NEGOTIATING RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN A MUSLIM MINORITY CONTEXT: A LOCAL CULTURE–BASED EDUCATIONAL MODEL FROM BALI

Suparta
IAIN Syaikh Abdurrahman Siddik Bangka Belitung, Indonesia,
partasuparta23@yahoo.co.id

Wahyudi
IAIN Syaikh Abdurrahman Siddik Bangka Belitung, Indonesia,
wahyudi@iainsasbabel.ac.id

Mubaidi Sulaeman
Universitas Islam Tribakti Lirboyo Kediri, Indonesia,
mubaidisulaeman@uit-lirboyo.ac.id

Abstract

This study aims to examine in depth the model of religious tolerance education grounded in local culture within a Muslim minority context in Bungaya, Bebandem, Karangasem, Bali. It seeks to reveal how local cultural values function as social and pedagogical resources in sustaining interreligious harmony in a predominantly Hindu society. Methodologically, the study employs a descriptive quantitative design complemented by a phenomenological approach. Data were collected by focusing on the lived experiences and roles of religious leaders and madrasah principals in Muslim minority areas, particularly in their efforts to implement and transmit models of religious tolerance education both within the broader community and in formal educational settings. The findings demonstrate that religious tolerance among Muslim minorities in Bungaya is constructed through locally rooted practices that emphasize mutual respect, cultural participation, and everyday interreligious engagement. Community leaders and religious figures play a central role in translating local cultural norms into educational practices that encourage dialogue, cooperation, and peaceful coexistence between Hindu and Muslim communities. This study implies that local culture–based tolerance education offers a sustainable and context-sensitive model for managing religious diversity in minority settings. The findings contribute to Islamic education and religious studies by highlighting the strategic role of

local cultural wisdom in strengthening social cohesion and providing an alternative framework for religious tolerance education in multi-religious societies.
Keywords: *Religious Tolerance Education, Local Culture, Muslim Minority, Interreligious, Harmony.*

A. Introduction

Recent scholarship on religious tolerance and Muslim minorities in Indonesia has largely been shaped by two dominant strands of analysis: a normative–constitutional approach that emphasizes Pancasila and pluralism, and critical studies that foreground discrimination against internal Islamic minorities such as the Ahmadiyya and Shi'a communities resulting from the politicization of religious authority and the standardization of orthodoxy(Burhani, 2014; Hakim, 2021; Warnis et al., 2025). While this body of research has made significant contributions, its strong focus on intra-doctrinal conflict often overlooks how religious tolerance is negotiated culturally by Muslim communities that are sociologically positioned as minorities within multi-religious settings. In this regard, the experience of Muslims in Bali—particularly in Karangasem—offers a distinctive analytical terrain, where tolerance is shaped less through theological contestation than through educational practices, cultural participation, and everyday social relations with the Hindu majority(Hadi & Usbani, 2024; Hauser-Schäublin & Harnish, 2014a; Tohari & Raya, 2021).

The dominance of Hindu culture and religion in Bali Province can be traced back to the colonial period(Sulistiono et al., 2019). It was the Dutch colonial administration that deliberately shaped Bali in accordance with their vision as the "Island of the Gods," surrounded by predominantly Muslim islands(Turki et al., 2025). This policy emerged from Dutch concerns over the rise of Islamic movements in Sumatra and Java that persistently struggled for Indonesian independence. In this sense, Hinduism in Bali was strategically positioned by the Dutch as a counterbalance to Islam. The Dutch government consistently implemented policies to preserve and control Bali in line with their original objectives. Even today, the system of *desa adat* (customary villages), which was formally established around 1920, continues to exert significant influence on governance structures and political life in Bali(Arjawa & Zulkifli, 2021).

According to data from the Bali Provincial Bureau of Statistics (BPS) in 2023, adherents of Islam, Protestantism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Confucianism, and other religions remain minorities, while Hinduism continues to be the majority religion in the province. Based on these data, Muslim minorities are concentrated in several regencies: Karangasem with 16,221 individuals, Bangli with 2,185 individuals, Klungkung with 7,794 individuals, and Gianyar with 18,834 individuals.(Bali, 2024). This phenomenon is considered by the researcher to be particularly compelling for in-depth investigation. However, the focus of the study is specifically directed toward religious tolerance education among Muslim minorities in Karangasem Regency, with particular attention to Bungaya Village, Bebandem District, as a localized setting in which everyday practices of tolerance are produced, negotiated, and transmitted through educational and socio-cultural processes(Hooykaas, 2025).

Karangasem Regency in Bali Province constitutes a significant social context for examining the negotiation of religious tolerance within a Muslim minority setting. Structurally, the region is strongly supported by the *desa adat* and *banjar adat* systems, which continue to function as key institutions regulating social and religious life(Supardi, 2022). Bungaya Village in Bebandem District, recognized as one of the oldest customary villages in Bali, demonstrates the continuity of these local cultural structures and symbols that shape interreligious interactions(Supardi, 2022). The presence of historical legacies such as the *selonding* musical instruments from the tenth-century Balinese kingdom not only reflects cultural continuity but also indicates that Bungaya's social space has been shaped through long-standing negotiations between tradition, power, and religious practice(Hägerdal, 2016).

From the perspective of Muslim minority communities, Karangasem holds strong historical significance. Islam has been present in this region since the sixteenth century through political and social relations between Islamic kingdoms and the Kingdom of Karangasem, later reinforced by broader regional dynamics up to the colonial period(Dewi et al., 2023; Iswanto et al., 2024a). The patterns of Muslim migration that emerged during this era produced communities that remain demographically minor but socially embedded within local cultural structures(Iswanto et al., 2024b). This condition distinguishes Muslims in Karangasem from internal Islamic minorities that often face

doctrinal delegitimization, as the primary challenge here lies not in theological conflict but in negotiating Islamic identity within a predominantly Hindu cultural environment.

The distinctiveness of Bungaya Village lies in the way religious tolerance is practiced through cultural participation, everyday social interaction, and both formal and informal educational mechanisms. In this context, tolerance is not merely understood as a normative principle or state policy, but as a lived practice that is continuously negotiated and learned through local culture. Ulama, customary leaders, and educational actors function as cultural brokers who translate Islamic values into a local culture–based educational model of tolerance, enabling Muslim minorities to maintain their religious identity while sustaining social harmony. Accordingly, this study seeks to explain how the negotiation of religious tolerance is materialized in a contextual and sustainable educational model in Bungaya Village, and to contribute to broader scholarly discussions on religious tolerance in Muslim minority contexts in Indonesia.

B. Method

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method with a phenomenological approach aimed at exploring in depth the lived experiences, roles, and perspectives of religious leaders and madrasah principals in Muslim minority areas in implementing religious tolerance education(Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The research focuses on how these key actors construct, practice, and transmit models of tolerance education both within the broader community and in formal educational settings, particularly in Bungaya Village, Bebandem District, Karangasem Regency, Bali Province.

The fieldwork was conducted over approximately four months, encompassing the stages of preliminary study, data collection, and verification of findings(Annells, 2006). Data were gathered through ten sessions of limited participant observation focusing on religious activities, interreligious social interactions, educational practices in madrasahs, and Muslim participation in local cultural and ritual traditions. In addition, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with twelve purposively selected informants, including Islamic religious leaders, madrasah principals, customary leaders, village officials, and community figures who possess direct experience and knowledge of religious tolerance practices in the Muslim minority context(Ciesielska et al., 2018).

Supporting data were obtained through documentation, such as institutional archives, records of religious and educational activities, and relevant local policy documents.

Data analysis was carried out using a phenomenological–thematic approach(Ezzy, 2013). The analytical process involved data reduction to identify information relevant to the research focus, open coding to generate initial themes, thematic categorization to organize patterns of meaning, and the extraction of essential meanings from the informants' experiences. Analysis was conducted concurrently with data collection to ensure depth and coherence of interpretation, and the credibility of the findings was strengthened through source and method triangulation.

C. Results and Discussion

Results

a. Muslim Minorities, Religious Tolerance, and Contextual Education

Scholarship on Muslim minorities and religious tolerance education has expanded significantly within global academic literature, particularly in the context of multicultural and multireligious societies(Fahmi et al., 2025; Kosim et al., 2025). Early studies generally positioned Muslim minorities as communities facing structural challenges, including social marginalization, identity pressures, and continuous negotiation with dominant cultures(R'boul, 2021). Within this framework, tolerance is understood not merely as a moral virtue but as a social and cultural strategy that enables minority communities to sustain their presence within public spaces dominated by majority groups.

Muslim minority communities across different regions tend to develop patterns of social adaptation grounded in social compromise, interreligious dialogue, and the strengthening of internal communal cohesion(Abbas, 2024). However, this body of work primarily emphasizes demographic and geopolitical dimensions and pays limited attention to how tolerance is produced and reproduced through educational practices and everyday social interactions(Fulton, 2017; Peek, 2005). This gap has subsequently been addressed by socio-religious studies that foreground *lived religion* and the quotidian practices of religious communities within plural settings.

From a theoretical standpoint, Talal Asad's(Asad, 2013) concept of Islam as a *discursive tradition* offers a critical intervention by shifting the study of religion away

from normative doctrine toward historically situated social practices shaped by power relations. This perspective allows tolerance to be analyzed not as a universal moral prescription but as the outcome of ongoing processes of social learning and negotiation(Anjum, 2007; Asad, 2009). Empirical studies drawing on this framework suggest that religious tolerance often emerges through disciplinary practices, everyday ethics, and sustained intergroup relations rather than through formal curricula alone.

Studies on religious tolerance and minority education have also developed in Asian contexts, including China and Southeast Asia(Platzdasch & Saravanamuttu, 2014). Hui and Uyghur Muslims in China, argue that tolerance and the sustainability of Muslim minority identity depend largely on the community's capacity to manage relations with the state and majority society through social, cultural, and nonformal educational strategies(Friedrichs, 2017; Watson, 1976). While their study offers valuable insights into minority dynamics, it remains largely situated within frameworks of state policy and control, leaving the role of local traditions and everyday social practices as media of tolerance education underexplored(Dillon, 2013).

In the Indonesian context, research on religious tolerance has predominantly focused on discourses of religious moderation, state intervention, and formal educational institutions such as schools and pesantren(Ahmad, 2012). A number of studies emphasize the importance of moderation-oriented curricula, multicultural education, and teachers' roles in inculcating tolerance(Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2020). However, such approaches tend to be normative and top-down, assuming that tolerance can be effectively transmitted through policy instruments and formal programs. Critical scholarship challenges this assumption, arguing that tolerance as a social disposition is not necessarily aligned with curricular content but is more profoundly shaped by concrete social experiences and interpersonal relations.

The sociology of peace and conflict literature, particularly the concept of *everyday peace*(Mac Ginty, 2014), provides an alternative analytical lens by emphasizing that social harmony in plural societies is often maintained through micro-level practices such as everyday compromise, conflict avoidance, and informal cross-group agreements. This perspective is especially relevant for understanding Muslim minority contexts, where tolerance is not always articulated through formal discourse but enacted through pragmatic and context-sensitive social practices.

Furthermore, (Honneth, 2001)theory of *recognition* underscores that tolerance and social justice can only be realized when minority groups receive social, cultural, and symbolic recognition from the majority. In many cases, the absence of such recognition constitutes the root of identity-based conflict. Nevertheless, scholarship that integrates recognition theory with tolerance education grounded in local customs and traditions remains limited, particularly in contexts where Muslim minorities coexist within societies marked by strong majority religious traditions, such as Bali(Parker, 2017).

Research on the role of local wisdom in tolerance education has begun to attract scholarly attention, especially within multicultural education and the anthropology of education. These studies demonstrate that local traditions can function as an effective *hidden curriculum* for transmitting tolerance across generations(Bakar et al., 2025). However, most existing studies focus on majority communities or indigenous societies in general, rather than examining how local wisdom operates as a form of social pedagogy for Muslim minority communities specifically(Hauser-Schäublin & Harnish, 2014b).

Based on this literature review, it can be concluded that although scholarship on Muslim minorities, religious tolerance, and multicultural education has developed substantially, significant research gaps remain. First, there is a paucity of studies integrating Muslim minority perspectives with analyses of tolerance practices rooted in local customs and historical narratives. Second, tolerance education continues to be predominantly conceptualized within institutional and normative frameworks, while the practical and lived experiences of minority communities receive insufficient attention. Third, Bali as a site of intense interaction between Muslim minorities and a Hindu majority remains underexamined within international scholarship.

The present study on the Model of Religious Tolerance Education among Muslim Minorities in Bungaya Village seeks to address these gaps by demonstrating that tolerance does not emerge from the dilution of religious identity but rather from its reinforcement through dialogical, historical, and cultural engagement. By positioning social practices, local traditions, and educational institutions as central arenas of tolerance education, this study contributes to the global discourse on Muslim minorities and offers a contextualized model of tolerance education that is particularly relevant for multicultural societies.

b. Model of Religious Tolerance Education among Muslim Minorities in Bungaya Village, Karangasem, Bali

This study is grounded in the social context of Bungaya Village, Karangasem, Bali, as a lived space of a Muslim community positioned as a minority within a society shaped by strong Hindu traditions. In this context, religious tolerance education does not operate primarily through formal curricula or structured educational programs; rather, it emerges and is reproduced through layered, contextual, and socially embedded practices rooted in the historical experience of coexistence. The findings indicate that Muslims in Bungaya cultivate tolerance as a cultural and social strategy to sustain peaceful interreligious relations—not as a form of theological compromise, but as a practical means of managing difference in everyday life. This pattern resonates with global scholarship on Muslim minorities, which emphasizes that minority communities tend to develop adaptive mechanisms based on dialogue, social negotiation, and respect for difference as prerequisites for social cohesion (Kettani, 2010; Hanif & Maula, 2022).

At the cognitive level, tolerance is shaped through an awareness of the inevitability of differences in beliefs and worldviews. Informants consistently emphasized that difference cannot be eliminated or forcibly homogenized and therefore must be managed through mutual respect. The Head of the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Karangasem Regency stressed that acceptance of difference is a fundamental prerequisite for social harmony in multicultural regions such as Karangasem (Serinada, interview, 7 May 2024). This view is reinforced by local structural officials, who noted that cognitive tolerance is formed through the intersection of family experience, interreligious social interaction, formal education, and the immediate living environment (Astawa, interview, 7 May 2024). Tolerance, therefore, is not merely a normative attitude but a reflexive cognitive framework continuously produced through everyday social life.

At the religious level, the study reveals that tolerance is practiced through a moderate and non-coercive understanding of religion. Religion is positioned as a source of ethical values that foster respect for adherents of other faiths, rather than as an instrument of identity-based exclusivity. The Head of the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) of Karangasem, who is also active in the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) and the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB), emphasized that each individual possesses personal convictions and moral guidelines that cannot be imposed upon others;

consequently, tolerance becomes the cornerstone of religious life in plural contexts (Mursyid, interview, 7 May 2024). This orientation is evident in the daily life of Bungaya residents, where Muslims freely practice their religious obligations while maintaining harmonious relations with members of other religious communities (Anwar, interview, 8 May 2024; Irfan, interview, 8 May 2024).

Beyond religious belief, tolerance is also constructed through racial and ethnic awareness. The Bungaya community regards racial and ethnic differences as social realities that cannot serve as bases for hierarchy or discrimination. Village government informants emphasized that racial tolerance is reflected in everyday interactions that place individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds in equal positions, both in social relations and communal activities (Ayu, interview, 8 May 2024; Efendi, interview, 8 May 2024). This model of tolerance functions as a preventive mechanism against the emergence of stereotypes and prejudices rooted in physical or ethnic identity.

Another prominent dimension is tolerance based on social status. The study finds that Bungaya residents possess a strong awareness of the dangers associated with claims of social superiority. Differences in economic class, occupational status, or social position are not used as grounds for discriminatory treatment, as historical experience has shown that social intolerance often becomes a source of conflict and community fragmentation. A member of the Bungaya Village Consultative Body emphasized that social tolerance is essential for suppressing prejudice, resentment, and social fear, thereby enabling communal life to be built upon mutual respect and recognition (Suardana, interview, 8 May 2024).

Furthermore, the study reveals that religious tolerance among Muslim minorities in Bungaya is profoundly shaped by Balinese local customs and traditions. In a multicultural society, tolerance is understood as the capacity to view other cultures on equal terms, without attitudes of condescension. An educator in Karangasem highlighted that respect for local customs and cultural traditions is a key foundation for harmonious social life amid diversity (Hartana, interview, 7 May 2024). These findings demonstrate that tolerance education is not transmitted solely through religious institutions or formal education, but also through living local wisdom embedded in everyday social practices.

Finally, the study identifies political tolerance as an integral component of broader tolerance education. Political tolerance is understood as respect for differing political

views and choices without coercion or discrimination. A local historian from Bungaya noted that the community's ability to prevent political differences from escalating into horizontal conflict is the result of a long-standing tradition of dialogue and respect for civil rights (Yusuf, interview, 8 May 2024). In this context, political tolerance functions as a democratic buffer that sustains social stability within a minority community.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that religious tolerance education among Muslim minorities in Bungaya Village is multidimensional and deeply contextual, encompassing cognitive, religious, racial, social, cultural, and political dimensions. These six interrelated dimensions collectively form an ecosystem of tolerance that enables Muslim minority communities to coexist harmoniously within Bali's multicultural society, while also enriching academic discourse on tolerance practices in global Muslim minority contexts.

c. The Role of Rituals, Local Traditions, and Schools as Inclusive Spaces

Religious tolerance education in Bungaya Village, Bebandem District, Karangasem Regency, Bali, has developed through organic and historically grounded cultural strategies, particularly in response to the position of Muslims as a minority within the dominant Hindu Balinese cultural environment. In this context, tolerance is not understood as a theological compromise or a dilution of religious identity, but rather as a social practice sustained through historical consciousness, local ethical norms, and the leadership of religious figures and madrasah principals. Local culture thus functions as a primary medium of tolerance education, enabling the continuity of peaceful and sustainable interfaith social relations.

The framework of religious moderation provides a normative foundation that reinforces these practices of tolerance. Religious policymakers in Karangasem regard tolerance as an integral component of religious moderation that must be interpreted contextually in accordance with local social characteristics. Alongside national civic awareness, local wisdom, and non-violence, tolerance is practiced not merely through formal doctrinal instruction, but through exemplarity and the active involvement of religious leaders, government officials, and educators (Serinada, interview, 7 May 2024). This strategy underscores that tolerance education in minority contexts is more effective when implemented through concrete social practices rather than abstract normative approaches.

One of the most significant findings of this study is the role of rituals and local traditions as inclusive spaces for interreligious tolerance education. Various Hindu customary and religious ceremonies in Karangasem—such as *ngaben*, *usabe dangse*, and royal (*puri*) rituals—consistently involve Muslims as integral participants within the social structure of these events. This participation is not merely symbolic; in some cases, rituals cannot proceed until Muslims are present and actively involved, particularly in the process of carrying the bier of Hindu priests (*pandita*) (Astawa, interview, 7 May 2024; Efendi, interview, 8 May 2024). These practices demonstrate that tolerance in Bungaya is institutionalized within customary norms and intergenerational social agreements rather than confined to symbolic gestures.

At the same time, interreligious engagement is carefully regulated by clearly defined boundaries of faith (*akidah*). The strict separation of halal and non-halal food consumption constitutes a shared ethical agreement that is rigorously upheld. Violations of this agreement are regarded as serious moral transgressions capable of disrupting social harmony. This awareness illustrates that tolerance in Bungaya is constructed not through the blending of beliefs, but through ethically and structurally managed respect for difference.

The historical dimension also plays a central role in shaping tolerance. The presence of Muslims in Karangasem is closely linked to the history of the local kingdom, political expansion, and marital relations between Hindu elites and Muslim figures. Narratives describing Muslims as royal servants, trusted guardians of the king, and defenders of Karangasem have produced a collective consciousness that positions Muslims as an integral part of local history and identity rather than as outsiders or migrants (Anwar, interview, 8 May 2024; Yusuf, interview, 8 May 2024). This historical awareness reinforces the principle of *menyama braya* (brotherhood), which underpins Hindu–Muslim social ethics in Bungaya.

Within the sphere of formal education, madrasahs and schools function as inclusive social spaces that reproduce values of tolerance through everyday practices. The presence of non-Muslim teachers in madrasahs is not only administratively accepted but also culturally normalized, characterized by egalitarian relations among teachers, students, and the surrounding community. Practices such as mutual respect for religious holidays, restrictions on public activities during *Nyepi*, and the acceptance of other

religious symbols without stigma demonstrate that educational institutions operate as social laboratories for the internalization of tolerance from an early age (Hartana, interview, 7 May 2024; MAN Karangasem, interview, 7 May 2024).

The study also finds that interreligious harmony in Bungaya does not entirely eliminate the potential for conflict. However, conflicts that do arise tend to be social and individual in nature rather than ideological or interreligious. Dialogue-based conflict resolution mechanisms, mediated by religious leaders and institutions such as the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB), play a crucial role in preventing escalation and maintaining social stability (Mursyid, interview, 7 May 2024). This finding indicates that tolerance in Bungaya is dynamic and requires continuous social maintenance.

Table 1. Dimensions of Tolerance in Bungaya Village

Dimension of Tolerance	Basis of Formation	Forms of Social Practice	Key Actors	Primary Social Function
Cognitive	Awareness of the inevitability of differences in belief and worldview	Mutual respect, acceptance of difference without coercion, reflective learning from coexistence	Ministry of Religious Affairs, local officials, families, social environment	Development of a reflective and non-dogmatic mindset
Religious	Moderate and non-coercive religious understanding	Free religious practice without exclusivist claims; religion as a source of social ethics	KUA, MUI, FKUB, religious leaders, mosque caretakers	Maintaining interfaith harmony without theological compromise
Racial & Ethnic	Awareness of human equality across racial and ethnic differences	Egalitarian social interaction and inclusive communal participation	Village government, neighborhood leaders, residents	Preventing identity-based stereotypes and prejudice
Social Status	Historical awareness of the dangers of social superiority claims	Non-hierarchical social relations across economic and occupational classes	Village Consultative Body (BPD), community leaders	Reducing social conflict and community fragmentation
Cultural (Local Custom)	Balinese traditions and local wisdom	Respect for customs, cultural symbols, and local practices	Educators, customary leaders, interfaith communities	Serving as the primary medium of informal tolerance transmission
Political	Tradition of dialogue and	Acceptance of differing political	Local historians, village elites	Sustaining social stability and

Dimension of Tolerance	Basis of Formation	Forms of Social Practice	Key Actors	Primary Social Function
	respect for civil rights	choices without coercion		democratic cohesion

Overall Table 1, this discussion demonstrates that the strategies employed by religious leaders and madrasah principals in implementing religious tolerance education in Bungaya Village rest upon the integration of moral leadership, educational institutions, and local wisdom. Local culture functions not merely as context, but as a form of social pedagogy that translates tolerance into everyday lived practice. This finding enriches the field of tolerance education by showing that, in Muslim minority contexts, tolerance often grows stronger through the dialogical, historical, and ethical strengthening of religious identity rather than through the negation of difference.

Discussion

The findings of this study demonstrate that religious tolerance education among the Muslim minority of Bungaya Village cannot be adequately explained through the normative–institutional approach that has long dominated studies of multicultural education and religious moderation. This approach—which emphasizes formal curricula, state policies, and administrative regulation—tends to conceptualize tolerance as a value transmitted top-down and detached from everyday social practice. The Bungaya case reveals the opposite: tolerance exists as a lived social practice that is continuously negotiated, reproduced, and sustained within concrete intergroup and interpersonal relations. It is precisely at this juncture that a practice-oriented approach in the study of religion becomes analytically productive, as it shifts the focus from norms to praxis, from texts to social life.

Within Talal Asad's framework, religion is understood as a discursive tradition—one constituted through historically embedded relations among authority, embodied practice, knowledge, and ethics(Scott & Hirschkind, 2006). Islam in Bungaya operates precisely within this logic: it does not appear merely as a closed doctrinal system, but as a living tradition continuously reinterpreted within a minority context. This finding simultaneously challenges classical secularization assumptions that tolerance can only emerge when religion is privatized or its public role diminished(Huda et al., 2023). The

Bungaya case shows instead that tolerance is produced through the contextual management of religious discourse, rather than through the evacuation of religion from the social sphere. In other words, tolerance in Bungaya is not a byproduct of secularization, but the outcome of reflective and situational religious reasoning.

At the cognitive level, the collective awareness among Bungaya residents of the inevitability of difference reveals that tolerance is produced as a form of reflexive cognition rather than as normative compliance with abstract doctrines. Here, the findings resonate with Mac Ginty's (2014) concept of *everyday peace*, which shifts analytical attention from peace as an elite-driven or institutional project to micro-level practices embedded in daily life. Tolerance in Bungaya is not built through grand declarations of pluralism, but through small decisions, pragmatic attitudes, and strategies aimed at preventing the escalation of conflict in routine interactions. Yet the findings also extend Mac Ginty's framework by demonstrating that everyday peace is not normatively neutral, but is underpinned by clear ethical and religious frameworks.

In dialogue with Berger and Luckmann, the reality of tolerance in Bungaya can be read as the outcome of an intergenerational process of the social construction of reality. Tolerance is not taught as a formal subject, but internalized through repeated experiences of coexistence—within households, public spaces, schools, and customary rituals(Alam et al., 2023). This process produces what may be described as *habitual tolerance*: tolerance that operates at the level of disposition and habit rather than merely at the level of normative awareness. Consequently, tolerance does not appear as a fixed moral doctrine, but as a reflective cognitive framework that is continually renewed through concrete social experience.

The religious dimension of tolerance in Bungaya opens a critical dialogue with classical modernization theory, which often associates tolerance with declining religiosity. Early formulations by scholars such as Peter Berger suggested that pluralism would inevitably lead to the relativization of faith and the weakening of religious truth claims. The findings of this study, however, point in the opposite direction: strong religious identity does not inhibit tolerance, provided that religion is positioned as a source of social ethics rather than an instrument of political exclusivity. At this point, José Casanova's concept of *public religion* becomes particularly relevant, as it allows for the

presence of religion in the public sphere without reducing it to a source of conflict or domination.

The religious practices of Bungaya's Muslim community exemplify what may be described as *non-coercive religiosity*: a form of religious life that clearly affirms doctrinal boundaries while rejecting the imposition of belief on others. This finding enriches contemporary debates on tolerance by demonstrating that tolerance is not synonymous with theological relativism. On the contrary, tolerance in Bungaya emerges from clearly articulated boundaries—an argument that is rarely emphasized in liberal tolerance literature, which often assumes that identity dilution is a prerequisite for harmony.

At the racial and ethnic level, egalitarian intergroup interactions in Bungaya can be productively analyzed through Axel Honneth's theory of recognition, which identifies recognition as a fundamental precondition for social justice and personal integrity. Within Honneth's framework(Honneth, 2001), social conflict frequently originates in experiences of *misrecognition*, whereby individuals or groups are denied moral, legal, or social acknowledgment. The findings of this study confirm the relevance of this framework, while simultaneously offering a critical revision. Unlike normative readings of Honneth that foreground universal moral claims to recognition, the Bungaya case demonstrates that recognition does not necessarily operate through abstract principles of equality, but is generated through local, historical, and relational social practices. Recognition of the Muslim minority in Bungaya does not stem from formal declarations of pluralism, but from shared historical narratives, interreligious ritual participation, and repeated social interactions. Recognition here thus takes the form of *embedded recognition*—rooted in social practice and collective memory—which proves effective precisely because it remains inseparable from its local context.

The dimension of tolerance based on social status further reveals dynamics that can be fruitfully read through Pierre Bourdieu's(Rey, 2013) critique of the reproduction of symbolic domination. Bourdieu emphasizes that social inequality is often reproduced not through physical coercion, but through symbolic power naturalized within social habitus. The Bungaya findings indicate a resistance to this mechanism, evident in the rejection of superiority claims based on wealth, office, or social status. Social tolerance in Bungaya functions as a cultural strategy for negotiating power relations so that they do not harden into exclusive hierarchies. For a Muslim minority, this resistance to symbolic domination

is crucial, as it enables the preservation of social dignity without entrapment in subordinating logics(Saleh et al., 2021). Here, tolerance transcends ethical disposition and contributes to the formation of an *egalitarian social habitus*—a collective disposition that sustains social cohesion and prevents class-based fragmentation.

The role of Balinese customs and local traditions as primary media of tolerance education introduces a critical dialogue with liberal tolerance literature, which often assumes cultural neutrality or identity dilution as prerequisites for harmony. In many classical liberal theories, tolerance is framed as self-restraint from asserting particular truth claims in order to preserve a neutral public sphere(Bultmann, 2024). The findings of this study suggest the opposite: tolerance in Bungaya operates through the strengthening of local tradition as a form of social pedagogy. Customary practices and rituals function not merely as cultural backdrops, but as mechanisms for the implicit and sustained transmission of tolerant dispositions. Muslim participation in Hindu rituals—while maintaining clear doctrinal boundaries—illustrates a form of *bounded tolerance*, one that depends precisely on the recognition of ethical and symbolic limits. This challenges the assumption that tolerance requires identity blending or cultural relativism; instead, stable tolerance appears to require mutually acknowledged and respected boundaries.

The historical dimension of Bungaya's narrative further reinforces this argument through the relevance of Maurice Halbwachs' theory of collective memory. Collective remembrance of Muslims as an integral part of the Karangasem Kingdom generates social legitimacy that prevents processes of *othering*. In many plural societies, minorities are often framed as newcomers or symbolic threats. In Bungaya, however, shared historical memory serves as a source of moral authority that positions Muslims as insiders. Tolerance, therefore, is not produced through policy engineering or state-sponsored multicultural rhetoric, but is rooted in lived historical narratives transmitted across generations. A key novelty of this finding lies in identifying historical memory as a latent yet highly effective source of tolerance education in minority contexts.

In the domain of formal education, the role of madrasahs and schools as inclusive spaces can be analyzed through the concept of the *hidden curriculum*. Contrary to tolerance education approaches that emphasize additional teaching materials or specialized modules, this study shows that tolerant dispositions are primarily

reproduced through everyday practices: egalitarian teacher–student relations, acceptance of interreligious teaching staff, and the management of difference in the rhythms of school life(Alid et al., 2022). Schools function as social laboratories in which tolerance is learned in an embodied manner rather than merely cognitively apprehended. This finding reinforces critiques of normatively abstract approaches to multicultural education by demonstrating that tolerance education in minority contexts is more effective when it operates through concrete social practice and exemplarity rather than formal doctrine alone.

The dimension of political tolerance in Bungaya opens a dialogue with Jürgen Habermas' theory of deliberative democracy, which emphasizes rational communication and the recognition of civil rights as foundations of social cohesion(Ushkin, 2024). Dialogue practices mediated by religious leaders and institutions such as the FKUB illustrate how political tolerance functions as a preventive mechanism against horizontal conflict escalation. However, unlike Habermas' idealized conception of a power-free public sphere, the Bungaya case demonstrates that political deliberation is always embedded in cultural context, moral authority, and concrete social relations. Political tolerance in Bungaya thus takes the form of *situated deliberation*—deliberation that is effective precisely because it is grounded in local social structures and cultural wisdom rather than abstract neutrality.

Taken together, this discussion demonstrates that religious tolerance education among the Muslim minority of Bungaya Village represents a form of *contextualized tolerance education* that operates through the integration of religious practice, local custom, educational institutions, historical memory, and moral leadership. The study's primary theoretical contribution lies in its paradigmatic shift: from tolerance as a universal norm to tolerance as a localized, bounded, and historically situated social practice. By positioning local culture as a form of living pedagogy, this study not only enriches the global literature on Muslim minorities, but also offers a constructive critique of liberal and normative approaches to tolerance, demonstrating that sustainable tolerance emerges from dialogical, ethical, and socially embedded practices of difference management.

D. Conclusion

This study concludes that religious tolerance education among the Muslim minority in Bungaya Village, Karangasem, Bali, is not produced through formal curricula or top-down normative policies, but emerges as a lived and contextual social practice rooted in local culture. Tolerance is learned and sustained through everyday interactions, cultural participation, and historically embedded relationships between Muslim and Hindu communities. Local traditions function as a form of social pedagogy, enabling Muslims to maintain a clear religious identity while negotiating difference in peaceful and ethical ways, without theological compromise or identity dilution. The findings further demonstrate that this model of tolerance education is multidimensional, encompassing cognitive awareness of difference, non-coercive religious understanding, social egalitarianism, and cultural and political recognition. Religious leaders, community figures, and educational institutions play a central role in translating local wisdom into embodied educational practices that cultivate mutual respect and coexistence. Overall, the Bungaya case offers a context-sensitive and sustainable model of religious tolerance education for Muslim minority settings, contributing an alternative framework to dominant normative approaches in Islamic education and multicultural studies.

E. Acknowledgments

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