



**TECHNIUM**  
**SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL**

**Vol. 28, 2022**

**A new decade  
for social changes**

[www.techniumscience.com](http://www.techniumscience.com)

ISSN 2668-7798



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## **Balinese Muslim Identity Construction: Symbol of Harmonious Communication Among Religious Adherents in Indonesia**

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**Abstract.** The construction of identity is formed in the dialectic between the individual and society. The relationship between individuals and society produces self-identity and ego. Self-identity survives according to individual beliefs since birth, the identity of ego can facilitate as a solution to the problems that occur in the community environment. The study purposed to describe the construction of Balinese Muslim identity as a symbol of harmonious communication among religious adherents in Indonesia. This research uses descriptive-qualitative type. Data collection techniques using interviews, observation, and document review. Analysis of the data using a model of the flow through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, conclusion and verification. The findings from this study suggest that the construction of Muslim self-identity in daily life is displayed through the implementation of worship as a symbol of Muslims. Symbols of identity include the implementation of the prayer, *zakah*, fasting, and pilgrimage. In additions, *adhan* as a symbol of the implementation of the prayers, the existence the big feast of Islam, the celebration of the holiday, and as well as the wearing of hijab and hat *songkok* for Muslims are also symbols of Muslim identity. The construction of ego identity is represented in Islamic institutions symbolized by the existence of mosques, Islamic boarding schools, madarsa/school, and the tomb of guardian place of seven (Wali Pitu) as a site of religious tourism. The study

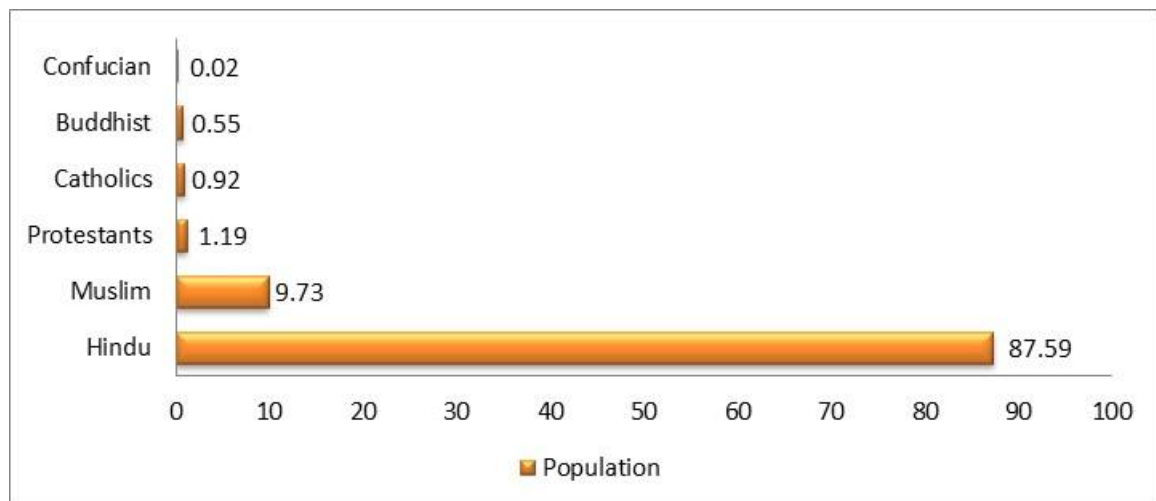
produced a map displaying Muslim identity in everyday and institutional Islam, as well as the identity of the ego that is displayed in interrelationship with society. The construction of Balinese Muslim identity is part of the symbol of harmonious communication among religious adherents in Bali, Indonesia.

**Keywords.** Identity Construction, Balinese Muslims, Harmonious Communication.

### Introduction

Bali Island is well known as the island of thousand temples. The name is given for there are thousands of Balinese worship places. However, Hindus and Buddhists in Indonesia are in the minority, the majority of Indonesian people are Muslims (Haryanto, 2019). Based on data of Regional office of Ministry of Religious Affairs of Bali year 2020, the population of religious followers are as below:

Feagure 1:  
The population of Religious Followers in Bali



Although Muslim in Bali is the second largest population, but they are far outnumbered from the Hindus. Since Muslim is in minority, the practice of their religious activities certainly not as free as what is done by adherents of the majority population. This is a challenge to Muslims in running the obedience. Minority was a group of people which have differently deal and inbalance handling than their counterparts. The terms of minority used to distinguish the character of a group compared to others (Lewin, 1946).

The major challenges experienced by Muslim's Bali are the Bali Bomb 1st and 2nd. The bomb blasted on October 12, 2002 (Basyir, 2018; Mahdi et al., 2021). At Saturday night in three locations: the first two bombs exploded at Paddy's Pub and Sari Club on Jalan Legian, and the next explosion occurred near the US Consulate Office. The death toll reached 202 people. A total of 164 victims were foreigners of 24 countries, 38 were Indonesians, and 209 people were injured and caused damage to a radius of one kilometer from the center of the blast. The so-called Bali Bombing 1st was considered the worst terrorist act in Indonesian history (Gunawan, 2014). The Bali bomb has affected disharmony relationship between Hindus as a major population and Muslim as a minority. Moreover, the labeling of Islam as a terrorist religion had been attached to Muslims after the blast occurred. The blast had resulted in friction among

society, hatred sphere, and security checking through identity cards of Muslims for whoever visiting Bali.

In 2005, after the Bali 1st blast when the Balinese have been returned to find peace and comfort in life and can escape the trauma of the bomb blast, there was another bomb blast on October 1st, 2005. The bomb accident was known as the Bali Bomb 2nd. Tuwo (2015) reported three bombs exploded in two tourist areas in Bali, two blasted in Jimbaran and one in Kuta, which injured 196 victims of tourists and local residents, 23 deaths confirmed of 15 Indonesian citizens, one Japanese, 4 Australians, and three victims were indicted as suicide bombers who were Indonesian citizens.

It is convinced by the number of Muslims that the blast had caused traumatic conditions towards society relationship. They had been experienced with either pressure of cultural security force or some terrors towards family members. Some of the terrors that Muslims recognize in Bali as a result of post-bombing, such as the form of the pressure of abusive words, strict supervision of *Pecalang* (Security of Culture) in the form of ID card raids, and the prohibition of religious symbols. There are number of terror cases in the form of pressure towards Muslims in Bali. For example, the Muslims in Kapal Village, Badung Regency were even banned from using the field for Ied prayers. Also ban a mosque of Muslim pedestrian in Peliatan village, Ubud sub-district, Gianyar regency.

In this case, Islam as a religion with adherents of a minority in Bali deeply feels the social and psychological impact of the terrorist act. Labeling Islam as a terrorist religion at that time had been made specific challenge towards Balinese Muslims to restore the teachings of Islam as a *Rahmatan Lil Alamin* means a mercy for all creatures (Kisworo, 2017; Muhammad et al., 2021).

This research was conducted on the basis of the phenomenon; First, the number of adherents of Islam in Bali is 9.87% as compared to the Hindus of 87.28%, which shows Muslims as a minority. Despite, there are some religious rituals which can not be practiced by Muslims, because of conflict with the rules applied by the local government. There are still many religious rituals can be conducted by Muslims in Bali to show their identity in the presence of majority. For example, the case in Kungkung village where muslim communities were prohibited to recite *takbir* (*Allah Akbar* means Allah The Great) by taking around the village on discompose reasons, strange look to the veiled women, *adhan* (The Call to Prayer) remained discompose. Second, Muslims in Bali have shown their identity through symbols in social life that seeks to present its identity as a religion of *Rahmatan Lil Alamin* means a mercy for all creatures. Third, the identity of Balinese Muslims has demonstrated religious rituals such as: the celebration of festivals, *Takbir* festivals, Islamic holy days, the use of veils for women, *Rudat* festivals, Muslim restaurants, mosques, pesantren, madarsa, and orphanage. Fourth, as a minority religion, there will be exclusivity for the treatment of Muslims at some points, in their religious practices from the majority of religious people. This exclusivity occurs when there is no integration with the local majority community. This treatment generates the self-construction or identity within the Muslim community of Bali.

The study purposed to describe the construction of Balinese Muslim identities, through the question of how were the Muslim identities displayed in individuals and institutions as a symbol of harmonious communication among religious adherents. The study contributed in population mapping and government policy.

### **Literature Review**

Research on identity construction has been conducted by Kahani-Hopkins & Hopkins (2002). According to him; Muslim identity is actively produced, reproduced, and transformed in a series of social processes. The Muslim identity as a member of the community has an agreement that must be adhered to together, and that is different from the Muslim identity as an individual. Identity construction moves dynamically along with the dynamics of interaction between humans. Identity construction has the potential to shift and mutate in the form of actions and attitudes (He, 2004). Identity construction carried out in the life of society, and even identity can be constructed on the internet (Calvert, 2002), social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and others (Zhao et al., 2008), and identity construction moves from imam to cyber-mufti (Zaman, 2008). However, there is still discrimination against female Muslim minorities in constructing their identity (Khan, 2007). On the other hand, there is also a shift from the minority to the majority and becomes a contradiction in social life (Foroutan, 2013). Often there is tension in social life between the minority and the majority, but all can be controlled by religious leaders, the law, and the presence of the government by instilling tolerance in religious life (Purwanto, 2017). Harmonious communication is the key to openness, honesty, and tolerance in religious and social life (Nurdin et al., 2020). Balinese Muslims live in peace based on local wisdom, side by side with the diversity of Balinese customs and culture (Arif, 2019). The construction of Balinese Muslim identity is carried out with various mixes of beliefs, ethnicity, language, and culture without compromising their identity as Muslims (Mashino, 2021).

Identity construction moves from individual identity to group identity (Cerulo, 1997). The concept of identity is needed in social life and for the development of human relationships (Daniels & Gabel, 2004). Individual identity is constructed based on experiences and meanings associated with religious and cultural attributes. Individual identity moves from self meaning to group meaning. Group identity is constructed with the common meaning and understanding shared by group members. Group identity is constructed on similarities as members of a minority with a sense of group identity (Alagha, 2012; Ridwan et al., 2020).

Muslim identity can be constructed differently by each individual. Muslim identities can be constructed as political actors, academics, sportsmen, traders, and even as fundamentalists (Kahani-Hopkins & Hopkins, 2002; Sohrabi, 2016). Individual identity can be constructed through religious identity as a source of origin for individual attitudes, knowledge, and attitudes, religion as a chosen identity, and religion as an identity for public life (Peek, 2005).

Balinese Muslim identity is constructed at the individual and group levels. At the individual level, Muslim identity is constructed in daily life by actively carrying out worship as a form of vertical relationship to God and living in society with tolerance and harmony. At the group level, Balinese Muslim identity is constructed through the establishment of mosques, educational institutions, and Islamic boarding schools. The construction of Balinese Muslim identity at the individual and group level is part of the symbol of harmonious communication in the diversity of religions and cultures in Bali.

### **Methods**

This type of research is qualitative research. This qualitative research produced a descriptive data in the form of words written or spoken of people and observable behaviors. With this method will get a picture of the identity of Muslims displayed through individual and institutional to the people of Bali. This research was conducted in 2019. The subject of research is Muslim community who live in Bali island. Five interviewees selected from four different

districts; Klungkung, Jimbaran, Denpasar and Kuta. The data collected through in-depth interviews and document review. The researcher interviewed informants who are selected randomly, in an interactive ways (conversation), and through open questions.

The data analysis conducted in Flow Model through data reduction, data presentation, conclusion and verification. The descriptions and reports are reduced, summarized, sorted in the essentials, focused on the essentials, searched for themes or patterns and organized more systematically so that it is easily to be controlled. The next step is presenting the data in narrative text to form a series of meaningful information in accordance with the research problem. Further steps must be taken is the conclusion of research findings where the verification conducted by re-clarifying the existing data to ensure the validity of conclusions that have been obtained.

### **Results and Discussion**

The total population of Balinese was recorded at 4,317,404 based on the census of 2020 by The Central Statistics Agency of Bali in 2021. They are spreaded in eight districts and one city which are Jembrana Regency is 317,064, Tabanan Regency is 461,630 people, Badung Regency is 548,191 people, Gianyar Regency is 515,344 people, Klungkung Regency is 206,925 people, Bangli Regency is 258,721 people, Karangasem Regency is 492,402 people, Buleleng Regency is 791,813 people, and Denpasar City is 725,314 people. Of the total area of Bali Province has an area of 5,636,66 km<sup>2</sup> with a population density of 1.07.

The religion of the Balinese people is predominantly Hindu which recorded 87,59% and Muslim population is ranked second in 9,73%. The Islamic teaching arrived in Bali is expected in the 13th and 14th centuries by Gelgel Kingdom, but there is no definitive research conducted the prove. Although it is not known exactly the detail history of Islam in Bali, but the coming of Islam is not initiated by migrants or traders who work and earn living in Bali.

This study discusses the construction of Balinese Muslim identity in the diversity of local religions and cultures. Balinese Muslim identity is constructed at two levels, namely Muslim identity at the level of daily life and Muslim identity at the institutional level.

### **Construction of Muslims' Daily Identity in Bali**

A person's identity can be displayed through self-actualization in everyday life. A self-actualization is a form of implementation of what an individual think and want in the form of the pattern of action shown in the people around him. This self-actualization raises the response of the surrounding community in various forms. In the perspective of Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory (McLeod, 2007; Darma et al., 2021), self-actualization is the highest level performed by a person. Based on the theory of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943), there are five sets of needs arranged in a hierarchical order, where physiological needs are at the bottom, safety and security in the next position, the need for belonging is in the middle position, the esteem is higher in position, and the need for self-actualization is at the top. The above hierarchical requirements can mean that the needs of the body must be met first after which people seek satisfaction for safety and security. When they feel secure, people are motivated by the next need of appreciation. When people are able to satisfy all their lower needs, then people are willing to do something worthwhile and desire the passing of the desire.

In reality, individuals in society would require physiological needs, safety and security, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization (Zalenski & Raspa, 2006). Self-actualization is the construction of a Muslim self-made in accordance with the concept itself. The concept of self-actualization is formed based on perception to surrounding environment.

The self-construction or identity of Muslim was formed since the beginning of life or birth. There must be changes in the construction of Muslim identity following the ages from birth to adulthood. This change is a necessity, given the aspects of knowledge and insight into the thinking that continues to experience growth. In the perspective of social construction theory (Le Cornu, 2009; Liebrucks, 2001), this change of identity or self-construction belongs to the category of externalization stages, namely the effort of the outpouring or the expression of the human self into the world, both in mental and physical state. The process of forming one's identity can occur through collaboration between individual identity (personal) and group identity (social) in a society. There are dynamics that live in the community because they are able to adapt to various pressures from other groups (Berzonsky, 2011).

The construction of Muslim identity who lives in a major society is different from his own concept than who live in a predominantly Muslim society. Self-actualization of a minor Muslim community emerge more struggle in moral values in the middle of major community. Their identity established in the worship such as: prayer/*salah*, *zakah*, fasting/*saum* and pilgrimage/*haaj*. Muslims in Bali are lucky to live in a high-tolerance majority environment. For instance, The Hindu people know when the prayer time for Muslims. a Teacher of tuition permits any muslim students who want to conduct *ashar* prayer when the time shows at 04.00 p.m. An informant said;

“In my place (Jimbaran district), it is very tolerant. If we want to pray, then they invite. I studied with a teacher, my teacher is non-Muslim. At that time, learning started at 4 pm. Automatically I have to pray in the study area. I have permission, and the teacher allows me to pray”(Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

According to Erikson (1989), in the perspective of identity theory, there are two kinds of personal identity and ego identity. A person's personal identity stems from the direct experience that during the passage of time, despite the changes, he remains the same person, the individual of a Muslim. The Muslim is a new identity and can be regarded as the identity of the Ego, an identity that is accompanied by an existential quality as an autonomous subject capable of resolving conflicts within itself and society. According to Erikson, the process of identity formation takes place slowly and initially occurs unconsciously in the core of the individual self.

Stover & Mann (2016) illustrate that the dynamics of identity possessed by someone in intercultural interactions are largely influenced by individual innate factors, namely cultures brought from birth and development. In the process of identity construction, inter-cultural clashes result in the domination of certain cultures, while others are submissive and surrender, there may even be the destruction of certain minority cultures (cultural genocide). Littlejohn & Foss (2009) conveyed that the change of self-construction as a Muslim can be influenced by social identity and personal identity, which include cultural identity, gender identity, sexual identity, social class identity, and social role identity. Personal identities can include unique attributes associated with the individual self and can be compared with others. These two dimensions of identity can influence everyday behavior.

High tolerance between Hindu and Muslims in Bali were showed in their daily religious practices without any discrimination. For example: when muslim do fasting in Ramzan month, Hindu people appreciate them by do not eat or drink in front of them but they are happy by providing foods and drinks for muslim faster. An informant said;

“In my place (Klungkung district), Muslims do not experience difficulties or discrimination when praying from adherents of other religions, as well as *zakah*, fasting, or hajj. Sometimes, during fasting those who are Hindus respect Muslims by not eating or drinking in front of us” (Interview with Informant\_01, 2019).

The same information was also conveyed by an informant from Kuta, Bali as follows:

“As a Muslim, I can still carry out my obligations like a Muslim. Such as prayer, *zakah*, fasting and hajj, and there is no discrimination from people of other religions. And for example, people of other religions are happy with the month of fasting because there is a lot of food before breaking the fast” (Interview with Informant\_03, 2019).

The data above shows that Muslims construct individual identities by praying without interference from adherents of other religions. However, there are also actions that are not good for Muslims. Based on information from informant\_01; since 2015, the broadcasting of the call to prayer on television is replaced by Tri Sandya's show (a sign of prayer time for Hindus), which is usually appears in the morning around 6 a.m., in the mid noontime and evening.

Self-constructions displayed by Muslims when running fast, paying *zakah* and the implementation of the pilgrimage are also undertaken with the full value of tolerance. The majority religious community can tolerate the Muslim's rituals and behavior. Identity as Muslims can be displayed when running fast. Muslims in Bali run fast without any obstacles. Majority of people are very respectful of Muslims who are performing fasting. Although the restaurant remains open to serve the community, the majority group tolerate and respect the Muslims who are performing the fast. This is as told by the informant as follows:

“For the fast also they are welcoming us Muslims, even though their stalls are still open. Once in a while those who love open to me, usually a kind of fruit or bread so. Hindu people in the place I already understand, if Islam can not eat haphazardly including from cooking utensil used. So if give food in the form of rice so rarely. If you pay *zakah* as pilgrim there is no problem” (Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

The above data is also reinforced by other informants in accordance with his statement as follows :

“When praying, as usual, Muslims will call the *adhan* to show the prayer time. Those who are non-Muslims also tolerate it. Because we are side by side the same non-Muslims, certainly still have mutual respect. So, when there is a customary event, the sound of the call to prayer should be minimized but still may call the call to prayer. When Ramadan, we as Muslims perform fasting and pay *zakah* as it should be. There are *zakah* institutions which manage *zakah* distribution to poor people and orphans. There are also many places to buy meals to break the fast. Although we are a minority, but we feel happy during conducting fast of Ramadhan. When performing the pilgrimage, we also can still hold lecture before and after the pilgrimage like most other Muslims” (Interview with Informant\_04, 2019).

After practicing Ramadan fasting, Muslims in Bali also celebrate *Eid al-Fitr* (Muslim festival after Ramadan) and followed by *Eid al-Adha* (Muslim festival of sacrifice day) after month. Although Muslims as a minority, the majority of religion is very tolerant of what Muslims do in practicing their religious teachings. Celebration of the feast is done with a sense of togetherness and love with the form of mutual hospitality and visiting fellow neighbors despite different religions. Even they (the adherents of the majority religion) came to the Muslim house who are celebrating the holiday. An informant who lives in the Jimbaran area of Bali said:

“We celebrate as usual. During *Eid al-Fitr* usually they visit my house, eat *Opor* (Gravy Chicken with coconut milk) same snacks are usually treated. My same family also must have other food for them. They also pronounced *Minal Aidzin Wal Faidzin* as commonly Muslims say when the feast is Fitri. Vice versa, if for example Christmas my brass *Galungan* with other Muslim friends took turns playing to them. *Galungan* means a Balinese holiday celebrating the victory of Dharma (Eiseman, 2009). Only out of respect, we have no intention of celebrating the pack does not it actually in Islam is also not allowed. So we intend to play like normal, and we Muslims also never say "happy Galungan / Kuningan / Nyepi" to them, from them also fine” (Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

Similar information was also expressed by other informants as follows :

“When the big Muslim feast we can still hold celebrations such as places that the majority of Muslims. For example, when praying Eid, we can pray in the field even that keep the flow of traffic from "Pecalang" a kind of security officers who are mostly Hindus. When the evening Takbiran, not a few also the villages that held takbir around or just takbir together with mosque speakers. When the big day of Islam, for example, the event of the Prophet's mawlid. There are some areas that also have a tradition of celebrating. For example, one area in Jembrana. They make "male" a kind of decoration in the form of various objects or animals etc then filled with eggs inside. The event of Isra' Mi'raj or other big day is still Muslim can hold studies or lecture to commemorate it” (Interview with Informant\_04, 2019).

According to Organizational Identity Theory, identity is conceptualized as the process and product of interaction (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). The Organizational Identity Theory begins with the assumption that people manage relationships and tasks on their part by creating a model of themselves, the world around them, and the self in their world. This assumption is often also defined as a core set in the theory of organizational identity to understand who they are in relation to others in their organizational environment. This theory can explain the existence of a Muslim in the form of identity itself and the identity of the institution that lives in the middle of the majority society.

Herbert Blumer one of the followers of the theory of symbolic interaction tries to describe the symbolic interaction with three main thoughts namely; act, thing, and meaning. Humans act against something that belongs on the basis of the meaning of these things come from social interaction between a person and his neighbor. Meanings are treated or changed through a process of interpretation, which people use in dealing with something they encounter (meaning not just accepted but interpreted first) (Blumer, 1986).

This Blumer view if associated with the interaction that existed in Balinese society will generally be found act or action of a Muslim about Islamic values that serve as a guide (thing) in giving meaning to himself (meaning) to the surrounding environment. In the reality of social life, individuals interact with fellow Muslims and also non-Muslims. Interaction with fellow Muslims certainly no obstacle at all. Interaction is done just like a Muslim brother. Greeting each other and gathering among fellow Muslims, even doing activities in a local Muslim community. This is in accordance with the informant's statement as follows:

“We used to get a package of food during the festival. Surrounding my house there is a gathering for Muslim community recitation there if not mistaken Muslim Garden Jimbaran community. It is usually gathered when there are events of Islamic holy day same study held in my house mosque”(Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

“In the Klungkung area there is an Islamic art named Rudat, Rudat followed by Muslim teenagers or usually teenage mosques. Rudat is a kind of hike that is adorned with the reading of Shalawat. When implemented Rudat, Hindus who participate enthusiastically and appreciate” (Interview with Informant\_01, 2019).

“With fellow Muslims in my area, there is lecture/gathering of Muslims named Kampung Jawa, Kampung Lebah, Kampung Kusamba, and Gel Gel Village. So, it can be said is very nice between one Muslim with another Muslim. I interact with those who are Hindus alright. No element of discrimination or condescension. If we respect them then they will also appreciate us” (Interview with Informant\_01, 2019).

The interaction of a Muslim with a non-Muslim is done through the principle of friendship. Living in the midst of a certain religious majority requires a Muslim to always open up with the surrounding majority environment. Friendships are built on the principle of tolerance and mutual understanding of religion. The attitude of tolerance among the people is very open and tolerant. This informant's statement can describe the pattern of interaction between a Muslim and non-Muslim in Bali as follows:

“Honestly I had always never had non-muslim playmate. I am just be their friends. One of non-muslim friend in tuition class interact with me as usual, we chat lightly. I just went home and directly reciting Qur'an. My Hindu friend asked me, what is *Ngaji* (reading Holy Quran)? Finally, I explained in a language that is easy to understand. They were curious and said they should not see the book of *Ngaji*. I remove the book tajwid and Quran, but I convey if the Quran should not be touched because he does not have wudu” (Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

“I feel that Muslims are quite open. Many Muslim homes are mingling with Hindu neighbors but like brothers. They have a lot to understand the Islamic custom, what is prohibited and allowed though in general. Perhaps it is enough to show that we are Muslim and open our environment” (Interview with Informant\_04, 2019).

The same information was also conveyed informant in Denpasar-Bali, he said as follows

:

“It does not discriminate between non-Muslim and Muslim interactions on worldly or social affairs, but it’s concerned and respected on inter-religious relations. My interaction with non-Muslims goes as usual. We interact as usual. Mutual greetings, attend their invitations, make friends with them, etc. Because of the tolerance that exists in Bali is very strong. When we visit one of their custom ceremonies, they will understand that we can not eat pork or anything else that is banned by Islam. When we visit, they keep dogs. They will get rid of the dog because they know Muslims cannot touch the dog” (Interview with Informant\_05, 2019).

High sense of tolerance done by the majority religion is not without defect and goes well. In reality, there are only challenges gained by Muslims in life among the majority. This challenge is in the form of descent discrimination treatment. This is in accordance with the informant's statement as follows:

“When I was student of Madarsa Tsanawiyah. I usually went to school by walk. I met Hindu children through the street and they mocked me "Javanese children!" but I kept silent because they were youngest than me” (Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

The construction of identity at a given moment reaches the point of consciousness as an individual living in the community. Individual consciousness is achieved thanks to the forging of the reality of consciousness experienced with the world around it. In the theory of social construction, Peter L. Berger marks it in the process of internalization ie the re-absorption of the objective world into consciousness in such a way that the individual subjects are influenced by the structure of the social world (Kuswarno, 2009). Identity as a Muslim experienced consciousness after being influenced by the structure of the social world around the non-Muslim majority community.

The construction of a self-identity as a Muslim when the shadow side by side with a non-Muslim majority is shown through the use of the hijab for a Muslim. Jilbab serves as a symbol of identity for Muslim women in the activities of everyday life. Even the hijab can be used as a Muslim symbol when dealing with traffic. For example, when driving on motorbikes on highways, police can understand if they do not use helmets but wear hijabs, and police do not a ticket. The police treatment by not ticketing motorcyclists who wear headscarf or hat is also applicable for Hindus when driving by using *Kebaya* or *Udeng* (a traditional uniform). The story is delivered informant as follows:

“We are Muslims remain veiled. They are fine. In Bali, even though we want to go to Denpasar City if we are rarely seen in police ticket. The Muslims are also unaware that there is no helmet even though far away because they think again to the place of worship. Similarly, the Hindus if they are wearing kebaya and Udeng also not on the ticket. I also if returning from Surabaya to Bali in the terminal pickup never wear a helmet and not on the police ticket” (Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

High tolerance in Bali makes Muslims not isolate themselves, and even open to their environment. This is in accordance with the informant's narrative as follows:

“My family is very open with those who belong to Hindu, we do not discriminate a person just because he is Hindu. Most Muslims do not isolate themselves and even tend to be open to non-Muslim communities” (Interview with Informant\_03, 2019).

Based on the above data, the construction of Muslim identity in everyday life in Bali is displayed through the implementation of worship as a symbol of Muslims. Construction of Muslim identity begins when performing worship, paying zakah, performing fast and pilgrimage. The practice of worship is marked by the call to prayer, the commemoration of the Islamic day, the celebration of the feast, and the use of Islamic symbols in daily life ie the use of ‘jilbab, Peci or Songkok’ for Muslims.

### **Construction of Muslim Institutional Identity in Bali**

Human as an individual can not stand on their own but always depend on others help. This sense of dependence then gives individuals’ feeling of being united in a community or institution. In this case, it is united with the Muslim community, associate and interact within it, and form symbols and symbols that can be used as a common identity. The identity of Muslims in Bali is also constructed through Islamic institutions. Institutions that become Muslim identity in the form of mosque, *Mushalla*, madarsa, boarding school/*Pesantren*, and religious tourism.

Both Mosque and *Mushalla* is a place of worship for every Muslim. The mosque physically larger than *Mushalla* in both size and capacity. Due to smaller size, *Musholla* is neither used for conducting Friday prayers nor Eid prayer and some festivities, it only used for five times prayer and tarawih prayer in Ramzan month. The mosque usually has a tall tower with ornament, the most appropriate place to educate the congregation, especially in the practice of five-time prayers, general sermons, and Friday prayers (Dhofier, 1982). The mosque also used as a place for teachings of Islam, learning the Quran, and often used as gathering hall for Muslims to learn the teaching of Islam as well as performing prayers. This is in accordance with the informants’ say as follows:

“The mosque is one of the learning space for us, here the learning of Al Qur'an and Islamic teaching given to young children and adults. There are teenage mosques volunteers which have activities in developing the mosque. *Musholla* (small mosques) is also almost organized the learning activity as well as mosque. The activities of the Muslims in the mosque cover all of its obligations. Like five times prayer in a day, Friday prayer and Eid prayer” (Interview with Informant\_03, 2019).

The activity heard from the mosque is the call to prayer through the call to prayer that resonates and sounds loudly in the surrounding community. From the mosque, the *mu'azzin* (a person who conduct prayer call) performs a call to prayer five times a day before the prayer. Although Muslims as a minority, as a form of tolerance among citizens, the majority (Hindu) people tolerate the call to prayer from mosque except in *Nyepi* day. This is in accordance with the informant's narrative as follows:

“The prayer call or *azhan* is sounded daily, except in *Nyepi* holyday where everyone should not turn on lights, music, outdoors, etc. for one full day. Airports and shops are also on the lid. Once the tourists go to Bali while *Nyepi* holyday, they must transit to other airport. Because all airport and bus station are closed. There should be no

noise in the day of *Nyepi*, including the call to prayer for Muslims. When *Nyepi* day in Friday, the *azhan* should not use loud speakers and mic. *Pecalang* (Religious leader in the day of *Nyepi*) reminds Muslims to do not make any loud noise when Friday prayer. Muslims also should not make noise in the road or driving motorcycle which cause noise. The point is we still respect them” (Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

*Pondok Pesantren* (boarding school) is a symbol of Muslim identity which organizes education and teaching in a non-classical approach. The *Kiai* (principal) teaches students through books written in Arabic by the great scholars since medieval times, while students usually live in the cottage or dormitory within *pesantren*. *Pondok Pesantren* serves as an embryo of Muslim leader in the future. The boarding school provided a mosque as the main central activities within campus. An informant said;

“In my district, there are Al Fatah Boarding School which is located at Al Fatah Mosque and Al-Hikmah Boarding School which is located in Al-Hikmah Mosque. Both schools run actively without any problems from the local Hindu community. There is a boarding school called Pondok Dipenogoro in Klungkung village which accepted by local people. Previously this school was less desirable, nowadays the number of students were increased”(Interview with Informant\_01, 2019).

“There so many newly boarding schools had been developed in Bali. Parents are enthusias to send their children in boarding schools. Some competitions regularly conducted among boarding schools’ students” (Interview with Informant\_04, 2019).

The madarsa is a very distinctive term among Muslims as an educational institution that provides the values of religious teachings as well as sciences. The community can identify themselves as muslims whether they study in madarsa. Madarsa education is also recognized by the government as a formal legal institution. An informant said;

“Here the government allowed the establishment of madarsa. I was graduated from kindergarten, elementary, junior high and high school in Muslim schools. There so many days off in Hindu because of festivals like Galungan and Kuningan. Usually, the public schools (which mix muslim non-muslim students) must give holiday until about week, because in this period Hindu people going back to their hometown respectively. But in madarsa, we have one day of holiday or maximum three days off” (Interview with Informant\_02, 2019).

“There are so many madarsas in Bali. From Diniyah (nursery), Ibtidaiyah (primary), Tsanawiyah (secondary) and Aliyah (Sr. Secondary) also many schools are based on Islam. Parents also entrust the education of their children in madarsa. Because their children will get Islamic education as well as sciences education. There also activities, such as speech contests, qiroah (reading holy book) competitions, etc” (Interview with Informant\_04, 2019).

Madarsa as a symbol of Muslim identity within majority community considered as challenges to realize tolerance among people. Muslims challenged to show tolerance attitude towards other believers. As mentioned by interviewee as follows:

“Although sometimes Hindu students consider Muslim students who wear a veil with a little 'weird' but not until there is excessive discrimination or bullying treatment. The government does not concerned towards madarsas at all” (Interview with Informant\_01, 2019).

Currently the identity of Muslims in Bali highlighted with the rapid promotion of Bali as religious tourism. Religious tourism is intended as an effort to attract the attention of Muslim tourists who come to Bali not only visited the tour that has been famous in Bali. Religious tourism is a tour of the heart and spirit to the tombs of the guardians in Bali. The heart and spirit of the tourists will get the coolness and peace. Assegaf (2012) mentioned the tomb of seven guardians in Bali are:

1. Pangeran Mas Sepuh or Syeh Achmad Chamdun Choirusholeh or Raden Amankuningrat, his grave in the village of Munggu, Mengwi Sub-district, Badung regency, known as Makam Keramat Pantai Seseh.
2. Chabib Umar Bin Maulana Yusuf Al Maghribi, his grave on Bedugul hills Tabanan Regency, known as Makam Keramat Bedugul.
3. Chabib Ali Bin Abu Bakar Bin Umar Bin Agil Al Khamid, his grave in Islam Village, Kusamba Dawan Sub-district, Klungkung Regency, known as Makam Keramat Kusamba.
4. Syeh Maulana Yusuf Al Baghdi Al Maghribi, his grave in Bungaya Kangin Village, Bebandem District, Karangasem Regency, known as Makam Keramat Kembar.
5. Chabib Ali Bin Zainul Abidin Al Idrus, his grave in Desa Bungaya Kangin Village, Bebandem District, Karangasem Regency, known as Makam Keramat Kembar.
6. The Kwan Lie is titled: Syeh Abdul Qodir Muhammad, his grave in Temukus Village, Banjar District, Buleleng Regency, known as Makam Keramat Karang Rupit.
7. Chabib Ali Bin Umar Bin Abu Bakar Bafaqih, his grave on West Loloan Street, Jembrana District State, known as Makam Keramat Loloan.

The tomb of seven guardian as religious tourism is justified by the informant as follows; “One of the Islamic religious tourism known in Bali is the tomb of seven guardians. Many Balinese and non-Balinese Muslims come for pilgrimage”(Interview with Informant\_04, 2019).

The local government supported the religious tourism as well as took care and maintained the tomb. The visitors of tomb were came from local people and outsiders too as per information from interviewee as follows:

“The Government of Bali is very guarded religious attractions in guardian seven. Many visitors from different regions visit Bali for pilgrimage to the guardians of seven. the cooperation of the Muslim community and the hindu community is good this makes this tourist spot well preserved” (Interview with Informant\_01, 2019).

The above information revealed that the construction of Muslim identity in Bali symbolized through mosques, boarding schools, madarsas, and the tomb of seven guardian.

### Conclusion

Muslims in Bali show their identity through symbols of social and harmony as living-being. In the perspective of the theory of personal identity, a person stems from the direct experience of being Muslim since birth then his identity will never be abandoned. Meanwhile, the identity theory of ego looks a Muslim in displaying his/her identity can not unleash the personality of the self from the surrounding environment. Therefore a Muslim has the ability to resolve conflicts within the mind of a Muslim as well as society.

Muslims try to display their identity in everyday life and in Islamic institutions. The construction of Muslim identity in everyday life in Bali is shown through the implementation of worship as a symbol of Muslims. The construction of Muslim identity begins when performing worship, paying *zakah*, performing fast and pilgrimage. In this case, the implementation of worship is marked with the call to prayer, the commemoration of Islamic day, the celebration of festival, and the use of Islamic symbols in daily life i.e. the use of veil for woman and *cap/songkok* for man. The construction of Muslim institutional identity in Bali can be symbolized through mosques, Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), *madarsas*, and the tomb of seven guardian (*Wali Pitu*) as religious tourism destination.

The study suggests that further research on the attitude of tolerance and openness of Balinese people between the majority (Hindu) and minority (Islam, Buddhism, Catholicism, Christianity, and Confucianism) is highly required. This research contributed as a prototype or model of harmony between religious people and can be used as a role model.

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