# Exploring The Representation of Friendly Islam in Muslim-Non-Muslim Relations in Banyuwangi

**Moh. Syaeful Bahar**
Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Islamic State University of Sunan Ampel, Surabaya
kakbahar@uinsa.ac.id

**Ahmad Khubby Ali**
Department of Constitutional Law, Faculty of Syari'ah and Law, Islamic State University of Sunan Ampel, Surabaya
Khubby79@gmail.com

**Dodik Harnadi**
Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Jember
dodik@unej.ac.id

**Abstract**
One of the causes of harmonious relations between religious communities is often associated with the role of Islamic practices among Muslims in Indonesia. As adhered to by Indonesian Muslims, Islam is believed to represent a friendly understanding of Islam. Several studies on Islam in Indonesia consistently emphasize this Islamic practice with various related terminology. However, how Muslims who are directly involved in harmonious relations with non-Muslims view friendly Islamic practices has not been widely explored. This research aims to fill this empirical gap by investigating how Nahdliyyin Muslims in Bulurejo, Purwoharjo Banyuwangi, define their Islamic practices. In this region, Muslims live side by side in harmony with Hindu and Christian communities. In addition, this research also reveals how Muslims take action, using Giddens' perspective, in presenting this friendly form of Islam. By using qualitative-interpretive methods, this research found that Muslims in Banyuwangi define friendly Islam through various aspects of their practices, such as pro-existence, respect for diversity, and more. Meanwhile, as agents, Muslims in Banyuwangi consciously present friendly Islam based on arguments and motivations conveyed discursively.
**Keywords**: *Friendly Islam; Harmony; Agent; Pro-existence; Discursive.*

**Abstrak**
Salah satu penyebab harmonisnya hubungan antar umat beragama sering dikaitkan dengan peran praktik Islam di kalangan umat Islam di Indonesia. Seperti yang dianut oleh umat Islam Indonesia, Islam diyakini mewakili pemahaman Islam yang ramah. Beberapa penelitian tentang Islam di tanah air secara konsisten menekankan praktik Islam ini dengan berbagai terminologi terkait. Namun demikian, bagaimana umat Islam yang terlibat langsung dalam hubungan harmonis dengan non-Muslim memandang praktik Islam ramah belum banyak dieksplorasi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengisi kesenjangan empiris tersebut dengan menyelidiki bagaimana umat Islam Nahdliyyin di Bulurejo, Purwoharjo Banyuwangi, mendefinisikan praktik Islam mereka. Di wilayah ini, umat Islam hidup berdampingan secara harmonis dengan komunitas Hindu dan Kristen. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga mengungkap bagaimana umat Islam mengambil tindakan, menggunakan perspektif Giddens, dalam menampilkan bentuk Islam yang ramah ini. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif-interpretatif, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa umat Islam di Banyuwangi mendefinisikan Islam ramah melalui berbagai aspek praktik mereka, seperti pro-eksistensi,

menghormati keberagaman, dan banyak lagi. Sedangkan sebagai agen, umat Islam di Banyuwangi secara sadar menghadirkan Islam ramah berdasarkan argumentasi dan motivasi yang disampaikan secara diskursif.

**Kata kunci**: *Islam Ramah; Kerukunan; Agen; Pro-eksistensi; Diskursif*

## INTRODUCTION

The status as a majority of Indonesian Muslims has generated great attention from scholars to examine their Islamicness, especially with the fact of Indonesia's multiculturalism.[1] As the majority, Indonesian Muslims are in the spotlight because every dynamic of inter-religious relations is always linked to the dynamics of Islam as expressed by its adherents. It can be said that being the majority, Indonesian Muslims have a greater responsibility to maintain harmony amid diversity.[2]

This research examines how the Muslim community's religious model in Banyuwangi sustains harmonious religious relations with several adherents of other religions. This research is important because several studies on religious relations in Indonesia have so far prioritized the position of Muslims as the majority.[3] For example, Mala et al. highlight the dynamics of relations between Muslims as a majority and minority groups.[4]

The research was conducted by Inayatillah in 2021. Inayatillah observed the harmony between the Muslim majority and minority groups in Aceh, especially amid the implementation of Shari'ah law in the region.[5] Meanwhile, how they represent friendly Islam in the context of interfaith relations has not been done much.

Some religious dynamics that have always featured various episodes of harmony to conflict and violence clearly cannot be separated from how religious teachings are understood and represented in daily practice. For example, the violent conflict between the ethnic Dayak majority and the Madurese minority in Sampit, Central Kalimantan, is one example. Although the conflict that occurred in 2001 was not religious, the religious background was dragged in so that what was

---

[1] Muhaemin Latif & Erwin Hafid, "Multicultural Attitudes in an Islamic Boarding School of South Sulawesi – Indonesia", Cogent Education,8:1 (2021), DOI: 10.1080/2331186X.2021.1968736

[2] Frans M. Suseno, "Christian and Muslim Minorities in Indonesia: State Policies and Majority Islamic Organization, 73-88, in Mirjam Kunkler & Alfred Stepan, Democracy and Islam in Indonesia (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

[3] Robert W. Hefner & Zainal Abidin Bagir, Indonesian Pluralities: Islam, Citizenship, and Democracy (Contending Modernities) (University of Notre Dame Press, 2021); Vedi R. Hadiz, Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[44] Fiki Khoirul Mala, M Supardin & M Wahid, "The Government's Role in the Implementation of Religious Tolerance Practices in Southeast Asia" *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities, 7* (1-2022), 96-110. doi:https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v7i1.6739

[5] Inayatillah, "Social-Harmony within Aceh Society: An Analysis towards Religious Tolerance of Muslim and Non-Muslim Communities in Banda Aceh" *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities, 6* (2-2021), 225-242. doi:https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v6i2.6405

built then was a religiously wrapped sentiment between the Dayak majority and the Madurese Muslim minority.

A similar conflict also occurred in Ambon Maluku in January 1999. This conflict was actually not related to religious differences at all. Starting from an argument involving a Muslim bus passenger and a Christian bus driver, the conflict that was initially personal escalated into a communal conflict in the name of Islam and Christianity. The conflict broke out on a large scale and was recorded as one of the darkest episodes in interfaith relations in Indonesia[6] because one of them was born out of their respective religious sentiments.

However, harmonious relations will be formed when Muslims succeed in representing good religious attitudes, supported by several other factors. It can be seen, for example, in the relationship between the Muslim community in Bulurejo Village, Purwoharjo Subdistrict, Banyuwangi, East Java. The Muslim community lives in harmony with followers of four other religions, namely Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

In the village, the Muslim community constitutes the majority and is the largest group in terms of quantity. According to the village archives (2015-2019), the number of Muslims is 2538 men and 2374 women. The next largest number of religious adherents are Christians, with 411 men and 519 women. Next, Catholics are 403 men and 386 women. Then, Hindus, 862 men and 811 women. And finally, Buddhists consist of 1 woman.[7]

Research on harmony in this village has not received much attention. One of the studies that specifically highlights religious relations in the village is the research conducted.[8] However, this research only describes the harmonious relationship between all religious adherents but has not touched on how the representation of Islamic attitudes is displayed specifically by the Muslim community there. After all, it is difficult to imagine that harmony will be formed when Muslims, as the majority, display religious attitudes that do not respect other entities that are smaller in quantity than them.

Borrowing Gus Dur's words, the Islam developed by the Muslim community in the village is based on Friendly Islam, not angry Islam, as it plagues some urban Muslims who experience a

---

[6] Greg Berton, Muslim Democrat Indonesian President (Sydney: UNSW Press Book, 2002) 259

[7] Harjianto, Intan Daurotus M & Bayu Indra Permana "Kehidupan Masyarakat Multi Agama Desa Bulurejo Purwoharjo Banyuwangi dalam Membangun Kerukunan Hidup Antar Umat Beragama." *Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Batanghari Jambi*, vol. 20, no. 1, 5 Feb (2020), pp. 168-173, doi:10.33087/jiubj.v20i1.785.

[8] Harjianto, Intan Daurotus M & Bayu Indra Permana "Kehidupan Masyarakat Multi Agama…"

new enthusiasm for religion.[9] The enthusiasm that is often displayed in the form of religion is full of anger and hatred for other groups that they consider to be on the wrong path.

The Islam developed by Indonesian Muslims is a friendly Islam, an Islam that has undergone a process of indigenization so that it is able to blend in with the social and cultural situation of the archipelago. However, this friendliness has been distracted by new Islamic movements that have emerged in urban areas. This situation then gave birth to the spotlight of Indonesian Islamic scholars who saw the shift, as conveyed by Martin Van Bruinessen in his research entitled *What happened to the smiling face of Indonesian Islam? Muslim intellectualism and the conservative turn in post-Suharto Indonesia.*[10]

The representation of friendly Islam in Banyuwangi is one of the reasons for the harmony between the Muslim majority and other religious minorities. For this reason, Muslim communities that have successfully represented the friendly face of Islam need attention. It is because, although Islam boils down to one teaching, the practice of its representation varies from one Muslim community to another.

In Banyuwangi, this representation of friendly Islam is presented through the way of religion expressed by Muslim communities who are mostly affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama. The actualization of Friendly Islam does not only rely on the formal narratives of NU institutionally. In this case, NU administrators at various levels often voice this opinion.

Beyond that, the actualization of Friendly Islam must also pay attention to how some individuals, regardless of their affiliation with NU, also consciously display friendly Islamic behavior based on their Islamic understanding. They are, to borrow sociologist Giddens' term,[11] agents, with their background of religious understanding, have succeeded in becoming the mouthpiece of friendly Islam.

Based on the description above, this research has its urgency based on the following points. First, not many studies on religious relations in Indonesia have focused on how Muslim communities developed the representation of friendly Islam. In fact, this is important to highlight because of the position of Muslims in Indonesia, which in quantity is the majority. As the majority,

---

[9] Djohan Effendi, "Kehidupan Umat Beragama dalam Cita-cita Gus Dur", in Irwan Suhanda (ed.), Gus Dur Santri Par Excellence: Teladan Sang Guru Bangsa (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010)

[10] Martin van Bruinessen, What Happened to the Smiling Face of Indonesian Islam? Muslim Intellectualism and the Conservative Turn in Post-Suharto Indonesia (RSIS Working Paper, No. 222), (Singapore: Nanyang Technological University, 2011)

[11] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986)

the way of religion displayed by them determines how other entities outside Islam can accept their presence.

Second, as individuals, Muslims display their religious style not only because they are 'forced' by the religious doctrines they receive. They are actors who consciously dialogue with religious doctrines, which, with their understanding, give birth to a friendly practice of Islam. Therefore, most Muslims in Banyuwangi must be seen as empowered agents in displaying their friendly and peaceful religious model.

This research is expected to reveal the potential role of the Muslim majority, especially some groups that act as agents, in creating harmonious interfaith relations. In this case, the agents, represented by elements of Nadhlatul Ulama, not only voice but also express a friendly Islamic model. In this way, the harmonious relations that operate in Banyuwangi, where these agents play an important role, need to be replicated in interfaith relations in various places in Indonesia.

Based on the description above, two main research questions were formulated for this study. These two research questions are designed as a focus that directs the entire research process so that it becomes measurable and directed. The two research questions in question are: First, how was the meaning of Islam developed by the Muslim community in Bulurejo Banyuwangi Village? Second, how is the agency of the NU community in presenting the face of friendly Islam?

## METHODOLOGY

The type of research chosen is qualitative research. This research was chosen because the data was qualitative and collected in the field research process. In this field, qualitative research targets a small group of subjects who are trusted as informants and can provide rich information about the data needed. Technically, researchers are present to make observations and interact and communicate in the form of informal interviews to obtain information.[12]

The interpretive approach was chosen in this study to reveal how individuals from the Muslim segment in Banyuwangi give meaning to the color of Islam that they develop and how they interpret the presence of communities outside them. By using an interpretive approach, this research seeks to understand (verstehen) the daily life experiences of the Banyuwangi Muslim community in developing a friendly face of Islam and in interacting with other communities.

The type of interpretive research used is phenomenology. This approach is used because this research aims to uncover and understand the unique experiences of each informant from the

---

[12] Lawrence Neuman, Social Research Methods (Edinburgh: Pearson, 2013).

Muslim community in Banyuwangi. By using phenomenology, this research is expected to understand the meaning structure of each informant's experience deeply.[13]

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Friendly Islam; Articulation of Islamic Archipelago

Kiai Haji Abdurrahman Wahid, or Gus Dur, is considered the most credited figure in introducing Islam Ramah. Conceptually, the idea of Friendly Islam has never been directly expressed by Gus Dur in the works of books that record his intellectual traces. However, on several occasions, Gus Dur is said to have often expressed the idea and even the concept of friendly Islam. As stated by Gus Dur's daughter, Alisa Wahid, during one of the interview opportunities, the phrase "We need friendly Islam, not angry Islam" is a quote that came from Gus Dur.

Gus Dur's idea of friendly Islam is explained as one of the ideals of diversity that became Gus Dur's idealism. In this vision, everyone's beliefs are built and maintained against the teachings of their religion, but at the same time, each does not fall into the practice of blaming what is the belief of the other party.[14]

Friendly Islam can also be understood in the terms used by Martin van Bruinessen to describe the face of Indonesian Islam, the smiling face of Indonesian Islam. Bruinessen[15] identifies a portrait of the smile of Indonesian Islam in several trends. For example, Indonesian Islam displays a tendency to build harmonious relations with all other entities and reject the idea of an Islamic State that has the potential to hurt the sense of justice for non-Muslim minorities and what is referred to as cultural Islam.

In his research, Bruinessen discussed Gus Dur's Islamic ideas in detail. In his view, Gus Dur represents a religious style that upholds the values of respect for culture. With its accommodation to the locality, Indonesian Islam is no less authentic than Islam developed in the Middle East. It adapts to local characteristics that underlie Gus Dur's idea of Islamic personalization.[16] Indigenization is a discourse that records the idea of Friendly Islam championed by Gus Dur. Gus Dur developed Indigenized Islam as a counter-narrative to Islamization used by

---

[13] Phyllis Knaack, "Phenomenological Research" *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, *6*(1-1984), 107–114. https://doi.org/10.1177/019394598400600108

[14] Djohan Effendi, Kehidupan Umat Beragama dalam Cita-cita GusDur…, 129

[15] Martin van Bruinessen, "What Happened to the Smiling Face of Indonesian Islam? Muslim Intellectualism and the Conservative Turn in Post-Suharto Indonesia", RSIS Working Paper, No. 222. S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (2011)

[16] Abdurrahmad Wahid, Pribumisasi Islam, 81-96  dalam M  Azhari, M Saleh & MD Raharjo *(editors)*, Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan (Jakarta: P3M, 1989).

some other Muslims. Gus Dur saw that indigenization was more appropriate to develop than Islamization, which stopped at the Arabization stage. For Gus Dur, Arabization is not necessarily in line with needs. In his notes, Gus Dur[17] gave the rhetorical title Arabization, Is it the Same as Islamization? as a form of his criticism of the misunderstanding of Arabization as a form of Islamization. According to Gus Dur, the strengthening of the formalization of Islam in the form of Arabic symbols shows the lack of self-confidence of some people to survive in competition with global values. Worse, said Gus Dur, this self-confidence does not stop at using Arabic symbols.

Some arrogantly consider the interpretive traditions that developed in the Islamic world, which were born from the dialectic of Islam with the reality of society in each era, as something that should be abandoned by inviting everyone to refer directly to the basic sources of religion, namely the Al-Quran and Hadith. In the end, their understanding of this basic text then gave birth to a harsh and puritanical style of thought.[18]

Arabization is different from indigenization, which can be explained as a necessity. indigenization is the face of contextual Islam,[19] where Islam is harmonized with local treasures and avoids contradicting them. The two are different, and Gus Dur did not try to place local culture and Islamic teachings in the same space. However, Gus Dur's indigenization operates by dialoguing Islamic teachings with the contextual realities of Indonesian society. Gus Dur was quite careful in explaining indigenization to prevent potential misperceptions that proved to arise later from some people who misunderstood his ideas as a form of Javanization or syncretism.[20] Indigenization differs from Javanization and syncretism in the urgency of translating Islamic teachings into the necessary local dynamics. For example, the Quran should not change. It should remain in its original Arabic language. However, translating the Quran into local languages needs to be done to fulfill the desires that develop in the community.

Gus Dur's indigenization is a crystallization of religious practices that have been exemplified by Islamic propagators such as the Walisongo, who succeeded in reconciling religious teachings even with local traditions before Islam. This religious model has made Islam in Indonesia smile more, manifesting itself in a portrait of harmonious relations with various entities outside Islam.

---

[17] Abdurrahman Wahid, Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita (Jakarta; The Wahid Institute, 2006) 143
[18] Abdurrahman Wahid, Islamku, Islam Anda…
[19] Ainul Fitriah, "Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid Tentang Pribumisasi Islam" Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran IslamVolume 3 Nomor 1 Juni (2013). DOI : 10.15642/teosofi.2013.3.1.39-59
[20] Abdurrahmad Wahid, *Pribumisasi Islam…*

Gratitude for the ideas he developed, Gus Dur was later also personified as an Indonesian Islamic figure who consistently voiced his defense of minorities, both non-Muslim minorities and minority Muslim groups labeled heterodox.[21] All of Gus Dur's work was based on his understanding of Islamic morality, which upholds the noble values of humanity.

For this reason, Gus Dur rejects the form of Islamic formalism that hides behind the guise of Islam as a system. Islam should not be understood as a system in the current world order. This view clearly creates a form of discrimination and denial of the importance of tolerance amid the plurality of different religious groups. The majority of Indonesian Muslims reject such a formalistic view. According to the Islamic expression displayed by Indonesian Muslims, Islam upholds tolerance. Islam is a protector.[22] Consequently, Islam must be present to bring peace to all humanity, including groups outside Islam. It is the essence of Islam as a mercy for the universe.

**Agency**

Agency theory is concerned with the attempt by some sociologists to break out of the pull between the superiority of the subject or consciousness over structure or vice versa.[23] However, the concept of agency is not only used in the field of sociology but also extends across a wide range of disciplines.[24] In sociology, agency theory is genealogically inseparable from the long debate among sociologists represented by Durkheim and Weber, especially regarding the determination of structure or subject. Durkheim stands on the position that the structure determines the behavior of individuals in the social structure. In contrast, Weber emphasizes the power of individuals who are free from the grip of structures. Individuals are the real subjects of social reality, instead of attributing it to specific patterns that determine the pace of individual movement.[25]

In its development, agency theory was born as a strategy to explain how individuals should be understood within the debate of structures and individual freedom within them. Individuals are agents in that they are inseparable from social structures but not completely confined within them. In another sense, agency is a process of social engagement produced by the habitual aspects of each person that take place in the past and is oriented towards the future so that with its capacity to consider various possible alternatives, it is also oriented towards the current reality.[26] Thus, as an

---

[21] Martin van Bruinessen, "What Happened to…"

[22] Abdurrahman Wahid, Islamku, Islam Anda…, 78

[23] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society, (Cambridge: Polity Press: 1986)

[24] Kathleen M. Eisenhardt, Agency Theory: An Assessment and Review, *The Academy of Management Review, 14(1), 57–74. https://doi.org/10.2307/25819*

[25] Max Weber, Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978)

[26] Mustafa Emirbayer & Ann Mische, "What Is Agency?" *American Journal of Sociology*, *103*(4-1998), 962–1023. https://doi.org/10.1086/231294

agent, one's actions are always the result of a continuum of processes that took place in the past, as well as an orientation towards the future to respond to current situations. Each person's agency lies precisely in their ability to combine features of the past and the future in responding to actual situations.

Giddens is seen as one of the people whose ideas about individual agency have gained popularity today. As agents, individuals act through three schemes: reflexive monitoring of action, rationalization of action, and motivation of action. Giddens further explains the agent's behavior scheme as follows.

Reflexive monitoring concerns the process by which individuals monitor their daily activities and expect others to do the same. They also monitor the social and physical aspects of the context they experience. Next, in the rationalization process, agents act by considering the viability of theoretical understanding of the social dynamics they experience, and finally, they act based on their own conscious motivations. However, this does not mean that they must discursively explain the reasons for their actions.[27] However, an expert agent can explain most of what it does.

Motive is one of the important concepts in Giddens' agency theory. According to him, motives are different from the reasons why someone acts. Motive relates to the desire that drives a person to act. Reason, on the other hand, is the basis for an action. Motives do not always force everyone to act because motives merely provide the potential for someone to act. It means that as an agent, a person can examine whether or not the motive to act needs to be followed up with an action. In fact, most everyday actions are not directly motivated.[28]

**Islam is a Friendly Religion**

The interpretation of religion influences people's religious expressions and attitudes. Those who display violent behavior in the name of religion are actually influenced by the meaning of religious teachings they understand. When Islam is understood as a religion that emphasizes antagonism towards other believers, then there are religious expressions that are also antagonistic. Conversely, when religious practice manifests itself in its protagonistic form, it is a manifestation of religious interpretations that are also understood protagonistically. Compassion, brotherhood, harmony, and so on are religious attitudes born from the interpretation of religion and its teachings that have a similar breath.

Seeing how religious harmony is established among the Bulurejo community, where the majority of the population is Muslim, it is certainly interesting to understand how Muslims interpret

---

[27] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society…
[28] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society…, 6

the teachings of Islam. Based on the data presented above, Muslims in Banyuwangi interpret the teachings of Islam in several aspects that support the establishment of harmonious relationships with non-Muslim residents. The interpretation done by Muslims in Bulurejo represents how they define friendly Islam.

Friendly Islam is not only interpreted verbatim by Bulurejo Muslims. But it is also manifested in behavior, one of which manifests itself in a tolerant attitude shown in relation to non-Muslim residents. Several dimensions can be seen from the meaning of friendly Islam of Bulurejo Muslims as manifested in their daily interaction practices.

First, friendly Islam is actualized in the attitude of building positive and constructive interactions with non-Muslim citizens. In various activities and daily interactions, the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims is not only co-existential but also pro-existential. In other words, there is a pro-existential dimension in the manifestation of friendly Islam regarding interfaith relations. In the words of Udo Middelmann, pro-existence means that "man should be for existence, not against it."[29] Pro-existence is a concept that is theologically closely related to Christianity. However, its spirit is in line with the teachings of Islam, which also strongly upholds the value of benefiting others.

In Islamic conception, dedicating oneself to benefiting others is one of the religion's core teachings. The word benefit or *maslahat* is why Allah commands Muslims to perform certain actions. Harm, on the other hand, is the reason behind every prohibition. The Prophet Muhammad also exemplified how Islam is ideally expressed in the practice of spreading benefits. In a famous expression, the Prophet said, "The best man is the man who is most beneficial to others." Likewise, in other expressions, the Prophet Muhammad often encouraged his people to spread benefits because, in that way, an attitude of reciprocity of kindness would be built. Because we spread benefits to others, others will also do the same.

This reciprocity is what underlies the implementation of the Pringsewu community forum in Bulurejo, where Muslims and non-Muslims help each other without questioning their religious identity. Even so, with bazaar activities and other events, where Muslims involve non-Muslims in every activity carried out during the month of Ramadan. Interestingly, activities that are conceptually designed for Muslims only are shifted also to be extended to non-Muslims as beneficiaries. It can be seen from the utilization of funds from the LAZISNU, which targets non-Muslims as one of its beneficiaries. It shows that the Bulurejo Muslim community is aware that

---

[29] Udo Middelmann, Pro Existence: The Place of Man in the Circle of Reality (Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2012)

without questioning their religious identity, they can still live in an atmosphere of mutual assistance in goodness.

Bulurejo village head Widarto, one of the local Muslim leaders, even argued that what Muslims did to non-Muslims in Bulurejo was a manifestation of religious teachings as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. They base the legitimization of their pro-existential actions on the story of the Prophet Muhammad, who was kind by helping a blind Jew who, in fact, often insulted him. This humanity binds the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in Bulurejo as above.

It is the basis of legitimacy that is in line with the religious expression of Muslims in Bulurejo, who display a pro-existential dimension in their religious attitudes when dealing with non-Muslims. In other words, it is the definition of Islam that spreads compassion as a religious prototype that gives meaning to anyone of different religions. Such expression is born from the interpretation of Islamic teachings by Bulurejo Muslims, who interpret Islam as a friendly religion with a protagonistic image towards non-Muslims. Through this kind of attitude, reciprocity is formed in the form of openness to help and assist each other on behalf of fellow human beings.

The second dimension, friendly Islam, as displayed by Bulurejo Muslims, also provides a sense of security for non-Muslims. Islam is a religion of peace, as the word Islam itself means. The peacefulness of Islam is not only felt by Muslims but also by non-Muslims who are brothers in national identity and humanity. Bulurejo Muslims realize this, so they can build a positive attitude by providing a sense of security and comfort for their social environment.

This sense of security is the basis for Muslims in Bulurejo to participate in maintaining a sense of security for non-Muslims, both Hindus and Christians, in exercising their religious rights. Christian worship in their church takes place safely and comfortably as Muslims are present to help maintain their security. Likewise, Hindus also feel safe and comfortable because Muslims also ensure the continuity of their worship comfortably.

All religious entities in Bulurejo village uphold a strong spirit of pluralism. Muslims also express it. Muslims realize that every religious community has the same aspiration to achieve happiness in this world and the hereafter. For this reason, Muslims are always proactive in helping to maintain security for non-Muslims because they also, as a consequence, get similar actions from non-Muslims. Because of this sense of security provided by Muslims, non-Muslims provide the same sense of security so that social peace is maintained.

When there is potential discomfort that can be felt by one of the other religious entities, non-Muslims, without arrogance, are willing to build dialog in their position as the majority. Various social interaction experiences have occurred so far, show how every potential that can disrupt a

sense of security and comfort is anticipated. For example, Muslims are willing to listen and adjust by trying to create a sense of comfort in Bulurejo's social environment when the issue of loudspeakers during the Ramadan *tadarus* is felt to disturb the comfort of non-Muslim neighbors. This initiative came from the Muslims themselves, who felt that the loudspeakers during Ramadan needed to be adjusted so that people close to the loudspeakers would not feel disturbed. This openness to correct each other in the name of security and comfort then also gave birth to the same attitude from non-Muslims. For example, when Hindus carry out *ogoh-ogoh* parade activities, the schedule is sought so as not to disturb the solemnity of the Isha prayer service among non-Muslims. That is the reason that then underlies the activity carried out after the call to Isha prayer.

Conceptually, this sense of security is an aspect that marks the main characteristic of perfection as a believer. It is in line with the Prophet Muhammad's hadith narrated by Abu Hurairah, "The perfect believer is the one who other people trust to provide security for their blood and property." According to al Mubarakfuri, this hadith describes a believer who is characterized as a person who is trusted to provide security for the lives and property of other humans.[30] This sense of security and comfort is born because of the strong trust of humans in general and the trustworthiness of a believer. This hadith is not only about intra-religious relations. But by using the word human, the meaning clearly goes beyond a particular religious identity; whoever and whatever their religion must get a sense of security from the presence of a believer. When the presence of a believer brings fear and insecurity to others, then, of course, this is a counter-indication of faith.

The interpretation of friendly Islam manifests the dimension of respect for diversity. Islam is a religion that naturally stands on the belief that Allah SWT created humans in full form. It is affirmed in Surah al Hujurat: 13.

The tolerant attitude and harmonious relations displayed by Muslims and non-Muslims in Bulurejo are partly based on this diversity awareness. Adjusting and trying to understand those who are different is the attitude that underlies the tolerant behavior of Muslims there. It is certainly a form of maturity that does not force the expression of self-identity and group identity excessively because it is aware that other identity groups need to be appreciated and respected.

Muslims in Bulurejo consider tolerance a must because they are aware of living amid heterogeneous social conditions. In fact, on a broader scale, they believe that Muslims living in

---

[30] Al Mubarakfuri, Tuhfatul Ahwadzi (Beirut: Darul Kutub, t.t) 317

Indonesia need a tolerant attitude because this nation consists of so many differences. Both differences are in the context of religious beliefs and cultural customs.

This attitude of respecting differences encourages each entity to behave and not only follow the urge to fulfill their personal rights, including their own religious rights. But at the same time, each entity must also measure the appropriateness of expressing certain behaviors without bumping into other entities. The attitude of *tapaslera* is important to build in situations of diversity because only in this way can a harmonious and peaceful situation be realized.

If associated with the word of Allah above, then respect for this diversity is a manifestation of the concept of ta'arafu. The concept certainly does not just stop at the stage of mutual knowing but also mutual recognition of each other's existence. Thus, knowing is not the ultimate goal but rather a stage to arrive at a more constructive aspect, namely respecting the rights of others, including those with different religions.

**Social Harmony; Culture Support**

The interpretation of religious teachings is certainly not born from a vacuum. There is always a historical basis that underlies each person's style of interpretation of any reality. This includes the interpretation of religious teachings. In this context, the meaning constructed by Muslims towards the teachings of Islam in Bulurejo must not be separated from the socio-cultural dimension that is the background of their growth and development.

From a social construction perspective, every meaning is always born from a stock of knowledge. Each person's stock of knowledge is born from their social situation and forming a socially relevant way of acting and behaving. In the illustrative expression of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, "For instance, I know that I am poor and that, therefore, I cannot expect to live in a fashionable suburb."[31]

Simply put, the way each person acts and behaves is determined by social experiences that form a stock of knowledge. It is this stock of knowledge that also influences how each person interprets reality. Because everyone's stock of knowledge is different, that's why almost everyone's attitudes, behaviors, and meaning processes are different.

Here, it can be understood why the same religious text gives birth to various interpretations. For example, in Islamic discourse, from the command to prayer in the Quran, there are various interpretations from Islamic thinkers, such as those between Imam Hanafi, Imam Maliki, Imam Syafii, and Imam Hanbali. Because the stock of knowledge is born from a particular social situation,

---

[31] Peter L Berger & Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (London: Penguin Books, 1991) 56

it is possible that in one person, there is a change in the stock of knowledge, which then also affects changes in attitudes and behavior displayed, including in the context of interpreting religious teachings.

In the person of Imam Syafii, there are two different Islamic opinions on the same religious issue. The first is the classical opinion (qaul qadim) and the second is the new opinion (qaul jadid). Imam Syafii's classical and new opinions emerged because the social experience of Imam Syafii was different in the two opinion settings. If classical opinion was born in the social setting of Baghdad society, then new opinion would be born in the social setting of Egyptian society,[32] with its own characteristics.

In the context of the development of tolerant and harmonious attitudes shown by the Muslim community in Bulurejo, the cultural aspects around them become the background of the daily world that forms the stock of knowledge, which further shapes the way they understand the teachings of Islam and respect for religious differences. In the context of the daily world of the Bulurejo community, building harmonious relationships, establishing brotherhood with different entities, and so on are understood as necessities and are of good value. Conversely, any counter-productive action is considered bad. Consequently, interfaith relations are built in their daily lives based on perceptions of goodness that have been held firmly from one generation to another.

Several cultural characteristics mark the Bulurejo community in the context of interfaith relations. First, the people of Bulurejo consist of a community that has not been separated on the basis of religious differences. It is characterized by the assimilative nature of the local settlement, meaning that both Muslims and non-Muslims live in the same neighborhood. They do not live in groups according to their religious identity.

Borrowing Goodin's language,[33] Bulurejo people experience crossed identities where the primary identity that is put forward is the identity on behalf of Bulurejo people, not on the basis of separation of religious identity. For this reason, they coexist in the same residential yard because they believe they still have the same bond of brotherhood, even though their religion differs.

There are many Hindus who are actually genealogically descended from their Muslim ancestors or vice versa. It is not uncommon to find a Muslim born to Hindu parents who continue to live in the same residence. This social reality clearly creates a way of interpreting each other's

---

[32] Lamin Annaji, Alqadim wal jadid fi fiqhis Syafi'iy (Riyadh: Dar Ibnul Qayyim, 2007)
[33] Robert E Goodin, "Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Social Conflict" British Journal of Political Science, 5(4-1975), 516-519. doi:10.1017/S000712340000836X

presence. Religious differences are seen as normal, and the perception of different presences is also far from the impression of hate sentiment.

Secondly, social assimilation, as marked in the first characteristic, apparently also continues in the symbol of the unification of the cemetery for people who died in Bulurejo village. If in some places, Muslim cemeteries are separate from Christian or Hindu cemeteries, then in Bulurejo, people's cemeteries are in the same area. This situation has been going on for generations, so no one has tried to change what has been going on for a long time.

Regardless of the intentions of their predecessors, this can be interpreted as a symbol of their unity despite having different identity backgrounds. Of course, there is a distinction that distinguishes one Christian grave from another Muslim grave, for example. But that is precisely where the uniqueness lies because, among the many Muslim graves, there are one or two signs of the cross that make some graves look strikingly different.

The next characteristic is related to several cultural events that serve as a meeting place for all different religious groups, which are still preserved to this day. Village cleaning activities are one of the cultural products that structurally influence the religious expression of the local community. Village cleaning activities are a symbolization of appreciation for the first gratitude to God Almighty. In some other places, this activity is synonymous with village celebrations. However, there is a specificity in that the village cleanup symbolizes appreciation for the services of the Bulurejo village builder known as Embah Tunggul Wulung. Interestingly, the grave of Tunggul Wulung seems to be a shared social space where all religious entities merge into one in a common identity. This grave becomes a common property and the people of Bulurejo often come to visit it to pray according to their respective beliefs.

Interestingly, this tomb is that of a Muslim who is believed to be the village builder. Although the grave of a Muslim, its location is right next to a Hindu temple. In fact, the caretaker of Mbah Tunggul Wulung's tomb is a Hindu who takes care of the tomb on a daily basis. Clearly, this is a form of cultural tolerance that should be appreciated.

In addition, there is support from the political structure in the form of village policies that also encourage the strengthening of religious tolerance. The village government routinely organizes inter-religious forums by presenting leaders from various religious elements. Kiai, the priests, and the leader (*pemangku*) sit together to discuss various matters related to strengthening harmonious and harmonious interfaith relations. The village head of Bulurejo, as a Muslim, wants to show how a friendly Islam can be an attraction to preach Islam. One of them is by giving equal rights to those

of different religions. This structural policy is certainly one of the support systems for strengthening inter-religious harmony.

Furthermore, religious educational institutions become spaces for cultural reproduction, one of which is related to respect for religious differences. The Qur'an teachers in the prayer room act as agents who continue to strive so that the values of tolerance and harmony preserved for a long time can be transmitted to future generations. Thus, young children grow up with noble values that uphold tolerance and brotherhood. Islam is then understood within such a framework so that the Islam that is presented is a friendly Islam that is far from hostile towards followers of other religions.

Likewise, the religious organization, which is the main reference for Bulurejo residents, namely Nahdlatul Ulama, also plays a role in transmitting the values of harmony and tolerance. Especially because NU institutionally continues to campaign for a religious model that is based on the principles of *tasamuh* (tolerant), *tawassut* (moderate), *tawazun* (proportional), and *istiqamah*. These religious attitudes cannot always be understood conceptually, but at a practical level, they are truly demonstrated by religious leaders and NU in the context of building interactions with other groups with different religious beliefs.

**NU Muslim Agency**

If we assume that Muslims in Banyuwangi act solely because of the socio-cultural structure in the context of maintaining harmony, then the reality is not like that. Muslims in Banyuwangi are agents who consciously act by stating that maintaining harmony is an obligation they must demonstrate. To explain how the agency of Bulurejo Muslims in spreading friendly Islam works, the analysis here utilizes Giddens' agency theory. Agency theory is appropriate to use in this research to proportionally place the role of individuals as agents without completely ignoring the role of structures such as cultural aspects and formal village government policy dimensions. Agency theory is built on efforts to find a way out of the impasse of claims of superiority of subjects or awareness of structures or vice versa.[34]

The most prominent question in sociological debates always boils down to which is the determinant: is it the social actor or the structure? Interpretive sociologists such as Max Weber emphasize the power of individuals as actors who are free from structural constraints. Thus, every person in social life acts as an independent subject without being moved mechanically by the

---

[34] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society…,

impulses of the social and cultural structures surrounding him.[35] In other words, social individuals as a subjects are not driven by having to act in a certain pattern according to the surrounding social and cultural structure.

This claim is in contrast to functionalist structuralists who think otherwise. If the first marks a form of imperialism of subjects over objects, the second is actually marked by the imperialism of social objects over individuals.[36] It means that the actions carried out by someone in a social context are always driven by patterns that become social objects or structures. Thus, everyone is subject to the social structure.

Here, an agent is not subject to structural constraints, nor does it mean he is completely free from them. As agents, each person acts as the fruit of a habituation process, which is, of course, shaped by the socio-cultural dimensions that form the background of their daily lives, but at the same time, they also have the ability to look for other alternatives by abandoning certain patterns that are considered untenable.

Bulurejo Muslims need to be positioned as agents who represent Islam not simply because they follow a habituation process that takes place from one generation to another. They become friendly in the context of interfaith relations, not merely because they inherited the behavior of their predecessors. However, the socio-cultural structure that has been passed down from generation to generation to convey mutual respect between religious followers does not mean it is completely without scars. Because how each Bulurejo Muslim interprets Islamic teachings is still colored by their daily world, which is habituated to the practice of respect. As an agent, Muslim Bulurejo was involved in various socio-cultural dynamics that took place in the past in the form of daily habituation. In the process, these habits experience continuous definition, so they are useful for application in future social situations. In this way, Bulurejo Muslims act while still being characterized by noble cultural values that have been practiced for generations but have room to produce new values that are in line with current challenges.[37]

As agents, the meanings made by Bulurejo Muslims towards Islamic teachings are born from the continuity of processes that take place in their daily lives but are still projected for future purposes. In this way, Bulurejo Muslims can respond to current situations in accordance with the meaning of Islamic teachings they have.

---

[35] Rob Stones, "Structure and Agency" dalam the Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, G. Ritzer (Ed.) (2015). https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeoss293.pub2

[36] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society…, 2

[37] Mustafa Emirbayer & Ann Mische, "What Is Agency?...

If we use Giddens' framework of action, there are three mechanisms implemented by Bulurejo Muslims to interpret friendly Islam and practice it in the light of interfaith relations. In Giddens' explanation, each person acts through three schemes, which take place in stages: reflexive monitoring of action, second, rationalization of action; and motivation for action. The following is the system to find out how Giddens' ideas regarding the three agent behavior schemes operate in the context of harmonious relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Bulurejo. The first scheme, namely reflexive monitoring, is a process where each person carries out monitoring actions on daily activities, accompanied by the expectation that other people do the same. However, reflexive monitoring does not stop here. They also consider various dimensions and social contexts experienced. Thus, through this monitoring process, each person acts on the basis of adequate consideration to act or not act by the usual pattern.

In the context of the Bulurejo Muslum, this reflexive monitoring takes place in a process when several Muslims see that the Islam they have understood since childhood and as practiced by generations before them, or according to the values of the institutions that shelter them, is relevant to the social dynamics they experience in the context of religious diversity in around them. This monitoring allows Bulurejo Muslims to adequately consider reproducing the religious ways practiced by generations before them in establishing interfaith relations or deconstructing them. With their reflexive monitoring abilities, Muslim Bulurejo is considered to enter the second scheme: rationalization of actions.

According to Giddens, rationalization of action is related to the intentionality of human actions that are taken for granted; 'intentionality' as a process is, like the other two dimensions, a routine characteristic of human conduct carried on in a taken-far-granted fashion.[38] Thus, rationalization is related to how each person provides a theoretical basis for the actions' sustainability. Rationalizing actions simultaneously also allows other people to evaluate the rationality of choosing one action among the various alternative actions available.

In the context of Muslims in Bulurejo, actions to build a tolerant and harmonious attitude are based on an accountable rationalization process. Various alternative actions can be taken. Likewise, various meanings of religious teachings can be developed. However, the ability to carry out monitoring in the first scheme becomes the rationalization basis for acting in accordance with the principles of harmony. It may be that Muslims in Bulurejo act in a way that is influenced by the religious sentiment that has grown in several places recently. However, the ability to carry out

---

[38] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society…, 4

reflexive monitoring has influenced Bulurejo Muslims to carry out religious practices that align with the principles of harmony.

Of course, not everyone in Bulurejo can provide discursive reasons for the religious actions displayed. However, Giddens also stated that rationalization of action does not mean that everyone must be able to provide reasons discursively regarding the choice of action, including the highlighted religious choice. In his words, "As I have mentioned, having such an understanding should not be equated with the discursive giving of reasons for particular items of conduct, nor even with the capability of specifying such reasons discursively."[39]

Thus, agents who can rationalize their actions do not mean they can discursively explain the reasons behind the actions' details. Most importantly, they can explain most of what they do. It can be understood from the religious situation presented by Muslims in Bulurejo.

Several people involved in the conversation were able to explain why they acted in a way that supported harmonious relations across religions. They developed several narratives to explain why they expressed Islam in a friendly way and provided a sense of security and comfort for communities outside Islam. For example, some explained that developing a tolerant Islam was a necessity as a consequence of the diversity that exists in Indonesia. Others also explained how the religious practices highlighted were a manifestation of the Islamic teachings that they understood. Building harmonious interactions with people of different religions is part of the religious teachings they must implement. These various rationalizations show that Bulurejo Muslims have acted as what are called purposive agents. According to Giddens, a purposive agent is "...who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons (including lying about them)".[40]

Purposive agents have at least two capacities. First, they have a reason behind the actions they take. In the context of Bulurejo society, especially Muslims, the religious attitudes displayed are based on clear reasons. It means that Bulurejo Muslims build positive interactions, respect those of different religions, and extend assistance to them, not doing it mechanically, simply following the urge of habituation that has been going on for a long time. They have a reason behind them to present a harmonious and friendly face of Islam to communities outside of Islam.

Second, purposive agents can explain the reasons for these reasons discursively. As mentioned above, based on the sources of information provided by the informants, they can explain the reasons that underlie them for interpreting and practicing the religious teachings

---

[39] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society…, 6
[40] Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society…, 3

presented. They can explain all the positive actions in interfaith relations that show the underlying reasons. Purposive agents have the expertise to explain the reasons behind the actions taken.

**CONCLUSION**

Muslims in Bulurejo interpret Islam in a way that focuses on efforts to present an Islam that brings a sense of security and comfort to non-Muslims. Their interpretation of Islamic teachings reflects the meaning of a friendly Islam that spreads grace to the universe. In the context of this meaning, friendly Islam is displayed in several dimensions. The first dimension that Islam is friendly is Islam, interpreted pro-existentially. The second dimension, friendly Islam, is interpreted as presenting or providing a sense of security and comfort for followers of other religions. Muslims expressed this in Bulurejo by carrying out noble actions so that non-Muslim residents felt comfortable around them. This noble act is, of course, closely related to relations with non-Muslims. The Ansor and Banser NU circles, for example, are always actively involved in securing religious activities carried out by both Christians in their churches and Hindus in their temples. Third, friendly Islam is interpreted in the dimension of respect for diversity.

Furthermore, Muslims in Bulurejo have acted as purposive agents in the religious actions displayed, especially concerning inter-religious relations. As agents, NU Muslims act in three schemata conceptualized by Giddens: reflexive monitoring of action schemata or reflexive monitoring of actions taken action rationalization schemata so that NU Muslims can provide rational arguments regarding actions taken by considering long-standing cultural dynamics. , as well as the current social context, so religious methods prioritizing friendliness and harmony must be emphasized. The last schemata relate to the motivation to act or, in the Bulurejo Muslim context, build harmony and harmonious relations with non-Muslim communities as an expression of the Islamic religious teachings that are believed to be true. Thus, this research contributes from two points of view. First, conceptually, this research enriches friendly Islamic discourse by relying on the Islamic experience of Banyuwangi Muslims. Second, this research provides an empirical basis for operationalizing the idea of friendly Islam. Thus, friendly Islam does not stop at the discursive aspect alone but can be replicated empirically in the context of Indonesian Muslim religious relations.

**REFERENCES**

Abeyie, D E Georges. (1992). Defining Race, Ethnicity, and Social Distance: Their Impact on Crime, Criminal Victimization, and the Criminal Justice Processing of Minorities. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* Volume: 8 Issue: 2 Dated: (1992) Pages: 100-113

Al Mubarakfuri (t.t.) Tuhfatul Ahwadzi, juz 7. Beirut: Darul Kutub

Ali bin Abi Thalib (1971). Nahjul Balaghah. Beirut: Darul Kutub al Ilmiyah

Anas, Abdullah Azwar. (2019). Anti Marketing Mainstream. Yogyakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama

Annaji, Lamin (2007) Alqadim wal jadid fi fiqhis Syafi'iy.Riyadh: Dar Ibnul Qayyim

Aspinall P.J. (2021). BAME (black, Asian and minority ethnic): the 'new normal' in collective terminology. J Epidemiol Community Health 75:107.

Berger, Peter L & Luckmann, Thomas (1991). The Social Construction of Reality. London: Penguin Books

Berton, Greg (2002). Muslim Democrat Indonesian President. Sydney: UNSW Press Book

Bhopal R. (2004). Glossary of terms relating to ethnicity and race: for reflection and debate. *Journal of epidemiology and community health*, *58*(6), 441–445. https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2003.013466

van Bruinessen, M. (2011). What Happened to the Smiling Face of Indonesian Islam? Muslim Intellectualism and the Conservative Turn in Post-Suharto Indonesia. RSIS Working Paper, No. 222. S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

Cashmore, E. (1996). Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations. London: Routledge

D E Georges-Abeyie

Djohan Effendi, "Kehidupan Umat Beragama dalam Cita-cita GusDur", dalam Irwan Suhanda (ed.), Gus Dur Santri Par Excellence: Teladan SangGuru Bangsa (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010)

Downing, J. & Husband, C. (2005). Representing Race. London: Sage

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Agency Theory: An Assessment and Review. *The Academy of Management Review*, *14*(1), 57–74. https://doi.org/10.2307/258191

Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. (1998). What Is Agency? *American Journal of Sociology*, *103*(4), 962–1023. https://doi.org/10.1086/231294

Fitriah, Ainul (2013). Pemikiran Abdurrahman WahidTentang Pribumisasi IslamTeosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran IslamVolume 3 Nomor 1 Juni. DOI : 10.15642/teosofi.2013.3.1.39-59

Giddens, A. (1986). The Constitution of Society. Cambridge: Polity Press

Goodin, R. (1975). Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Social Conflict. British Journal ofPolitical Science, 5(4), 516-519. doi:10.1017/S000712340000836X

Hadiz, Vedi R. (2016). Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Harjianto, Intan Daurotus M & Bayu Indra Permana (2020). "Kehidupan Masyarakat Multi Agama Desa Bulurejo Purwoharjo Banyuwangi dalam Membangun Kerukunan Hidup Antar Umat Beragama." *Jurnal Ilmiah Universitas Batanghari Jambi*, vol. 20, no. 1, 5 Feb, pp. 168-173, doi:10.33087/jiubj.v20i1.785.

Hutari, L. T., Saragih, S.,  Ariyanto, E.A. (2019). Radicalism in the Cultural Context of Adolescents in the Arek, Tapal Kuda and Mataraman Areas. Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization www.iiste.org ISSN 2224-3240 (Paper) ISSN 2224-3259 (Online) DOI: 10.7176/JLPG Vol.89

Inayatillah (2021). Social-Harmony within Aceh Society: An Analysis towards Religious Tolerance of Muslim and Non-Muslim Communities in Banda Aceh. *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities, 6* (2), 225-242. doi:https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v6i2.6405

Indiarti, W.(2016). Masa Lalu Masa Kini Banyuwangi: Identitas Kota dalam Geliat Hibriditas dan Komodifikasi Budaya di Perbatasan Timur Jawa. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321386091

Kartikasari, E., Laksono, K., Savitri, Agusniar Dian, Suryarini, D.Y. (2018). A Study of Dialectology on Javanese "Ngoko" in Banyuwangi, Surabaya, Magetan, and Solo. Jurnal HUMANIORA VOLUME 30 Number 2 June 128–139

Knaack, P. (1984). Phenomenological Research. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, *6*(1), 107–114. https://doi.org/10.1177/019394598400600108

Krobath, D.M., Taylor, S.F. (2021).  Engaging black and minority ethnic groups in health research: 'hard to reach'? Demystifying the misconceptions. *J Public Health Pol*42, 647–650. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41271-021-00311-z

Krosch, Amy R.,  Park, Suzy J., Walker, Jesse., Lisner, Ari R. (2022). The threat of a majority-minority U.S. alters white Americans' perception of race. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Volume 99, 104266, ISSN 0022-1031, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2021.104266.

Latif, Muhaemin & Hafid, Erwin(2021).Multicultural Attitudes in an Islamic Boarding School of South Sulawesi – Indonesia,Cogent Education,8:1,DOI: 10.1080/2331186X.2021.1968736

Loue, S. (2006). Defining Race, Ethnicity, and Related Constructs. In: Assessing Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Health. Springer, Boston, MA. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-32462-3_3

Lubis, E., Nugroho, T.,Witry, S. (2013). Produksi Hasil Tangkapan Sebagai Bahan Baku Industri Pengolahan: Kasus Pelabuhan Perikanan Pantai Muncar Kabupaten Banyuwangi. Buletin PSP ISSN: 0251-286X Volume 21 No. 1 Edisi April 77-95

Mala, F., Supardin, M., & Wahid, M. (2022). The Government's Role in the Implementation of Religious Tolerance Practices in Southeast Asia. *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities, 7*(1), 96-110. doi:https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v7i1.6739

Melville, Margarita B. (1988). Hispanics: Race, Class, or Ethnicity? *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, v16 n1 p 67-83

Middelmann, Udo W. (2012). Pro Existence: The Place of Man in the Circle of Reality. Oregon: Wipf and Stock

Neuman, L. (2013). Social Research Methods. Edinburgh: Pearson

Pedersen, L (2008). Keeping the Peace: Interdependence and Narratives of Tolerance in Hindu-Muslim Relationships in Eastern Bali 165-196 dalam Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin dan David D. Harnish, Between Ha rmony and discrimination. Leiden: Brill

Perkins, K., Wiley, S. (2014). Minorities. In: Teo, T. (eds) Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology. Springer, New York, NY. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-5583-7_188

Rahman, A., Setyawan, M.A. (2020). Religious Tourism Development Model In Banyuwangi. International Journal of Applied Sciences in Tourism and Events**,** [S.l.], v. 4, n. 2, p. 95-108, dec. 2020. ISSN 2580-5592.

Robert W. Hefner (editor), Zainal Abidin Bagir (editor) - Indonesian Pluralities_ Islam, Citizenship, and Democracy (Contending Modernities)-University of Notre Dame Press (2021)

Seyranian, V., Atuel, H., & Crano, W. D. (2008). Dimensions of Majority and Minority Groups. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *11*(1), 21–37. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430207084843

Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2003). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 51–80). Sage Publications, Inc.

Stones, R. (2015). Structure and Agency. In The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, G. Ritzer (Ed.). https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeoss293.pub2

Suprijanto, I. (2002).Rumah tradisional osing konsep ruang dan bentuk. Dimensi vol 30 no 1 (2002): july. Https://doi.org/10.9744/dimensi.30.1.

Suseno, Frans M. (2013). Christian and Muslim Minorities in Indonesia: State Policies and Majority Islamic Organization, 73-88, dalam Mirjam Kunkler & Alfred Stepan, Democracy and Islam in Indonesia. New York: Columbia University Press

Udasmoro, Wening& Elisabeth Prügl. (2022). No Matter What—I've Got Rights': Women's Land Grab Protests in Banyuwangi, East Java." In *Gender in Peacebuilding: Local Practices in Indonesia and Nigeria*, edited by Wening Udasmoro, Elisabeth Prügl, Christelle Rigual, Rahel Kunz, Mimidoo Achakpa, Henri Myrttinen, Joy Onyesoh, and Arifah Rahmawati, 113–36. Brill. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv29sftwq.12.

Vera, H. & Feagin, J. R. (2007). Handbook of The Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations. New York: Springer

Wahid, Abdurrahmad (1989). Pribumisasi Islam 81-96, dalam Azhari, M., Saleh, M., & Raharjo, MD. Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan. Jakarta: P3M

Wahid, Abdurrahman (2006). Islamku, Islam Anda, Islam Kita. Jakarta; The Wahid Institute

Weber, M. (1978). Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press

Wolbers, P.A. (1986). "Gandrung and Angklung from Banyuwangi; Remnants of a Past Shared with Bali." *Asian Music* 18, no. 1, 71–90. https://doi.org/10.2307/834159.

Yinger, J. M. (1994). *Ethnicity: Source of strength? Source of conflict?* State University of New York Press