

Active Tolerance Among Religious People Based on Local Genius in Social Practices in Indonesia

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Abstract

This research described the social practice of tolerance based on local genius in Sukodadi, Wagir, Malang. In field data collection, done by observations and interviews, which focus on Dusun Jamuran, part of Sukodadi Village, as a sample. In Sukodadi, especially in Dusun Jamuran, there are various religious groups. They live side by side without any problems. This research is qualitative research with a phenomenological approach in the perspective of the sociology of knowledge. This study aims to reveal the construction of understanding of the tolerance of the people of Sukodadi, Wagir, and the peculiarities of their practice or what is often referred to as local genius. The practice of tolerance was found in Sukodadi Village, especially in Dusun Jamuran, in the form of mutual cooperation's, respect for differences, and being actively involved in general village activities and various religious activities. Community involvement in the village activities is *bersih desa*. While the form of religious activities, in the form of prayers with various religions, mutual cooperation's for the celebration of the holidays of each religion. This involvement is a form of active tolerance that is carried out with mutual cooperation's and concern in the worship process. In addition, active tolerance can also be seen in the events of the deaths of residents, in the form of donations for funeral costs to the existence of one burial location for various religions that are inclusive. Therefore, it can be concluded that the construction of tolerance in Sukodadi Village is caused by flexibility in attitude, based on local values, such as kinship, mutual cooperation's, a sense of brotherhood and solidarity.

Keywords

Active Tolerance, Religious Tolerance, Local Genius, Mutual Cooperation, and Sukodadi Village.

1. Introduction

Tolerance is a willingness to acknowledge, appreciate, and respect the existence of other people or groups who are different from themselves. Magnis Suseno describes tolerance as an attitude of openness (Suseno, 1998: 11). Tolerance is an attitude of accepting wholeheartedly the existence of every people with all their diversity, such as religious, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The form of inter-religious tolerance can be realized in terms of cooperation between religions and beliefs (Rahman & Noor, 2020), which is really needed in dealing with people's lives, because each has the obligation to create outward well-being (justice and prosperity) in living together, even though the different forms. This is where the similarities between religions are formed, not in the beliefs held, but only at the level of material achievement. Because the measure of material achievement uses quantitative evidence, such as the average income level of residents or the number of wealth. Meanwhile, what is not, such as a measure of justice, can be observed empirically in a social system (Wahid, 2006).

In the discourse of tolerance, two forms of tolerance are distinguished, namely active tolerance and passive tolerance. Active tolerance is when individuals are willing to accept differences and are willing to cooperate with others who are different to make a harmony. While, passive tolerance is only accepting differences and silencing these differences without being willing to cooperate or involve in the diversity. This passive tolerance is also called "lazy tolerance"(Knitter, 2014).

Active tolerance opens up a wider and more inclusive space of dialogue towards mutual respect, understanding and helping one another and together aim to create a world that accepts differences. Thus, the mission of active tolerance is to cooperate with all of humanity, not isolate people. According to Hans Kung (1999), tolerance is not just co-existence, that in the sense that tolerance does not only lead to every religion has the right to exist, but also to pro-

existence (Basuki, 2018). The pro-existence is acknowledging and confirming and supporting the existence of religions as long as it aims for the benefit of human being in general.

Practically, tolerance in society is unique and complex. This, among other place, one of them occurred in Dusun Jamuran, Sukodadi Village, Wagir District, Malang Regency. Where the practice of religious tolerance is occurred because of internal motivation, external encouragement, various social conditions, and local community norms that mutually agreed. The embodiment of the practice of religious tolerance in Dusun Jamuran can be found in various social activities such as celebrations of religious holidays, the *Anjangsana* tradition, inclusive graves and death contributions, as well as praying together during celebrations of *bersih desa*. These various forms of tolerance practice can be said to be a form of local genius of the local community, because it is a unique tradition and culture that is practiced long ago and continuously until now.

2. Literature Review

Various preliminary researches related to this theme of religious tolerance and local traditions have been carried out, although they are still quite limited. Among them is research conducted by Imam Syaifudin (Syaifudin, 2017), that entitled "Social Interaction in Building Tolerance Among Religious People in Dusun Dodol, Wonoagung Village, Kasembon District, Malang Regency. This study discusses social interaction which is a reciprocal relationship between individuals and groups on a sense of need as social beings. Social interaction is then seen in heterogeneous religious life. In that, the religious tolerance among people can be established through social contact between people with different religious values.

That research has two main objectives, to describe the patterns of social interaction that occur in building religious tolerance in society and to describe the forms of tolerance that run on society. In achieving this goal, that research uses qualitative research methods with a phenomenological approach. The result of that research is that religious tolerance appears and persists in Dusun Dodol does not occur naturally or not come naturally. In maintaining inter-religious harmony, the people of Dusun Dodol carry out various efforts that they implement in their daily lives. The harmony between religious communities that is formed has a dynamic developing pattern. This dynamic pattern is seen in the religious system and social relations. Through this pattern, kinship ties emerge, mutual respect and appreciation between religious communities that collectively become a culture in Dusun Dodol. Horizontal conflict between Hindus, Christians and Muslims have never happened. This is caused by harmonious relations between religious communities. The relationship can run harmoniously because of mutual understanding and tolerance. The social system that mutually agreed runs without sacrificing the beliefs (theology) of each religion's adherents. So, it does not hurt anyone.

Inter-religious harmony is supported by four main activities, are village activities, state activities, religious activities and local cultural preservation activities . Some of the tolerance practices that took place in Dusun Dodol include *bersih desa* (the activity of spiritual cleaning of the village with special rituals or worship or offering prayers for mutual safety), 17 August 1945 the commemorations the independence day, religious activities, and local traditions such as *nyadran* (Ramadhan welcome rituals). The focus of this research does not see local traditions as a buffer for tolerance of the Dodol community, but at some discussion it is still mentioned as forms of tolerance in the local traditions.

While the research conducted by Imroatul Azizah et al entitled; "The Model of Religious Pluralism Based on Local Wisdom "Pancasila Village" in Lamongan" (2020) is more specific in discussing the wedge between tolerance and *local knowledge*. This research by Imroatul Azizah et al examines the longstanding tolerance between Islam, Hinduism and Christianity in Balun, Lamongan. There are several forms of tolerance, 1). *Nyadran* and *Tanduan*. 2). Do not held any celebrations in the month of *Suro (Muharram)* for all religious adherents. 3). Death prayer. 4) Commemoration of religious holidays. 5). Wedding ceremony and celebration. 6). *Kenduri*. The first form of tolerance, *nyadran* is defined as a ceremony performed before and after marriage (Arinda R, 2014)(Fuad, 2013)(Kastolani & Yusof, 2016), while *tunduan* is a ceremony to celebrate children when they can start walking for the first time. The second form of tolerance is more emphasized on the attitude of residents not to hold a celebration in the month of *Suro (Muharram)*. While the third tolerance is in the form of a death prayer carried out by each religion when the people of this village dies. Although prayers are adapted to the religion they embrace and are carried out alternately, but related to helping each other and visiting the bereaved families, Balun residents do it regardless of religion. The fourth practice of tolerance is the commemoration of religious holidays. Residents participate and help each other in the implementation

of religious holidays of each religion. Meanwhile, related to weddings and celebrations, there is also citizen participation in helping the success of the event regardless of religion.

In addition, there is also Sri Sudono Saliro's research written in the *Khazanah Journal* entitled "Sociological Perspective on Tolerance Among Religious People in Singkawang City." This research focuses on two things, namely forms of cooperation between religious communities, supporting factors and inhibiting tolerance religious communities in Singkawang City, namely through a forum in the form of FKUB (Forum Communication of Religious People) and FKPELA (Forum Communication of Interfaith Youth) which are the only communication forums for interfaith youth in Indonesia. The forum has an important role in carrying out religious tolerance. The role is in the form of giving advice, providing counseling to religious people about living in harmony and tolerance. The provision of these facilities creates a good emotional bond in the form of brotherhood, friendship and family ties and a good sense of responsibility in the social and economic area (Saliro, 2019). Mutual respect and respect for religious differences then emerges as a behavior that is carried out daily. This is influenced by several factors in the form of environmental factors. Environments consist of religious diversity such as Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucianism always exist in each sub-district in Singkawang City. But besides that, there are also several inhibiting factors that hinder the process of religious tolerance. The inhibiting factor is the burden of the long historical conflict regarding religious differences, and the various cultures that exist in Singkawang City.

There is also another supporting research entitled "Metaphysical Study of Kasada Ceremony and Wisdom of Life in the Tengger Society". This research focuses on finding a tolerant lifestyle that is practiced by the Tengger people. The concept of life found by the researcher describes the practice of tolerance that goes hand in hand with other life values such as simplicity, oneness with nature, hard work and mutual cooperation (Anas, 2017). In addition, there is also research conducted in Lasem, Kab. Rembang, Central Java, with the title "Tolerance Tourism Management: Study in Lasem District, Rembang Regency, Central Java." The spirit of tolerance is built and inherited from generation to generation, supported by the existence of places of worship and historical ancient buildings, the embodiment of the tolerance values of local residents packaged in the form of trips or tolerance tourism packages (Wulandari et al., 2020).

Departing from the conceptual definition and at the same time examining various studies related to tolerance and local traditions, it can be concluded that the written work from the research entitled *Active Tolerance Among Religious People Based on Local Genius in Social Practices of the Sukodadi Community, Wagir, Kab. Malang* has a different starting point and approach. This paper emphasis on aspects of local genius, that consist of tangible (material) and intangible (immaterial) aspects, that contain the value of religious tolerance, as well as the construction of community understanding in the practice of tolerance.

3. Methods

This study uses qualitative research methods, with a phenomenological approach model. The qualitative research method was chosen because the object to be studied is a dynamic social phenomenon. Defines qualitative research methods as an appropriate step to explore and understand certain phenomenon (Creswell, 2002).

The object of research or the location chosen is Dusun Jamuran, Sukodadi Village, Wagir District, Malang Regency. This location was chosen as the object of research because the description of the reality in this village meets the qualifications in the context of research on the practice of tolerance based on local wisdom with four main aspects; *setting*, that reachable; *the actors*, the informant is an actors of the phenomena; *event*, there are specific event; and *process*, the phenomena is still going and the actor and the researcher also can experience it. This research will be conducted with a phenomenological approach (Figure 1):

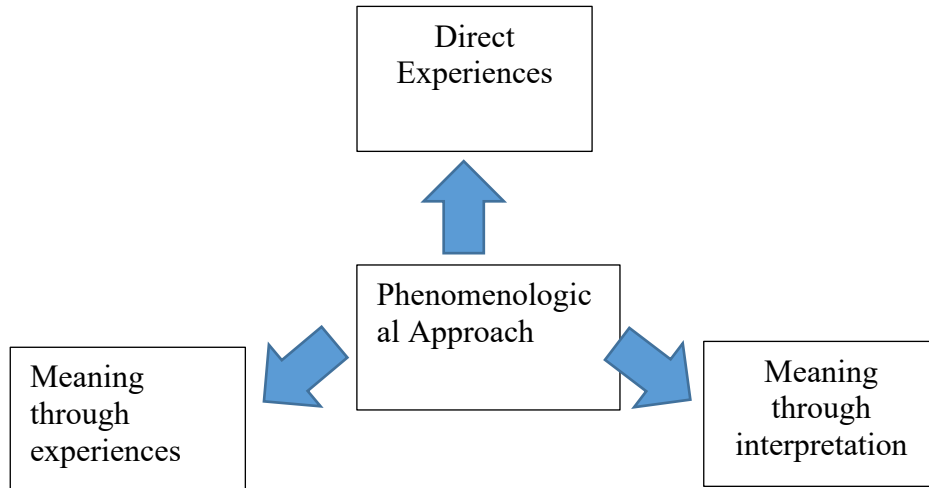


Figure 1. Methodology

4. Data Collection

Data collection will be carried out by observation and interview techniques. The interview is purposive sampling and snowball, selecting key informants and supporting informants by asking semi-structured and open-minded questions. Data recording is done by audiotaping and taking note when observation and face to face interview or virtual interview.

Analysis and interpretation of qualitative research data are carried out simultaneously when collecting data (Creswell, 2002). The data that has been obtained at once is sorted according to its category (primary & secondary data), then analysed it by the researcher using an inductive framework. Researchers will interpret the results of the interviews, then build general patterns. When building these general patterns, researchers will understand holistically, including describing, understanding meaning and interpreting the social environment and human relationships (Raco, 2018). This research will be carried out with the following steps (Figure 2):

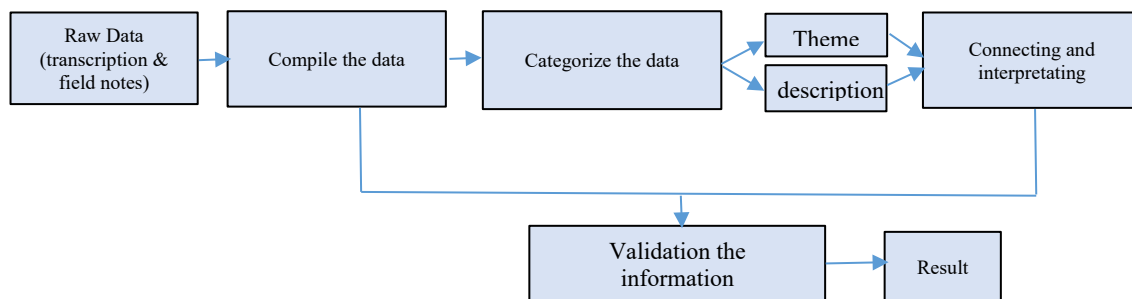


Figure 2. Analysis and interpretation of qualitative research data

5. Results and Discussion

The social and cultural reality of a society is closely related to human existence itself. Relationships among humans are the basis for the emergence of social conditions that may be harmonious or vice versa. The attitude of wisdom in the repertoire of Indonesian traditions is able to encourage people to be open (Lukiyanto & Wijyaningtyas, 2020), inclusive and tolerant. The cultural presence of the Jamuran community plays a very important role to. Local cultures that are passed down from generation to next generation in the prayer together in the *bersih desa* event, or death contributions and others, are the various of local geniuses. These various local geniuses are powerful enough to strengthen relations among citizens. The boundaries of belief and religion are melting in the public 'space' of local culture which is full of family values.

The problems in a society that are diverse in terms of religion are quite complex, because they are related to dogma. Where every religious people had beliefs about the truth of their respective religious, commonly every believer has such a view. However, the challenge is when dealing with other people with different religions and beliefs, an attitude of wisdom is needed to maintain harmony.

During the celebration or religious holidays, each religious community helps and supports each other's religious rituals. There is a division to take a role on the celebration team, that makes from various religion, without any pressure from each religion. The kind of the tasks carried out and practiced as a form of tolerance is like guarding or securing during the religious rituals of the religion in question.

Told by the informants, that voluntarily each religious community of different positions themselves to maintain security when certain people do their religious rituals. For example, when Muslims perform the Eid prayer ritual, the other adherent (exclude the muslims) guard the area where they pray. After completing the prayer ritual, Muslims will leave the prayer area to greet and thank the adherent of other religions (Hindus, Catholics, and Christians) (Interview with Mr. A). They stand as guard in rows and turns, while receiving congratulations from the adherent of other religions who are on guard. Vice versa. When Hindus celebrate their religious holidays, other people help ensure the safety and smooth running of the event. The tradition of celebrating religious holidays for religious people is an obligation carried out by every religious believer. In Dusun Jamuran, religious holidays are celebrated three (3) times, on *Eid al-Fitr* for Muslims, *Nyepi* for Hindus, and Christmas for Christians.

This tradition is still going well, even according to additional information from the Hindu Religious Leader of Sukodadi Village, Mr. B, said it is lively than before. Just because after the implementation of the holiday worship, all residents stand on the side of the road and shake hands with each other. This tradition at the same time also strengthens the harmony and cohesion of the community. After that, the community will celebrate by visiting the homes of people who celebrate their religion, without limiting it to a particular religion. People from different religious backgrounds visit each other. If it is Christians who celebrate Christmas, the Muslims and Hindus will visit them, and if it is Muslims celebration, Hindus and Christians will visit. Sometimes, people bring gift for the host while visiting. Every year and every celebration they do it, and it is what is called *Anjangsana*.

In principle, the main value emphasized in taking care of each other when celebrating religious holidays is based on mutual respect for each other from harm or disturbance that may come lurking. Taking turns taking care of each other feels very beautiful because they no longer see other people as different, do not look at what is inherent in themselves in religious attributes, but see them as friends or relatives. So, it is not ethical if fellow friends quarrel, conflict, crass or other bad things. By adhering to the values of solidarity, friendship and kinship, religious barriers do not exist at all or not be an obstacle to live together side by side. Everyone blends in together, hangs out together, eats together or even jokes with each other. For the Jamuran people, religious diversity is not for at issue and religion is useless if it creates conflict or even violence.

In addition to the practice of tolerance in the form of taking care of each other's houses of worship and during the celebration of religious ceremonies, in Dusun Jamuran there is also a very strong interfaith brotherhood bond that is based on humanity. Death is a reality that cannot be avoided by all human beings, death does not look at what your religion, your tribe or your ethnicity. The impact of death itself is felt by the entire family who bears it. Because living in the community, at *dusun*, it is natural for neighbors near and far as well as local residents to provide the assistance that can relieve the bereaved family. This can be seen from the organizational structure that manages the funeral ceremony. This structure is filled by Jamuran people from various religious backgrounds. The organizational structure for managing the funeral consisted of: the chairperson, from Muslim; the secretary from Hindus; the treasurer; from Christians; The death fund collection section, two people are one from Muslim and one from Hindu. Members of the organization are not limited to a particular religion, the chairperson does not have to be Muslim, or the secretary does not have to be Hindu. But it depends on the willingness and agreement of community.

In addition, there are also activities in the pillars of death which are the cornerstone of the practice of tolerance carried out in Dusun Jamuran, it is called *rukun kematian*. Residents with full awareness, regardless of any religion, organize hamlet level management consisting of the chairman, secretary and treasurer and others (already mentioned above). Each family (KK) pays a contribution of 3000 rupiah, then the proceeds from the contribution are donated to the affected family of 500,000 rupiah. Meanwhile, the remainder of the contribution is used for funeral needs, such as

excavations, purchase of facilities and infrastructure, and other needs because according to the head of the funeral unit, the funeral needs of the deceased are quite high-priced (Interview with Mr. A).

The practice of tolerance by the residents in the form of a death fee regardless of their religion was strengthened by the Chairman of Dusun Jamuran himself. It was explained that each family (KK) who paid the death contribution did not see what religion the deceased had embraced. In essence, the residents are of the view that there is no problem if the contribution is intended for all residents who are affected by the disaster, no matter what religion they are.

In the *Dusun Jamuran* there is a common cemetery. This common cemetery is used jointly with a fairly fair distribution to all people of Dusun Jamuran and all religion adherents. Before the cemetery was expanded, the old tombs were mixed together without any religious differences. However, since the expansion there have been some modifications made, for example for the Hindu cemetery to be placed across the south of the road, while for the Islam cemetery it is placed in the north of the road. This arrangement was carried out solely because of the difference in the position of the bodies between Hindus and Muslims when they were buried. The Hindus body faces the east, while the Muslims body faces west or the Qibla. Meanwhile, for the burial of Christian residents, there are no special requirements, so the location of Christian graves is free to be placed anywhere. It's just that if there is a request from the family, especially regarding the location of the tomb adjacent to the family who died first, of course, it will be looked for if the location is possible (Interview with Mr. C).

This can be understood because when Hindu and Islamic cemeteries are combined in the same location, it will consume a lot of area, so this is merely a consideration of land efficiency, which every year land prices increase and become more expensive, as stated by the informant: "I set banging. Because it saves space [hahaha]. Land prices is increasing" (meaning: I set it like that because it saves land because land is getting more expensive over time). The arrangement of such a model carried out by the chairman of *rukun kematian* was accepted by the residents and no one protested against it.

Bersih Dusun in Jamuran contains of a series of events that are somewhat different from other hamlet's *bersih dusun* celebration. In addition to praying for safety and *Tayub's* performance as the main event. In Dusun Jamuran there are also praying together for all religious people in turn. Each group of religious adherents offer prayers according to their beliefs in turn, before the main event. The praying schedule is carried out alternately and arranged in such a way, so that each religious group has the same opportunity and space to offer prayers according to their respective beliefs.

At the peak of the event, the reading of prayers is done in Javanese. Every resident brings a *tumpeng* (cone-shaped rice dish side dishes of vegetables and meat) or *ambeng* (fragrant rice dish that consists of steamed white rice, chicken curry or chicken roasted and vegetables dishes) to be prayed for. After that, the event closed with a *tayub* show and a meal together. The *bersih desa* activity, which was wrapped in prayer together, was carried out by the people of Dusun Jamuran, to be precise at the People's Hall (Balai Rakyat). This activity is held every year in the month of *Selo* (the name of one of the Javanese month), on Monday *Legi* or Thursday *Legi*. As stated by the informant: "the month is *selo* and the day is whether monday *legi*, or thursday *legi*. It cannot be changed or negotiable" (which means: the implementation of the *bersih dusun* of the village in the month of *Selo*, about the day is depend on availability on that month, whether Monday *Legi* or Thursday *Legi*, that cannot be changed) (Interview with Mr. D).

From the explanation given by the informant, it is known that the *bersih dusun* is packaged in which there is a joint prayer in turn aimed at maintaining religious harmony, how to keep the community together in harmony. Praying for each other here can be interpreted as a kind of reciprocity among the Jamuran's people to take turns in praying for each other in the midst of people with different religions. In one common goal, the common safety. The collective prayer at the *bersih dusun* event itself has just started for the last 2 (two) years.

Local genius is academically often interpreted as a local tradition that consist of material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) aspect. Which is continuously practiced by the local community as a result of the encounter between locality and foreign culture, or tradition with old values and newest value. Local traditions that are material can be in the form of *bersih desa*, *nyadran*, praying together, and so on. Meanwhile, local traditions that are intangible can be in the form of the values and wisdom contained in various rites, traditions or the other material aspect, that are carried out. The practice of local genius in the community of Dusun Jamuran, Sukodadi, Wagir, of course, contains both of that, the material aspect and immaterial aspect.

The local genius practices related to active tolerance have been described in the previous sub-chapter, that are celebrations of religious holidays, inclusive graves, collective prayers (*bersih desa*) and even community death fees (*rukun kematian*). The process of forming the tradition of celebrating religious holidays together (of course after religious rituals are carried out) internally departs from the context of a diverse society in terms of religion, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. However, this great potential seems to have long been a stagnant culture that is full of rites of tradition and belief alone. The encounter with the outside world occurred because of a major event in Bali, there are the bombings that occurred on the night of October 12, 2001 and also in 2005. In the first bombing in 2002, explosions occurred in three (3) places at once. The first two explosions occurred at Paddy's Pub and Sari Club (SC) on Legian Street, Kuta, Bali. While the last explosion occurred near the office of the Consulate General of the United States, although the distance is quite far. The bombing incident, which was quite powerful and took many victims, then became the attention of the Indonesian people in general to always maintain security and tolerance, especially for residents of various religions. This has prompted the government of the MUSPIKA's Wagir Sub-district to provide socialization and appeal to the figures of Dusun Jamuran and its surroundings to be able to jointly maintain peace, be aware of immigrants and maintain tolerance.

The diversity potential of Dusun Jamuran, the context of the bombing in Bali, the call to maintain security and tolerance are an integral part of the process of forming local genius. The existence and activities of religious celebrations in Jamuran so far have been running as usual, even seeming to go their separate ways. However, when there was an appeal for more intensive security and tolerance, several religious leaders took the initiative to work together in mutual cooperation when celebrating religious holidays, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian. Activities in the form of guarding houses of worship during religious holidays of each religion, or *anjangsana* activities (visiting other people's houses during holidays) have become traditions that are held every year and every religious celebration is carried out to this day.

In contrast to the *anjangsana* tradition, newly formed, funerals that are open to all religions (inclusive tombs) and death contributions have been local geniuses that have been going on for a long time. Awareness of the need to help residents who have due to the death of one of their family members, and based on the values of kinship and brotherhood become wisdom for the people of Jamuran, who do not question their religion to help or involve. The cemetery is very open to all religions, even the funeral process that requires energy, funds and support from local residents is managed by forming interfaith cemetery administrators whose function is to relieve people affected by it.

Meanwhile, the collective prayer (*doa bersama*) at the Dusun Jamuran's *bersih desa* event is also the result of a modified or cultural strategy with people activities before. The implementation of collective prayer is intended so that each religion and its adherents can be more receptive to differences. More than that, giving space for every religion, regardless of the number of religious adherents, becomes an open space full of equality values. This form of local genius, which is traditionally held once a year, becomes a gathering space for residents to express their gratitude for God's blessing, as well as a space for representing every religion to appear in the public sphere (Eko & Putranto, 2019).

To create an atmosphere that allows both religious communities to refrain from accusing each other of being intolerant, both hope to challenge the concept of true religious tolerance. Without sacrificing fundamental religious principles, both communities must have the good intention to listen to each other. If both are not ready and willing to meet other religions with understanding and respect, then the "lazy tolerance" will not change, unless it gets worse (Knitter, 2014). In this context, a new paradigm that is not exclusive in dialogue is needed. This inclusive dialogue paradigm was formulated by Wilfred Cantwell Smith as a shift in the orientation of dialogue towards mutual respect, understanding and helping one another and jointly aiming to create an acceptable world. Thus, the mission of dialogue is to work together with all of humanity, not to isolate oneself (Smith, 2013).

Furthermore, Raimundo Panikkar said that dialogue must go further at the intra-religious level. The dialogue that does not only require an attitude of inclusiveness and parallelism (Rahmat, 2017).. So ethically, dialogue is not meant to interfere in the affairs and teachings of other religions, nor to want to be crowned by others based on their beliefs, but to deepen their own religious traditions more critically (Raimundo Panikkar, 1994).

6. Conclusion

Presumably, what has been conceptualized by the thinkers above, is quite relevant in the context of the Jamuran community. The tolerance that has been practiced by the Jamuran people is more based on the bonds of humanity and brotherhood among the diverse reality. The essence of all religions that are believed to teach goodness, are mixed in one vessel aimed at the ruler of nature. This compound of tolerance does not only accommodate the essence of religious truth alone, more than that, local traditions and wisdom are packaged in the form of acculturation. That way, religious rituals and local traditions have become a force for the Jamuran community to jointly protect and preserve this natural universe. This acculturation was practiced several years ago, when commemorating natural disasters.

Tolerance occurs because the Jamuran people view local traditions as ancestral heritage that should not be turned off just because of religious barriers. Meanwhile, religion must also be implemented as a form of human relationship with The Creator. Therefore, the Jamuran people always carry out the practice of religious rituals, such as *anjangsana*, communal prayers, inclusive graves, and death contributions. Local genius is a space or arena of encounter between the values of wisdom, kinship, religion and humanity with local culture so that a distinctive tradition or culture is formed as a representation of a tolerant post-traditional society.

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