



Liminality Rituals of Interfaith Families: Symbolic Interactionism and Maqāshid Sharia Perspectives

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Abstrak

Tujuan penelitian ini untuk mengetahui dinamika ritual liminalitas *life cycle* dalam keluarga beda agama di Kota Salatiga beserta makna yang terkandung di dalamnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode yuridis sosiologis (*socio-legal*). Penelitian ini adalah *fieldwork research* yang dilakukan pada keluarga beda agama di Kota Salatiga. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa perkawinan beda agama pada masyarakat Kota Salatiga dalam perspektif *symbolic interactionism* melibatkan *mind*, *self* dan *society*. Aktor dipengaruhi oleh interaksi dengan individu lain sekaligus berusaha membagi makna kepada *society*. Konstruksi kognisi aktor keluarga beda agama memperhatikan dimensi *society* yang menuntut legalitas sebuah perkawinan. Dalam tindakan ritual liminalitas *life cycle*, keluarga beda agama di Kota Salatiga memiliki toleransi yang cukup besar. Hal ini ditandai dengan kebebasan anggota keluarga dalam melakukan ritual baik yang berasal dari tradisi ataupun agama. Dalam konteks *maqashid syariah*, konsep *hifdzun nafs*; *hifdzud dīn*; *hifdzun nasbi wa nasl*; *hifdzul māl*; dan *hifdzul aql* dapat tetap terjaga selama tidak ada paksaan dari pihak yang lain. Dengan demikian, kebebasan beribadah dan menjalankan ritual-ritual keagamaan yang diyakini mutlak diperlukan.

Kata Kunci: Keluarga Beda Agama, Liminalitas, Ritual, Interactionism Symbolic.

Abstract

This study aims to determine the dynamics of life cycle liminality rituals in interfaith families in Salatiga City and their meanings. This study used a qualitative approach with socio-juridical (*socio-legal*) methods. This fieldwork was conducted on interfaith families in Salatiga City. The results of this study revealed that interfaith marriages in the Salatiga City people, from the perspective of symbolic interactions, involved the mind, self, and society. The actors were influenced by interactions with other individuals and tried to share meaning with society. The cognition construction of interfaith family actors paid attention to the dimensions of society that demand the legality of a marriage. In the ritual act of liminality in the life cycle, interfaith families in Salatiga City had a fairly large tolerance. It was marked by the freedom of family members to perform rituals, whether they came from tradition or religion. In the context of *maqāshid sharia*, the concepts of *hifdzun nafs*, *hifdzud dīn*, *hifdzun nasbi wa nasl*, *hifdzul māl*, and *hifdzul aql* could be maintained as long as there was no coercion from other parties. Thus, freedom of worship and carrying out religious rituals is absolutely necessary.

Keywords: Interfaith Families, Liminality, Ritual, Symbolic Interactionism.

Introduction

The relationship between religion and ritual is always interesting to discuss.¹ Religion is a faith and belief in something "Unseen", while the ritual is the implementation of actions based on belief in a supernatural being, which is believed to have hidden powers.² Mudjahirin Thohir made them an analogy that if religion is the spirit, ritual is the body, and if religion is the content, ritual is the container.³ This belief in the supernatural is then manifested in the symbolization of religious ritual actions.

Symbolic actions in rituals are usually manifested in special actions (e.g., prayer, fasting, pilgrimage) or special utterances (e.g., reading the holy book, praying, *shalawat*, *wirid*, *dhikr*).⁴ Special actions or speech in the ritual can be done individually or in the congregation (communal). Rituals are carried out because of realities of life faced, to commemorate events considered important (purified), or the desire for changes to occur in the lives of individuals and congregations.⁵

Specifically, the cultural construction of the Javanese society places rituals as essential to do in the life cycle. The ritual by Victor Turner is defined as a liminality ritual of life surrounding the process of human transition.⁶ Javanese people believe that the process of transitioning life is something sacred (holy). Therefore, the operational definition of liminality rituals in this study refers to the rites of the human life cycle, including pregnancy,⁷ birth, marriage, and death.⁸

Moreover, problems emerge when the liminality ritual is carried out in an interfaith family. Religious differences make differences in belief in understanding something sacred, including rituals as religious acts.⁹ On the other hand, various liminality rituals in the life cycle are often considered acts of heresy (*bid'ah*), polytheism, and out of the corridor of Aqedah and Islamic law.¹⁰ In this case, many studies have examined the liminality ritual before, for example, Victor Turner,¹¹

¹ Christoph Wulf, "Religion and Rituals," *Culture and Education*, 2013, 25–37.

² Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (University of Chicago Press, 1976).

³ Mudjahirin Thohir, *Orang Islam Jawa Pesisiran* (Fasindo Press, 2006).

⁴ Nia Kurniati Syam, Arifin Syatibi, and Moh Jibral Imperial Day, "Simbol-Simbol Dalam Komunikasi Keluarga Beda Agama," *MIMBAR: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan* 31, no. 2 (2015): 419–28.

⁵ Firdha Annisa, "Ritual Unggahan pada Komunitas Adat Bonokeling (Studi Kasus Pada Komunitas Adat Bonokeling Di Kabupaten Banyumas Menggunakan Teori Liminalitas Victor Turner)," *SOSIALITAS; Jurnal Ilmiah Pend. Sos Ant* 8, no. 1 (2019).

⁶ See, Victor Turner, "The Ritual Process New York" (Cornell University Press, 1969).

⁷ M Rifa'i, "Etnografi Komunikasi Ritual Tingkeban Neloni Dan Mitoni Studi Etnografi Komunikasi Bagi Etnis Jawa Di Desa Sumberuko () Kecamatan Gempol Kabupaten Pasuruan," *ETTISAL: Journal of Communication* 2, no. 1 (2017): 27–40.

⁸ Muhammad Sholikhin, *Ritual Dan Tradisi Islam Jawa: Ritual-Ritual Dan Tradisi-Tradisi Tentang Kehamilan, Kelahiran, Pernikahan, Dan Kematian Dalam Kehidupan Sehari-Hari Masyarakat Islam Jawa* (Penerbit Narasi, 2010).

⁹ Mudjahirin Thohir, "Etnografi Ideasional (Suatu Metodologi Penelitian Kebudayaan)," *Nusa: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa Dan Sastra* 14, no. 2 (2019): 194, doi:10.14710/nusa.14.2.194-205.

¹⁰ Nurul Fitroh, "Ritual Tingkeban Dalam Perspektif Aqidah Islam," *Universitas Islam Negeri Walisong Semarang*, 2014.

¹¹ Victor Turner, "Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 1979, 465–99.

Thomassen,¹² Marcel Liunokas,¹³ Nic Beech,¹⁴ Arif Hidajad,¹⁵ and Winangun.¹⁶ However, the difference between this research and previous studies lies in studying the ritual liminality of the life cycle, which examines the meaningful understanding of interfaith families in Salatiga. Salatiga City was chosen because it has its uniqueness. Salatiga is a city with a pluralistic population and is known as the most tolerant city in Indonesia, according to the Setara Institute.¹⁷ For this reason, this study aimed to determine the dynamics of the ritual liminality of the life cycle in interfaith families in Salatiga City and the meanings contained in it.

This study used symbolic interactionism as the main theory that could help see the reality of the ritual liminality of interfaith families and the meanings contained therein.¹⁸ Meanwhile, the *maqāshid sharia* theory was employed to discuss various data findings. Furthermore, the researchers also utilized other theories (social theory, legal theory, and Islamic legal theory) in an eclectic way to examine the ritual of liminality (life cycle) in interfaith families in Salatiga City. This study is vital to understanding the dynamics and freedom of belief for individuals in interfaith families. It is the implementation of freedom of belief as stated in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 28 E paragraphs (1) and (2) and the protection of human rights.¹⁹

Research Method

a. Types of research

This study used a qualitative approach with sociological juridical methods²⁰. Using the social sciences, this research could find the keys to the ritual action system of interfaith family liminality to obtain precise and effective results.²¹

¹² Bjørn Thomassen, "The Uses and Meaning of Liminality," *International Political Anthropology* 2, no. 1 (2009): 5–28.

¹³ Marsel Eliaser Liunokas, "Perempuan Dan Liminalitas Dalam Tradisi Perkawinan Adat Di Timor Tengah Selatan," *Anthropos: Jurnal Antropologi Sosial Dan Budaya (Journal of Social and Cultural Anthropology)* 6, no. 1 (2020): 114–22.

¹⁴ Nic Beech, "Liminality and the Practices of Identity Reconstruction," *Human Relations* 64, no. 2 (2011): 285–302.

¹⁵ Arif Hidajad, "Menikah (Sebuah Pendidikan Etika Melalui Simbol Upacara Liminalitas)," *PADMA* 11, no. 1 (2017).

¹⁶ Y Wartaya Winangun, *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur: Liminalitas Dan Komunitas Menurut Victor Turner* (Kanisius, 1990).

¹⁷ Ahmad Faidi, "Pendidikan Toleransi Terhadap Remaja Muslim Dan Kristen Di Salatiga (Studi Terhadap Perayaan Halal Bihalal Dan Natal Bersama Di Desa Pengilon Mangunsari Sidomukti Kota Salatiga)," *Intiqad: Jurnal Agama Dan Pendidikan Islam* 12, no. 2 (2020): 134–50.

¹⁸ See, Soedjito Atmoredjo in Muhammad Erwin, *Hak Atas Ruang Hidup Masyarakat Adat* (Depok: Rajawali Press, 2018). p. xiii.

¹⁹ See, Eko Hidayat, "Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia Dalam Negara Hukum Indonesia," *ASAS* 8, no. 2 (2016).

²⁰ See, Adji Samekto, "Pergeseran Pemikiran Hukum Dari Era Yunani Menuju Postmodernisme," *Jakarta: Konstitusi Press*. (2015). pp. 173-174.

²¹ Esmi Warassih, "Penelitian Hukum Interdisipliner Sebuah Pengantar Menuju Sosio-Legal," *Yogyakarta: Thafa Media*, 2016.

b. Research Time and Place

The fieldwork was carried out in the social and legal environment of the community.²² The location of this research was in Salatiga City, Central Java. The data was conducted from 2019 to 2020 (before the COVID-19 pandemic).

c. Research Object

The data was conducted on five interfaith families who performed the ritual of the liminality life cycle in Salatiga City. The participants were selected with the purposive sampling technique. Not everyone could become an informant, but only those from interfaith families who performed liminality rituals could become resource persons in this study. Due to the sensitivity of the issue and to protect the privacy of the informants, the researchers put a pseudonym (not their real names).

d. Data, Instruments, and Data Collection Techniques

This research was based on primary data sources obtained from actors from interfaith families. In qualitative research, the researchers became the main instrument of research. In-depth interviews were conducted to understand the actors of the liminality rituals from interfaith families meaningfully. Furthermore, secondary data sources were obtained by researchers from journals, books, laws and regulations, and other academic scientific works.

e. Data Analysis Technique

The data analysis technique employed triangulation. The researchers collected data and tested their credibility. This study used interactive data analysis, in which the data analysis process ran circularly and continuously until it was saturated. This circular process consisted of four stages interacting continuously. These four stages refer to Miles and Huberman: data collection, data presentation, data reduction, and verification.²³

Symbolic Interactionism Theory

This study used symbolic interactionism as the main theory. The symbolic interactionism theory originated from the theoretical perspective initiated by George Harbert Mead (1863-1931).²⁴ Mead was a professor of sociology at the University of Chicago. In its development, two schools of thought (madhhab) were born from the "flow" of symbolic interactionism theory: the Chicago school of thought pioneered by Herbert Blummer and the Iowa school of thought pioneered by Manford Kuhn. The difference between the two is in the method used. The Iowa school of thought uses a quantitative method and uses a post-positivist paradigm,²⁵ while the Chicago school of thought employs a qualitative method with an interpretive approach. Therefore, this study chose the Chicago school of

²² M Hajar, "Model-Model Pendekatan Dalam Penelitian Hukum Dan Fiqh," *Yogyakarta: Kalimedia*, 2017.

²³ Matthew B Miles, A Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (Sage publications, 2018).

²⁴ Nina Siti Salmaniah Siregar, "Kajian Tentang Interaksionisme Simbolik," *Perspektif* 1, no. 2 (2012): 100–110.

²⁵ See, Erlyn Indarti, "Diskresi Dan Paradigma," *Pidato Guru Besar*, no. November (2010).

thought of symbolic interactionism theory with Herbert Blummer's qualitative research method.²⁶

Herbert Blummer is a pioneer figure in the symbolic interactionism theory, believing that researching humans will be different from research on inanimate objects.²⁷ Blummer has an opinion about the importance of researchers to use empathy for the study subject and make an effort to enter into the experience of the subject under study, including understanding the values of each individual.²⁸ Therefore, the researchers entered the experience of the subject of individual performers of the liminality rituals in interfaith families by placing the empathy so that researchers could find out impulses, perception (analyzing life cycle ritual actions), manipulation (individuals determined to take ritual actions), and consummation (completion of the ritual act of the life cycle itself).²⁹

Maqāshid Sharia Theory

Studying the liminality rituals in the life cycle of interfaith families, the researchers used theories in Islamic law as a manifestation of pluralistic spiritual, legal thought. According to Esmi Warassih, pluralistic spiritual law thinking in principle consists of a legal dimension based on spiritual values and a cultural value dimension as the birthplace of law from a plural human spiritual side.³⁰ Islam lays down the basic principles of law, which are universal without being limited by space and time and allow the formulation of law for the welfare of its people (social welfare).³¹ Therefore, the researchers presented Islamic legal studies as one of the theories used.

The Islamic law theory that the researchers used was the *maqāshid sharia* theory. *Maqāshid sharia* can be interpreted with meaning or wisdom that is the concern of *syara'* (law) in all conditions of sharia (law enforcement).³² Syamsul Anwar views *maqāshid sharia* can be interpreted with *illah*, wisdom, and *al-ghayah* (goal) or *al-hafd*.³³ Thus, *maqāshid sharia* can be translated freely with the objectives

²⁶ Ardianto Elvinaro and Q Bambang, "Filsafat Ilmu Komunikasi," *Bandung: Simbiosis Reka Tama Media*, 2007, 2–3.

²⁷ Irianto Maladi Agus, "Interaksionisme Simbolik: Pendekatan Antropologis Merespon Fenomena Keseharian," *Semarang: Gigih Pustaka Mandiri*, 2015. p. 3.

²⁸ Teresia Noiman Derung, "Interaksionisme Simbolik Dalam Kehidupan Bermasyarakat," *SAPA-Jurnal Kateketik Dan Pastoral* 2, no. 1 (2017): 118–31.

²⁹ See, Vico Risky Tamunu, Fonny J Waani, and Selvie M Tumengkol, "Analisis Interaksionisme Simbolik Terhadap Penyimpangan Perilaku Siswa (Kajian Sosiologi Pendidikan Terhadap Pelanggaran Tata Tertib Siswa Di SMA Negeri 9 Manado)," *HOLISTIK, Journal Of Social and Culture*, 2018.

³⁰ Esmi WarasihPujirahayu, "Pemikiran Hukum Spiritual Pluralistik Sisi Lain Hukum Yang Terlupakan" (Thafa Media, Yogyakarta, 2016). p.x.

³¹ Muhammad Chairul Huda, "Relasi Islam Dan Negara (Studi Politik Hukum Di Indonesia)," *PAX HUMANA* 6, no. 2 (2020): 155–72.

³² Muhammad Thahir bin Asyur. 1999. *Maqasid al-Syariah al-Islamiyyah*. Malaysia: Dar al-Fajr, p. 251.

³³ Muhammad Lutfi Hakim, "Pergeseran Paradigma Maqasid Al-Syari'ah: Dari Klasik Sampai Kontemporer," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 10, no. 1 (2016): 1–16. Lihat juga, Muhammad Khalid Mas'ud, "Filsafat Hukum Islam Dan Perubahan Sosial," *Surabaya: Al-Ikhlās*, 1995. pp. 225.

set by sharia (ultimate value) by The One Almighty God to realize the human benefit.³⁴ Departing from this liminality ritual in the life cycle, it is not only seen from the positivistic normative perspective, "black-and-white" or "halal-haram" *an sich*. More than that, it is necessary to understand the meaning and impulses of the ritual performers.

Agus Maftuh Abegebriel explained that the principal values (*mabādi' al-asāsiyah*) of Islam in legal life rest on five basic guarantees (*maqāshidus shari'ah*): *first*, the physical safety of individuals in society (*hifdzun nafs*); *second*, freedom and obedience to live their respective religious lives without any intervention (*hifdzud dīn*); *third*, safety for having a good family and offspring (*hifdzun nasbi wa nasl*); *fourth*, the safety of property or personal property from threats and eviction outside a fair legal procedure (*hifdzul māl*); *fifth*, safety in the profession, developing thinking and intelligence (*hifdzul aql*).³⁵ The five principles in *maqāshidus shari'ah* are referred to and become a reference for applying Islamic law. It means that law construction in ritual acts of liminality should be oriented to the five basic principles of *maqāshidus shari'ah*.

Physical and Social Layout of Salatiga City

Salatiga City is in the Central Java Province. Its position is right between the capital of Central Java Province, Semarang, and Surakarta City. The position of the area is surrounded and bordered by Semarang Regency. Salatiga City is the smallest *Gemeente* (*Kotaparja*) in Indonesia and has the title of a Dutch city, which is well-laid out, following the pattern of cities in Europe.³⁶ In 1917, Salatiga City received the title *de Schoonste Stad van Midden-Java* (the most beautiful city in Central Java) based on Staatsblad 266 in 1917.³⁷ As a city for the Dutch (Europeans), the influence of Christianity is quite pronounced. In fact, many advanced educational institutions in Salatiga City are under Christian foundations, such as the Satya Wacana Christian University (SWCU).³⁸

The existence of SWCU socially also affects the plurality in Salatiga City. Many college students from various regions, mainly from eastern Indonesia: East Nusa Tenggara, Manado, Ambon, and Papua, who incidentally are Christians domiciled in Salatiga City.³⁹ After completing their studies, many of them did not return to their original areas but felt at home and settled in Salatiga City. Therefore, it is reasonable to suspect that the indigenous people in Salatiga are familiar with

³⁴ Abu Ishaq Al-Syatibi. tt. *Al-Muwafaqat Fi Ushul Al-Syariah*, Juz 2. Beirut: Dar Kutub Al-Ilmiyah, pp. 3.

³⁵ Agus Maftuh Abegebriel, in Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Kosmopolitan; Nilai-Nilai Indonesia Dan Transformasi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2007). pp. xxi.

³⁶ *Ibid*, h.19.

³⁷ Eddy Supangkat, *Salatiga Sketsa Kota Lama*, (Salatiga: Griya Media, 2007), p.12.

³⁸ Emy Wuryani and Sri Muryani, "MODEL KEPEMIMPINAN UNIVERSITAS KRISTEN SATYA WACANA 1956-1993," *Satya Widya* 31, no. 2 (2015): 69–82.

³⁹ Jitro Jemryes Keo, Wahyuni Kristinawati, and Adi Setiawan, "Dukungan Sosial, Ketangguhan Pribadi, Dan Stres Akulturasi Mahasiswa Nusa Tenggara Timur Di Salatiga," *Psikologika: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Psikologi* 25, no. 1 (2020): 15–28.

Christian-European traditions and Javanese-Islamic traditions. It confirms the plurality of the Salatiga population.

The interaction between religious adherents in Salatiga City presents the phenomenon of interfaith marriage. Interfaith marriages between Islam and Christianity, Islam and Buddhism, Islam and Catholicism, and Christianity and Catholicism are often found in families in Salatiga City.⁴⁰ It makes Salatiga a unique city and has been awarded the most tolerant city in Indonesia.⁴¹ In addition, Salatiga City, which has a tolerant character, a sense of security, and comfort, contains all the dimensions in *maqāshid sharia: hifdzun nafs, hifdzud dīn, hifdzun nasbi wa nasl, hifdzul māl, and hifdzul aql*.⁴²

However, this research is not justifying interfaith marriages and liminality rituals (life cycle) in the debate of various perspectives (schools of thought) of Islamic law and then determining *halal, haram, bid'ah* (heretic), shirk behavior, and others. Borrowing Max Weber's term, this study seeks to understand (*verstehen*)⁴³ a family phenomenon based on different religious beliefs and how they act in liminality rituals as a belief. Nevertheless, first, the researchers present the ontological reality of interfaith marriage in Salatiga City from the perspective of symbolic interactionism.

Interfaith Marriage in Salatiga City from the Perspective of Symbolic Interaction

Interfaith marriages or marriages between individuals of different religions in Indonesia have often occurred⁴⁴ even before and after Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage and the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI). In this article, the definition of interfaith marriage is a marriage between two people of different religions in which each maintains their religion.

Differences in values and traditions between religions are believed to impact differences in culture and rituals in carrying out marriage ceremonies and other ceremonies in the life cycle. This difference is suspected of having the potential to cause disputes between the couple and the couple's family. The potential for disputes over marital traditions and values is higher than the potential in marriages with the same religion, where the husband and wife have

⁴⁰ Erna Kurniawati NMAS and Elly Esra Kudubun, "MODAL SOSIAL KELUARGA BEDA AGAMA (Studi Sosiologis Tentang Relasi Pergaulan Anak Dari Pasangan Beda Agama Di Salatiga)," *Cakrawala Jurnal Penelitian Sosial* 4, no. 2 (2015).

⁴¹ Faidi, "Pendidikan Toleransi Terhadap Remaja Muslim Dan Kristen Di Salatiga (Studi Terhadap Perayaan Halal Bihalal Dan Natal Bersama Di Desa Pengilon Mangunsari Sidomukti Kota Salatiga)."

⁴² See, Hamdani Hamdani, "Negara Sejahtera Dalam Perspektif Maqashid Syariah," *Al-Mabsut: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial* 14, no. 1 (2020): 28–41.

⁴³ See, William T Tucker, "Max Weber's Verstehen," *The Sociological Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1965): 157–65.

⁴⁴ Aulil Amri, "Perkawinan Beda Agama Menurut Hukum Positif Dan Hukum Islam," *Media Syari'ah: Wahana Kajian Hukum Islam Dan Pranata Sosial* 22, no. 1 (2020): 48–64.

the same religion and beliefs.⁴⁵ In the view of symbolic interactionism, interfaith family couples in everyday life give birth to "negotiations" of systems of meaning and symbols that must be interpreted by each actor (agent) in carrying out social actions. It indicates that in the meaning of symbolic interactionism, husband/wife couples in daily family life will interact with husbands/wives of different religions and share meaningful symbols. It must be admitted that symbolic interactionism was born from the ideas of George Herbert Mead in his book *"Mind, Self, and Society"*.⁴⁶ Therefore, in understanding marital relations in interfaith families, the researchers used the symbolic interactionism theory in mind, self, and society, which Herbert Mead discovered:

1. *Mind*

Mind is what Mead means is the way the actor interacts with himself. Mind emerges and grows from social construction, which contains an integral component of the social process. Mead interprets the mind as involving the workings of the mind that lead to problem-solving. In the case of interfaith marriages in Salatiga, the actors viewed that their interfaith marriages were initiated based on love as human beings.⁴⁷ They considered it a form of custom that men love women, and vice versa; women love men. They upheld this principle even though they both had different religious beliefs.⁴⁸ It signifies that the mind of the actors of interfaith marriages in the form of affection and love beats differences in religious beliefs.

The informants stated that the love they built before marriage became the main capital for the continuity of their domestic life. Even though both partners were raised from different social constructs, they believed that a bond of love bound them. Several female actors (wife) admitted that previously, she was raised in a devout Muslim environment, and the male actor (husband) was raised in a devout Protestant Christian environment, considering that his parents were pastors. At first, there was opposition from the two families. However, love negated these contradictions. Thus, love was interpreted as solving the problem of differences, including, in this case, religious differences.⁴⁹ However, several interfaith marriages in Salatiga City admitted that their parents or family agreed.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Bonar Hutapea, "Dinamika Penyesuaian Suami-Istri Dalam Perkawinan Berbeda Agama (the Dynamics of Marital Adjustment in the Interfaith Marriage)," *Sosio Konsepsia: Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengembangan Kesejahteraan Sosial* 16, no. 1 (2011): 101–22.

⁴⁶ George Herbert Mead and Cornelius Schubert, *Mind, Self and Society*, vol. 111 (University of Chicago press Chicago, 1934). See, Tom Campbell, *Seven Theories of Human Society* (Clarendon Press Oxford, 1981).

⁴⁷ Ratna Erlisa, "Interview" (2020).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Sri Retno, "Interview" (2020).

2. *Self*

The self is based on Mead's idea that the person has two sides: the self and the social side (person). Individuals can be influenced by the regulations, values, and norms of the customs in which the individual is located. When an individual responds to something that happens in the community, the individual at that time is implementing something called an attitude. In the cognition construction, the actors of interfaith marriages in Salatiga City realized that the marriages they lived in contained regulatory consequences and legal values.⁵¹

They went through the regulatory process in several ways, one of which is that one of the spouses changed religion temporarily. Non-Muslim couples, for example, would read the creed (*syahadat*) first. If the marriage had been legally and administratively valid, the couple returned to their original religion. The reading of the creed as a symbol of religious conversion from non-Muslims to Muslims has been interpreted form of formality to fulfill the administrative requirements to carry out a marriage.⁵²

Not infrequently, they also had legality from three different institutions: a marriage certificate from the church, from a civil registry, and the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) in Salatiga City. This effort was taken in the context of the legality of marriage and the answer to the construction of customs/social beliefs that marriage must be carried out legally and not classified as the practice of adultery or cohabitation.⁵³ Thus, the cognitive construction of interfaith marriage actors in mind and self still paid attention to the social construction of a society that demands the legality of a marriage.

3. *Society*

Symbolic interactionism from Herbert Mead uses society, which means the social process that precedes the mind and self. Society has an important role in compiling the mind and self.⁵⁴ In the context of interfaith marriages in Salatiga, the actors shared the meaning of their marriage through symbols and signs of marriage. In this regard, symbols construct meaning socially.⁵⁵ Whether in the festive or simple category, the symbol in question was to do *ijab-qabul* and *slametan* for their marriage. A festive *slametan* means inviting many guests (more than 1000 people), while a *slametan* simply does not invite many guests.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Erlisa, "Interview."

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ See, Nurhanjani Nurhanjani and Hedi Wahyudi, "Studi Deskriptif Mengenai Dimensi Religiusitas Pada Mahasiswa Yang Melakukan Kohabitasi Di Tempat Kost X Bandung," 2019.

⁵⁴ Mead and Schubert, *Mind, Self and Society*.

⁵⁵ See, Basrun Umanailo, "Pierre Bourdieu; Menyikap Kuasa Simbol," 2018.

⁵⁶ Siti Qoni'ah, "Interview" (2020).

However, the marriage slametan ceremony is generally carried out by inviting neighbors, friends, and relatives.⁵⁷ From this, it can be known that the actors sought to share meaning and influence society. The actors also tried to share the meaning that even though different religions, marriages could be carried out and get legality from the government through a marriage certificate. Hence, in interfaith marriages, from the perspective of symbolic interactionism, the actors' actions were influenced by society and tried to influence society.

Liminality Rituals of Interfaith Families in Salatiga City in Symbolic Interactionism

Referring to the symbolic interactionism theory, it is revealed that, in principle, human social action consists of four stages: (1) impulse, (2) perception (analyzing an action), (3) manipulation (individuals determine to take ritual actions), and (4) consummation (an act of the ritual itself).⁵⁸ Therefore, the researchers used the four stages of social action to explain the ritual actions of the liminality of the life cycle in interfaith families in Salatiga City.

1. *Impulse*

This impulse stage is the actor's impulse and is the stage when the individual internalizes phenomena outside himself.⁵⁹ In the context of the liminality of life cycle rituals carried out by interfaith families, impulses were formed on the actor's awareness in interpreting a ritual act based on understanding from birth. Actors who generally came from the Javanese tribe were aware that various forms of liminality rituals are traditions passed down from generation to generation and are important to be preserved. The liminality rituals for the Javanese people start from the gestation period of the fetus, birth, and naming of the baby.⁶⁰

At this time, people believed that there must be rituals to be followed. One of them is the Javanese tradition, namely the *neloni* ritual (ritual for the first three months of pregnancy) and *mitoni* (a ritual in the seven months of pregnancy).⁶¹ In this ritual, they serve a complete meal with side dishes and fruits ready to be distributed to their relatives and closest neighbors. This ritual is usually followed by holding a recitation to give prayers, hoping that someday, the unborn baby will become a good, healthy, and intelligent child, and the delivery process can run smoothly, without going wrong, for both mother and child. Thus, in general, the

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ See, James A Forte, "Symbolic Interactionism and Social Work: A Forgotten Legacy, Part 1," *Families in Society* 85, no. 3 (2004): 391-400.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Musri'ah, "Interview" (2019).

⁶¹ Syahrul Rahman and May Listia Pika, "Mitoni: Antara Budaya Dan Agama (Studi Kasus Desa Air Panas Kec. Pendalihan IV Koto)," *Al FAWATIḤ: Jurnal Kajian Al Quran Dan Hadis* 1, no. 2 (2020): 21-33.

understanding of *neloni* and *mitoni* rituals is constructed by awareness of Javanese traditions, although some use Islamic religious prayers.⁶²

The *neloni* and *mitoni* rituals are traditions rooted in Javanese society.⁶³ In general, these two rituals are carried out during the pregnancy of the first child. However, some families continue them to the pregnancy of their next child. The *neloni* and *mitoni* rituals are believed to bring blessings to the child they carry. During pregnancy, it is also believed that there are taboos (something that should not be done). Some taboos include that pregnant women should not see not good things, say dirty words, and treat other creatures arbitrarily. If the taboo is done, it is believed that *sambikala* or *bala'* will befall the unborn baby.

The meaning of this ritual also varies. From the perspective of symbolic interactionism, the relationship between "something" and "meaning" is not singular or inherent but voluntary in social reality.⁶⁴ Meaning depends on the understanding of each actor. Thus, the actor's impulse in the ritual during pregnancy is interpreted as gratitude to God Almighty (*tahadus bi ni'mah*). The fetus is the hope and the fruit of marriage.⁶⁵ However, some actors believed that pregnancy rituals were intended to keep the fetus healthy and away from *bala'* or *sambikala*.⁶⁶

2. Perception

Perception is an analysis of action. Perception occurs when individuals select situations and conditions in their environment.⁶⁷ In the context of liminality rituals for interfaith families, the situation of perception was reflected before birth. The birth process is possible for two things: first, the baby and its mother will be safe and healthy, while the second possibility is that the baby or mother will not survive. The birth process is a gamble between life and death for the baby and the mother who carries it. In this situation, interfaith families analyzed an action by selecting their condition.

The possibilities of an action that accompanies it are taken into account. Liminality rituals function and are functioned to minimize bad possibilities, at least not to be suspected (blamed) in the future by the community or family.⁶⁸ Therefore, the liminality rituals in the birth process contain two things: so that the baby and its pregnant mother are given safety and as a social activity to share meaning with society.

3. Manipulation

⁶² Musri'ah, "Interview."

⁶³ Iswah Adriana, "NELONI, MITONI ATAU TINGKEBAN:(Perpaduan Antara Tradisi Jawa Dan Ritualitas Masyarakat Muslim)," *KARSA: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman*, 2011, 238–47.

⁶⁴ Agus, "Interaksionisme Simbolik: Pendekatan Antropologis Merespon Fenomena Keseharian." p. 5.

⁶⁵ Erlisa, "Interview."

⁶⁶ Retno, "Interview."

⁶⁷ Forte, "Symbolic Interactionism and Social Work: A Forgotten Legacy, Part 1."

⁶⁸ Qoni'ah, "Interview."

At this stage of manipulation, the individual determines what action to take. The manipulation stage is built on the question: "What should be done?" Therefore, the meaning of the situation goes in line with the role being carried out.⁶⁹ In interfaith families, in the process of birth (delivery), what to do after the baby is born safely? They then performed post-natal rituals. The post-natal ritual in question is to *mendhem* (bury) the placenta, *brokohan*, *puputan*, giving a name, and *aqiqah*.⁷⁰

Javanese people believe that every human being born is always accompanied by four things as his "brothers": amniotic fluid, navel (placenta), blood, and the placenta. The four of them are referred to as *sedulur papat*. Meanwhile, the baby itself is the self (container), termed the *pancer*. The whole thing is called *sedulur papat lima pancer*.⁷¹ The five of them are believed to be one unit that takes care of each other. Therefore, Javanese people in general, including interfaith families in Salatiga, performed rituals by *mendhem* (burying) the placenta.

The *brokohan* ritual is carried out shortly after the delivery process runs smoothly and the process of naming. Meanwhile, *puputan* is performed after the baby's umbilical cord breaks (*pupak*).⁷² Then, *aqiqah* is a form of Islamic teaching for slaughtering goats. For boys, two goats are required, while one goat is for girls.⁷³ This *aqiqah* is Islamic teaching, but for interfaith couples, one of whom (wife/husband) is Muslim, *aqiqah* was still practiced. All of these rituals were carried out as manipulation containing two dimensions. The first dimension is in the context of gratitude (*tahadus bi ni'mah*), and the second dimension is the hope for a birth.

4. Consummation

Consummation in symbolic interactionism is the whole of the action itself. Consummation is also the stage when the individual's ability to find a way out of the problem with various strategies because of the fullness of the action (consummation) in accordance with the role played.⁷⁴ In this case, humans living on earth will experience death as part of their last life cycle liminality process. Humans will try to go through the process of their liminality as best they can by following the provisions of the religious norms that are the source of their beliefs. Life is expected to be the best by bringing the provisions of their respective deeds of worship when ready to face their Lord.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Agus, "Interaksionisme Simbolik: Pendekatan Antropologis Merespon Fenomena Keseharian." p. 4.

⁷⁰ Risa, "Interview" (2019).

⁷¹ Yunita Furinawati and Dhika Puspitasari, "Konsep Sedulur Papat Lima Pancer sebagai Representasi Religiusitas dalam Masyarakat Wonomulyo," in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Hasil Penelitian LPPM Universitas PGRI Madiun*, 2017, 112–18.

⁷² Risa, "Interview."

⁷³ See, Adnan Hasan Shalih Baharits, *Tanggung Jawab Ayah Terhadap Anak Laki-Laki* (Gema Insani, 1996).

⁷⁴ Forte, "Symbolic Interactionism and Social Work: A Forgotten Legacy, Part 1."

⁷⁵ Musri'ah, "Interview."

The procession of death, including the treatment of corpses in interfaith families, was carried out according to the deceased's beliefs when he was still alive. It happened to an interfaith couple named Erlisa and Joko. Erlisa's mother-in-law is Christian, so the procedures were carried out using Christian traditions.⁷⁶ The pilgrimage to Erlisa's ancestral grave was to visit the tomb by cleaning, sprinkling flowers, pouring water over her tomb, and offering prayers to the deceased to get forgiveness from God. In the context of this pilgrimage, interfaith families prayed according to their beliefs. A visit to the ancestral grave is an act considered important for the Javanese people. Loving and caring for ancestors does not stop at the time of his life, but the spirits of deceased ancestors are also believed to need affection. The manifestation of love for people who have died is by sending prayers.⁷⁷

Departing from these data, it can be understood that ritual acts of liminality carried out by interfaith families contained consummation (overall) of not wanting something bad to happen, containing hope, and sharing meaning from the actor to other individuals (society). The ritual action also contained the dimensions of individual reality, social reality, and experienced spiritual reality.

Pluralism Values in Liminality Rituals for Interfaith Families in Salatiga City

Humans in their lives experience changes, not only biological changes but also their socio-cultural environment changes.⁷⁸ Everyone will experience these changes throughout life, such as birth, childhood, adolescence, growing into adulthood, marriage, parenthood, and finally, death. As a precaution against unwanted things (*sengkala*), humans feel the need to perform various rites or ceremonies, which anthropologists call crisis rites or rites of passage. The ritual is carried out as a refresher (regeneration) in the face of social life.⁷⁹ The ritual of human liminality is then seen as something important to do. On the other hand, religion is a source of belief in various forms of one's rituals.

Empirical reality shows that Javanese cultural traditions are still alive in Salatiga City and are maintained by the community members, including the Muslim community. The intersection between culture and religious understanding also creates new cultures and traditions. This tradition developed with the development of multicultural life and pluralism among the Salatiga City people.⁸⁰ The meeting between the meanings of the point of view between religion and tradition can be seen in how the rituals of liminality were carried out, namely birth ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, and death ceremonies.

⁷⁶ Erlisa, "Interview."

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Koentjaraningrat, *Sejarah Teori Antropologi* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1978). p. 75.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Muhammad Reza Febrianto and Farida Nurani, "Toleransi Dan Pluralisme: Kontribusi Budaya Indonesia Bagi Dunia," n.d.

Based on the data findings in the field described in the previous subsection, in interfaith families, the liminality ritual (life cycle) was still carried out. Some of them are Javanese cultural traditions in the form of ceremonies that mean "slametan".⁸¹ The study of Islamic law also pays attention to it by giving instructions dealing with birth, marriage, and death. Islamic law calls it *urf*. *Urf* is a tradition rooted in local knowledge and benefits the community.⁸²

Until now, many Muslim communities still practice "slametan", especially in the liminality ritual in the life cycle. Understanding the *slametan* traditions of birth, marriage, and death is important. These traditions are forms of community rituals that use standard provisions and with certain completeness in their implementation. Even though they had wives/husbands of other religions, interfaith families in Salatiga still seemed to carry out these cultural traditions, which might be carried out while still giving freedom to practice their religious teachings. From here, the *hifz diin* concept is maintained even though interfaith marriages occur.

Based on the presentation of the resource persons from interfaith couples, it is known that they understood the ritual tradition of the liminality of the life cycle as a tradition that should be carried out. Meanwhile, the underlying reason was habit and following the advice of one partner's parents.⁸³ The researchers then asked the informant why the tradition was still carried out. The answer from the majority of the informants was "*nalurikke the tiyang sepuh tradition*", which is the tradition of the parents' teachings. Max Weber categorizes this action as traditional action. According to Weber, traditional action is a type of social action that is non-rational.⁸⁴

According to Satjipto Rahardjo, the traditional type of society is based on established and institutionalized beliefs regarding hereditary traditions, including the belief in the legitimacy of the people who operate on that basis.⁸⁵ Another interesting thing is that the ritual of human liminality is still maintained.⁸⁶ It can be seen in the various liminality rituals performed by interfaith families in Salatiga. This life cycle ritual is in the form of *neloni* (three months of pregnancy), *mitoni* (seven months of pregnancy), burying the placenta of a newborn baby, *brokohan* (*slametan* for a newborn), *puputan* (*slametan*) when the baby's umbilical cord has broken, *aqiqah*, the three-day commemoration of the deceased (*nelung dina*), seven

⁸¹ See, Mark R Woodward, "The "Slametan": Textual Knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam," *History of Religions* 28, no. 1 (1988): 54–89.

⁸² Budiarti Budiarti, "Ritual Massuro Baca Pada Masyarakat Bugis Tinco Bone Perspektif Maqashid Al-Syari'ah," *Al-Mizan* 17, no. 2 (2021): 201–18.

⁸³ Erlisa, "Interview."

⁸⁴ See, Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (Simon and Schuster, 2009).

⁸⁵ Satjipto Rahardjo, *Ilmu Hukum* (Bandung: Alumni, 1996). p. 225.

⁸⁶ Annisa, "RITUAL UNGGAHAN PADA KOMUNITAS ADAT BONOKELING (Studi Kasus Pada Komunitas Adat Bonokeling Di Kabupaten Banyumas Menggunakan Teori Liminalitas Victor Turner)."

days (*mitung dina*), forty days (maturity), and others.⁸⁷ The prayers said in this life cycle ritual are generally by reading the *surah yāsīn*⁸⁸ and other prayers, which people call *tahlilan*. It has become a habit of the Javanese people. Suteki, quoting Filips Wielant, a jurist in the XIV century, stated, "custom is an unwritten law."⁸⁹ In qawaid fiqhiyyah, it is also said, *al-ādah muhakkamah*. Tradition or custom can be a law obeyed by the community as long as it does not conflict with Islamic law.

The perspective of interfaith families in Salatiga towards religious traditions is in accordance with the rules of *al-muhafadhotu 'ala qodīmi al-sholih wa al-akhdu bi al-jadīdil ašlah*,⁹⁰ maintaining good old traditions and being open to new good traditions. Al-muhafadhotu is an effort to maintain traditions (ancestral /cultural heritage), which are still considered relevant, while *al-akhdu* is an openness (inclusivity) to new traditions that are good due to the times. Islam itself has grown and enriched the tradition itself. Suwito has described the "*slametan*" associated with Islamic values.⁹¹ Based on the findings in the field, it was also found that there were similarities in meaning that emerged in the tradition of their life circle. Meanwhile, their understanding of the meaning of the liminality of the life cycle is a means of asking for blessings, safety, happiness, and sustenance. According to the informant, implementing this tradition was a form of parental attention and affection for the child to be born.

Diana Eck describes three broad lines of pluralism. First, pluralism is active involvement amid diversity and difference. Second, pluralism is more than just tolerance, where there is not only respect for values but also the need for efforts to build or construct mutual understanding. Third, pluralism is not merely relativism but forms a shared commitment.⁹²

Departing from Eck's explanation, the first dimension is active involvement in which awareness and participatory attitudes emerge in diversity to build a sense of togetherness and unity. In this dimension, from the point of view of every stage in the family life of different religions, they respected each other and involved their partner and family when they were about to carry out one of the life cycle ceremonies. Based on Erlisa's explanation, it was known that the wife actively involved her husband in the stage of giving meaning to their child's name. Although the naming process was carried out according to Islamic tradition, Erlisa still involved her Protestant husband in the ceremony seven days after giving birth. Erlisa's action was a form of implementing the value of pluralism, which

⁸⁷ Indah Aswiyati, "Makna Dan Jalannya Upacara "Puputan" Dan "Selapanan" Dalam Adat Upacara Tradisional Kelahiran Bayi Bagi Masyarakat Jawa," *HOLISTIK, Journal Of Social and Culture*, 2015.

⁸⁸ Salah satu *surah* yang terdapat dalam kitab suci al-Qur'an yakni akhir juz 22- awal juz 23.

⁸⁹ Suteki, *Desain Hukum Di Ruang Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Thafa media, 2013). P. 84.

⁹⁰ Guntur Cahaya Kesuma, "Refleksi Model Pendidikan Pesantren Dan Tantangannya Masa Kini," *Tadris: Jurnal Keguruan Dan Ilmu Tarbiyah* 2, no. 1 (2017): 67–79.

⁹¹ N S Suwito, "Slametan Dalam Kosmologi Jawa: Proses Akulturasi Islam Dengan Budaya Jawa," *Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Budaya* 5, no. 7 (2007).

⁹² Diana L Eck, "What Is Pluralism," *Pluralism. Org. Available Online: [Http://Pluralism.Org/Pluralism/What_is_pluralism](http://Pluralism.Org/Pluralism/What_is_pluralism)* (Accessed on 17 January 2016), 2006.

actively involved other parties in a common goal.⁹³ It indicates the awareness of both parties to be involved in a decision, which in this case is one of the life cycle traditions involving their children.

Risa and Samuel did the same thing. After the birth of their first daughter, Risa planned to perform a thanksgiving ceremony and *aqiqah* according to Islamic tradition. Risa gave thanks by slaughtering a goat. In Islamic tradition, for girl's *aqiqah*, it is to slaughter a goat. Before doing the *aqiqah*, Risa asked permission from her husband to hold the *aqiqah* ceremony. Risa even held a special recitation by reading prayers such as the *surah yasin* and *tahlilan*. Risa did it hoping that her daughter would become a *solikhah*, a successful and useful child for others.⁹⁴

The second dimension is that pluralism is more than just tolerance, where there is not only respect for values but also the need for efforts to build or construct mutual understanding. In this dimension, it was known that pluralism not only respected each other but also built agreement and mutual understanding of how the meaning construction underlying an issue. In the study of Islamic law, this relationship between husband and wife is referred to as *mubadalah*. Interfaith families in carrying out life cycle liminality rituals interpret or understand that these rituals have good goals, namely blessing, safety, and happiness.

*[“Although many of the prayers offered for me use Islamic procedures, it does not matter to my husband, and the important thing is that everything goes for good.”]*⁹⁵

Based on Risa's statement, it was known that this interfaith family built a shared understanding with her husband, namely that the tradition was carried out for the happiness and welfare of their biological child. Risa's husband, Samuel, was a Catholic and considered that the Islamic way of carrying out the circle of life ceremony was not a problem because he believed that all prayers are said for goodness. In fact, at the time of birth, Samuel did not mind that his son was being taught by his father-in-law. It reflects that religious teachings are very strongly rooted in community traditions. As the largest religion adopted by the Javanese people, Islam must become a "culture" for that society to take root in society. Thus, the relationship between religion and culture is functional, meaning that religion functions as a moral guideline manifested as cultural values, integrates, and animates every effort to fulfill citizens' biological and social needs.

Third, pluralism is not merely relativism but forms a shared commitment. The next implementation of pluralism values is to form a shared commitment for the future. One form of mutual commitment in interfaith marriages encountered in the field was giving names to the children of their marriage. Husbands and wives of different religions in Salatiga City tended to give names to their children by not using names that contained religious symbols. Risa stated that the decision to use a name not identical to the religion of one of them was for the sake of an intermediary. According to Risa, it was also agreed upon by her husband.⁹⁶

⁹³ Erlisa, "Interview."

⁹⁴ Risa, "Interview."

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

The next agreement was to provide space for each to worship according to his religion and belief. Each partner agreed to support. In several cases, the couple reminded each other when to worship. It was revealed by Qoni'ah, where she used to perform worship in the form of praying five times a day. Qoni'ah also supported her Buddhist husband in worshipping at the monastery. Both agreed to continue implementing and supporting carrying out their respective religions. The researchers found the same thing in Erlisa's family, where there were religious symbols in her house, both Christian religious symbols such as the cross and images of Jesus and Islamic symbols such as the Koran, prayer rugs, and prayer gowns. Erlisa's family agreed to worship according to their respective beliefs. Erlisa installed symbols of Islam in her children's rooms by placing the Koran on a bookshelf, prayer rugs, and prayer gowns as worship tools.⁹⁷

In general, the Salatiga people, part of the Javanese tribe, still carry out life cycle rituals. It is interpreted as part of a tradition full of noble values. In addition, the ritual is believed to be part of prayer and something that must be carried out. Interfaith families in Salatiga City have a common understanding that all religions have noble goals, such as goodness, blessing, and prosperity for the family. It makes the difference in implementing the traditional life cycle ceremony no longer a fundamental difference for them. The dimensions of pluralism are also embedded and implemented with a common goal.

Conclusion

From the symbolic interactionism perspective, interfaith marriages in the Salatiga City people involved the mind, self, and society. The actors were influenced by interactions with other individuals and tried to share meaning with society. The cognition construction of interfaith family actors paid attention to the dimensions of society that demand the legality of a marriage. In the ritual act of liminality in the life cycle, interfaith families in Salatiga City had a fairly large tolerance. It was marked by the freedom of family members to perform rituals, whether they came from tradition or religion. In the context of *maqāshid sharia*, the concepts of *hifdzun nafs*, *hifdzud dīn*, *hifdzun nasbi wa nasl*, *hifdzul māl*, and *hifdzul aql* could be maintained as long as there was no coercion from other parties. Thus, freedom of worship and carrying out religious rituals is absolutely necessary.

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⁹⁷ Erlisa, "Interview."

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