

Social Interaction Patterns of Muslim-Hindu in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana: A Sociological-Historical Review

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Abstract

Bali has been a model of unique multicultural life, including inter-religious harmony. This study aimed to describe the social interaction of Muslim-Hindu in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana Bali. The type of study was qualitative research, where research data was obtained through literature review, observation, and interviews with Balinese cultural observers and community leaders of Kampung Loloan. The results showed that from the Dutch colonial era (17th century) until the post-reform era, social interaction between Muslims and Hindus in Kampung Loloan experienced ups and downs. In general, social interaction could be sorted into four patterns: (1) social interaction based on kinship (*menyamebraya*); (2) social interaction based on partnership; (3) social interaction based on the spirit of competition; (4) social interaction based on prejudice. The first, second, and third patterns of social interaction could support the Ajeg Bali movement and the multiculturalism development that strengthened the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Meanwhile, the fourth pattern of social interaction was a latent danger that needed to be anticipated because it could ignite social conflict and reduce national integration.

Keywords: Social Interaction; Muslim-Hindu; Sociological-Historical

Abstrak

*Bali selama ini menjadi model kehidupan multikultural yang unik, diantaranya adalah kerukunan hidup antar umat beragama. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk mendeskripsikan interaksi sosial umat Islam-Hindu di Kampung Loloan, Jembrana Bali. Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif, dimana data penelitian diperoleh melalui kajian pustaka, observasi dan wawancara dengan pemerhati budaya Bali dan tokoh masyarakat Kampung Loloan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa sejak zaman penjajahan Belanda (abad XVII) sampai pasca reformasi ini, interaksi sosial antara umat Islam dan umat Hindu di Kampung Loloan mengalami pasang surut. Secara umum interaksi sosial dimaksud dapat dipilah menjadi empat pola: (1) interaksi sosial berdasarkan kekeluargaan (*menyamebraya*); (2) interaksi sosial berdasarkan kemitraaan; (3) interaksi sosial berdasarkan semangat persaingan; (4) interaksi sosial berdasarkan sikap prejudice. Interaksi sosial pola pertama, kedua dan ketiga bisa menopang gerakan ajeg Bali dan pengembangan kehidupan multikulturalisme, memperkuat Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, sedangkan interaksi sosial pola keempat menjadi bahaya laten yang perlu diantisipasi karena bisa menyulut konflik sosial dan mereduksi integrasi bangsa.*

Kata Kunci: Interaksi Sosial; Umat Islam-Hindu; Sosiologis-Historis

Introduction

A tourism destination that domestic and foreign tourists have widely recognized is the Island of Gods, Bali. Bali has become a leading tourist destination in Indonesia. In accordance with Bali Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2020, the type of tourism developed in Bali is cultural tourism. The Balinese people are considered to have cultural and natural exoticism that has long been crowned as a leading tourist destination in the country (Sabarudin & Arif, 2019). The cultural potential that becomes Bali attracts is the reality of life and art culture in the Hindu-Balinese community and the reality of life and traditions of other community groups, including Muslims. Muslim communities exist in several villages, such as Pegayaman (Buleleng), Kepaon (Denpasar), Bugis Tuban village (Badung), and the Muslim community in Loloan, Jembrana regency (Ardhana, 2011). Some Muslim villages have become cultural and pilgrimage tourism objects (Masruhan, 2020). On that basis, it is no exaggeration that Bali is widely perceived as a harmonious, exotic, and apolitical area (Zuhro, 2009).

In sociological-historical terms, the plural community in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana, has its own origin history. In general, the ancestors of the village community came to the Jembrana region in three waves. The first wave was the migrants who came from several sultanates in South Sulawesi, such as Goa, Ternate, Sopeng, and Bajo, in 1653. Their presence in Jembrana was due to pressure from the Dutch Company (VOC) troops. South Sulawesi's royal nobles and soldiers, led by Sultan Hasanudin, were forced to secure themselves due to the massive Dutch pursuit. The community traveled to safe areas in the archipelago to strategize warfare. They sailed across the ocean on Pinisi or Lambo boats until they reached Bali (Karim, 2016). In Jembrana, with the permission of I Gusti Ngurah Pancoran as the ruler at that time, the accomplished sailors anchored on the side of the Ijo Gading River, a place later known as the town of Pancoran, located in West Loloan (Damanhuri, 2001).

The second wave of the Kampung Loloan community's predecessors came from Sarawak, Malaysia, namely several figures of scholars who came to Jembrana in 1669, including Dawam Sirajudin or Buyut Lebai from Sarawak, Malaysia, Sheikh Bauzir, and H. Mohammad Yasin, and H. Mohammad Yasin from Bugis. The influence and expertise in communicating and establishing good relations with the ruler and the community, these figures and their descendants were seen as having a significant contribution to the *da'wah* of Muslims in Jembrana and instilling the foundations of Malay usage in Loloan (Masruhan, 2020).

The third wave was the ancestors of the Kampung Loloan community, a group of Malays from Pontianak, West Kalimantan, led by Syarif Abdullah bin Yahya Al-Qadry. This nobleman from Pontianak and his followers arrived in the Jembrana region in 1799. The ruling king in Jembrana at that time was Anak Agung Jembrana Putu Seloka (1795-1842), who was permitted to live in Kampung Loloan. Some archaeological evidence that marked the magnitude of the Malay figure's influence was the Fatimah fort, a defense fort located in the East Loloan village, and the Syarif Tua Bridge that separated the West and East Loloan villages.

Based on some historical evidence, it can be understood that the existence of the Muslim community in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana has historical origins in the Malay and Bugis ethnicities. From this long history, the Loloan community has become part of a multicultural society with a distinctive culture. The form of culture was born from religious life based on Islamic teachings (ideafact), social interactions both internally and with fellow Indonesian citizens (socio-fact), and physical cultural works (artifact).

Kampung Loloan community is part of a pluralistic community in Bali. Kampung Loloan consists of two administrative areas: West Loloan Village and East Loloan Village. Most ethnic groups with Malay-Bugis origins are Muslims living in the area, which is now also mixed with other ethnicities and cultures of the archipelago as a subculture, which the Jembrana community generally knows as the Loloan community. Its uniqueness includes the language used as a daily language of instruction is Malay, and housing in the form of traditional stilt houses known as Loloan stilt houses. The house with two-story teak-based construction is still visible on many village roads (Utami & Kohdrata, 2016).

In addition to the heritage of historical objects in the form of ancient stilt houses, there are also cultural traces of the ancestral heritage of the Loloan community in the past, which include archaeological sites of sacred tombs in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana. These are the tomb of Buyut Lebai in East Loloan, the tomb of Habib Ali bin Umar bin Abu Bakar Bafaqih in West Loloan, the inscription of Dato' Ya'qub from Trengganu using *pegon* letters and Malay language, and an old handwritten Quran.

The existence of the Kampung Loloan also has some uniqueness that affects the interaction process between Muslims and Hindus in Jembrana, namely the existence of social segregation (grouping), which is reflected in the homogeneous settlement patterns and heterogeneous settlement patterns. Relatively homogeneous social groupings of Malays occupy the East Loloan neighborhood, and local Balinese (Hindus) are concentrated in the Mertasari neighborhood. Furthermore, relatively heterogeneous settlement groupings are seen in the multi-ethnic settlement patterns in the *Pertukangan* neighborhood (West Loloan village) and the Ketugtug neighborhood (East Loloan village). In these neighborhoods, the Loloan community from various groups or ethnicities, such as Malay, Javanese, Madurese, Sasak, and so on (Masruhan, 2020).

Ethnic and cultural diversity proves that the people of the archipelago are a pluralistic nation (Sudarsana, et al, 2023). The cultural plurality of the archipelago is both a strength and a weakness if it cannot manage it. With the enormous potential for conflict, if not managed properly, it can disrupt the stability and integrity of the nation and state. The Dayak and Madurese conflict in West Kalimantan in mid-February 2001. For example, it illustrates the potential for disintegration. Yasser Arafat's research shows that the two ethnic conflicts in West Kalimantan, particularly, cannot be separated from the marginalization of the indigenous population so that they carry out resistance and resistance to what comes from outside. This conflict is also triggered by the tendency to strengthen ethnicity through in-group and out-group feelings beyond the economic dimension. These tendencies include five things: the concentration of settlements, jobs, kinship organizations, the existence of settlements, such as student dormitories, and the concentration of government and private positions by certain ethnicities (Arafat, 1998).

The Dayak and Madurese ethnic conflict in Central Kalimantan is a valuable lesson. The conflict has awakened several ethnic migrants to reconstruct their interaction behavior with the indigenous population. The expulsion of Madurese from Central Kalimantan is understood by other ethnic migrants as a form of inconducive interaction process with the values prevailing in the host community (Arbain, 2009).

Efforts to manage conflict in the life of the archipelago's multicultural society are a necessity. Inter-ethnic conflict situations that drain the nation's energy need to be anticipated by supporting patterns of social interaction between citizens of the dialogical, tolerant, and harmonious nation to maintain national integration. It means that academic studies that seek to understand the interaction patterns between migrants and the native population become very urgent, especially in discussions related to religious plurality. In this regard, Skinner and Bruner

also explain that the adjustment of ethnic migrants cannot only be understood by factors inherent in the migrant culture but must be explained by differences in the local community as a host population (Pelly, 1998).

Inter-ethnic conflicts that threaten the disintegration of the nation need to be anticipated. These are by understanding the various aspects that can be developed to strengthen inter-religious harmony. Since the existence of Muslims in the 17th century until the post-reform era, Muslims in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana, nowadays have made dialogical adaptations, which do not damage the socio-cultural order of the local community because Muslims and Hindus have similarities in their cultural perspectives. It is in line with what Abdullah and Suryo stated, the adaptation of Muslims in the life of Hindus in Loloan is not a form of Islamization or nativization pattern but a pattern of dialogical adaptation and integration (Abdullah, 1989). It is in line with what Abdullah and Suryo stated, the adaptation of Muslims in the life of Hindus in Loloan is not a form of Islamization or indigenous (*pribumisasi*) pattern but a pattern of dialogical adaptation and integration (Abdullah, 1989). With dynamic patterns of social interaction, social integration can be fostered and strengthened. Conversely, horizontal social conflicts can be anticipated. Unharmonious inter-religious social interactions still often lead to inter-religious conflicts in various regions in Indonesia. According to George Simmel's conflict theory cited by Ritzer (2003), conflict occurs due to interactions between individuals who have "emotional strength", which then builds solidarity bonds between each other.

Conflict-starting factors can be anticipated early if the parties in a community can develop positive and dynamic patterns of social interaction. As Masruhan's research results (2020), in general, the relationship and cooperation between local communities (Hindus) and Muslims in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana, has been harmonious. The harmony between Hindus and Muslims has gone through a long historical process since the 17th century. The harmony between Muslims and Hindus in Loloan is based on theological values, cultural values, political-ideological values, and equality values.

Method

The type of study was qualitative research. This study was located in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana, Bali. Informants were determined using a purposive sampling technique, namely observers of Balinese culture and community leaders of Kampung Loloan. The data sources collected consisted of primary data and secondary data. Primary data was data directly obtained from the field, and secondary data was data obtained from indirect sources, including data from the literature. This study used non-participant observation, interviews, and literature study data collection techniques. This study used a descriptive data analysis process by classifying and grouping data based on data collection techniques. The data analysis technique in this study used a descriptive data analysis process, including data classification carried out by grouping data based on data collection techniques. Data grouping consisted of data from observations, interviews, and literature studies. The data analysis technique used data triangulation.

Results and Discussions

Kampung Loloan is an area that is administratively located in two urban villages, namely East Loloan and West Loloan. A river bounds the two villages, namely the Ijo Gading River, which stretches 19.200 meters from upstream to downstream. The total area of the two villages is 5.81 km². As of 2017, the total population of Kampung Loloan was 3.490 households or 12.243 people, consisting of 7.943 residents of East Loloan and 4.300 residents of West Loloan. Most of the

Kampung Loloan residents are 10.001 people of Muslims (81.69%), followed by 2089 people of Hindus (17.06%), and the rest are other religions. According to Suama (Interview, 22 November 2022), a Hindu leader in East Loloan stated that Muslims and Hindus in Loloan, Jembrana, have realized an authentic and dynamic form of harmony. The community coexists peacefully with people of other religions based on the teachings of the faith they believe in. Muslims feel obliged to behave and act harmoniously with other religious brothers, and Hindus also feel obliged to respect and be tolerant of people of other religions. Balinese local wisdom, such as *Tri Hita Karana*'s teachings, is an essential factor in creating religious harmony because there are always intact values, traditions, principles, and beliefs that apply from generation to generation and are carried out by the local community to achieve the common good and welfare in local wisdom (Yantos & Putriana, 2020; Yasa & Ratnaya, 2022; Redana, 2023).

The harmonious relationship between Muslims and Hindus in Loloan has been through the influence of Islamic teachings in the Jembrana Regency since the 17th century. The influence of Muslims was presented in Jembrana through the path of sympathetic humanitarian *da'wah*, also carried out through trade, art culture, and kinship. The influence of Muslims in Loloan Jembrana comes sympathetically and adaptively (Karim, 2016). Culturally, the relationship between Muslims and Hindus in Kampung Loloan is harmonious. It is reflected in daily life in various activities, including the hospitality tradition during religious holidays (*Galungan*, Eid al-Fitr), the assimilation of arts and culture (peacock dance (*tari merak*) performances) with Islamic headscarves, and the use of the Malay-Loloan language (Balinese Malay) which reflects the fusion of Malay culture (Muslim) with Balinese culture (Hinduism).

From the Dutch colonial period (17th century) until post-reformation, there are at least four social interaction patterns between Hindus and Muslims in Kampung Loloan, Jembrana. These social interaction patterns include social interactions based on the spirit of kinship (*menyamebraya*), social interactions based on the spirit of partnership (mutual benefit), social interactions based on the spirit of competition, and social interactions based on mutual suspicion (prejudice) between each other.

1. Social Interactions Based on the Spirit of Kinship (*Menyamebraya*)

Sociologically and historically, the harmony between Muslims and Hindus in Loloan Jembrana is based on ideological values and strong nationalism awareness. The Muslim elders in Loloan, such as Syarif Abdullah, were fighters against the Dutch colonial invaders. Since the 17th century, Muslims have been accepted by the people and rulers of the Jembrana kingdom, and Muslims have even become part of Jembrana's power.

The fraternal relationship with the local Hindu community has been based on the awareness of "compatriots", which is awareness as part of the archipelago community. The common ground of the struggle against colonialism has fostered awareness of "compatriots" and the interest in maintaining the nation's existence (nationalism). The Balinese in Loloan Jembrana welcomed the presence of their compatriots, the Malays and Bugis, who left their ancestral lands to strategize against Dutch colonialism and set foot in Loloan Jembrana in the 17th century. Muslims and Hindus became fellow compatriots and together developed the western district. It is evidenced by the gift of 200 hectares of land to Muslims, which developed into Kampung Loloan, and the inauguration of Kampung Loloan (West and East) as an administrative village in 1803 by the King of Jembrana Anak Agung Putu Seloka together with Syarif Abdullah (a Muslim figure) which is now Negara City (Karim, 2016). The relationship between this Muslim community and the Puri (royal) family still exists today (Mambal, 2016; Basyir, 2016).

Syarif Tua is considered part of the elders and advisors of the Jembrana Royal family. Considering his excellent service, the Jembrana Government immortalized his name as the name of an important infrastructure in Jembrana that separates East Loloan and West Loloan, namely “Syarif Tua Bridge” (Damanhuri, 2001). The bridge considered a symbol of the togetherness of Muslims and Hindus in Jembrana, was built in 1997 and inaugurated on February 13, 1998/16 Syawal 1419 Hijriyah by the Governor of Bali, Ida Bagus Oka.



Figure 1. Syarif Tua Bridge Connecting East Loloan and West Loloan Urban Villages
(Source: Masruhan, 2020)

Sociologically and historically, the harmony between Muslims and Hindus in Kampung Loloan is woven by the spirit of nationalism and awareness as compatriots. The community agreed to live in peace. The harmony between Hindus and Muslims in Kampung Loloan is realized in the form of daily life traditions, including (a) the *majenukan* tradition, which is the tradition of visiting each other during religious holidays (Eid al-Fitr and *Galungan-Kuningan* holidays); (b) the *ngejot* tradition, which is sharing food during religious holidays; (c) *silaturrahmi* related to life cycle ceremonies, such as birth, marriage, and death (Masruhan, 2020). The cultivation of the spirit of tolerance should have been built and developed from an early age (Kurniawati & Sutharjana, 2023; Wastawa, et al, 2023).

This awareness as fellow compatriots is reinforced by using the Loloan Malay language (*Base Loloan*). Maulida (2019) states that *Base Loloan* is a mixture of Balinese, Malay, and Bugis. Absorption elements from the local language (Balinese) are used in this Loloan language. *Base Loloan*, as the Balinese Malay language, is used in daily conversation. The Muslim community in Kampung Loloan brings color to their social life. Hindus who live closely together call the Muslims here *nyama* Loloan. *Nyama* means brother (Windati, & Sudarsana, 2020). In their daily lives, the Malay people in Kampung Loloan use the Malay language. People replace *saya* (me) with *awak*, *kamu* (you) with *kau*, *dia* (he/she) with *die*, and how with *gie*. However, not a few Malay languages are also influenced by Balinese. Here the vocabulary often used is still similar to other Malay languages, such as *Gia ne kabar kau* or *Apa kabar* (how ar you?). According to Suparwa (2010), this greeting uses Balinese mixed with Malay. The Malay language of Kampung Loloan community has become its color in daily conversations, including those carried out by some traders and buyers in the traditional market of Jembrana as follows:

Buyer: Bu, *ngadep ape* (Ma'am, what are you selling?)

Seller: Ni mak nyual sagon (I am selling *sagon*)

Buyer: *Kude mak* sebungkus? ((How much is one pack, Ma'am?)

Seller: *Biase an tus skeet*. (Just as usual, just fifty).

The conversation above shows that Loloan Malay has received absorption from the local Balinese language. In complete sentence form (S-P-O-K), Loloan Malay can be exemplified as follows.

Aku nanak nasi di dapur *makek tungku*. (I cook rice in the kitchen with a stove)

Kau nyabun baju di *sunge*. (You wash clothes in the river)

Ayam tu metelor lime belas biji di kandang. (The hen laid fifteen eggs in the coop)

The mixing of vocabulary in the language used above is a clear example of the local population as Balinese speakers, and the Malay Muslim community migrants in Kampung Loloan, who have a very close relationship. People live together in harmony, peace, and dynamism. This sense of community and brotherhood is reflected in the terms *nyama Bali* and *nyama selam*. The Muslim community refers to Balinese people as their brothers (*nyama Bali*), while the Hindu community refers to Muslims as *nyama selam* (Muslim brothers). Besides mutual acceptance, recognition, and respect, the socio-political interaction between the two communities is strengthened by using Malay as a daily language as a regional language, in addition to Balinese (Nuryahman, 2016; Utama & Sudarsana, 2023). According to Sumarsono (1993), Malay-Loloan (ML) is a variety of languages with its characteristics used by Kampung Loloan community.

2. Social Interactions Based on the Spirit of Partnership

Besides being based on the spirit of *menyamebraya*, the social interaction between Muslims and Hindus in Kampung Loloan is also based on the spirit of partnership, especially concerning aspects of socio-economic life. Since the Dutch colonial period, Muslims in Kampung Loloan have established mutually beneficial economic cooperation with the local community. According to one of the elders of East Kampung Loloan, Damanhuri (Interview, November 22, 2022), economic cooperation has been going on since the ancestors of the Kampung Loloan community. Before landing their ships in Loloan, the Bugis Malays were staunch fighters, fishermen, and inter-island traders. Some of the Pinisi and Lambo boats used to fight against the Dutch colonizers were converted into trading ships. The ruler of Jembrana financed some of the merchant ships, entrusted with selling the agricultural and Balinese farmer products, including copra and cloves. The merchant ships sailed between islands to Java, Sumatra, and even to Singapore. Some of the ancestors of the Kampung Loloan community who worked as merchants were considered successful because they could buy land in Jembrana. Now some of the land is donated and belongs to the Baitul Qodim Mosque.

In addition to trade, partnership cooperation between Muslims and Hindus has also developed in the agriculture field. Some waqf land in the form of rice fields owned by the Baitul Qodim mosque is deliberately entrusted to the local Balinese Hindu relatives (*nyame Hindu*) to cultivate it. According to Abdurrahman (Interview, November 22, 2022), the Head of Ketugtug Neighborhood, stated that about one hectare of land owned by the Baitul Qodim Mosque in the *Subak Jelinjing* area, *Banjar Tugtug* neighborhood, East Loloan Urban Village is cultivated by Hindu farmers. In addition, Hindu farmers cultivate the Baitul Qodim Mosque's land and other Muslims in the *Banjar Mertasari* neighborhood, East Loloan Urban Village.

The harmony between Hindus and Muslims is also reflected in the provision of credit by the Village Credit Institution (LPD) to Muslim residents. LPD is a financial institution owned by

Pakraman villages. As explained in the Regional Regulation (PERDA) of Bali Province No. 3 of 2017 concerning Village Credit Institutions, in general, the establishment of LPD aims (a) to encourage the economic development of village communities through activities to collect savings and deposits from the village residents (*krama*); (b) to eradicate ijon, illegal pawning, etc.; (c) to create equal business opportunities and expand employment opportunities for the village residents (*krama*); and (d) to increase purchasing power and smooth payment traffic and circulation of village money. Since LPD belongs to the traditional village, 20% of the development fund and 5% of the social fund are used directly to assist the development of the local village.

Some West Loloan Urban Village residents, including local Muslims, access credit for business at Lelateng Village Credit Institution. Lelateng Village Credit Institution, established in 1990, is one of the LPDs with considerable assets in Jembrana Regency. Some Muslims who obtained credit from Lelateng Village Credit Institution are selling at Lateng Market in Negara Sub-district. There is a Village Credit Institution established in 1991 in the East Loloan area called Lokasari Village Credit Institution. As the name implies, this LPD serves residents (*krama*) in the Lokasari *Pakraman* Village area, namely East Loloan, Ketugtug, and Mertasari. According to Suama, the former Customary Village Head (*Bendesa Adat*) of Lokasari, about 100 of the 400 customers of LPD Lokasari are non-Hindus (about 20% Muslim) (Interview, November 22, 2022). Local Loloan residents are eligible for LPD loans as long as they get approval from the Head of the Neighborhood (*Kaling*), Customary Village Head (*Bendesa*), and Village Chief (*Lurah*). Like people of other religions, Muslims are also entitled to get credit for their economic business capital.

In addition to cooperation in managing agricultural land and providing entrepreneurial credit, concrete evidence of harmony between Muslims and Hindus in socio-economic life is also reflected in the procurement of land for the establishment of the Ketugtug Neighborhood Hall Building in the 1980s. According to Abdurrahman, the Head of Ketugtug Neighborhood, the Ketugtug Neighborhood Hall was built on the land purchased from joint contributions of Hindus and non-Hindus, including Muslims (Interview, November 22, 2022). The existence of the land for the Ketugtug Neighborhood Hall building is obvious evidence of religious harmony and cooperation in Loloan, Jembrana.

3. Social Interactions Based on the Spirit of Competition

Social interaction based on the spirit of competition is reflected in social life, especially regarding the equal rights of citizens in carrying out their public roles, including the right to obtain employment. Both Muslims and Hindus are entitled to occupy positions as local village officials. In the organizational structure of East Loloan Urban Village Officials for the 2017 period, for example, the Village Chief (*Lurah*) was IBK Wibawa Manuaba, AP (Hindu) with the secretary Sulkron Hadiwidjaya, SH (Muslim), and deputy secretary Ida Bagus Ketut Permadi (Hindu). Furthermore, in the structure of Kelurahan Loloan Timur, the Head of Government and General Services: Zaenal Abidin (Muslim) with deputy Ni Wayan Arniasih Parwati (Hindu), and Head of Community Empowerment Section Suhartini, SH (Muslim) with deputy Ida Bagus Waspada (Hindu). As well as three Heads of Neighborhoods in East Loloan Urban Village, namely: Head of East Loloan Neighborhood held by Muzahidin, S.Kom (Muslim), Head of Tugtug Neighborhood held by Abdurrahman (Muslim), and Head of Merthasari Neighborhood held by I Gede Ratmika (Hindu) (Government Profile of East Loloan Urban Village 2019).

Loloan community also competes fairly for seats as legislative members (DPRD) of Jembrana Regency. Since the days of the New Order (*Orba*) until now, there have always been representatives elected from the Loloan community, both West Loloan and East Loloan. For

example, several Loloan Muslim leaders sat as Jembarana Regency House of Representatives members during the New Order era. The total population of the Jembarana Regency is 278.000, consisting of 138.000 men and 140.000 women (*Kabupaten Jembarana Dalam Angka*, 2019). Around 30% of the total population of Jembarana Regency are Muslims. Unlike the Muslims in other regencies in Bali (Badung Regency, Gianyar Regency, Denpasar City), who are mostly considered migrants, most of the Muslims in Jembarana have become mukimin (permanent residents) in Jembarana who have long historical roots, including the existence of the Muslim community in Kampung Loloan Jembarana. Therefore, it is very natural that three to five Muslims in Jembarana have representatives in the Legislative Assembly (DPRD) of Jembarana Regency.

The Loloan community has a local genius that upholds equal rights or equality principles. This principle of equal rights directly or indirectly allows for equal distribution of power and socio-economic welfare within the community of Kampung Loloan. Equal rights or equality is indispensable in fostering multi-ethnic citizens in the Republic of Indonesia. Efforts to strengthen the principle of equality for citizens are part of the strategy in anticipating inter-ethnic conflict in Indonesia (Sihbudi & Nurhasim, 2001; Suwindia, et al, 2023).

4. Social Interactions Based on Prejudice

As in many places in Bali, the relationship between Muslims and Hindus is harmonious. Since the Dutch colonization in the 17th century, the Kampung Loloan community had strong bonds of brotherhood (*menyamebraya*). People can still maintain and refer to their siblings as *nyame selam*, or refer to their Hindu siblings as *nyame Hindu*. Until now, Hindu-Islamic interaction in the enclave *nyama* Muslim has an antidote for conflict management that arises. (Pageh, 2013; Diantika & Mastini, 2023).

This interfaith brotherhood is the basis for strengthening togetherness and cooperation between the children of the nation, which is manifested in the form of social interaction patterns based on the spirit of brotherhood (*menyamebraya*), social interaction patterns based on the spirit of partnership, and social interaction patterns based on the spirit of healthy business competition above. The three patterns of interaction can directly or indirectly support the *Ajeng Bali* movement and the sustainability of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Sudarsana, et al, 2023).

In the post-reform era, the three patterns of interaction between Muslims and Hindus in Kampung Loloan were reduced by the accidents of Bali Bombing I (2002) and Bali Bombing II (2005). As a result of the Bali Bombings I (2002) and Bali Bombings II (2005) in the tourist center of Kuta, Badung Regency, in general, the Balinese Hindu community gave a different assessment and attitude towards Muslims as a whole on this Island of Gods. The close relationship between Muslims and Hindus, embedded in the term *nyame* (brother), had shifted to *njelema* (person). The term *nyame selam* could turn into *njelema selam*. The term *nyame* (brother) or *menyame* (brother) describes the togetherness and closeness of the relationship, while the term *njelema* means other people who are not in their group. The Bali Bombings I and II, on the one hand, had weakened the position and existence of Muslims in Kampung Loloan, whom some Balinese considered as migrants with outside Balinese values. Furthermore, on the other hand, Balinese identity was strengthened as a form of ethnocentrism that gave birth to the notion of Baliism, with the jargon that Bali is Hindu and Hindu is Bali (Yudis, 2009; Suwadnyana, et al, 2023). The strengthening of this sense of regionalism (ethnocentrism) was directly or indirectly reinforced by the presence of the regional autonomy policy in 2004, which gave the regions the freedom to manage their households.

The Bali I bombing (2002) and Bali II bombing (2005) created a stigma (bad label) that fostered prejudice in the local community (Hindus) against Muslims. This prejudice further became the source of a shift in the spirit of brotherhood (*menyama*). It can be seen from the shift in the designation of *nyama* to *njlema*. The rise of *njlema* is a seed of division that can ignite social conflict and national disintegration. Individuals' attitudes and behavior in society have objective consequences, both leading to integration and balance (manifest function). However, there are also objective consequences of individuals in behavior that are not intended and are unknown (latent function). In the behavior of its community, the relationship between Muslims and Hindus in Kampung Loloan also has objective consequences that can lead to integration and balance but can also lead to the opposite, namely disintegration. The prejudiced attitude of Hindus towards Muslims is a form of dysfunctional latent function that will weaken integration (Ritzer, 2003).

Prejudice and ethnocentrism are only temporary excesses of the 2002 and 2005 Bali Bombings. Despite being a temporary excess, prejudice and ethnocentrism are latent dangers that can surface anytime if the harmony between Muslims and Hindus is not appropriately managed. As an excess of the Bali Bombings (I, II), prejudice and ethnocentrism emerged throughout Bali Island with varying degrees. But in general, the tradition of *menyamebraya* between Muslims and Hindus in Kampung Loloan is still running conducive. It cannot be separated from the role of religious leaders who are the FKAUB members (Interfaith Communication Forum) which has existed in every regency/city in Bali in charge of maintaining the spirit of interfaith *menyamebraya*. Together with the community leaders of Kampung Loloan, the FKAUB of Jembrana Regency managed to reduce the fluctuation of prejudice and was able to mediate and anticipate potential problems that could directly or indirectly ignite disharmony between religious communities in the local area.

Conclusions

Muslim-Hindu harmony in Kampung Loloan was constructed through a dialogical social adaptation process, which does not damage the socio-cultural order of the local community because Muslims and Hindus have similarities in their cultural perspectives. From the Dutch colonial era (17th century) until the post-reform era, social interaction between Muslims and Hindus in Kampung Loloan experienced ups and downs. In general, social interaction could be sorted into four patterns, namely (1) social interaction patterns based on kinship (*menyamebraya*); (2) social interaction patterns based on partnership; (3) social interaction patterns based on the spirit of competition; and (4) social interaction patterns based on prejudice that has the potential to ignite hostility. The first, second, and third patterns of social interaction could support the *Ajeng Bali* movement and the multiculturalism development that strengthened the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Meanwhile, the fourth pattern of social interaction based on prejudice was a latent danger that needed to be anticipated because it could ignite social conflict and reduce national integration.

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