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# PENGANTAR REDAKSI

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## MUSLIMS' VIEWS OF HINDU RELIGIOUS LIFE: (A CASE STUDY OF BANYUWANGI MUSLIMS IN BALI)

OLEH: NIHAYATUL WAFIROH\*)

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### ABSTRAK

Paper ini mendiskusikan perspektif muslim Banyuwangi dan pengalaman mereka ketika mereka hidup di Bali dan bagaimana orang-orang Bali dengan agama Hindunya menjadi umat mayoritas yang mempengaruhi keimanan keagamaan mereka dan perspektif mereka tentang hubungan antar-iman. Sebagai data, ada sebelas muslim Banyuwangi yang diwawancarai. Hasilnya adalah, *pertama*, hipotesis yang mengatakan bahwa pengalaman hidup dengan orang yang beragama lain akan memberikan kontribusi bagi pemahaman mereka tentang toleransi, ternyata tidak seratus persen benar sebab banyak dari interviwee yang berpikir bahwa hidup dengan orang yang beragama lain tidak memberikan efek apapun terkait dengan pandangan mereka tentang toleransi. *Kedua*, meskipun hubungan harmonis antara orang Hindu Bali dan Muslim Banyuwangi telah ada, kenyataannya orang Hindu Bali yang merupakan populasi mayoritas masih memperlakukan secara berbeda terhadap muslim Banyuwangi. Sungguh, ini membuktikan bahwa superioritas benar-benar tidak dapat dihindari dalam hubungan kedua kelompok ini. *Ketiga*, penulis berpikir bahwa inilah alasan utama muslim Banyuwangi datang ke Bali adalah alasan ekonomi, sehingga selain yang bersifat ekonomi, mereka tidak tertarik. Jadi, hidup di Bali tidak memberikan kontribusi terhadap pemahaman toleransi mereka.

### KATA KUNCI:

Hindu Bali, Muslim Banyuwangi, Toleransi, Keagamaan

### ABSTRACT

This paper discusses Banyuwangi Muslims' perspectives and experiences when they live in Bali and how Bali with Hinduism to be the majority population influences their religious beliefs and their perspectives of interfaith relations. As data, eleven Banyuwangi Muslims were interviewed. The results are said *first* that hypothesis that the experiences living with other religions will contribute in their opinion of tolerance does not work hundred percentages since many of interviewees think that living in the different religious environment does not affect anything in term of their views of tolerance. *Secondly*, although the harmonious relations between Hindu Balinese and Banyuwangi Muslim people had existed, in reality, Hindu Balinese which are the majority population still treat differently for Banyuwangi Muslims. Indeed, it proves that the superiority cannot be truly avoided in the relations between both groups. Being minority does not always affect Banyuwangi Muslims to know the majority religion. *Thirdly*, the author think that it is because the main reason when they came to Bali is only economy, so everything outside economy will not be interesting for them. Living in Bali, moreover, does not contribute in their understanding of tolerance.

### KEYWORDS:

Hindus Bali, Muslims Banyuwangi, Tolerance, Religous

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\*) Alumnae of University of Hawaii at Manoa Honolulu

## A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, which is geographically divided into small and large islands, has the potential conflict. Indeed, Indonesian also consists of a variety of different ethnic origins, religions, ethnicities and cultures. Although, these conditions are giving the positive things in Indonesia such as in economy, they will also be very easy to rise the social conflicts. During over recent decades, the range of cases and conflicts in Indonesia can be considered high. Indonesia has been independent since 65 years ago. However, it does not guarantee that Indonesia can release from the religious tensions.

In 1996, many conflicts occurred in some areas, for example in Situbondo. The potential of such vulnerability is also shown in similar cases such as Tasik Malaya riots that occurred on December 26, 1996. The same conflicts also happened in Pekalongan, Poso and Ambon, and other places in Indonesia. These are the pictures of the conditions of religious life in Indonesia. Such conditions also become a proof of how fragile foundation concord and harmony among people and communities although it is already built since long time. According to Masoed (1997), actually every areas has the potential conflict, or hidden conflict. In every life, the conflicts do not appear.<sup>1</sup> They can come from the theological, political, and economical reasons. Therefore, understanding the believers' views about other religions, I think, is important to be done. From their perspectives, we can able to figure out how the potential conflicts can be occurred in such an area.

For this paper, I would like to study about Banyuwangi Muslims' perspectives and experiences when they live in Bali. Indeed, I would like to know how Bali with Hinduism to be the majority population influences their religious beliefs and their perspectives of interfaith relations. I choose Bali because of some reasons. Firstly, in term of religious tensions, comparing with other areas, Bali has less religious conflicts, so I would want to know how the believers connect each other. Secondly, Bali is Dewata island, but recently the number of Muslim people in Bali increase significantly. Bali in general

population is Hindu, but the demographic data of the last residents had appeared very rapid changes. Amount Bali Island residents in 2002 reached 3,385,292 (three million eight hundred and five thousand two hundred and ninety-two people) in 2002 according to BPS data. Department of Religion of Bali in 2002 recorded the number of Hindu people reached 3,125,467 (three million one hundred twenty five thousand four hundred sixty-seven people) or about 92.35%; Muslims reached 190 675 (one hundred ninety thousand, six hundred seventy five people) equal to 5.65%; Christians numbered 22 294 (twenty two thousand two hundred ninety-four) the soul or equal to 0.66%, Catholics 24 306 (twenty four thousand three hundred and six people) or to reach 0.70% ; Buddhist 22 550 (twenty two thousand people or 0.64%. When compared with the comparison of data population in 1983 will be seen very rapid growth at all. In 1983 the population of the island of Bali as a whole is almost to 2,708,893 (two million seven hundred eight thousand eight hundred and ninety three people), and who are Hindus reached 2,517,461 (two million five hundred seventeen and four hundred sixty-one people) this data is from the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Thus, it will be interesting to know how the experiences of Muslim people live in Bali. Thirdly, Bali bomb broke the harmonious relations among believers, particularly Muslims, so the question can be risen here how is the effects of Bali bomb for Muslims.

Banyuwangi Muslims are the group that becomes my samples of study. I think that Muslims from Banyuwangi have a significant position in Bali. Firstly, geographically Banyuwangi is next to Bali. In some cases, both areas share each other for instance in cultures. In addition, the history of Banyuwangi could not be separated from the existence of Bali's kingdom. M.C. Ricklef in *Mystic Synthesis in Java*, also mentions about the influences of Bali in Blambangan, and it became the factor why Islam came late in Blambangan.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the question is whether this condition influences in their relations between Balinese Hindu people and Banyuwangi Muslim people. Secondly, comparing with people from other areas, Banyuwangi people are the highest number

<sup>1</sup> Masoed, M. *Amuk Banjarmasin*, (Jakarta:Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia, 1997), p. 29

<sup>2</sup> Rickleft, M.C. *Mystic Synthesis in Java*. (Uniated States: EastBridge, 2006), p. 79



of people who come to Bali for working. As a result, the influences of Banyuwangi people cannot be avoided.

To collect data, I interviewed eleven Banyuwangi Muslims. Because of my distance, I used written interviews. I sent emails for them, and they replied by email too. Some of them are members of Forum Lareosing.org. This informal organization attempts to connect Banyuwangi people with using website. I could say that most members of this forum are young generation. They live in America, Europe, Asia, and around Indonesia. They use website to communicate. Other interviewees are the active members of Ikawangi (*Ikatan Keluarga Banyuwangi* - Banyuwangi family organization) in Bali. This organization has been established in November, 2009. The purpose of this organization is to bridge the communication among Banyuwangi people who live in Bali.

Table I  
Table of Interviewees

No	Name	Gender	Years of living in Bali
1	Eko Narko	Male	11 years
2	Kholik Mawardi	Male	9 years
3	Lulut Joni Prasojo	Male	11 years
4	Ifron Rosyadi	Male	15 years
5	Sutyono	Male	18 years
6	Ita Widyawati	Female	9 years
7	Abdul Kholik	Male	10 years
8	Noviyanto Nugroho	Male	9 years
9	Fathul Huda	Male	3 years
10	Bowo	Male	5 years
11	Lailiya	Female	10 years

For this paper, I will break down into several subtitles. First, I will attempt to study about the history of the relationship between Islam and Hindu in Bali. I purpose it in order to find the frame of relations between both religions and both

areas, so I can use it when I analyze the results of my interviews. Second, I am going to discuss about my interviewees' experiences when they live in Hindu communities in term of religious life. Third, in this point, I will focus on my interviewees' basic knowledge of Hindu. It is to know the contribution of Hindu environment in their knowledge of Hindu. Fourth, the topic of this point is the interpretation of the term tolerance by Banyuwangi Muslim people. This paper will be closed with conclusion.

## B. HISTORY OF ISLAM IN BALI

The history of Islamic penetration in Bali had begun long time ago. There are also some versions of story about the entrance of Islam in Bali. One version connected the story with the history of Blambangan kingdom or right now, this place is known Banyuwangi. At the time, Mataram kingdom which was the Islamic kingdom was known ambitiously in efforts to scatter Islam. Mataram had conquered almost all regions in Java. Banten which is at the western of Java and Blambangan at the eastern of Java were still free from the domination of Mataram. Actually, Blambangan did not have power as Mataram. However, since Blambangan was just cross by to Bali, Blambangan received supporting from Bali. Moreover, Bali kingdom played a strategy to reserve their areas from Mataram. If Blambangan defeated by Mataram, it would be easier for Mataram in an effort to expand their authority to Bali. Blambangan was also a fortress to Bali to avoid the influence of Java to Bali region.<sup>3</sup>

The relation between Blambangan and Bali was not only due to the geography but also religious factor became the key for Blambangan to receive the support from Bali. A large number of Blambangan royal family were not originally from Blambangan but from Bali, so the close relations between both made the strong supporting for Blambangan. Blambangan, indeed, needed the support from Bali, in the same time, Blambangan also wanted to release from Bali's influences.

Blambangan territory had been also under Buleleng and Mengwi kingdoms. Both kingdoms were in Bali island. In the year 1697-1764,

<sup>3</sup> Vlekke, B. H.M. *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia*, (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd, 1959), p. 146.

Blambangan had been in power Buleleng and Mengwi. This happened after the two sons of Sasranagara, Mas Purba and Mas Patih were encouraged by his mother to ask Buleleng kingdom for help in order to destroy the power of Blambangan king at the time. Buleleng sent troops to Blambangan. When the war had been won, the troops returned to Buleleng with bringing 800 Blambangan people. They carried the Blambangan's royal heritage. It was a symbol that Blambangan kingdom was under the rule of Buleleng. Mas Purba eventually became king of Blambangan, with the title of Pangeran Adipati Danureja, and he ruled Blambangan in 1698 until 1736. In his reign, he was ruled by Buleleng against Mataram and its allies. King of Buleleng did not want Blambangan taken over by Matraman because it would endanger the position of Bali. In the year 1729, Buleleng was attacked by the royal Mengwi, and Buleleng lost. The Power moved to Mengwi. Blambangan also automatically switched from the power of Buleleng to Mengwi.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the relationship between Blambangan and Bali were complicated. Each kingdom had the politic reasons behind their relationship. However, this connection could be categorized succeed to resist from the Mataram's influences.

After Blambangan could be conquered by Mataram kingdom, the influences of Islam could not be stopped in areas around Blambangan, including Bali. Many people from Blambangan crossed to Bali and brought the Islamic tenets to Bali. The history of the connection between kingdoms in Blambangan and Bali is believed to be the entry point of Islam in Bali.

However the Islamic penetration was not easy. The geography of Bali with range of hills is different with Java, so Mataram kingdom as the first Islamic kingdom in Java could not conquer this area. The another factor was the situation of politic in Bali was dissimilar to Java. Indeed, the important factor was that Islamic people never successfully intervened Bali kingdoms. The kings of Bali kingdom were very strict to hold the Hindu ritual. As we know that some rituals in Hindu are using pork. Pork is prohibited in Islam. As a result, Muslims were not able to joint and

intervene Hindu Balinese.<sup>5</sup>

In the *Babad Dalam* which is quoted by Hasan Ambary (1985), there is Gelgel Kampong, which is five kilometers from Klungkung. People in this kampong believe that their ancestors were from Majapahit. They came in Bali in 16 century as accompaniments of Bali kingkom who was Dalem Majapahit. Then, they lived permanently in Gelgel, and established their community.<sup>6</sup>

Another version is written by I Gede Suwindia (2005) in his thesis with the title, *Pluralitas Kehidupan Umat Beragama di Bali: Study Kasus Pola Interaksi Komunitas Islam dan Hindu Di Desa Pemogan, Denpasar*. He asserts that the Islamic penetration is usually connected to the existence of Raden Sastrodiningrat. The story of him was not only one version. However, all versions have one similarity which Raden Sastrodiningrat married with Gusti Ayu Rai. She was a daughter of Pemecutan king. Raden Sastrodiningrat influenced his wife to convert to Islam. Finally Gusti Ayu Rai spread out Islam in Bali.<sup>7</sup>

Right now, the connection between Islam and Hindu in Bali appears in almost aspects. For instance in daily social life, in some areas such as in Pegayaman, Singaraja, it is common that Muslims combine their names with Hindu names such as Wayan Maratussholihah, Made Sahid. Wirawan (1996) also notes that in some Mosques and temples the ornaments combine between Islam and Hindu cultures (p. 234).<sup>8</sup>

From the explanation above, we are able to figure out that Islam has existed long time ago. The harmonious relation between Hindu and Islam in Bali is not established recently. Hindu people could receive Muslims to penetrate in their community. In the same hand, Muslims could adapt with majority population. I think that it is the key to keep the harmonious relation between both believers.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 283

<sup>6</sup> Ambary, H. M. "Mesjid Kampung Gelgel, Kabupaten Klungkung (Bali)" in *Archipel*. Volume 30, 1985. L'Islam en Indonésie II. 1985, p. 39

<sup>7</sup> Suwindia, I. G *Pluralitas Kehidupan Umat Beragama di Bali: Study Kasus Pola Interaksi Komunitas Islam dan Hindu Di Desa Pemogan, Denpasar*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2005 (thesis). p. 6-7

<sup>8</sup> Wirawan, A. A. B. *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam Di Beberapa Kabupaten Di Bali*. (Denpasar: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Udayana, 1979), p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> Lekkerkerker, C. "Sejarah Blambangan." Pitoyo (Transl.) in *Jejak*, 2005.p 1043-1044

### C. BANYUWANGI MUSLIMS' EXPERIENCES IN BALI

Diana L. Eck (2007) addresses the idea of "we" in term of pluralism. She states that the majority population usually determines themselves as "we." People who are outside from the community are considered as others. The identity of we influences in many aspects, including religion. Others usually do not have any voices to express their identity and the position. In another word, "we" have the power to control everything.<sup>9</sup>

In the case of Bali, the majority is Hindu, so who the consideration as "we" is Hindu people. Islam as minority population is in the group of 'others.' Studying the experiences of 'others' must be interesting because we attempt to know the experiences from the minority. From it, we are also able to know how the minority sees the majority.

All my interviewees say that before they live in Bali, they already know that the majority people in Bali are Hindu. However, they still choose living in Bali because of economical reason. Eko Narko who lives in Bali for 11 years says "Economy is my main factor to move from Banyuwangi to Bali since I think that with my skill Bali would give the opportunity for me." Bowo also asserts that he chose Bali because the vacancy is still competitive. Noviyanto Nugroho and other interviewees share opinion with Narko and Bowo. For Sutiyono, Bali is the perfect place for him to learn foreign language. In Bali, he would like to establish the networking with people from outside Indonesia. Indeed, from it, I can figure out that religion is not consideration when they decide to live in Bali.

In Bali, seven from my interviewees live in heterogynous community. It means that in the community there are Hindu and Islam people. The reasons of them are mostly the strategy places. They attempt to have places not far from their works or their school. Another reason is because they think that heterogynous community is more comfortable and safety. Sutiyono argues that heterogynous environment is useful for him since he will be not busy to do many customary laws (*adat*). No one does give a reason about religion.

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<sup>9</sup> Eck, L. D. "Prospect of Pluralism: Voice and Vision in the Study of Religion. In *Journal of The American Academy of Religion*, Desember Vol 75, No 4., 2007, p. 760-761

In fact, the same religious community is not the priority for them.

Four interviewees live in Hindu community. Lailiya says that she chose Hindu area because she does not want to be far from the city. Kholik Mawardi has also same argument about his choice to rent a house in Hindu community. He asserts that, "It is a perfect place for me since it is not far from my office." A unique reason is given by Narko. He views that living in Hindu community is far from noisy and calm. In my view, as interviewees who live in heterogynous community, the position and situation of places are the more important for them rather than religious reasons.

Each interviewee has different experiences when they live in the Hindu areas. Lailiya notes:

*I feel that almost Hindu Balinese do not want to assimilate with newcomers. If there is, the percentage may be only one percentage. Only a few of them has tolerance with other believers, for instance they do not eat in front of Muslims during Ramadhan month.*

In contrast, Bowo thinks that people in Bali already have good understanding of tolerance. Fathul Huda shares opinion with Bowo. Abdul Kholik that has a wife originally from Bali and she used to be Hindu before converted to Islam also mentions that there will not tension between Islam and Hindu people as long as they respect each other. In line with Huda, Ita Widayawati receives new knowledge about Hindu from her environment. She states that, " I can know their daily rituals, and their holy days although I am not able to memorize all holy days."

In Lulut Prasajo's opinion, living in Bali helps him to practice the theory of tolerance. According to Prasajo, as a minority community, Muslim should respect for the majority. Moreover, the majority has to protect the minority. Prasajo explains "With living in Hindu community, I am able to know their rituals, and I can more understand what I should and should not do." Nugroho has a same perspective as Prasajo that it can be medium to cultural change.

In Ifron Rosyadi's argument, Hindu Balinese usually will treat us unpleasant, particularly when they know that we are Muslims and from Java. However, Rosyadi suggests that, as newcomers, Banyuwangi Muslims should give full respect to Hindu Balinese as the owners of

places. The implementation of respect can be done with giving greeting when we meet them.

Bowo, Huda, Kholik, Widyawati, Narko, and Prasojjo never have unpleasant experiences during dealing with Hindu Balinese. However, Unlike them, Rosyadi often gets unpleasant treatment from Hindu Balinese, but he does not give more detail explanation regarding this point. Bali bomb in 2002 affected directly to Mawardi and Sutiyono. After the Bali bomb incident, they felt if the views of Hindu Balinese people very unfriendly and suspicious. Sutiyono shares his experience that, *"Every I went out from my house with using Muslim dress, I felt that every body kept looking at me differently."* Mawardi felt that he was ostracized from the neighborhood after the Bali bomb. Lailiya had also same experience. She had been insulted in public with the words, *"Sis, if you want to wear veil, the place is not here, but in Palestine."* She says that it really hurt her. In another time, she was rejected when she attempted to find a rent room since she wears veil.

In the relation with friends or neighbors who are Hindu Balinese, Nugroho states that, *"Some of them are good, but some are not. Usually we will have a good relation if they had lived in Java."* Widyawati never has a problem with her Hindu Balinese friends, but she is often uncomfortable with her neighbors' attitudes. *"When I sat in front of my house, with a live motor bicycle they just slip by, without asking me. This is very different from their villages in Java. In Java, the obedient manners is very important,"* Widyawati explains. According to Lailiya, she has distance with her Hindu Balinese friends in the university. Usually they make their own group, so Lailiya never hangs out or just chats with them.

Prasojjo addresses that Banyuwangi Muslim and Hindu Balinese have good relations. In religious occasions, usually they help each other. To illustrate, when Muslims have a religious occasion such as *Maulid Nabi Muhammad*, Pecalang (traditional Balinese security guards) help to secure the event. Kholik supports Prasojjo's argument. He says that *"in every religious occasions, Hindu Balinese help to arrange such parking and security."* Moreover, other interviewees agree that they never have problems with their Hindu Balinese friends or neighbors.

When I ask whether Hindu rituals interrupt

their religious life, Rosyadi, Mawardi, Narko, Bowo, Huda, Nugroho, Kholik and Widyawati answer that Hindu rituals do not affect them, although in some cases Nugroho feels inconvenience when the roads are blocked for rituals. Prasojjo has the same opinion as Nugroho that blocking the road bothers his activity. During nyepi, Prasojjo felt nuisances him since he cannot do any activities, and lights are banned. However, Prasojjo adds his argument that Muslims also often do the same things. For example, during Friday praying, some roads in front of mosques are also blocked.

In the Hindu rituals, Lailiya thinks that they do not affect her religious life. Conversely, in the treatment, Hindu Balinese often discriminate other believers. *"For example, many times I ask the special place for Muslim to pray in my university, but the university staffs never grant it,"* Lailiya says. Another example is the holidays for Islam such as Ied al-Fitri not more than three days. In contrast, university will be off about a week.

The Hindu environment influences in the quality and quantity of interviewees' religious rituals. Nugroho states that he felt that his religious ritual is getting worst. Unlike Nugroho, Narko thinks that he feels closer to the Islam after living in Bali. Prasojjo also believes that living in Bali teaches him how to be a Muslim without any pressure from others. He illustrates that it give a new sense of being a Muslim when he should keep fasting during Ramadhan in the Hindu environment. Sutiyono agrees with Prasojjo that his quality and quantity of religiosity increase since he lives in Bali. *"I want to show other believers that as a Muslim I can fast although my environment does not support,"* Sutiyono confirms. In contrast, Bowo, Widyawati, and Lailiya does not feel that living in Bali changes their quantity and quality of religiosity.

From interviewees' answers, I can figure out that the majority community, in this case Hindu Balinese, still treats differently to Banyuwangi Muslims. The identity as "we" influences how they behave and see other people from dissimilar religions. However, I think that it is not true if I generalize since in some cases the harmonious relations between Banyuwangi Muslim and Hindu Balinese are already established.

#### D. BANYUWANGI MUSLIMS' KNOWLEDGE OF HINDU

In this point, I would like to analyze how the Hindu environment in Bali contribute in Banyuwangi Muslims' understanding of Hindu religion. Before they moved to Bali, in Banyuwangi as Muslims they are superior because the majority population in Banyuwangi is Muslims. Usually as majority, people are careless with other religions. Therefore, when they become the minority, do they have willing to know another religion?

Surprisingly, some of the interviewees never interest to study Hindu such as Mawardi, Narko, Rosyadi, Huda, Nugroho, and Ita. Unlike them, Sutiyono wants to know more about Hindu. However, he notes that it is only for social intercourse. He says that he hopes that if he knows Hindu, he can be received easier in his community. Prosojo also reads some books and articles to increase his knowledge about Hindu. Lailiya, Bowo, and Kholik have curiosity to study Hindu.

Almost all interviewees have experiences in the following or just observing Hindu rituals. Sutiyono believes that all Banyuwangi Muslims in Bali follow the Hindu ritual even not such a big ritual. For example, every morning Hindu Balinese always sprinkle holy waters in the desks, including Muslims' desks. For Sutiyono, Muslims should respect this rituals since it is one of important rituals for Hindu Balinese.

To have more understanding of Hindu, Prosojo had followed the *ngaben* ritual from the beginning until the end, and he took pictures of this ritual. Lailiyah had also joined *ngaben* ritual once time. Widyawati tells that she does want to join the ritual, but for just observing, she did many times. Like Widyawati, Huda, Kholik, and Mawardi just watch the ritual, and they do not involve in the rituals. Narko and Bowo say that they had joined the ritual without giving the explanation what kinds of ritual they involve.

In term of understanding of basic culture of Hindu, which is caste, from eleven Interviewees, only three people do not know the caste in Hindu. Nine interviewees claim that they know the caste in Hindu although some of them only know little. However, Sutiyono and Lailiya can explain more detail about caste in Hindu. It indicates that they have good knowledge of this culture.

From this explanation, my hypothesis is not always true because being minority group does not mean that Banyuwangi Muslims will interest to know or study the majority religion. Living in Bali with Hindu environment does not always affect Banyuwangi Muslims to have more understanding of Hindu.

#### E. BANYUWANGI MUSLIMS' VIEWS OF TOLERANCE

In my hypothesis, when people have experiences living with other religions, they will be more tolerance. Therefore, I would like to know how Banyuwangi Muslims who already experience with Hindu Balinese determine tolerance. When I gave the question, are there any differences before and after living in Bali with Hindu to be the majority population when they see other religions? I am so surprise since five interviewees do not feel any changing of their views regarding other religions. Other interviewees believe that their views for other religions are changing after living in Hindu community. They can be more tolerance with other religions.

For Mawardi, tolerance is that we have to respect other believers. Bowo adds the definition of tolerance from Mawardi. He says that tolerance is also giving respects for other faith. Prosojo determines that tolerance is when all believers can live together peacefully. Lailiya utters that "*Tolerance is that we should respect the religious life of other. We understand that every believer has a right to do his/her ritual without any pressures from other. We also cannot bother other believers when they do their rituals.*" Sutiyono gives a strict definition of tolerance. In his view, religion and faith cannot be tolerated. Only believers can tolerate others. Eko Narko connects his definition of tolerance with Quran which is "*Your religion is yours, my religion is mine.*"

The answers from my interviewees in one side support my hypothesis that the experiences living with other religions will contribute in their opinion of tolerance. Nonetheless, my hypothesis seems that it does not work hundred percentages since many of interviewees think that living in the different religious environment does not affect anything in term of their views of tolerance.

#### F. CONCLUSION

Islam in Bali has long history since many

centuries ago. There is no single version of history in term of Islamization in Bali. Islamic cultures penetrate in Hindu cultures in many spheres such as social life and art. Indeed, Banyuwangi and Bali since pre-colonial era had established the connection. The Banyuwangi kingdom at the time received support and influence from Bali kingdom. The history and geography make both areas closer although Banyuwangi and Bali have different majority of religions.

Although the harmonious relations between Hindu Balinese and Banyuwangi Muslim people had existed, in reality, Hindu Balinese which are the majority population still treat differently for

Banyuwangi Muslims. Indeed, it proves that the superiority cannot be truly avoided in the relations between both groups.

Being minority does not always affect Banyuwangi Muslims to know the majority religion. I think that it is because the main reason when they came to Bali is only economy, so everything outside economy will not be interesting for them. Living in Bali, moreover, does not contribute in their understanding of tolerance.

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**A**

**Aam S. Rusydiana & Abrista Devi**

Staf pengajar dan peneliti pada Sekolah Tinggi Ekonomi Islam (STEI) Tazkia. Email: tasik\_pisan@yahoo.com. Pengajar pada Universitas Ibn Khaldun (UIK) Bogor. Juga sebagai konsultan riset pada SMART Consulting.

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**Ahmad Ali MD**

Sekolah Pascasarjana UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Jl. Kertamukti No. 5 Pisangan Barat Cirendeu Ciputat Banten, Email; alimd3708@gmail.com

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**Ahmad Dumyathi Bashori**

Dosen UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Email: dimyathi70@gmail.com

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**Ali Rama dan Makhlan**

Dosen Fakultas Ekonomi dan Bisnis UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta & Anggota Konsorsium Ekonomi Islam, E-mail: rama\_clb\_ku@yahoo.com & makhlanKEI@yahoo.com

“PEMBANGUNAN EKONOMI DALAM TINJAUAN MAQASHID SYARI’AH”

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**Ali Romdhoni, MA**

Peneliti dan dosen Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Mathali’ul Falah Pati Jawa Tengah), Email: ali\_romdhoni@yahoo.com

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**A. Zaenurrosyid**

Dosen STAI Matholiul Falah Pati dan Mahasiswa Program Doktoral Islamic Law IAIN Walisongo), Email : guns\_rosyid@yahoo.com

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## N

### **Nihayatul Wafiroh**

Alumnae of University of Hawaii at Manoa Honolulu, Email: ninikwafiroh@gmail.com

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## Q

### **Qowaid**

Peneliti Puslitbang Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan, Jl. M.H. Thamrin No. 6 Jakarta pusat

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## S

### **Suprpto**

Peneliti pada Puslitbang Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan, Email: suprpto.litbang@yahoo.com

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Contact Person:

Dr. H. Susari, M.A. (Redaktur Eksekutif)

HP: 0821 141 70501

Naskah diemail ke:

[jurnaldialog@yahoo.com](mailto:jurnaldialog@yahoo.com)

[soesary@yahoo.com](mailto:soesary@yahoo.com)

