

Trans-Religious Genealogy: Jombang Community Resilience in Maintaining Tolerance in the Modern Era

Limas Dodi

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Kediri, Indonesia

Email: ade_elfa@ymail.com

Abstract: *Intolerance is still a socio-religious problem that leads to ongoing conflict. Intolerance gives birth to individualist attitudes, fanaticism, and communal legitimacy. In pluralist and multiculturalist countries, tolerance has not found strong, solid roots, especially withstanding changing times. Tolerance is often temporary, easily ignited by stigma and internal motives. However, in Jombang Regency, as a miniature showcase for a portrait of tolerant religious attitudes, it can survive convincingly amid modernity. Adherents of Islam, Catholics, Protestants, and Hindus can be tolerant under any conditions. Therefore, this research seeks to explore the ideological conception of religious diversity in Jombang as a manifestation of the ideal depiction of tolerance. This article is based on qualitative research with a phenomenological approach. Durkheim's social system theory is used as an analytical tool. Primary data was obtained from three religious adherents from religious and community figures. The research results revealed three things: 1) The genealogy of the religious tolerance values of Jombang society between Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism converges on the values of *tasamuh*, blessings, and the cult of God. 2) the resilience of tolerance amid modernity is created by a robust social structure, namely the genealogy of religious values, forming traditions, and the externalization of religious behavior. 3) religious transvalues create a tolerant categorization of religion, namely the connectivity of religious genealogy, internalization of religious traditions, and externalization of religious attitudes.*

Keywords: *Trans-Religious Genealogy; Jombang Community; Tolerance*

Abstrak: *Intoleransi masih menjadi permasalahan sosial keagamaan yang berujung pada konflik berkelanjutan. Intoleransi melahirkan sikap individualis, fanatisme, dan legitimasi komunal. Di negara-negara pluralis dan multikulturalis, toleransi belum menemukan akar yang kuat dan kokoh, apalagi dalam menghadapi perubahan zaman. Toleransi seringkali bersifat sementara, mudah tersulut oleh stigma dan motif internal. Namun di Kabupaten Jombang, sebagai miniatur etalase potret sikap toleran beragama mampu bertahan secara meyakinkan di tengah modernitas. Penganut Islam, Katolik, Protestan, dan Hindu bisa bersikap toleran dalam kondisi apapun. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini berupaya menggali konsepsi ideologi keberagaman agama di Jombang sebagai wujud gambaran ideal toleransi. Artikel ini didasarkan pada penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologis. Teori sistem sosial Durkheim digunakan sebagai alat analisis. Data primer diperoleh dari tiga penganut agama yang*

berasal dari tokoh agama dan masyarakat. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan tiga hal: 1) Silsilah nilai toleransi beragama masyarakat Jombang antara Islam, Kristen, dan Hindu menyatu pada nilai tasamuh, shalawat, dan ketuhanan. 2) ketahanan toleransi di tengah modernitas diciptakan oleh struktur sosial yang kokoh, yaitu genealogi nilai-nilai agama, tradisi pembentuk, dan eksternalisasi perilaku keagamaan. 3) transnilai agama menciptakan kategorisasi agama yang toleran, yaitu konektivitas silsilah agama, internalisasi tradisi keagamaan, dan eksternalisasi sikap keagamaan.

Kata Kunci: *Silsilah Trans-Agama; Komunitas Jombang; Toleransi*

INTRODUCTION

In social reality, religious conflict is not caused by the type of society: pluralism, multiculturalism, or monocentric-religious society. However, differences in ideological identity are also prone to conflict. Some concrete examples that have occurred include the conflict of ideological discrimination between Sunni and Shia sects in Sampang, the rejection of the Ahmadiyah sect in Bogor, and the conflict over Church leadership in Bekasi.¹ This reality illustrates that the roots of the religious conflict lie in the ideology of self-identity, both individual and communal. To form a *radical attitude of tolerance*, mastery of the religious trilogy is required, namely authority, norms, and materialism. Authority is a figure who holds ideological control; norms are born from the chaos of understanding and culture, while materialism is related to basic human material needs.² Such a trilogy forms a permanent group of tolerance even amid modernity.

Creating absolute tolerance requires the connection of various roles, including authority and social norms. As explained by Abd Basir, tolerance is not just a matter of religion or religion but is related to social, economic, and political systems.³ Religion is comprehensive, crossing all aspects of human life. Religion

¹ Ebrima Sarr, "The Role of Neo-Sufism and the Ritual Phenomenon of Slawatan in Promoting Religious Tolerance," *International Journal of Interreligious and Intercultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (2019): 103–18, <https://doi.org/10.32795/ijjis.vol2.iss1.2019.316>.

² Yudhi Kawangung, "Religious Moderation Discourse in Plurality of Social Harmony in Indonesia," *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 3, no. 1 (2019): 160–70, <https://doi.org/10.29332/ijssh.v3n1.277>.

³ Abd Basir, "The Role of Schools in Promoting Religious Tolerance in Multicultural Communities in Ridhahani Ahdi Makmur ABSTRACT: Conflict Is an Inevitable Occurrence in Multicultural Societies Due to the Diverse Ethnic Differences and Varying Cultural and Tradition," *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 25, no. 2 (2023): 325–33, <https://doi.org/https://www.gejournal.net/index.php/IJSSIR>.

is a totality combining spiritual, emotional, and social areas.⁴ Religious tolerance also means social tolerance, economic tolerance, and political tolerance. Even though, according to Peter W. Bort in Eliana Sari, the concept of tolerance is comprehensive of all elements, religious ideology (thought) is the main foundation (source) for creating tolerance and intolerant conflict.⁵ In that sense, the explosive power of religious ideology is more substantial than other elements.

Understanding religion is the most substantial entity to create tolerance; conversely, misunderstanding religion creates intolerance.⁶ However, using religion alone as a motive for intolerance and the target of conflict gives rise to partialistic solutions. As Hasan Albana revealed in his research, religious conflicts often reappear in the same conditions and over and over again because the area of conflict resolution is based on religious ideology.⁷ This was alluded to by Abdullah Said:

“Religious conflicts are never-ending, and after one, another emerges with a different motive. With the arrival of immigrants, there have been religious conflicts, like a continuous chain. On the other hand, there is a multicultural society, with many religious adherents in one area, harmonious and peaceful. For a long time, they tolerated each other, inherited to the last generation. These two conditions prove that religious conflict should not be the main thing, but other things, such as socializing,

⁴ MM Eliana Sari, "The Role of Learning Management of Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren) in Improvement of Their Students' Religious Tolerance in West Java-Indonesia," *International Journal of Innovation and Applied Studies* 19, no. 1 (2017): 24–32, <https://doi.org/http://www.ijias.issr-journals.org/>.

⁵ Nurfaika Ishak and Romalina Ranaivo Mikea Manitra, "Constitutional Religious Tolerance in Realizing the Protection of Human Rights in Indonesia," *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System* 2, no. 1 (2022): 31–44, <https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v2i1.24>.

⁶ Matluba Turayeva, "TOLERANCE ON THE EXAMPLE OF NATIONAL AND CULTURAL CENTERS International Journal Of History And Political Sciences," *International Journal of History and Political Sciences* 02, no. 06 (2022): 6–11, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.37547/ijhps/Volume02Issue06-02>.

⁷ Hasan Albana, Abas Asyafah, and Munawar Rahmat, "The Correlation Analysis of Islamic Education (PAI) Learning Outcomes with Religious Tolerance at Indonesian Education University (UPI)," *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization* 2, no. 2 (2019): 205, <https://doi.org/10.14421/skijic.v2i2.1513>.

equality, and equality, are most important. Religion should be placed publicly in the private sphere to repair damaged lives.”⁸

Abdullah Said's opinion illustrates that religious intolerance is caused by a partialistic pattern of understanding religion, separating the function of religion from social aspects and social structure. This disparity gap creates a significant problem of intolerance. So far, the portrait of religious intolerance has been caused by several crucial problems: fanatical religious information. Information technology has become a space for religious knowledge that can be accessed freely in the modern era. However, not all of the information presented is in line with and relevant to the teachings of moderate Islam. Specific individuals use a lot of information to create an understanding that contains hate speech.⁹ Religious thought patterns and interpretations make readers fanatical. This fanaticism then creates social-religious gaps and intolerance. Azizi said that openness of information teaches sensitive and fanatical religious patterns.¹⁰

Second, the politicization of religion. Two patterns of religious politicization give rise to intolerance: 1) making religion a spectrum of legitimacy for individual or communal political interests. Religion that intervenes (or is directed) in the realm of interests gives rise to passionate interpretations and voices that the results of their interpretations are the most correct (*valid claim*). This correct thinking results in psychological gaps, displeasure, jealousy, hostility, and other negative stigmas that ultimately impact ideology and religious attitudes. 2) making politics a form of religious legitimacy to justify their religious

⁸ Zuhdiyah Zuhdiyah, Kusumasari Kartika Hima Darmayanti, and Nyayu Khodijah, "The Significance of Religious Tolerance for University Students: Its Influence on Religious Beliefs and Happiness," *Islamic Guidance and Counseling Journal* 6, no. 1 (2023): 165–82, <https://doi.org/10.25217/igcj.v6i1.3551>.

⁹ Suhadah Suhadah, "Pilgrimage Sites as Magnets of Interfaith Tolerance: The Case of Kemaliq Lingsar in Indonesia Pilgrimage Sites as Magnets of Interfaith Tolerance : The Case of Kemaliq Lingsar," *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 10, no. 3 (2022), <https://doi.org/https://arrow.tudublin.ie/ijrtp/vol10/iss3>.

¹⁰ Alfian Qodri Azizi, Muhammad Faiq, and Thiyas Tono Taufiq, "Building the Foundation of Religious Tolerance and Countering Radicalism Ideology in Indonesia," *Journal of the Sociology of Religion* 15, no. 2 (2021): 191, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2021.152-03>.

understanding.¹¹ Many countries have different religious sects within one religion; each sect feels correct, and to legitimize that sect, politicization is needed. Azizi, the politicization of religion occurs in the type of society whose understanding of religion is *taqlid*; on the other hand, religious sects emerge as a social reality.¹²

Third, economic-financial inequality. On the plane of reality, the social class figure is determined by heredity and wealth.¹³ A person who has mastered religious knowledge but does not come from the lineage of a kiai, ustadz, does not receive recognition from a respectable social class. In contrast to the descendants of Kiai figures, even though their religious mastery is low, they are still positioned as their figures. The second figure is members of society who have financial and economic status. Class differences between experts in religion, finance, and economic status create gaps in interaction and differentiation. Disparities in economic status give rise to intolerance towards the weak and, on the other hand, give rise to high social classes.¹⁴ This pattern of disparity was alluded to by Durkheim as the work of capitalist ideology, where the typology of society was mapped into specific spheres.¹⁵

Fourth, social status and quality of education. The existence of social classes shapes the stigmatic mapping of religious communities. Differences in profession and background make religious people treat certain social statuses

¹¹ Saifullah Bombang et al., "Quo Vadis: Can Indonesia Survive without Pancasila?," *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*. *Www.Ijicc.Net* 8, no. 12 (2019): 387–97, <https://doi.org/www.ijicc.net>.

¹² Achmad Anwar Abidin and Muhammad Ali Murtadlo, "Curriculum Development of Multicultural-Based Islamic Education As an Effort To Weaver Religious Moderation Values in Indonesia," *International Journal of Islamic Education, Research and Multiculturalism (IJIERM)* 2, no. 1 (2020): 29–46, <https://doi.org/10.47006/ijierm.v2i1.30>.

¹³ Nur Alfin Hidayati et al., "Exploring the Implementation of Local Wisdom-Based Character Education among Indonesian Higher Education Students," *International Journal of Instruction* 13, no. 2 (2020): 179–98, <https://doi.org/10.29333/iji.2020.13213a>.

¹⁴ Muhammad Anas et al., "Implementation of PAI Learning Design in Developing Religious Tolerance in Public High Schools," *Tafkir: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Education* 4, no. 4 (2023): 547–58, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31538/tijie.v4i4.712>.

¹⁵ Sigit Tri Utomo et al., "Philanthropy in Education of Religious Tolerance in the Independent Curriculum," *Analysis: Journal of Social Science and Religion* 08 (2023): 41–58, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v8i1.1874>.

differently without looking at similarities in religion. ¹⁶This difference in attitude is called intolerance. Likewise, the level of education and the quality of education influence the adoption of intolerant social attitudes. Religious adherents with higher education are more respected than religious adherents with low levels of education. Weber in Anshori considers that social-religious patterns like this are not in harmony with religious values but follow the religious capitalistic pattern of Western life. ¹⁷Differences in recognition, different attitudes, and levels of education cause intolerance.

Looking at the problem above, religious intolerance originates from fanaticism, social status, and politics. So, the hypothesis developed to resolve the conflict of intolerance and build tolerance is to construct religiously on these three aspects. Such a portrait of religion is reflected in the religious tolerance of the people of Jombang, East Java. Jombang is a multicultural area; in almost every village, there are religions: Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity. However, this multicultural reality does not give rise to religious conflict; in fact, Jombang is known as Indonesia's region with the highest level of tolerance and harmony.

Genetically, it turns out that the form of tolerance in Jombang was formed by “elders” or religious figures from a long time ago, namely Coolen (Christian), Mbah Kam (Islam), and Darida (Hindu). These three religions bring together the values of tolerance of their respective religions. From values, religious attitudes are formed: respect each other, eliminate fanaticism, help each other, and cooperate. Apart from the figure of being authoritative, tolerance in Jombang is also influenced by the survival of the social system, where religious adherents are tolerant of each other. ¹⁸It is through this pattern that tolerance persists very strongly. This aligns with Haliim’s opinion that social system patterns maintained

¹⁶ E. Firdaus, "The Learning of Religious Tolerance among Students in Indonesia from the Perspective of Critical Study," *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 145, no. 1 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/145/1/012032>.

¹⁷ M. Afif Anshori, Zaenuddin Hudi Prasajo, and Lailial Muhtifah, "Contribution of Sufism to the Development of Moderate Islam in the Archipelago," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 19, no. 1 (2021): 40–48, <https://doi.org/10.24035/IJIT.19.2021.194>.

¹⁸ Hidayati et al., "Exploring the Implementation of Local Wisdom-Based Character Education among Indonesian Higher Education Students."

through balancing values, traditions, and religious behavior will survive amid modernity.¹⁹ This is where ideal tolerance is built on authority, social, and psychological systems.

Previous research studies should have described forms of tolerance in depth. Tolerance is described in objects; for example, Riyadi Agus revealed tolerance was created in Jombang by internalizing tolerance's value in education.²⁰ The curriculum makes tolerance a basis for values. Socio-religious organizations form tolerance through *cultural parade activities*, but this research examines the outer side of tolerance. Sumarna revealed that tolerance in Jombang was the contribution of classical ulama when forming *wasaton Islam*, but the function of other religions was not included.²¹ Research that focuses on tolerance only focuses on aspects of religious ideology.²² So, this research comprehensively describes the genealogy of the value of tolerance and resilience of society amid modernity; this is the novelty of the research.

METHOD

This type of qualitative research, where data about the phenomenon of religious tolerance in Jombang is taken descriptively until there are no further questions.²³ The research approach is phenomenological,²⁴ where the religious phenomena of Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity are explored in depth in the area of basic

¹⁹ Wimmy Haliim, "Harmony and Tolerance as a Tengger Identity: Reflections for Indonesian Identity and Unity Degradation," *International Journal of Social Sciences*, no. April (2018), <https://doi.org/10.31295/ss.v1n1.1>.

²⁰ Agus Riyadi, Nur Hamid, and Saerozi Saerozi, "Internalization of Religious Tolerance Through Cross-Cultural Dialogue in Kendal's Art Performances," *International Journal Ihya' 'Ulum Al-Din* 24, no. 2 (2022): 114–25, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ihya.24.2.11377>.

²¹ Cecep Sumarna et al., "Multicultural Value of Education in Forming the Community's Religious Attitude," *International Journal of Recent Advances in Multidisciplinary Topics* 2, no. 8 (2021): 168–71,

[https://doi.org/https://repository.syekhnurjati.ac.id/6417/%0Ahttp://repository.syekhnurjati.ac.id/6417/1/Multicultural Value of Education in Forming the.pdf](https://doi.org/https://repository.syekhnurjati.ac.id/6417/%0Ahttp://repository.syekhnurjati.ac.id/6417/1/Multicultural%20Value%20of%20Education%20in%20Forming%20the%20Community's%20Religious%20Attitude.pdf).

²² Muh Aditya Ibrahim et al., "Horizontal Conflict Resolution Related to Belief in Religious Tolerance in Multicultural Society in Indonesia," *International Journal of Humanities Education and Social Sciences (IJHESS)* 2, no. 6 (2023): 1925–29, <https://doi.org/10.55227/ijhess.v2i6.525>.

²³ Hayat, *Qualitative Research Methods* (Malang: UNISMA Press, 2020).

²⁴ Muhammad Ramdhan, *Research Methods* (Surabaya: Cipta Media Nusantara, 2021).

economic and political needs of religious figures to reveal the motives for maintaining tolerance, Durkheim's theory of social system construction is used as a perspective in analyzing the phenomena that occur in the field. The instrument for extracting primary data was interviews with Islamic, Hindu, and Christian religious figures and several religious adherents to see consistency and strength against modernity. The research focused on the Jombang area by taking three villages as representatives: Ngapeh Village, Ngudirejo Village, and Mojowarno Village. Secondary data was obtained through documentation studies and observations of religious-social interactions. Data were analyzed using the Miles and Huberman model, namely deductive, display, narrative, and verification processes for the interview data obtained.²⁵

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A glimpse of Jombang

Jombang is a district located in the center of East Java province. As a district in the center of the province, Jombang is the center of culture and civilization. Every village in Jombang is experiencing rapid development in science and technology. The type of society in Jombang is modernist and advanced. However, the society still maintains its predecessors' traditions, culture, and habits. They accept the developments of the times but, on the other hand, still maintain the treasures of traditions passed down from generation to generation.²⁶

Regarding religious adherents, the public believes in five religions: Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hindu, and Buddhist. Islam is the majority religion, with 48,470 people, followed by 2,492 Protestants, 50 Catholics, 21 Hindus, and 13 Buddhists. Even though Protestant, Catholic, and Hindu religions are minorities, the presence of adherents of these religions is spread in every village, so that almost all villages in Jombang Regency experience religious pluralism. On average, in each village, there are three living religions: Kebondalem, Karanganyar, and Ngampungan Villages.

²⁵ Zuchri Abdussamad, *Qualitative Research Methods* (Bandung: Syakir Media Press, 2021).

²⁶ <https://www.jombangkab.go.id>, "History of the Founding of the City of Jombang," 2022, <https://doi.org/https://www.jombangkab.go.id/pages/wisata>.

From an educational aspect, Jombang is a developing and advanced area. The average person has received an education up to the university level. 90.2 percent of the community is educated from elementary school to university level. Even the BPS released that the number of unemployed in Jombang is relatively small to the point of depression at 6.12%, and the rest are working. With this reality, the people of Jombang have sufficient knowledge and intellectual capital and are not conservative and lay.²⁷

Some researchers, such as Clifford Geertz, see Jombang as a terminus for education; many Muslim intellectuals were born and founded Islamic educational institutions. The labeling of an educational city is strengthened by the unique nickname that Jombang is the City of Islamic Students because there are many Islamic schools in the form of Islamic boarding schools; apart from that, many Indonesian ulama studied in Jombang and were able to establish Islamic boarding schools after returning to their regions. Since the time of the Majapahit Kingdom, Jombang has been the center of intellectual and religious activity on the island of Java, with figures such as Sunan Ampel. This phenomenon indicates that educational activities in Jombang have been going on since before Indonesia became independent.²⁸

Thus, Jombang is a diverse and developing area. It is diverse because of various religions, cultures, and scientific styles. It is developing because Jombang is an educated area, has the most significant Islamic boarding schools in East Java, and people use information technology. Jombang is an area that stands amid modernity, a religious pluralist society that maintains a tolerant attitude amidst educational, social, and economic modernity.

²⁷ [jatim.bpk.go.id](https://doi.org/https://jatim.bpk.go.id/kabupaten-jombang/), "Jombang Regency," 2021, <https://doi.org/https://jatim.bpk.go.id/kabupaten-jombang/>.

²⁸ Kompas.com, "Why is Jombang Called the City of Santri Students? This article has appeared on Kompas.Com with the title 'Why is Jombang called the city of Santri?', click to read: <https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2022/07/07/150000879/Why-Jombang-is-called-Kota-Santri?Page=all>. Kompasco," 2023, <https://doi.org/https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2022/07/07/150000879/mengapa-jombang-cepat-kota-santri?page=all>.

Genetics of Tolerance between Religious People in Jombang

Its predecessor religious figures must maintain the commitment to religious tolerance in the Jombang Regency. Islam, Catholic and Protestant Christianity, and Hinduism in several literatures are sources of ideology for the creation of tolerance. There are values of tolerance that were built, passed down from generation to generation, and then persist until now. Sacred values are trusted and believed to be accurate by religious communities. These values are the genetic source of the creation of the phenomenon of tolerance in Jombang; there is a meeting of the roots of the same religious ideology, thus forming a balanced socio-religious system between all religions.

The roots of tolerance can be explored in the history of social and religious development in Jombang. Historically, before Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism entered the Jombang area, people believed in nature that nature could provide strength for a peaceful life. Belief in nature spread to every corner of Java over a century. However, Conrad Lauren Coolen, a soldier, came to Ngoro Jombang in 1827 to change the understanding and mission of Christianization. To achieve this mission, Coolen opened fertile forest land to be managed by the community. When farming, Coolen invites people to believe in the Lord Jesus, asking for blessings and help in success.

“Our priest (Coolen) used to create Wayang culture in Jombang; the stories and songs were taken from the Bible with songs about rice fields. There is a song about enjoying the blessings of Jesus, sharing the harvest with all people, not being jealous, not feeling good about yourself, working a lot and sharing with everyone in the community, and working together so that the fields can harvest quickly and be lush. In the past, there were special congregations and Javanese and Wayang communities. If I'm not mistaken, our father called us Javanese Christians.”²⁹

According to Wolterbeek's notes,³⁰ Aside from spreading tolerance through Kejawen Christianity and Wayang, Coolen was believed to be a village head or traditional figure because of his intelligence and courage. When he became a social figure, Coolen set special rules: gathering weekly at the Pendopo to study religious farming training. Every Sunday morning, he memorized the 10

²⁹ Kezia, “Interview” (Jombang, 25 August, 2023).

³⁰ J. D. Wolterbeek, *Babad Zending di Pulau Jawa* (Taman Pusaka Kristen, 1995).

commandments of the Christian religion, 10 of which are about tolerance, such as respecting each other, helping each other, working together, giving to each other, being fair, not creating conflict, being civilized, and so on.

As time went by, Javanese Christian teachings developed rapidly. Until then, it split into sects (churches) spreading across the villages, such as the GKJW, Pentecostal, and Bethel sects. Each sect has a sacred motto of tolerance; for example, the Pentecostal Sect is known as a “prosperous congregation,” namely members of the Protestant religion who prioritize economic prosperity to maintain their belief in Jesus. Every harvest is donated to neighbors, relatives, and community leaders as a form of religious socialism. There is also the Bethel Sect, which has the principle of “God is Good”, a religious principle where God is the goal of life, and God's characteristics are fair without regard to any differences.

“Every sacred sect, until now preserved, believes that it has religious values that we believe in. We were taught to respect family, friends, neighbors, and everyone. The principle of Protestant values is “God is Good, Allah is Good, Jesus is Good,” and so on, which were instilled by the pastor in Jombang. We preach Christianization, but that is not our main goal; the goal is to get God's blessing to teach the wrong things. All societies are the same, people are different from their packaging, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, they are all good, religion is only a means to God, a means it can be anything and with anything.”³¹

The source of Christian religious values contains two things: *the congregation is prosperous*, and *God is good*. This value is detailed into five missions, namely 1) public worship, all congregants go to church to pray, study religion, and gather; 2) Sunday school, the content of which is spiritual strengthening and educating the next generation of children to continue the tolerant tradition; 3) devotional service, total devotion to God by giving up identity, egoism, communal interests; 4) women's devotional services; rituals where women gather for spiritual development, deliberation, using the *rukun system*; 5) men's devotional service, gathering in turns from house to house to

³¹ Jeckelina Andrina, “Interview” (Jombang, 25 August, 2023).

connect emotional ties. This service has the character of “jagong maton,” where those with material things (wealth) share with all people in need, regardless of differences.³²The source of these values is the genetic tolerance for adherents of the Christian religion.

From an Islamic perspective, the genetics of tolerance were discovered when Mbah Kum from Mataram came to Jombang. Even though when Mbah Kam arrived in Java, the Kwangsang Islamic boarding school was already established, led by KH Ali from Sundanese, the genetics of tolerance had not been formed in the Muslim community. Mbah Kam and Mbah Ghazali introduced Islam as a free belief. The first thing that was conveyed - because at that time, Jombang had already adopted Kejawen Christianity - was “to allow other people to carry out their worship and religious teachings freely,” which was called *tasamuh* (respect) but did not consider all religions to be the same, but rather that all religions respected each other.

“*Tasamuh* concept, mutual respect for differences. We have different religions, beliefs, and whatever, but our goal is the same: towards Allah. All religious teachings teach equality of rights and treatment between nations between tribes; in Islam, it is interpreted as pious, superior humans. So *tasamuh* is a form of Islamic religious value, not because one has high religious knowledge and does not respect people. Islam came to make society peaceful, harmonious, and unified. So there is no difference whatsoever.”³³

Apart from *tasamuh*, the values of tolerance spread are 1) compassion, social relations are built based on affection, and brotherhood without crossing theological boundaries. 2) neglect, allowing others to carry out their worship and teachings to create a conducive social space. Islam does not force or interfere with other religions to follow their beliefs. 3) purity of faith: Islam maintains the spirit of Islam so that it continues on its path without exceeding tolerance limits, meaning that tolerance in Islam is not compromising or syncretic.³⁴

³² Ika Maftuhah, “Interview” (Jombang, 13 August, 2023).

³³ Sulaiman, “Interview” (Jombang, July 24, 2023).

³⁴ Limas Dodi, "Harmony of Relations between Religious People and Conflict Resolution in Kediri," *ADDIN* 16, no. 2 (2023): 193, <https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v16i2.18141>.

“That's our tradition, there is a tradition of giving *ta'jil* during the month of Ramadan to Christians and Hindus, giving clothes during Eid al-Fitr, they also share good fortune on the Nyepi holiday, Sundays for Christians, basically here the differences are very normal. Love each other, don't interfere with other religions' worship, but don't be frontal or liberal. We have passed down these value principles from generation to generation and have become a strong tradition. I also need to find out where this value comes from; parents teach it, and society implements it. In the past, some immigrants who were instilled with the teachings of conflict wanted to change that, but we rejected them and expelled them. It's gone beyond tradition.”³⁵

For Hindus in Jombang, Hindus are a group that doubts Christianity and Islam. Hinduism is a religious community with the dilemma of deciding whether to believe in Islam or Christianity. They believe that mysticism is deeper than religious logic. This mystical phenomenon is found in Hinduism. In the history of Jombang, Hinduism was born from a community founded by Nurani, Woko, Sakijo, and Ngatiman (1968), who believed religion was a mystical prayer to God. Finally, this Hindu community bought a plot of land to use as a place of worship.³⁶

In 1976, Hindus were known as refined and polite after blending into the lives of Muslims and Christians. One of the religious mottos is *moksartham jagathita ya ca iti dharma* (life is to achieve physical and spiritual prosperity for humans). Such ideological values are converted into religious behavior with adherents of other religions to become *catur purasa artha*, namely, the perfection of life is achieved through a noble attitude towards family and society regardless of gender, religion, tribe, language, and so on.

“ *Dharma Artha*, we don't just carry out rituals, but around us, there is family, neighbors, and society; we need to be respected, considered, and loved to be perfect servants of God. *Artha* means wealth and enjoyment of life, which we can achieve if we have practiced the *dharma value of artha*.

³⁵ Sungkono, “Interview” (Jombang, July 28, 2023).

³⁶ Andrina, “Interview.”

This means that a noble attitude towards all humans is a condition for us to achieve the enjoyment of life. It is clear that Hinduism is not individualistic but sees all humans in all religions as long as they are human. In Hinduism, a refinement comes from respecting other humans.”³⁷

“There is also *kama*, which means satisfaction. Religion can satisfy us as believers. This concept of *kama* is the fruit of *dharma artha*; we get respect and good attitudes from people and must be kind to society. *Moksha*, namely eternal happiness. A soul filled with elements of God, who is good, just, and the creator of all creatures. Humans can be happy if they follow God's nature. To achieve prosperity in life, you must be kind and not criticize. That's God's nature.”³⁸

Of the three religions above (Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism), there is a source of genetic encounter in aspects of religious ideological values. The concept of religious, ideological values in Christianity refers to “God's blessing and goodness,” while Islam recognizes the values of *tasamuh* and *'is*, and Hinduism has the principle of *catur pasura artha*; all of these religious values lead to the same religious principle, namely equality of good behavior towards all. Humans, regardless of differences. The perfection of serving God religiously is formed from tolerant thoughts, attitudes, and behavior toward all members of society. This genetic ideology is the basis for strengthening the tolerance of Jombang society.

Resilience of Jombang Community Tolerance Amid Modernity

The collective attitude of tolerance of religious communities in Jombang, from traditionalists to modernists, cannot be separated from the solidity of the value base. Religious communities' religious attitudes are based on their respective genealogical aspects, namely the concepts of *blessing*, *tasamuh*, and *artha*. Each religion has a different narrative, but conceptually, they have similarities. The strength of this ideology is held tightly and used as the basis for social and social behavior. Even though the type of society has moved towards modernization and contemporaryism, tolerance exists in harmony.

³⁷ Setiani, “Interview” (Jombang, July 23, 2023).

³⁸ Andrina, “Interview.”

Apart from the genealogical factor of religious values, the people of Jombang convert these values into everyday traditions to form an attitude of tolerance. This tradition is a solid fortress to withstand the onslaught of social change and religious development. The values of religious genealogy and tradition run continuously to form consistency and a commitment to tolerance. According to Hindu adherents, tolerance in Ngapeh village has been passed down from generation to generation, from the family, social environment, and community.

“In Hinduism, we are taught *dharma*, *artha*, and the four religious commitments, since we were small, instilled by parents and teachers that to achieve total devotion to God, the conditions are to do good, justice, to the family and social environment. This has been agreed upon by society, and all religions also agree. “In the first village consultation, it was agreed to make language diction our cultural language.”³⁹

Several traditions that live and are carried out by the pluralist community in Jombang as social engineering of the genealogy of trans-tolerance amid social and technological change are *first*, *ndeku ndekmu*, *ndekmu ya ndeku* (mine is yours, yours is mine) . Simple narratives that are expressed in everyday social life, both in social organization associations, educational institutions and at random. This traditional narrative is a form of trans-tolerance of religious values into a social system that remains relevant and trusted until the modern era. This traditional narrative includes two implementations: 1) the principle of social needs, namely that humans cannot live individually; they need the help of other individuals. Therefore, what we have, if someone else needs it, then borrowing or giving is a must. 2) the principle of social happiness, when one religion celebrates happiness such as holidays, slametans, celebrations, from traveling to Mecca, people from other religions also enjoy treats and souvenirs.⁴⁰

“Everything material and non-material that we have belongs to God; in essence, it is not ours; if relatives, relatives, neighbors, residents here need it, we give it. That is one of the good qualities, *artha attitude*, and good

³⁹ Solomon, “Interview.”

⁴⁰ Ahmad Suwinqo, “Interview” (Jombang, August 2, 2023).

deeds. We also don't know we are not perfect, so at certain times, we also need other people. Religion is not a barrier; religion teaches goodness to neighbors, brothers, relatives, and everyone. When you come home from traveling, leave souvenirs. If there is a celebration, share it with others. This is rural, different from an individualistic city. If we have goods that other people need, then give them.”⁴¹

Second, compassion. Traditional narratives in daily communication use soft and gentle vocabulary without hurting others. *Compassion* is a religious and social diction to express the behavior of love between fellow religious believers. They are characterized by soft, gentle speech in greeting and communicating. *Compassion* manifests the value of *tasamuh* in Islam, *kama* in Hinduism, and *goodness* in Christianity. Other humans are placed above their existence. Expressing good language towards followers of different religions is a manifestation of high tolerance. Spontaneously communicated diction comes from the heart and cannot be faked repeatedly.

“The feeling of affection is formed over a long time; if you don't understand religious values, you won't be able to be gentle with people of different beliefs. Requires practice through worship of the Lord Jesus and respecting humans as manifestations of God. Manners and love are the perfect way of worshiping God. We will not be able to reach the level of perfect human beings without other humans. Our hearts and attitudes are a process towards the true human being.”⁴²

Third, tepo seliro and guyup get along well. A mutually agreed upon social tradition, *tepo seliro* has even become *an icon of Ngepeh village, Jombang. Tepo seliro* is a feeling where “if we think we are insulted, hurt, slandered, causing pain to ourselves, then it is the same for other people.” This means making yourself a psychological terminus for other people. Meanwhile, *being harmonious* means fighting together to build tolerance despite different beliefs to create a peaceful, serene environment without conflict. Living in harmony and peace is the dream of every human being, and happiness in religion. The connotation of “together” is the key to achieving a tolerant religious life.

⁴¹ Sungkono, “Interview.”

⁴² Kezia, “Interview.”

From the three traditional dictions above, the genealogy of tolerance in Jombang society experiences a symbiosis, which the author calls trans-tolerance. From the genealogy of religious values since the time of the spread of Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism until now, these genealogical values have developed into social traditions that are carried out, lived, and believed in by all communities. Traditions originating from the value of religiosity are challenging to experience degradation, even due to changing times. This way, tolerance in Jombang society can be consistent and robust in the modern era.

Trans-Religion: Categorization of Tolerance amid Modernity

Forming an attitude of religious tolerance in the Jombang community is unique and significant. The tolerance that has long been formed and does not change amidst changing times is caused by a solid, unified building integrated between religious values and the social system. The value of tolerance is passed down from generation to generation, strengthened by symbols, and demonstrated in social life until it solidifies and harmony exists between religious adherents. Durkheim, in Yusuf's article, said that a social system built on the values of religiosity would be able to survive amidst any change in the spectrum.⁴³ The formation of tolerance in Jombang society can be categorized as follows:

First, the connection of religious genealogy. In the historical record of the entry of religions into Jombang Regency, Christianity first brought the values of God's *blessings* and *good qualities*. Then Islam brings the values of *tasamuh* and *al-'is*, then Hinduism with the values of *dharma*, *artha*, and *kama*. These religious values are integrated with society's previously established social system, namely *Javanese* and *mystical*. Trans-religious values and social systems shape people's beliefs to determine their religion; however, the religious values are the same, whatever religion one adheres to. So, whatever the religion, tolerance is formed by

⁴³ Yusuf Yusuf, "The Role Of Pancasila In View From The Sociology Of Religion In The Globalization Era," *Journal of Business Social and Technology* 4, no. 1 (2023): 87–97, <https://doi.org/10.59261/jbt.v4i1.120>.

itself. This encounter between religious genealogies and units formed a solid tolerance group.

In the sociology of religion theory, the clash of ideological values is referred to as *dialogue vanum*, where religious differences are seen from a philosophical context, not from rules or laws.⁴⁴ Rules and laws are products of understanding values, but religious values are the root of the birth of legal products. Abdullah Said responded positively to the model of tolerance in Jombang, where inter-religions can meet the flash point of God's revelation. In principle, all religions were created by one essence, so the goal is the same.⁴⁵ Generally, This type of society has a basis of understanding formed by a dynasty or kingdom.

Second, internalization of religious traditions. The encounter between the genealogies of religious values in Jombang does not stop at the level of thoughts or norms but is implemented into social attitudes. In the process, Social behavior shaped by shared religious ideology gives rise to attitudes of antipathy and moderation. However, on the contrary, religious behavior that is based on economic or other interests gives rise to bias and justification. In Jombang, religious values form strong traditions such as *guyup rukun*, *compassion*, and *tepo seliro*.

Arkoun said that social traditions are, in essence, shaped by religious values. However, as religion develops from mystical to rationalist, traditions cannot balance them, so they are separated from these religious values.⁴⁶ The disparity between religious values and traditions causes distortion and conflict.

⁴⁴ Sardjana Orba Manullang, "Understanding of Modern Society Perception on Sociology of Islamic Law in Indonesia," *International Journal of Humanities, Literature and Arts* Vol. 3, no. 1 (2020): 85–92, <https://doi.org/https://www.neliti.com/publications/329632/understanding-of-modern-society-perception-on-sociology-of-islamic-law-in-Indonesia>.

⁴⁵ Miftahul Ulum et al., "Reinterpreting Faith in the Modern World: A Sociological Analysis of Evolving Religious Practices and Beliefs," *International Journal of Sociology of Religion* 01, no. 01 (2023): 42–53, <https://doi.org/10.11842/ijsr>.

⁴⁶ Johan M. Strijdom, "Animism: Comparing Durkheim and Chidester's Analysis of Eb Tylor's Theory of Religion," *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 77, no. 2 (2021): 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i2.6717>.

However, in Jombang, religious values form a strong tradition, confirming Arkoun's logic that to reduce religious conflict is to dig into the genetics of religious norms into social reality. As also expressed by Patrik, an expert in the sociology of religion, he said traditions are not the work of humans because human nature is not eternal.⁴⁷ Traditions were created from the roots of religious thought because religion reflects divinity. So, making tradition a manifestation of religion produces open, developed, and tolerant thinking.

Third, externalization of religious attitudes. From the values of religious ideology, forming traditions by themselves and then implementing them into religious attitudes and behavior, the result is a strong tolerance attitude. The religious attitudes implemented in Jombang Regency include respecting the holidays of each religion, helping each other, giving to each other, reminding each other, and working together. This religious attitude, at first, was believed to be a form of perfection in human behavior towards God, but later formed personality, character, and self-commitment.

Religious behavior based on religion and tradition does not have freedom. Rationality based on religious norms and traditions follows the direction of these norms and traditions. According to Maloku, free attitudes and traditions do not give rise to social stability but, on the contrary, give birth to social and religious disparities. The attitudes of religious adherents, in essence, are regulated by religious norms and traditions so that they walk on a tolerant path, in a positive direction, and on the right path.⁴⁸ According to Joren W. Bosst, humans are analogous to *hypothetical creatures* who, if they think freely, will cause social

⁴⁷ Patrik Lindenfors and Jonas Svensson, "Evolutionary Explanations for Religion: An Interdisciplinary Critical Review," *Research Ideas and Outcomes* 7, no. 3 (2021): 2, <https://doi.org/10.3897/rio.7.e66132>.

⁴⁸ Ahmet MALOKU and Elda MALOKU, "SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF SUICIDES / Sociological Perspective of Suicides," *Uluslararası Ekonomi İşletme ve Politika Dergisi* 4, no. 2 (2020): 319–34, <https://doi.org/10.29216/ueip.784154>.

chaos.⁴⁹Therefore, the typology of Jombang people's religious attitudes is in the corridor of religious and traditional values.

Thus, the transvaluation of the genealogy of Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism in the portrait of tolerance in Jombang aligns with the typology of a tolerant society. The model of tolerance in Jombang has strong genealogical roots, even amid social and religious change. Transvalues between religions, when examined, have similar human and divine values. Religious traditions, attitudes, and behavior should be directed toward the transvalue of that religion. The socio-religious system (tolerance, *read*), formed based on religious values and socio-religious traditions, even though people have different religious beliefs, on the social plane, gives rise to solid religious similarities and tolerance in any condition.

CONCLUSION

QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 168 explains the concept of halal in the Quran. The concept of halal initially considered an implementation of one's religious awareness, has experienced a paradigm shift towards a halal industry that can be utilized for profit. The initial paradigm of the halal concept was based on the limits of prohibited foods mentioned by Allah SWT in the Qur'an. Haram foods are very few, thus forming a public understanding that other than the few haram foods, it means halal and can be consumed. This public understanding is also based on the explanation of the interpretation of QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 168, which is not representative of this era. But in reality, even halal food can turn into dangerous food if it is not processed correctly; the danger can come from bacteria, harmful chemicals, or microbes that can come from the food itself or outside the food and can cause food *poisoning* and contamination (food *contamination*). Based on this, the government, through the JPH Law, is trying to reconstruct a new paradigm by developing and adjusting the interpretation of QS—Al-Baqarah [2]: 168 with the current situation and conditions.

⁴⁹ Lindenfors and Svensson, "Evolutionary Explanations for Religion: An Interdisciplinary Critical Review."

The government re-constructs halal product boundaries in detail and comprehensively by establishing measurable standardization. The standardization was made by involving all relevant parties in forming a clear standard for halal products without any doubt. The standard is implemented in the community through government regulations so that it runs and can touch all circles. The government is starting to move the old paradigm from religion-based awareness to a halal industry regulation that is clear, systematic, and tested with the support of scientific and technological advances. Research on *paradigm* shifts can analyze paradigm shifts that occur in the social environment; not only can it be applied to science, but it can also track paradigm shifts in the interpretation of verses of the Qur'an, so it is good to be explored in every educational and scientific background, including the science of the Qur'an and Interpretation.

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