I told the chairman, Lek Sak Jane (who is actually Javanese), that many wanted to participate in the recitation but objected to the nominal amount of money for the social gathering. Finally, it was taken down and replaced by only five thousand social gatherings. After that, many Muslims joined (the routine recitation) again..."

Thus, the spirit of tolerance becomes the basis for harmonious interreligious relations. All informants conveyed recognition of religious tolerance forms. Even though the descriptions are different, they agree that tolerance has become a daily awareness of the people of Sukoreno so that religious differences have never been the cause of conflict.

Furthermore, the second form of interreligious relations in Sukoreno is closely related to the institutionalization of reciprocal values in interreligious cultural awareness. From a social capital perspective,⁴³ reciprocal values refer to the tendency of villagers to reciprocate kindness.⁴⁴ In this case, its social institutionalization is manifested through the habituation of norms of mutual concern (social concern) and mutual assistance (social solidarity), such as helping each other in economic difficulties without looking at religious disparities and helping each other in building or repairing worship houses; Christians or Hindus help Muslims build mosques, and Muslims also help when Christians build churches or Hindus repair temples.

TGH, a Sukoreno Catholic figure, said that at a Christmas service event held at his church the set of sound system was damaged. Repairing it or buying a new unit at that time was

⁴³ Matteo Alpino and Halvor Mehlm, "Two Notions of Social Capital", *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, Vol. 47, Issue 4 (2023): 255-282, [DOI: 10.1080/0022250X.2021.2004597](https://doi.org/10.1080/0022250X.2021.2004597)

⁴⁴ Leonidas Sakalauskas, Vytautas Dulskis, Rimvydas Lauzikas, Arunas Miliauskas & Darius Plikynas, "A Probabilistic Model of the Impact of Cultural Participation on Social Capital", *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, Vol. 45, Issue 2 (2021): 65-78, [DOI: 10.1080/0022250X.2020.1725002](https://doi.org/10.1080/0022250X.2020.1725002)

clearly impossible because it was a holiday, especially as church cash was limited. One Muslim neighbor then took the initiative to lend the church a sound system unit he had just bought for free. "Things like this very often happen here; Muslims help us (Catholics), and so do we," he said.⁴⁵

TGH also told about his appointment by a local Muslim figure to be chairman of the committee for building bridge access to a *muṣallā*, a worship house that is smaller than a mosque.⁴⁶ "At that time, I was invited by a Muslim leader to attend the *muṣallā*, and asked to sit near the *mihrab* (a place for an *imām* who leads the congregational prayers). I was then asked and then agreed by the forum to become chairman of the committee to build an access bridge to *musallā*," he said, pointing to the cast concrete bridge. The bridge is the main access for Muslim residents who live south of the river to the *muṣallā* which is located north of the river;⁴⁷ The previous bridge was made of pieces of bamboo, which were easily damaged and were rebuilt every one or two years. As chairman of the committee, he also admitted to directly coordinating fundraising. "The funds collected were not only from Muslim residents, but also from Catholics and Hindus," he said.⁴⁸

Muslim and non-Muslim informants, both elderly figures and young leaders also told many factual stories with similar reciprocal dimensions. They are used to helping each other, even in the context of providing worship facilities and carrying out the worship of each religion. These reciprocal relationships were also confirmed through the researcher's field observations at a church there as it prepared to welcome the arrival of a Bishop from Malang, East Java. A number of Muslims were seen repairing the fence of church, while Hindus seemed enthusiastic about setting up *umbul-umbul* (colorful banners) along the road to the church.

The whole reality of this reciprocal relationship also reflects the third relationship, namely the coexistence of interreligious adherents in all aspects of social life in Sukoreno. One of the most

⁴⁵ TGH, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 30, 2023.

⁴⁶ TGH, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 30, 2023.

⁴⁷ Based on field observation, January-February 2023.

⁴⁸ TGH, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 30, 2023.

striking is the strength of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation). There are many moments and mutual cooperation events in Sukoreno, both incidental and routine, such as togetherness in welcoming Independence Day and rituals commemorating religious days. All residents work together to succeed in these activities, both those which are formally coordinated directly by the Sukoreno Village Government and religious activities carried out by religious institutions such as *tabligh akbar* (a mass religious meeting) or by individual residents such as *tahlilan*.⁴⁹

The social togetherness is impossible without trust between villagers.⁵⁰ This trust is institutionalized in the social life of interreligious adherents in Sukoreno because they are used to living together without segregation of religious identities. It is not that there is no potential and actual conflict at all, but all conflict elements can be immediately reduced and resolved. According to informants, so far the existing conflicts have never torn apart social unity.⁵¹ This is possible, they said, especially because residents are accustomed to committing themselves to solutions through dialogue mechanisms. The dialogue makes togetherness and mutual trust continue to strengthen; it has formed harmonious relations between residents.

In that context, dialogue is the fourth form that helps strengthen multicultural relations between religious communities in Sukoreno. In many cases, as acknowledged by the informants, agreements to commit themselves to dialogical communication mechanisms have become an integral part of every conflict

⁴⁹ *Tahlilan* is a death ritual ceremony in traditional Muslim circles with the main aim of praying for nuclear family, relatives or Muslim neighbors who have died. Through *tahlilan*, it is hoped that the sins of those who have passed away will be forgiven by God Almighty.

⁵⁰ Aaron C. Weinschenk & Christopher T. Dawes, "The Genetic and Psychological Underpinnings of Generalized Social Trust", *Journal of Trust Research*, Vol. 9, Issue 1 (2019): 47-65, [DOI: 10.1080/21515581.2018.1497516](https://doi.org/10.1080/21515581.2018.1497516); Douglas Blanks Hindman & Masahiro Yamamoto, "Social Capital in a Community Context: A Multilevel Analysis of Individual- and Community-Level Predictors of Social Trust", *Mass Communication and Society*, Vol. 14, Issue 6 (2011): 838-856, [DOI: 10.1080/15205436.2011.611608](https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2011.611608).

⁵¹ Interview and observation, Sukoreno, November 2022-March 2023.

resolution initiated jointly between believers.⁵² Various potential conflicts can be immediately suppressed and not escalated because of this dialogical resolution, both officially facilitated by the Sukoreno Village Government and by village elders, religious leaders and cultural figures.

The potential conflicts have usually been intersected with and as a further impact of electoral politics. There have been no conflict cases where religious differences have been the main preference or trigger. The village elders emphasized that sentiments with religious tendencies relatively did not penetrate to Sukoreno even though issues of identity politics were strengthening along with various national and regional electoral political events in Indonesia, for example during the 2014 and 2019 Presidential General Elections, as well as the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor Election which gave rise to antagonism based on ethnic and religious identity represented by Ahok (Chinese, non-Muslim) and Anies Baswedan (Arab, Muslim).

As far as conflicts with electoral politics at the Sukoreno Village level are concerned, friction also occurred, but it never ended to become open conflict. Subsequent conflicts related to the Election of Village Head had so far been effectively suppressed. According to the key informants, this effectiveness was not only prioritizing dialogue, but also directly due to the strengthening of awareness of upholding the implementation of meritocracy mechanisms in the regulation of public sphere at the village level where religious diversity is not at all a preference, for example in the formation of village government structures.

Finally, the fifth form is a tradition of “celebration of differences” through moments of religious holidays, even a number of activities with ritual auras are held together involving each religious community, for example a Hindu ritual celebration called the *Ogoh-ogoh* parade before Nyepi. In each implementation, all religious adherents are involved. Non-Hindu residents not only watch or take part in securing the event, but also directly involve in carrying and parading these giant dolls of the *Bhuta Kala* symbol

⁵² Interviews, Sukoreno, January-March 2023.

around the village.⁵³ “Even when we (Hindus people) carried out the *Ogoh-ogoh* parade, it was not only Hindus who carried it, but also Muslims and Catholics,” said DER, a local Hindu figure who is also the caretaker of the Swasty Dharma Temple, Sukoreno.⁵⁴ Non-Hindu residents, he said, also compactly turned off the lights and kept the situation quiet so that Hindus could solemnly carry out the *catur brata* of Nyepi.⁵⁵

The same moments also occur during Christmas and Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha celebrations in Sukoreno. During the Eid al-Fitr celebration, for example, excitement is not only shown by Muslims, but also by people of other religions. TGH, a Catholic figure, told how his wife was always excited when Eid al-Fitr arrived: “He was busy preparing food, pastries, to be delivered to Muslim neighbors, also prepared at home, because after the Eid prayer, when they came down from the mosque, they usually visited for apologizing and shaking hands, not only at the homes of Muslims, but also to the houses of non-Muslim neighbors, including mine.”⁵⁶

Another Catholic figure, IRN, told of the *silaturrahim* tradition, visiting each other's homes during religious holidays in Sukoreno. The tradition of visiting each other between religious communities usually takes place before the Nyepi holiday, after Christmas services, and after Eid prayers and the days after. “At Christmas, for example, my Muslim neighbors come to my house to wish us a

⁵³ *Ogoh-ogoh* is a work of sculptural art paraded around the village from morning to evening before Nyepi moment, usually accompanied by the rhythm of the *Bleganjur gamelan*. For Hindus, the *ogoh-ogoh* statue is a symbol of the ugliness of human nature and the negative things of the universe. After being paraded, statues will be annihilated by burning in the *Tawur Agung Kesanga* procession before Hindus perform the *tapa brata* of Nyepi (isolating themselves from the crowd).

⁵⁴ DER, *interview*, Sukoreno, November 27, 2022.

⁵⁵ *Catur Brata* are four taboos that are forbidden for Hindus to carry out when celebrating Nyepi, namely *amati karya* (not carrying out work activities), *amati geni* (not lighting fires or lamps), *amati lelungan* (not traveling), and *amati lelanguan* (not having parties or having fun).

⁵⁶ TGH, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 30, 2023.

Merry Christmas, while at Eid it is our turn as Christians to visit them, to join in the joy of celebrating Eid together," he said.⁵⁷

Social togetherness when celebrating religious holidays is also recognized by adherents of the Sapti Darma sect. As revealed by the main leader, SNY, social togetherness is not only seen in the form of *silaturrahim* visits to each other during religious holidays such as Christmas or Eid al-Fitr and being involved in the *Ogoh-ogoh* parade, but also seen in moments of mourning, such as funeral ceremonies. "When a Muslim dies, for example, our non-Muslim neighbors, including us (adherents of Sapti Darma) are involved. Indeed, not during the *tahlilan* ritual. We are not involved in that, but are involved in facilitating the holding of the event. Likewise, vice versa. All of these events and moments that make socio-religious life in Sukoreno always harmonious and peaceful," he confirmed.⁵⁸

Through these various moments, all differences, including religious differences, are truly celebrated together. For Sukoreno residents, all differences are not hidden or eliminated, but instead celebrated and cared for. This social phenomenon is the most conspicuous in daily lives and is highly appreciated by the public; it was even said to be the main reason for the Jember Regency Government to crown this village as a "Pancasila Village" and make it the main destination for "*wisata kebhinekaan* (diversity tourism)" in Jember Regency in 2018.

Interpreting Diversity

The dynamics of socio-religious coexistence relations between religious communities in Sukoreno are closely related to their own way of interpreting religious diversity and various issues of interreligious relations. Their interpretation of (1) religious differences, (2) religious tolerance and (3) interreligious harmony is very productive for strengthening social cohesion in the village.

The religious communities, i.e. key informants, have relatively the same views on religious differences which are one of the daily social realities in Sukoreno. In terms of perspective, they use their

⁵⁷ IRN, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 6, 2023.

⁵⁸ SNY, *interview*, Sukoreno, December 11, 2022.

respective religious beliefs as a point of view in interpreting diversity. The results of their interpretations as revealed through interviews have led them to a number of cultural common ground.

The main common ground is the view of Sukoreno's religious leaders, who agree that every religion teaches goodness in social interactions. They view that their respective religious beliefs are not an obstacle to maintaining harmonious social relations with the others. For them, religious differences are not a reason to be divided, but rather a reason to help each other in goodness, strengthen social solidarity, and practice the teachings of their respective religions without disturbing other adherents who also practice their religious teachings. The following statement from WDD,⁵⁹ a Hindu leader, emphasized the spirit of "living together in diversity":

"Religion does not limit our relationships with people of other religions. Here (Sukoreno), that's how it is. All people of different religions help each other, work together, even in religious activities, such as Christmas, Nyepi and Eid al-Fitr. That was a long time ago, the time of our ancestors. Here, unity and togetherness are main and more important. Religious differences are not a problem for coexistence. That's how it's always been. Religion is up to each individual's beliefs, there is no coercion, the important thing is to be in harmony, respect each other's religious choices."

Similar assertions were also expressed by all informants. According to them, awareness of mutual respect for religious differences has existed for a long time in the consciousness of the residents. In the context of the big-city-biased perspective of multiculturalism, this is certainly interesting. If in big cities, respect for religious differences is treated with indifference while viewing religious matters as a private area, in Sukoreno the residents actually present it as shared social energy. Different religious beliefs are used as a bond that binds social togetherness. Religion is not completely treated as a private matter, but is also made into a public matter. Commitment to their respective religions is directly proportional to their enthusiasm for helping each other in the worship activities, especially ritual activities with a social dimension that take place in Sukoreno public spaces, such as Christmas celebrations, the *Ogoh-ogoh* parade before Nyepi, and

⁵⁹ WDD, *interview*, Sukoreno, December 8, 2022.

takbiran around the village at night of Eid al-Fitr. All religious adherents work together to help each other in activities; not in the technical aspects of the ritual, but in the joy of facilitating convenience for running of the events.

What about theological common ground between religions that are conceptually different? It seemed too academic for the Sukoreno residents. Apart from the fact that they are informal figures, not academics or interreligious dialogue activists, they also don't seem to care about disparities in interreligious theological discourse, such as the concept of divinity, salvation and truth claim. They prefer the meeting point of "social good" which is spiritually taught by all religions as common platform in building harmonious relations between believers. Such views and attitudes make them always have reasons to maintain a harmonious life together despite their different religions; the institutionalization of these views and attitudes is manifested in practices of tolerance.

The Sukoreno residents understand tolerance as the basis for the common interests to live together. With tolerance, religious communities can practice their respective religions peacefully.⁶⁰ "Tolerance is important, very important. Without it, the happiness in interreligious relations will not be realized. With tolerance, we can practice our respective religions calmly and freely, respect each other, and even support each other," said HSL, a local Muslim figure of Sukoreno.⁶¹

Being tolerant of all differences, especially religious differences, is a shared value held firmly by the Sukoreno people; the values they believe can keep diverse social life cohesive. Therefore, in an effort to maintain social cohesion, they consider tolerance to be necessary. They interpret it as a necessity for every religious community to practice teachings of their respective religions as well as possible, not to mix up the teachings of various

⁶⁰ For the relevance of religious tolerance for a multicultural society, including religious diversity, as in Indonesia, see Moh. Abdul Kholid Hasan, "Interfaith Tolerance and Its Relevance to the Indonesian Diversity: A Study on Ibn 'Āshūr's al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr", *Ulumuna*, Vol. 22, no. 2 (2018): 333-362, DOI: [10.20414/ujis.v22i2.301](https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v22i2.301)

⁶¹ HSL, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 24, 2023.

religions for the sake of tolerance. The following expressions from SUR, a Hindu figure, are worth pondering:⁶²

"Tolerance is not only respecting other people's religions, but also encouraging other people to adhere to their religious beliefs. Hindus, for example, must encourage Muslims to become good Muslims, and vice versa, Christians and Confucians must also encourage each other. As a Hindu, I must encourage my Muslim neighbor to become a good Muslim, not just respect his religious choice. Because if he does not become a good Muslim, I, as his neighbor, will be harmed and become the victim of his crime. Likewise, if I had not been a good Hindu, he would have been a victim of my crimes. That's the form of tolerance here (Sukoreno). We remind each other, strengthen each other. For example, one of my Muslim neighbors did not go to Friday worship, so I helped remind him—why did not you go to *jumatan...*"

To that extent, tolerance is also seen as the main provision for creating harmony between religious communities. This was acknowledged by the Head of Village, HAC. According to him, the spirit of tolerance and tolerant attitudes among religious communities in this village is very high, and this is the main social capital for all residents to maintain social harmony. He admitted that the main social capital had made it easier for him as a head of village to maintain a harmonious social life in Sukoreno even though its residents have different religions and ethnicities.⁶³

The Sukoreno residents interpret harmony as a social necessity amidst diverse religious realities. They believe that without harmony, interreligious relations will always become conflict. In Sukoreno, interreligious harmony is especially manifest in many religious events, such as the *Ogoh-ogoh* parade before Nyepi by Hindus, Christmas celebrations by Christians, Eid al-Fitr by Muslims, and events of *selametan* or *hajatan*,⁶⁴ including those held by followers of the Sapta Darma sect.

⁶² SUR, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 15, 2023.

⁶³ HAC, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 7, 2023.

⁶⁴ *Selametan* is a religious event of thanksgiving or asking for prayers commonly held by the Sukoreno residents, whether Muslims, Catholics or Hindus. In Muslim circles, there are various types of *Selametan* such as death ceremonies (*tablilan*), birth (*tasmiyahan*, *aqiqah*), circumcision initiation (*sunatan*), marriage (*walimahan*, *kawinan*), etc; more or less similar events are also held by Hindus and Catholics. People usually call it a *hajatan*, namely

So that social togetherness does not harm each other's theological beliefs, the implementation of religious events is carried out by respecting each other's beliefs without reducing the spirit of togetherness. WDD, one of the Hindu leaders, revealed an interesting fact behind the holding of religious events in which adherents of other religions were also involved; he told about the tradition of *slametan* or *hajatan* held by Hindus or Catholics to which Muslims were also invited:⁶⁵

"When Catholics hold a *hajatan*, the invitations are sorted. Muslims usually are invited first, then after Maghrib non-Muslims. Likewise, if we (Hindus) are holding a *hajatan*, the invitations are also divided into two, taking turns. Hindus and Catholics first, then Muslims, or vice versa. We also ensure that the food served is different, we provide special dishes for Muslims specifically from Muslim catering. This is related to the *halal*-ness of the food we prepare for Muslims, it must be free from non-halal food, such as pork. So, we respect their beliefs. If the person inviting us is a Muslim, non-Muslims like us just have fun, whatever is served, we eat. There's no need to rotate, there does not have to be a particular dish. During their *hajatan* rituals, we non-Muslims waited, silent. After the prayer procession, we all joined in eating together with all the invitees."

According to all informants, this method has become a tradition for Sukoreno residents in holding *hajatans*. For them, this is part of their way of maintaining social harmony and solidarity. In this way, the potential to disrupt social harmony can be minimized. *Hajatan* moments or major religious events have become routine social events which have so far been effective in strengthening interreligious relations and therefore have become one of their ways of maintaining interreligious harmony there.

The other strategic way to maintain interreligious harmony is to strengthen synergy between religious residents and the Sukoreno Village Government. According to DER, a Hindu figure, this synergistic relationship is realized by involving village authorities as facilitators of public activities.⁶⁶ A young Catholic figure, CYN, said that the Village Government is content to only play a role in facilitating activities and not as a regulatory

eating together as a gratitude for certain achievements such as graduation or a wedding reception.

⁶⁵ WDD, *interview*, Sukoreno, December 8, 2022.

⁶⁶ DER, *interview*, Sukoreno, November 27, 2022.

institution that intervenes in the residents' religious beliefs.⁶⁷ "One example of a facilitating role is that the Village Government helps fund the public religious events, not only Islamic religious activities which are the majority religion, but also minority religious activities," said TGH, a Catholic religious figure.⁶⁸

All these good practices and their interpretation strengthen social cohesion in Sukoreno. In the context of conflict resolution, religious leaders, community leaders and all residents are actively involved in reducing the escalation of conflict, especially through public religious activities. All these activities have become social institutions that make it easier for all parties to maintain lasting social harmony. This was admitted by the informants.

Within the framework of interreligious relations, all these good practices and their interpretation reflect the multiculturalism values. The practices can certainly enrich the multiculturalism discourse which so far tends to always be imagined only taking place in urban areas. In particular, multicultural practices in Sukoreno also undermine this theoretical claim; the multiculturalism values can exist and be practiced by people anywhere, including in rural areas.

Indigenous Islamic Multiculturalism?

In the discourse on multiculturalism, there are a number of values commonly designated as a basis for strengthening the harmonious life of a multicultural society. The values that are often found in the multicultural society are mutuality, justice, social solidarity, collaborative cooperation, empathy, tolerance, dialogical communication, multicultural education, harmony, peace, openness, inclusiveness, equality, social mobility, peace, security, and respect for diversity.⁶⁹ All of these values are manifested in the form of multicultural views and practices that encourage appreciation, respect and acceptance of the

⁶⁷ CYN, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 9, 2023.

⁶⁸ TGH, *interview*, Sukoreno, January 30, 2023.

⁶⁹ Lawrence Blum, "Three Educational Values for a Multicultural Society: Difference Recognition, National Cohesion, and Equality", *Journal of Moral Education*, Vol. 43, no. 3 (2014): 332-344, DOI: [10.1080/03057240.2014.922057](https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240.2014.922057)

heterogeneity of cultures, religions, ethnicities and social backgrounds in a multicultural society.⁷⁰

In many recent discussions about multiculturalism, these values were revealed in the cases of urban society in urban areas.⁷¹ Multicultural values in urban society often reflect dynamics and challenges that are specific to highly diverse urban environments. Therefore, values and their manifestations tend to vary between cultural contexts and places in urban society.⁷²

What about the manifestation of multiculturalism values in the context of rural communities or in rural areas? This is theoretically unusual because multicultural public spheres are always imagined as originating from various multicultural backgrounds that come together in urban public spheres, especially in big cities. Meanwhile in rural areas, most people are homogeneous so that multiculturalism preferences are generally considered irrelevant to study. In this context, this research on interreligious relations dynamics in Sukoreno is one of the few studies proves that multiculturalism remains relevant in a rural context. The results of this study confirm the existence of multiculturalism values in the interreligious relations in Sukoreno.

In the context of interreligious relations, the residents maintain a number of indigenous multiculturalism values. It is unique because these values originate entirely from their own multi-ethnic and multi-religious cultural awareness. These values rely on local culture and their respective religious beliefs. Their indigenous multiculturalism refers to cultural awareness, social norms,

⁷⁰ David Owen, "Of Acknowledgment, Manners and Multicultural Democratic Society", *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 3 (2023): 495-501, DOI: [10.1080/01419870.2022.2124122](https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2124122)

⁷¹ Joanna Holman & Dharmalingam Arunachalam, "Representing Harmony and Diversity: Media Representations of Multiculturalism and Ethnicity in Singapore", *Journal of Asian Ethnicity*, Vol. 16, Issue 4 (2015): 498-515, DOI: [10.1080/14631369.2015.1062070](https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2015.1062070); Sophie Watson, "Making multiculturalism", *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 40, Issue 15 (2017): 2635-2652, DOI: [10.1080/01419870.2016.1262543](https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1262543)

⁷² Michael Paolo Romero Pisco, "Transnational Urban Planning in the Multicultural City: An Analysis of Diversity Beyond Ethnoculturalism", *Major Paper*, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto, Canada (September 2018): 57-64.

practices and local policies that consistently care for and promote the interreligious relations and local values. Therefore, the designation of these values in general may be the same as the designation in urban areas, but their understanding and embodiment in the Sukoreno public sphere in many ways have particularities. The particular values are closely related to the forms of interreligious relations and how they respond to any threats.

The values of indigenous multiculturalism in Sukoreno refer to equality, mutuality (respect, appreciation), tolerance, unity, cooperation and solidarity between religious communities. The indicators can be seen in the efforts of each religious community to live together peacefully by building mutual trust, maintaining mutual understanding, upholding mutual respect, applying the inclusivism principles which provide equal and fair space between believers, promoting tolerance, strengthening social solidarity with the *gotong royong* tradition, including in ritual events, and getting used to deliberations in building collective agreements up to the resolution of any conflictual problems.

Overall, the indigenous multiculturalism in Sukoreno goes beyond the idea of pluralism. In pluralism, various ethnicities, races, religions or cultural groups are recognized as different and respected realities.⁷³ However, how is the interaction between the various factual diversity in which the various exchanges, negotiations, communications, and even friction took place within them tend to go unnoticed. The concept of pluralism offers the existence of various "plural" communities, but fails to describe how all these "plural" characters are interrelated. In the end, everything that is "compound" is often reduced to "one" through the process of "unification".⁷⁴

Meanwhile, the Sukoreno's indigenous multiculturalism goes further in interpreting a pluralistic society. If pluralism merely

⁷³ Delia Belleri, "On Pluralism and Conceptual Engineering: Introduction and Overview", *Inquiry – An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy* (2021), DOI: [10.1080/0020174X.2021.1983457](https://doi.org/10.1080/0020174X.2021.1983457)

⁷⁴ Gurpreet Mahajan, *Rethinking Multiculturalism*, <https://www.india-seminar.com/1999/484/484%20mahajan.htm> (accessed November 22, 2022).

represents “plurality”, then indigenous multiculturalism recognizes and encourages the existence of “plurality” as equality in the public space. Unlike pluralism, indigenous multiculturalism encourages respect for different types of culture. Each difference is seen to contain its own intrinsic value based on their respective religious beliefs. Therefore, all types of culture cannot be merged into one culture. Each of them is seen as a subject who has the right to live together, develop, and realize themselves in the best way. In short, the concept of pluralism does not guarantee whether the presence of diversity will and has been treated equally by the state, for example, while indigenous multiculturalism actually offers equality between believers.

The issue of equality between religious communities is a major concern in the daily lives of Sukoreno residents. This is in line with the multiculturalism spirit, which wants harmonious relations between various cultural groups with equal rights and socio-political status.⁷⁵ Multicultural harmony is possible because residents are accustomed to respecting each other's differences while placing them in equality, both individually and culturally.⁷⁶ Therefore, indigenous multiculturalism practices have conceptual relevance to other discourses such as democracy, justice, conflict resolution, culture and human rights.⁷⁷ That practices can be used as a factual basis for enriching the discourses of modernity, especially the discourse of multiculturalism.

In particular, the interreligious relations based on indigenous multiculturalism in Sukoreno can also be used as a role a model for creating interreligious relations in other places. From the aspect

⁷⁵ Therefore, multiculturalism is not only opposed to pluralism, but also opposed to monoculturalism and assimilation which have become the norm in the nation-state paradigm since the early 19th century. Monoculturalism requires normative cultural unity; the term “monocultural” is often used to describe pre-existing homogeneity. Meanwhile, assimilation is the emergence of a desire to unite between two or more different cultures by reducing differences so as to create a new culture. See Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Myth of Multiculturalism* (Toronto: Penguin, 2002).

⁷⁶ Brian Fay and CW Watson as quoted by Parsudi Suparlan, “Menuju Masyarakat Indonesia yang Multikultural”, *Paper* at the 3rd Bali International Symposium of Jurnal Antropologi Indonesia, Denpasar Bali, 16-21 July 2002.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

of public policy formulation, for example, the model can be presented as an inspiration for strengthening the ideological base a public policy designed to form national unity amidst diversity of religions, ethnicity, traditions, languages, etc.⁷⁸ The public policies promote the importance of each citizen maintaining their own culture while coexisting peacefully with other citizens of different cultures.⁷⁹ With these public policies, the state does not annihilate cultural diversity, nor seeks to melt the cultural potentials of its citizens, but instead provides a common arena. The common arena was created and continues to be maintained by the Sukoreno Village Government so that religious differences are not used as energy by religious people to negate each other.

The Sukoreno's indigenous multiculturalism practices typologically tend to reflect on a critical or interactive type of multiculturalism; this is one of the five typologies of multiculturalism in Parekh's identification.⁸⁰ This categorical type refers to a plural society in which cultural groups are not too concerned to create an autonomous cultural life, but to create a collective culture that reflects and confirms their respective distinctive perspectives.⁸¹

The cultural life of Sukoreno residents tends to avoid efforts to autonomize certain religious or ethnic cultures. They actually promote a typical Sukoreno culture of collective life where all religious adherents live together in it. In this collective culture, all religious differences between believers are not eliminated but recognized. They share religious values so that dialectically they succeed in presenting a unique collective religious tradition—a distinctive religious tradition that is different from the traditions of inter-religious relations in other villages in Jember or even Indonesia.

⁷⁸ Bekker and Leildé, "Is Multiculturalism...", pp. 119-134.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ The other four types of multiculturalism are isolationist, accommodating, autonomous, and cosmopolitan. See Bikhu Parekh, "National Culture and Multiculturalism", in *Media and Cultural Regulation*, ed. Kenneth Thomson (London: Sage Publications, 1997), p. 148.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

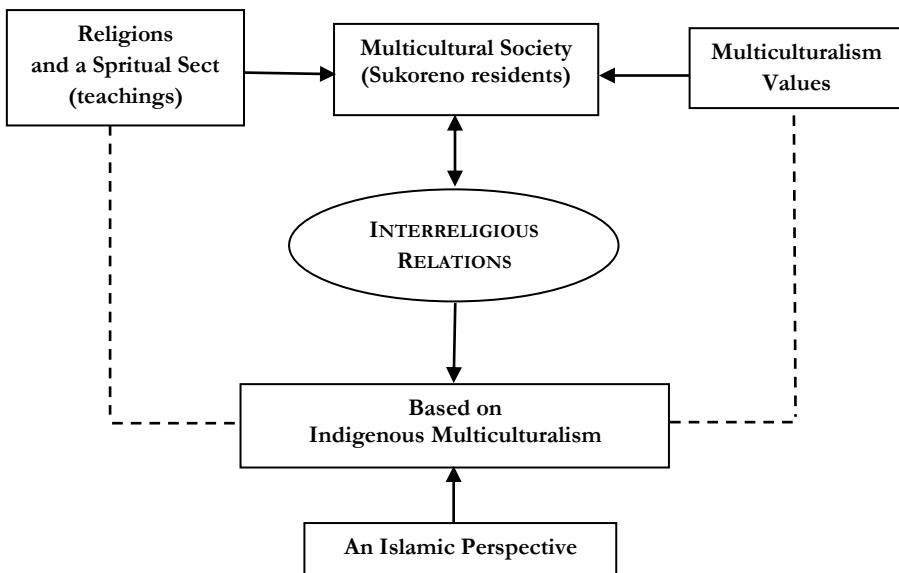
With the spirit of creating harmony, peace and social cohesion, the Sukoreno's indigenous multiculturalism becomes a strategy to strengthen social integration where cultural diversity is truly recognized and respected. The indigenous multiculturalism has played a solutive role because it eliminates assumptions about the dominant groups and subordinate groups in every social relationship; every group has the same opportunity to express themselves and create social cohesion together. All religious groups are free to express their cultural preferences. In this way, they make indigenous multiculturalism practices part of the political process of recognition—one of the main spirits in the multiculturalism discourse.⁸²

In the perspective of multiculturalism, this politics of recognition is carried out based on knowledge and understanding of other cultures without making one's own culture a sole benchmark for truth of other cultures. That is why multiculturalism is often referred to as an ideology that seeks to affirm equality amidst differences.⁸³ This is related to the fundamental spirit inherent in multiculturalism, namely the willingness to accept the others (individuals or groups) that transcends all cultural diversity.

The dynamics of indigenous multiculturalism in Sukoreno have been moving between the following issues, namely multicultural society, religions and beliefs, multicultural values, interreligious relations, and forms of interreligious relations based on indigenous multiculturalism. See the following chart:

⁸² Vicki A. Spencer, "Introduction to Dialogue: Revisiting the Politics of Recognition", *Journal of Politics, Groups, and Identities*, Vol. 8, Issue 5 (2020): 1043-1046, DOI: [10.1080/21565503.2020.1800495](https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2020.1800495)

⁸³ Parsudi Suparlan, "Multikulturalisme sebagai Modal Dasar bagi Aktualisasi Kesejahteraan Rakyat Indonesia", *Paper*, Sarasehan Nasional: Menghidupkan dan Memantapkan Multikulturalisme sebagai Modal untuk Mewujudkan Kesejahteraan Rakyat di Indonesia, Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Kesejahteraan Rakyat and UIN Syahid Jakarta, September 8, 2004.



As a multicultural society, the people of Sukoreno tend to build self-existential modes from elements of their own culture while at the same time strengthening all social relations within them with the multiculturalism spirit. One of the most important elements of their culture is religion. Religion is even the most familiar face of their culture. This confirms the common thesis that whenever religion is present in a particular cultural situation, it always experiences a necessary dialectical relationship with all the surrounding reality, and vice versa.⁸⁴ As a consequence it is really difficult to distinguish clearly between culture and religion. The two entities actually underlie one another. The community's religious system is an inseparable part of their overall cultural system. Likewise, all the systems, patterns and cultural ethos that apply there also influence the configuration of their religiosity, both in symbols, meanings, styles and patterns.

Religion appears as the most important element that forms the fundamental character of the Sukoreno residents' culture.

⁸⁴ Mario I. Aguilar, "Religion as Culture or Culture as Religion? The *Status Quaestionis* of Ritual and Performance", *Culture and Religion – An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 1, Issue 2 (2000): 233-245, DOI: [10.1080/01438300008567153](https://doi.org/10.1080/01438300008567153)

Religious teachings are a source of enriching productive and cohesive interreligious relations. Religious diversity does not stop as a mere fact, but also becomes a unifying energy and the main reason for forming social cohesion in Sukoreno.

The productive relationship between religion (also spiritual sect) and the value of multiculturalism in Sukoreno has formed what is called multicultural religiosities.⁸⁵ The multicultural religiosities model has paradigmatically formed the basic character of and is reflected in interreligious relations. The interreligious relations have emerged a form or model of interreligious relationship based on indigenous multiculturalism that is typical of Sukoreno. The flow of this conclusion as a whole moves from below, precisely starting from the facts about interreligious relations towards the process of typification and then continuing to reveal the distinctive form of Sukoreno's indigenous multiculturalism—and not the way around moving from above, a theorizing of multiculturalism.

Interreligious relations based on indigenous multiculturalism in Sukoreno emphasize a relationship in which each religious community maintains its own religious character while living peaceful coexistence. In this way, the coexistence does not necessarily eradicate diversity. It was also not born from an effort to melt various religious differences as in the multiculturalism model in urban areas. The ongoing coexistence actually provides an arena where various religious differences interact with each other so that it has productive value for equality between religious communities. All existing religious identities dialogue, interact, and exchange positions with each other. In that context, interreligious relations in Sukoreno become an arena for fair and equal contestation where opportunities for peace are possible to be realized, a process of cultural hybridization.

Viewed from an Islamic perspective, interreligious relations based on indigenous multiculturalism in Sukoreno are in line with

⁸⁵ Chang-Yau Hoon, "Putting Religion into Multiculturalism: Conceptualizing Religious Multiculturalism in Indonesia", *Journal of Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 41, Issue 3 (2017): 476-493, DOI: [10.1080/10357823.2017.1334761](https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2017.1334761)

the ethical spirit of Islam in terms of how Muslims should build relationships with people of other religions. This ethical spirit is visible in the dynamics of relations between religious believers and their views, which generally confirm the main ideas of Islamic teachings, such as *al-musāwah* (equality), *al-hurriyah* (liberty), and *al-'adālah* (justice).

The three ideas are the basis of all Islamic socio-ethical teachings⁸⁶ and their realization is a manifestation of the vertical relationship between humans and Allah SWT, as well as horizontal relations with nature and humans. Equality of all religions before the law, for example, is a necessary demand for affirming the value of egalitarianism (*al-musāwah*) in Islam.⁸⁷ The ethical principle of freedom (*al-hurriyah*) guarantees that every individual is free to choose and practice religion and has the right to be recognized in society; Religion is a basic human right so there is no reason to limit every individual in expressing their religious beliefs in public and private spaces.⁸⁸ The principle of justice (*al-'adālah*) is in line with the obligation to treat every religious follower fairly.⁸⁹ This not only implies recognition of the right of other religious groups to exist, but also necessitates a willingness to treat other groups fairly in terms of peace and mutual respect.⁹⁰

Muslims in Sukoreno theologically view religious diversity as one thing inevitability so that making good relations with various religious communities is a must. This view is in line with Islamic teaching reflected in the mention of the word *ummah*, which is repeated 52 times in al-Qur'ān.⁹¹ The word has nine meanings: group, long time, former generation, Muslims, religion (*tawhīd*),

⁸⁶ This description was inspired by Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Freedom, Equality, and Justice in Islam* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 2002), pp. 1-50, 78-92, 103-115; and Jamāl al-Bannā, *Al-Ta'adudiyyah fī al-Mujtama' al-Islāmī* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), pp. 11-30.

⁸⁷ See, for example, Qs. al-Isrā' (17): 70; Qs. al-An'ām (6): 165.

⁸⁸ Qs. al-Baqarah (2): 256; Qs. al-Kahf (18): 29.

⁸⁹ Qs. al-Hadīd (57): 25; Qs. al-Nisā' (4): 40; and Qs. al-Hujurāt (49): 9.

⁹⁰ Qs. al-Mumtahana (60): 8.

⁹¹ See Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li Alfażḥ al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Qāhirah: Dār al-Hadīth, 2001), pp. 98-99.

people, leaders, *kāfir* people, and humans.⁹² There is also nine *ummahs* which is compared with the word *wāhidah* as characteristic of the *ummah* in al-Qur'ān.⁹³ It emphasizes the nature of the "one" *ummah*. Al-Qur'ān never uses term "*waḥdat al-ummah*" or *tawḥid al-ummah* so that the most important thing is unity, not unification.⁹⁴

With such meaning, Islam recognizes diversity in unity. This is the relevance of why Allah did not create "One *Ummah*" even though He was able to do so because he wanted to test humans for all of His gifts.⁹⁵ He deliberately created humans in diversity, including religion, though He was capable for making them one in belief, making them all Muslims.⁹⁶ He intended to emphasize freedom in choosing a religion, including freedom in interpreting and understanding religion. He rejected the uniformity of beliefs because belief does not need to be forced, especially by violent means.⁹⁷

Overall, these verses confirm the attitude of Allah who always embrace diversity. He guarantees the same salvation and glorification of all religions. He gives every religious follower a reward and a guarantee of safety in the afterlife as long as they believe in Him, believe in the coming of the last day, and do good deeds (*ṣāliḥ*).⁹⁸ This clearly indicates that Islam is in line with the basic value of multiculturalism, namely the recognition of cultural diversity, including diversity of religions.⁹⁹ Religious diversity should actually be used as a motivation to compete with each

⁹² Al-Qur'ān choose it to reveal the meaning of "assemblage of followers of the Prophet Muhammad (Muslims)" as signal that *ummah* can accommodate all difference between groups throughout still in the same direction, namely belief in God Allah. See M. Quraish Shihab, *Wawasan Al-Quran: Tafsir Maṇḍhu'i atas Pelbagai Persoalan Umat* (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), p. 327.

⁹³ Al-Bāqī, *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufabras...*, p. 836.

⁹⁴ Shihab, *Wawasan al-Qur'ān...*, p. 335.

⁹⁵ Qs. al-Mā'idah (5): 48.

⁹⁶ Qs. Hūd (11): 118; Qs. al-Nahl (16): 93; Qs. Yūnus (10): 99.

⁹⁷ Qs. al-Baqarah (2): 256.

⁹⁸ Qs. al-Baqarah (2): 62. Allah also emphasized it in the other verse, namely Qs. al-Mā'idah (5): 69 dan Qs. al-Hajj (22): 17.

⁹⁹ Qs. Ali 'Imrān (3): 64.

other to do good deeds, not as an excuse to fight each other.¹⁰⁰ In this context, Muslims in Sukoreno make a productive contribution to the social coexistence of religious communities in the village.

Islam encourages Muslims to build bridges of understanding and productive dialogical cooperation with other religious people. This is an imperative consequence of the Islamic idea itself that “humans are one *ummah*”.¹⁰¹ This idea is universal and embracing all humans under one divine authority regardless of their religious choice. From an Islamic perspective, this can be used as a theological basis for multiculturalism, which demands recognition of equal rights between religious believers. This recognition is manifested in five forms of interreligious relations—as revealed above—which strengthen social cohesion in Sukoreno, namely (1) tolerance, (2) mutuality, (3) togetherness, (4) dialogue habituation, and (5) celebration of diversity.

Regarding tolerance, for example, Muslims in Sukoreno—as represented by their figures—emphasize it as the main requirement to pave the way for the creation of a mutually productive life between believers. They appreciate tolerance as a theological awareness that considers people of other religions not as enemies, but instead as true friends.¹⁰² Through strengthening tolerance, they learn to understand that non-Muslims do not always act antagonistically;¹⁰³ they learn to admit that among non-Muslims there are also those who believe, wake up at night, prostrate and read *al-Kitāb*, believe in the last day, call for good and forbid evil, and also compete in virtue. Therefore, in Allah's

¹⁰⁰ Qs. al-Mā'idah (5): 48. This verse also emphasizes that only Allah has the authority to judge these various differences and He will explain later all things that are disputed between believers.

¹⁰¹ Qs. al-Baqarah (2): 213.

¹⁰² As an antonym of intolerance, tolerance is very important in strengthening interreligious relations, see Amir Hussain, “Muslims, Pluralism, and Interfaith Dialogue”, in *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism*, ed. Omid Safi (Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 2005), 251-269; In the early days of the Hijrah in Medina, the Prophet set many examples of tolerance between religious believers as continued by *al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*. See Ibn Sa'ad, *Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Vol. I (Beirut: Dār Ṣadīr, 1960), p. 358.

¹⁰³ Qs. al-Baqarah (2): 120.

view, they are *ṣāliḥ* people, and all the good they do will not be wasted.¹⁰⁴

The description above leads to an understanding that Islam treats multiculturalism more as a system of values that interprets the reality of religious diversity in a positive and optimistic way by welcoming it as an *ilāhiyah* necessity while continuing to do the virtues based on that reality. Sukoreno's Muslims believe that religious plurality does not need to be uniformed. They believe optimistically that religious diversity is a potential capital for them to mutually create common good by increasing harmony between believers into cooperation between believers.

Overall, the five forms of interreligious relations that strengthen social cohesion in Sukoreno, apart from having a normative textual basis, are also confirmed in the historical praxis of the Muhammad's Prophethood. For example, mutuality in the context of mutual help between believers and interfaith cooperation. In Islamic history, interreligious cooperation has a number of historical precedents, including the fact that in the 5th year of Muhammad's prophethood, a group of Muslims—at the suggestion of the Prophet—immigrated to Abessinia to seek asylum and protection from persecution by the *Kuffār* Quraysh in Mecca. The Christian King of Abessinia protected them from persecution and also from the danger of apostasy. The early Muslims also agreed on a number of political agreements and defense treaties with non-Muslims, especially in the early era of life in Medina post-Hijrah.¹⁰⁵

Before his prophethood, the Prophet Muhammad had already established interactive relationships with followers of other religions.¹⁰⁶ The interaction that started from his youth until the end of his life was not only in the realm of socio-cultural interactions,¹⁰⁷ but also in political and socio-religious aspects, especially when the Prophet emigrated to Medina. The Medina

¹⁰⁴ Qs. Ali 'Imrān (3): 110, 113-115.

¹⁰⁵ See 'Abd al-Mālik ibn Hishām, *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah*, Vol. II (Beirut: Dār Ihyā' wa al-Turāth al-'Arabi, 1997), p. 146.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 141.

¹⁰⁷ For example, in his habit of choosing a hair model or style. See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, Vol. IV (Cairo: Dār al-Hadīth, 1992), p. 20.

Charter (*Mithāq al-Madīnah*) was a historical confirmation of the interactive relations and cross-religious cooperation between Muslims and people of other religions, i.e. Jews and Christians, in the context of social-political-state life in Medina.¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, a number of hadiths which textually contradict the spirit of peace and harmony between believers need to be reinterpreted through a regressive-progressive procedure;¹⁰⁹ a regressive procedure examines the social context in which a hadith emerged, and a progressive procedure looks at its meaning in the current social context; a hermeneutic procedure that applies a textual and contextual analysis to the text as well as the context.¹¹⁰ This is logical because the factual conditions today are very different from the factual conditions in the formative era of Islam in Medina after the Hijrah.

Based on these arguments and historical facts, it is clear that cooperation with non-Muslims is permissible, especially if it is carried out in the context of achieving mutual social benefits between religious communities. In certain contexts, this is even highly recommended, for example interreligious cooperation to jointly address humanitarian problems in order to create a better, fairer and more humane way of life for all people.

In general, from an Islamic perspective, the conceptual understanding of religious communities in Sukoreno is very productive for the coexistence of multicultural life, especially their interpretation of (1) religious differences, (2) religious tolerance and (3) interreligious harmony. All their interpretations and views strengthen the practices of interreligious relations based on the multiculturalism values of Sukoreno, an indigenous multiculturalism based on local wisdom.

¹⁰⁸ Farīd ‘Abd al-Khāliq, *Fi al-Fiqh al-Islāmī: Mabādi’ Dustūriyyat* (Egypt: Dār al-Shurūq, 1968), pp. 154-156.

¹⁰⁹ Scheme regressive-progressive hermeneutics relies on the spirit of Mohammed Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers*, trans. Robert D. Lee (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 6-8.

¹¹⁰ This textual-contextual analysis model refers to Louay Safi, *The Foundation of Knowledge: A Comparative Study in Islamic and Western Methods of Inquiry* (Washington: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2014), pp. 193-196.

The spirit of Islamic ethics is indeed the main preference of the public in Sukoreno. This makes sense because Islam is the religion adhered to by the majority of the population. Islamic teachings and cultural constructions are in turn difficult to distinguish. These two entities complement each other and then become the prototype of Sukoreno's unique multicultural culture.

The contribution of Islamic teachings to interreligious relations based on indigenous multiculturalism is certainly inevitable. Its significance is very productive so that in general it can be said that Muslims in Sukoreno are practicing interreligious relations which are in line with the ethical spirit of Islam or the practice of interreligious relations in Sukoreno relies primarily on the values of indigenous multiculturalism which are strongly colored by the spirit of Islam.

Conclusion

The interreligious relations in Sukoreno manifest in five forms, namely tolerance, mutual cooperation, institutionalization of mutual values, dialogue mechanisms, and various traditions of celebrating differences. The five forms have formed a relationship that allows all differences, especially religious differences, to become productive energy for the social cohesion. The relationship reflects an ethical spirit of multiculturalism that has strong local nuances.

The Sukoreno community is rural people who are building multiculturalism practices with local tendencies. These practices emphasize a relationship in which each religious community maintains its own religious character while preserving peaceful coexistence. There is no attempt to melt all differences into a new culture. The religion is not completely treated as a private affair, but is also made into a public affair. Commitment to their respective religions is directly proportional to their enthusiasm for helping each other in the worship activities. Overall, the facts have formed an indigenous multiculturalism which is the basic character of interreligious relations.

The findings can enrich the multiculturalism discourse because the discourse born from the social history of the West is very different from Indonesia. Therefore, a contextualization

process is needed at the local context. Without contextualization, multiculturalism will lose social relevance, considering that not all of its concepts are automatically compatible with the social situations, including in Sukoreno.

The findings can also be used as a starting point for the development of multiculturalism discourse from an Islamic perspective. This is possible considering that the majority of Sukoreno residents or Indonesian people are Muslims. Islamic teachings can make an ethical contribution to enrich the discourse. The next researches can fill this research gap.

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Disclosure statements

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.