Muslim Community Dramaturgy Through Ritual Cross-Religious in Moluccas, Indonesia

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Abstract: On December 2, 2018, Immanuel Church of GPM *Amahusu* Klasis in Moluccas, Indonesia, hosted a cross-religious ritual involving the Muslim and Christian communities. The "worship *orang basudara*" (worship of brothers) ritual took place during the first advent week, with participation from Tial Village and Laha Village (Muslim community) and Amahusu Village and Hatalai Village (Christian community). The ritual incorporated religious symbols such as the call to prayer, recitation of the *Rawi Barzani*, lighting one of four candles, and singing hymns. This article examines how the social interaction process manages the frontstage and backstage impressions displayed by the Muslim community after participating in the ritual. Data were collected from fifteen individuals through participant observation and interviews, using a qualitative approach based on a subjective interpretive paradigm from a dramaturgical perspective. The findings reveal that the Muslim community involved in the ritual manages impressions through self-repentance, supplication to Allah SWT, and mutual acceptance with the Christian community in social contexts. After the ritual, the Muslim community engages in frontstage social interactions with fellow involved Muslims, non-involved families (negation families), non-involved communities (exclusion communities), religious organisations, and government institutions. Backstage actions include self-introspection (self-evaluation of engagement), repentance (admission of guilt), and prayer (asking for help). This article contributes to understanding the subjective experiences of Muslim communities following ritual involvement, particularly in managing backstage impressions. It suggests that Muslim-Christian communities can overcome disharmony through mutual acceptance of religious differences, promoting peace through contemporary human values.

Keywords: Dramaturgical communication; frontstage; impression management; backstage; Muslim community.

Abstrak: Pada tanggal 2 Desember 2018, Gereja Immanuel GPM Amahusu Klasis di Maluku, Indonesia, menjadi tempat penyelenggaraan ritual lintas agama yang melibatkan komunitas Muslim dan Kristen. Ritual "*ibadah orang basudara*" berlangsung pada minggu pertama Adventus, dengan partisipasi dari Desa Tial dan Desa Laha (komunitas Muslim) serta Desa Amahusu dan Desa Hatalai (komunitas Kristen). Ritual ini menggunakan simbol-simbol keagamaan seperti panggilan untuk berdoa, pembacaan *Rawi barzanji*, penyalaan salah satu dari empat lilin, dan nyanyian himne. Artikel ini meneliti bagaimana proses interaksi sosial mengelola kesan frontstage dan backstage yang ditampilkan oleh komunitas Muslim setelah berpartisipasi dalam ritual. Data dikumpulkan dari lima belas individu melalui observasi partisipan dan wawancara, menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif berdasarkan paradigma interpretatif subyektif dari perspektif dramaturgis. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa komunitas Muslim yang terlibat dalam ritual mengelola kesan melalui pertobatan diri, permohonan kepada Allah SWT, dan penerimaan bersama dengan komunitas Kristen dalam konteks sosial. Setelah ritual, komunitas Muslim melakukan interaksi sosial frontstage dengan sesama Muslim yang terlibat dalam ritual, keluarga yang tidak terlibat (keluarga negasi), komunitas yang tidak terlibat (komunitas eksklusi), organisasi keagamaan, dan lembaga pemerintah. Tindakan backstage

meliputi introspeksi diri (evaluasi diri terhadap keterlibatan), pertobatan (pengakuan dosa), dan doa (meminta bantuan). Artikel ini berkontribusi dalam memahami pengalaman subyektif komunitas Muslim setelah keterlibatan ritual, khususnya dalam mengelola kesan backstage. Artikel ini menyarankan bahwa komunitas Muslim-Kristen dapat mengatasi ketidakharmonisan melalui penerimaan bersama dalam perbedaan agama, mendorong perdamaian melalui nilai-nilai kemanusiaan kontemporer.

Kata Kunci: Komunikasi dramaturgi; panggung depan; pengelolaan kesan; panggung belakang; komunitas Muslim

1. Introduction

This article explores the self-display of the Muslim community's frontstage and backstage impression management after cross-religious ritual involvement (Muslim-Christian Community) at Immanuel Jemaat GPM *Amahusu* Klasis Church, Moluccas, Indonesia (Ridwan et al., 2023; Sulaeman et al., 2022, 2023). The Muslim community resides in *Tial* Village and *Laha* Village. It consists of the Muslim community (Moluccas Muslim community), the indigenous community (*Pela Gandong* community), and the Christian community from *Amahusu* Village and *Hatalai* Village.

The Muslim communities of *Tial* Village and *Laha* Village reside on Ambon Island, Moluccas, Indonesia. The Muslim community of *Tial* Village lies located on the west coast of the Moluccas Islands within the *Leihitu* Sub-district, between *Tulehu* Village to the north, *Suli* Village to the east, the coast of *Tial* Village to the south, and *Tengah-Tengah* Village to the west. The following research location is *Laha* Village, a village in the *Teluk Ambon* sub-district, which includes six villages and two sub-districts, namely *Laha* Village, *Tawiri* Village, *Hative Besar* Village, and *Rumah Tiga* Village, as well as Wayame sub-district and *Tihu Village*. *Laha* Village is located at the end of the Bay of Ambon Island, separated by *Tanjung Alang* and *Tanjung Nusaniwe*, and lies between *Seith* Village to the north, Ambon Bay to the east and south, and *Hatu Village* to the west.

The Muslim community of *Tial* Village is part of a "*pela*" (kinship) network with the Muslim communities of *Laha* Village, *Tulehu* Village, *Asilulu* Village, and *Lamu* Village. They also share "*pela*" relationships with Christian communities in *Amahusu* Village, *Latuhalat* Village, *Paperu* Village, *Sila*, and *Leinitu* Village. The purpose of "*pela*" is to harmonise kinship identities by maintaining the values of local traditions passed down for generations (Kapferer, 2019; Toth, 2016; Wood, 2014). The Muslim community of *Laha* Village is part of the "*Pela and Gandong*" network. *Laha* Village shares "kinship" with the Muslim community of *Tial* Village and the Christian community of *Hatalai* Village. Additionally, they have a "*gandong*" (blood relationship) with the Christian community of *Amahusu* Village.

The daily life activities of the Muslim community are guided by the treatment of civic pluralism (Eck, 2007) with the Christian communities of *Amahusu* and *Hatalai* villages. The Muslim-Christian community is part of the *pela gandong* (self-identity) as a symbol of "*basudara samua*" (we are all brothers) peace (Ridwan et al., 2020), which shows kinship and acceptance models, such as the values of "*masohi*" (cooperation) as a form of collaboration by helping each other to realise harmony among Muslim-Christian communities.

Harmony is a symbol of building harmonisation of the Muslim-Christian community by providing treatment of mutual respect for differences in religious beliefs and places of worship. For example, on religious holidays, guarding each other's houses of worship, such as mosques or churches; respecting religious rituals; visiting each other and giving greetings on religious holidays; involvement in participating in MTQ-Church Pesparawi (ini masukin referensi yg di Wawasan artikel Pa Didin ya); and helping each other build houses of worship. These activities aim to realise the harmonisation of the Muslim-Christian community as an awareness of building togetherness through kinship (Toth, 2016). The treatment of acceptance of the social life of the Muslim-Christian community is essentially the mutual acceptance of different religious beliefs through civil pluralism (Eck, 2007) as long as they do not interfere with each other. With the form and pattern of Muslim-Christian community relations, especially in

Muslim communities, there are opportunities for religious accommodation and avoiding tensions in the daily lives of Muslim-Christian communities.

Muslim-Christian community is cross-religious (Ridwan et al., 2023; Sulaeman et al., 2022, 2023), especially for the Muslim community in *Tial* and *Laha* villages, ritual involvement in Immanuel Church is part of the Indigenous community's "*pela gandong*" bond. Muslims connect through the "*panas pela*" (oath-taking) ritual, which develops into a habit. This ritual aims to maintain the values of societal care, kinship, diversity, togetherness, and equality (Sulaeman et al., 2023) of the Muslim-Christian community for generations and helps it recognise its identity. From Turner van Gennepian's perspective (Kapferer, 2019), humans are social beings intensely realised through rituals. Rituals are performed by understanding the interaction process and symbolically transforming phenomena (Carey, 2009). From this perspective, rituals "symbolically affect human life, performed in a patterned way" (Pickstock, 2018; Sulaeman et al., 2021). Muslim-Christian communities perform rituals that symbolise values, relationships, and social institutions, such as cross-religious rituals and worship of brothers with the involvement of *pela gandong* communities from *Tial* Village and *Laha* Village (Muslim community), *Amahusu* Village and *Hatalai* Village (Christian community) that use religious symbols of reciting the *Rawi Barzanji*, blaming one of the four candles, and singing hymns (Sulaeman et al., 2022) which took place at the Immanuel Church of the *Amahusu* Klasis GPM congregation.

After performing the cross-religious ritual activities, this article raises the question, "How do Muslim communities from *Tial* Village and *Laha* Village present themselves with the management of frontstage and backstage impressions when socially interacting with the surrounding environment?" The Muslim community felt there was a difference after the ritual involvement, such as "*Abang Amahusu eee, go live there, ... stupid people eee, ... who teach, it is not mutual respect for Salam-Sarene (Muslim-Christian) religious differences, it brings together two religions in the process of worship, ...*" (Informant 06; Personal communication, November 18, 2023). This expression gives rise to a shaky intrapersonal identity when the Muslim community of ritual involvement conducts social interactions in the surrounding environment. However, social interactions with fellow ritual participants differ: "*We consider it wrong, violating the pela gandong relationship. But we are all brothers in Amahusu...*" (Informant 02, Wawancara, 17 Oktober 2023). Social interactions among ritual participants mean regret for their involvement, but they still maintain a positive relationship in interacting their social life with the *Pela Gandong* Christian community. Toomey, Tenzia, and Stela (2013) stated that individuals will feel like they are part of the community if the community to which they belong responds positively.

After involvement in cross-religious rituals, the Muslim community plays a vital role in fostering acceptance through social interaction in the neighbourhood (Sulaeman et al., 2022). The Muslim community interacts by presenting itself, inspired by the dramaturgical perspective of Goffman (1971). The Muslim community displays "the benefit of other people" according to the perception of its environment, utilising "expression and impression" as described by Goffman (1971). Some previous studies have examined cross-religious rituals and the dramaturgical perspective in Indonesia, such as research on the interaction between Christianity and indigenous spiritualities among the Igbo people (Nweke, 2023); the participation of Muslim communities in rituals at Moluccas Immanuel Church (Ridwan et al., 2023); the identity transformation of Muslim communities through ritual communication in Moluccas Immanuel Church (Sulaeman et al., 2022); the contestation of religious symbols in public spaces in Jayapura City (Yusuf et al., 2021); the dominant culture of Hindu-Muslim relations in Jembrana, Bali (Saihu, 2020); the symbolism of peace between Christian and Muslim communities in Central Maluku (Dandirwalu, 2020); the shift from exclusivism to pluralism in the Gereja Protestan Maluku's interreligious relations (Iwamony, 2019); the self-management of beggars' identities in the Mardika Market (Darma et al., 2021); the dramaturgical communication of beggars in an Indonesian market (Irta et al., 2022) and the dramaturgy of gender roles in personal outreach on social media through religious texts (Saidah et al., 2023).

The published research has similar approaches and methods to studying Muslim communities following cross-religious ritual participation. However, some significant differences exist, particularly in the participants, objectives and research questions. This study will analyse the data after collecting the

data from fifteen participants, including the village head, village secretary, mosque imam, twelve Muslim community members, seven men and five women. Through in-depth face-to-face interviews, virtual live-streaming media, and participant observation, participants help share subjective experiences (Sulaeman et al., 2019). Data were collected, followed by data processing based on the data reduction and presentation model, drawing conclusions, verification, research questions and objectives (Creswell & Poth, 2016). This article uses dramaturgical methods with a qualitative approach (Sulaeman et al., 2022) through a subjective interpretive paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018) for decision-making and verification of other data for future articles.

The uniqueness of engaging in the "worship *orang basudara*" ritual with the *pela gandong* communities of *Tial*, *Laha*, *Amahusu*, and *Hatalai* Villages that utilise religious symbols (Sulaeman et al., 2022) held at Immanuel Church, GPM *Amahusu* Klasis, is an essential reason for this research, which uses the dramaturgical perspective of Goffman (1971) states, "when humans interact with each other, they want to manage the impressions that will grow in others towards them. Every Muslim community performs for others." The dramaturgical perspective appears on the ritual involvement of the Muslim community and the impression control techniques used by the front and backstage crews while interacting with the public. This article offers evidence that to understand the subjective experiences of the Muslim community, it is necessary to understand the dramaturgical (Sulaeman et al., 2019) Muslim community after ritual involvement, especially on the treatment of frontstage and backstage acceptance by displaying impression management to overcome disharmony with the acceptance of different religious contexts (Coward, 1989) and no social context differences (Eck, 2007) in the application of contemporary human values to build peace and kinship ties.

2. The Frontstage of the Muslim Community

The Muslim community's frontstage is self-display after ritual involvement in their social environment. Muslim communities engineer an idealised figure of themselves when interacting with others (Goffman, 1971). The shift in the "worship *orang basudara*" rite and the subsequent development of the Muslim community's self-identity symbolise their arrival. The frontstage provides support with confidence to manage self-display in the surrounding environment, all displayed through social interaction with fellow Muslim communities of involvement, negation families, non-involvement communities, religious organisations, and government institutions.

Fellow Muslim Community Ritual Involvement

After ritual participation (Turner, 1962, 1969), the involvement of fellow Muslim communities presents its uniqueness. The uniqueness of the frontstage is the display of an attitude of openness when conducting social interactions—the attitude of openness as feelings and actions of fellow involvement.

The front stage of peer involvement occurs when interacting socially by presenting oneself with an awareness of regret. Regret means describing an atmosphere of disappointment with emotional feelings and regret (Huhmann, 2008; Landman, 1987; Najati, 2008) their actions. Fellow involvement regrets and blames the ritual actions that occured. On the other hand, fellow involved will refrain from repeating their involvement in the future. They provide each other with support and encouragement to carry out the identity transformation process (Faulkner, 2017; Goitom, 2016; Kaliszewska, 2020; Seto, 2020; Tsourlaki, 2020; Underwood et al., 2011; Zurlo, 2021), which implies a new self-assessment of peer involvement—presenting oneself with a feeling of comfort acceptance (Olausson, 2019) through social interactions relating to subjective experiences.

"When I was involved in *Amahusu*, I felt equal, and what I experienced was still considered a mistake; it had violated the brotherly relationship. (Informant 04, Wawancara, November 14, 2023) I and the people in the village always do the "*panas pela*" (oath-taking) ritual together with the Christians. The same thing happened in *Amahusu*; it is not our will, but Allah SWT has arranged it. (Informant 10, Personal Communication, December 17, 2023) What happened in *Amahusu*. It has become a problem for all of us. I regret what happened. (Informant 14, Personal Communication, October 25, 2023)

When communicating with other participants, the frontstage is shown by reflecting on what has happened. The fellow involved performs cross-religious rituals, not his will, but the will of Allah SWT. His involvement was a mistake and a deviation from the Muslim-Christian community's fraternal relationship. His involvement became a problem for adherents of Islamic teachings. He regrets his involvement and will not repeat it in the future. With regret (Huhmann, 2008; Landman, 1987; Najati, 2008), She was trapped by the ritual organising committee (members of the Immanuel Church congregation). Initially, "*I knew that the ritual was like the panas pela (oath-taking), except that the place was outside the church and not inside the* church *building*" (Informant 03, Personal Communication, September 11, 2023).

Social interactions occurred among the Muslim community, and they treated each other with acceptance and comfort (Sepideh et al., 2019). Considering the previous incident is a compulsion because going to Immanuel *Amahusu* Church was initially not a call to prayer. However, after travelling to *Amahusu*, he received a mobile interaction call to worship in the context of compulsion, "*With my head dropped and my mind racing, I made my way to the church altar to repeat the* call to prayer." (Informant 07, Personal Communication, October 27 2023).

Fellows' involvement in performing the frontstage always motivates each other with conducive interaction and acceptance treatment. Feel no difference in social interaction because of the participation in performing rituals as a tangible manifestation of the local traditions of the Muslim-Christian community. The realisation of local traditional values practises in the daily life of the Muslim-Christian community. There is also evidence of efforts to make the Moluccas a laboratory of peace that the Muslim-Christian community has proclaimed.

The Muslim-Christian community strengthens the relationship of brotherhood and peace through the symbol of the peace laboratory, "peace gong". The peace laboratory aims at leveraging the values of local traditions, an idea that both the Muslim and Christian communities believe embodies civil pluralism (Eck, 2007) as a social contract, enabling the Muslim-Christian community to live together peacefully and cooperate in a societal context. Civil pluralism (Eck, 2007) is a necessary prerequisite for efforts to build theological pluralism. Moreover, indirectly, the Muslim-Christian community will find the meaning of theological pluralism (Coward, 1989) with the belief in mutual acceptance of differences having values of different religious identities based on beliefs (Bamat et al., 2017; Mensah et al., 2020), a symbol of recognition of theological differences (Ridwan et al., 2023).

Negation Family

A process is an action through social interaction that results in the interaction of the Muslim community after ritual involvement. The act of social interaction with the negation family (non-involvement family) with rituals that provide uncomfortable acceptance treatment as a frontstage is displayed by the Muslim community of involvement, which has an impact on psychological disorders and strengthening feelings to improve themselves, to continue carrying out daily life activities. The frontstage of the Muslim community's acceptance of discomfort from the negation family is categorised into acts of verbal and nonverbal harassment and discrimination.

Front-stage self-display in the form of "verbal and nonverbal acts of harassment" received by the Muslim community from the negation family will make the Muslim community treated inhumanely. Acts of harassment are perceived as humiliation through verbal interactions of "mockery and ridicule" and nonverbal such as "being shunned, spat on, and shut up". The actions of the negation family triggered the Muslim community's self-display of ritual participation to act alone with display expressions of "sad, angry, and crying faces". These nonverbal display expressions are likened to recordable references (Russell, 1995) by the Muslim community through conducted interactions.

> After I returned from *Amahusu*, my negation family in the village treated me with ridicule, distance and laughter. I realised that involvement was a violation of *pela gandong* values. The family's treatment made me uncomfortable, so I often avoided social interaction, and I rarely went to the family's house (Informant 09, Personal Communication, November 11 2023).

It happened in the middle of the day... I was returning from fishing with the catch of the sea with another fisherman friend. When I passed by a family sitting in the *ronda* post house on the side of the road, they laughed out loud at me and shouted, "fool of the sea". Another fisherman friend held my chest to accept this reality better (Informant 02, Personal Communication, 08 Oktober 2023).

It happened: I was doing *kewang* (sea coast guard) in the village, ... then a family saw me and approached me, ... the family immediately covered their mouths and felt nauseous and spat because they were disgusted to see me involved in *Amahusu*, while the family stayed away and did not *reprimand* (talk) to me, ... but the family shouted "what is the smell, there is *Amahusu* in the sea". (Informant 11, Personal Communication, September 22, 2023)

The frontstage actions displayed by the negation family lead to the act of demeaning the Muslim community, which causes psychological disturbance by interacting negatively. The self-display of the negation family intends to insult the Muslim community with the insult of receiving discomfort in the form of "mockery and ridicule, being shunned, spitting, and closing their mouths" and providing verbal and nonverbal symbols of harassment. Symbols of harassment, one of the concepts of "self", as stated by Cooley (1990), states "a process in the interaction of individuals with others". Self-interpretation emerged from understanding how the Muslim community determines its identity through interaction with the negation family. The harassment symbol becomes one of the factors that can be used as self-awareness (Schmid, 2014). The Muslim community accepts the reality of their involvement in the Immanuel Church of GPM *Amahusu* Klasis.

The Muslim community's discomfort is self-displayed in social interaction acceptance as "disgusting" with stigmatising treatment as an act of discrimination from the negation family. The discriminatory act of acceptance of the Muslim community's ritual involvement is an exclusive act disguised through psychological persecution that can cause harm (Marchiondo et al., 2018). The treatment of Muslim community acceptance is in line with the expression of Goffman (1971), who states that the discussion of stigma may occur in the involvement of social interaction actions. For example, participating in rituals that trigger discrimination must be given attention. Acceptance of discrimination by the Muslim community creates social anxiety in interacting with others (Beard & Amir, 2009; Junwen et al., 2020). The Muslim community has psychological fears and avoids interacting with the negation family, such as withdrawing from the environment, feeling depressed, being silent, and generating negative attitudes towards the negation family.

The acceptance of discrimination by the Muslim community depends on how the front stage is presented. The frontstage with the treatment of unequal social interaction acceptance will have an impact by causing feelings of anxiety and discomfort. The Muslim community perceives involvement as a natural difference, but over time, after engagement, they are treated with an acceptance of comfort.

The Muslim community experiences acceptance of comfort through social interaction by having relationship dimensions contained in the characteristics of unhealthy relationships as described by Rogers that "... individuals have negative attitudes, tend to provide disharmony and will lead to incompatible understanding in their lives" (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). The interaction process is displayed in social relationships, showing discrimination in the negation family. Discrimination is caused by verbal and nonverbal actions as well as psychological self-effects that undermine the Muslim community's ritual involvement.

Non-Involvement Society

The Muslim-Christian community ritual exclusion society (non-involvement society) is Muslims who provide frontstage acceptance treatment by being "closed" when socially interacting with the Muslim community. Acceptance of the treatment of the Muslim community presents itself by constructing social interactions with self-management with anger, emotionality, disappointment, resentment, and nicknames from the ritual exclusion society.

The treatment of receiving discomfort through "closed" social interactions from the community of non-involvement will raise questions within the Muslim community and give birth to an experience, such as the difference in self-identity experienced with the identity of the community of non-involvement in the treatment of interacting with anger, "*only to Amahusu and not converting, … people look at me with a reddish face, seeing that I have done the* ritual" (Informant 05, Personal Communication, September 27, 2023). The Muslim community is treated with anger and prejudice (Nelson, 2019), performing Muslim-Christian community rituals.

The uninvolved community considers this ritual to have damaged the order of *pela gandong* values. However, the Muslim-Christian community relationship of *pela gandong is* still preserved by maintaining and upholding it through the "*panas pela*" ritual by understanding religious differences as a form of mutual respect, respect by not committing violations by using religious symbols together in worship, "*reddish face with a high and loud tone of voice, furious..., considering that I do not know the custom, mixing customary and religious rituals, has violated the custom, ...*" (Informant 01, Personal Communication, December 12, 2023).

When the non-involvement community performs social interactions by presenting themselves "emotionally", then frontstage management is displayed by the Muslim community of ritual involvement, which considers the act of interaction to be psychologically disturbing, which weakens the self and has an impact when doing daily activities. The Muslim community feels an inner conflict with Allah SWT after ritual involvement. Social relations have caused "disappointment" for the community of non-involvement through the front stage, which is considered uncomfortable to interact with because of the presence of the Muslim community of ritual involvement. The Muslim community is also disappointed with what the Muslim community has done, which is considered an act of destroying the values of the *Pela Gandong* order.

The community of non-involvement displays the relationship in the form of "ridicule". For the Muslim community, the verbal interaction of "ridicule" constitutes "stigmatisation" by "laughing at" the Muslim community. The term "public stigma" refers to the process of stigmatisation in which the non-Muslim population passes judgment on the Muslim community based on the socio-traditional background of the area. Through this context, the Muslim community will trigger "self-isolation", characterised by emotional feelings to avoid social interaction in the surrounding environment.

The involvement of the Muslim community is the cause of the emergence of the process of "humiliation" frontstage displayed by the community of non-involvement with the verbal interaction of the "individuality" of the self-owned and the impact of weakening the "self-esteem" of the Muslim community. Syam (2011) suggests "impression management with motivation to maintain and increase self-esteem". The frontstage involves presenting oneself based on internal drives to maintain "personality and self-ability" and the credibility of "self-esteem" within the surrounding environment.

The act of social discrimination displayed by the community of non-involvement emerged from the Muslim community's involvement in performing rituals. However, the Muslim community displays frontstage self-management of self-acceptance by nonverbal interaction through "distancing themselves", as described by Goffman (1971)that the nature of the interaction relies on the "discrediting stigma" of the Muslim community who perceive differences to be known or apparent to them. To neutralise this treatment, the Muslim community presents a frontstage of "tolerance" with nonverbal interactions in the form of "silence."

Religious Organisations

Religious organisations include the board members of MUI Moluccas, Nahdlatul Ulama Moluccas, Muhammadiyah Ambon City, da'wah institutions of Ambon City, and al-Anshor Ambon City. Islamic religious organisations have an essential role in the involvement of cross-religious rituals in the Muslim community. Islamic religious organisations are in partnership with the government of Central Moluccas Regency, Ambon City, the government of Moluccas Province, and the government of the regional office of religion of Moluccas Province. The purpose of Islamic religious associations is to

propagate religious polemics through the media and safeguard the involvement of the Muslim community.

When the Muslim community participated in the ritual, Muslims (Moluccas Muslim community) felt uncomfortable due to mass media coverage of the "worship of *basudara* people" at Immanuel Church of GPM *Amahusu* Klasis involving the *pela gandong* community from *Tial* Village and *Laha* Village, *Amahusu* Village, and *Hatalai* Village (Sulaeman et al., 2022). The mass media coverage triggered polemics among Muslims in Moluccas but did not lead to conflict. To respond to the mass media coverage, MUI Moluccas invited administrators of MUI Ambon City, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, da'wah institutions, al-Anshor, Ministry of Religious Affairs of Moluccas Province, Muslims, and Muslim communities of ritual participation. The purpose of MUI Moluccas's invitation is for the Muslim community of *Tial* Village and *Laha* Village to explain and clarify, "*Just follow along, invited by the village head... invited to Amahusu. The village chief must be trusted. He said tomorrow katong samua go to Amahusu, bakudapa pela gandong*"   Personal Communication, September 16, 2023). The Muslim community was involved in worshipping the "*basudara* people" ritual using religious symbols in the first adventus week held at Immanuel Church, GPM *Amahusu* Klasis. After explaining and clarifying the involvement of the ritual, there was some anger, emotion, and resentment from religious organisations, such as MUI Moluccas, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, da'wah institutions, and al-Anshor Ambon City and Muslims, as revealed by the following Informantts.

> He said, "Yes, when explaining, do not be convoluted; just talk honestly; why did you get involved in *Amahusu*?" with a reddish face indicating anger at me after explaining the incident. At that point, I replied, ... that is the explanation. Then he snapped at me, saying, "You are explaining things you did not experience. You are just talking nonsense." It was difficult for me to continue talking then (Informant 15, Personal Communication, October 12 2023).
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> Tension and commotion broke out in the meeting room when we were all told what we were doing was "*haram*". We all bowed in silence after hearing those words. Our hearts ached with anxiety. Then, we were all told to repeat the "*shahada*" again. From that conversation, we heard doubt and confusion about what we had done (Informant 13, Personal Communication, November 17, 2023).
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> He said, "Yes, ... disaster has happened, MUI Moluccas must resolve it". The involvement of all of us means tolerance too much because it is adzan and *Barzani* played in the house of worship of Christians, ... it is wrong; this is something, due to Islam, that is not right. He said it rudely and yelled at all of us (Informant 10, Personal Communication, December 13, 2023).

The meeting between religious organisations and the Muslim community's involvement in the ritual resulted in a statement of attitude, including regretting religious symbols, avoiding activities that cause polemics, following up on the ritual incident, and jointly maintaining security and stability in the Moluccas. The four contents of the statement of attitude are concerns and guidance for the Muslim-Christian community to maintain relations to achieve harmony through apologies, admitting mistakes, and promising in the future not to repeat rituals such as those that happen at the Immanuel Church of the GPM *Amahusu* Klasis.

Frontstage self-management is displayed by the Muslim community, clarifying its involvement with receiving uncomfortable treatment from religious organisations and Muslims, such as anger, emotion, and irritation. The Muslim community expressed intrapersonal participation due to the nature of the *Pela Gandong* Muslim-Christian community. For the Muslim community, blame is considered an intrapersonal issue. In this issue, there is wisdom behind the act of interacting; it was not an exclusive relationship that should damage the order of life of the Muslim-Christian community to strengthen harmonious social-community relations based on human values.

Government Agency

The involvement of the Muslim community shows that cross-religious rituals trigger polemics with Muslims. For Muslims, this ritual has led to stereotypes and prejudices based on ethnocentrism. These stereotypes include the Muslim communities of *Tial* and *Laha* villages, who are considered to

have violated the values of societal care, kinship, diversity, togetherness, and equality of *pela gandong*. Stereotypes and biases frequently surround the Muslim community's participation in "basudara worship" with the Christian populations of Hatalai villages and Amahusu.

The pattern of social interaction leads to changes between the Muslim community and government agencies that present the frontstage of the statement of attitudes regarding cross-religious rituals at the Immanuel Church of GPM *Amahusu* Klasis. The governor met with the Muslim-Christian community of *Pela gandong* as a government institution. The acceptance of the treatment displayed by the Muslim-Christian community experienced comfort, "*we are of different religions, cannot live alone, have brothers of different religions. We still maintain a* good *relationship*" (Informant 13, Personal Communication, November 12, 2023). In this context, the Moluccas provincial government facilitated a meeting of the Muslim-Christian community of *pela gandong* ritual engagement and MUI Moluccas. The Governor of Moluccas Province mediated the meeting with a request for the Muslim-Christian community to forgive each other.

Forms of social interaction carried out by government agencies provide apologetic interactions that display the treatment of acceptance of the Muslim-Christian community. The goal is to strengthen relationships by building togetherness, diversity, equality, and kinship as the value of *pela gandong of the* Muslim-Christian community. The raised social interaction is a symbol of interaction that comes from awareness through honesty and sincerity of government agencies and the Muslim-Christian community by managing differences, not creating an attitude of suspicion.

With the social interaction of mutual forgiveness with the anger of religious organisations and Muslims towards the Muslim community of involvement, it does not have to damage the life order of the Muslim-Christian community of *pela gandong*. However, mutual forgiveness is the pinnacle of sacrifice for the Muslim-Christian community to give up its rights when faced with discomfort and will be detrimental to strengthening kinship relations. For the government, kinship is used as the identity of the Muslim-Christian community through "*bakudapa*" (gatherings), "*all of us, ... the pela gandong relationship is fine, often helping and visiting each other. We always make bakudapa* (gathering) *rituals*" (Informant 06, Personal Communication, December 19 2023) apologise if they are wrong, and accept each other's strengths and weaknesses.

3. The Backstage of the Muslim Community

The backstage refers to the actual events that allow preparing oneself for one's role (Goffman, 1971). Backstage, all the preparations of the participants are being done by adjusting what will be encountered and organised. After the involvement, the Muslim community will present their "real" identity to hide the frontstage identity.

The Muslim community performs different actions in front of the stage by receiving uncomfortable treatment interacting with the surrounding environment, such as the Muslim community receiving verbal and nonverbal harassment and discrimination from the negation family. Therefore, the backstage display differs significantly from the frontstage display. Self-reflection, confession, and prayer are examples of intrapersonal spiritual practices that classify the genuine Muslim community behind the scenes.

Self-introspection

Self-introspection (*muhasabah*) through the Qur'an has been widely mentioned, including Q.S. al-Hasyr: 18, "getting closer to Allah SWT through self-evaluation". Q.S. al-Ra'du: 11, "self-regulation". Q.S. al-Baqarah: 26, "self-reflection". Q.S. al-Alaq: 1-5, "personal reflection", and Q.S. al-A'raf: 23, "the words of Prophet Adam (peace be upon him), restoring his guilt". Self-introspection includes spiritual action patterns (Guo-Ming et al., 2011; Hochheimer et al., 2016). Self-introspection allows Muslim communities to confront and solve problems following cross-religious ritual involvement.

Self-introspection is when the Muslim community faces a problem and wants to solve it through intrapersonal interaction actions with itself (Mead, 2008; West & Turner, 2010; Wood, 2014). After the,

the backstage performed the action process of self-introspection, with the stages of the self experiencing inner conflict, spiritual anxiety, momentary feelings, and Muslim polemics.

> In front of the church entrance was a banner saying "*basudara* worship". I am worried about that; why come here (Informant 08, Personal Communication, November 12, 2023)?
>
> Feelings of anxiety, shock, displeasure, and anger when being led by the *gandong* cloth and invited by the *lesso* dance into the church building. (Informant 12, Personal Communication, October 16 2023)
>
> In Immanuel Church, I, too, briefly felt something while I stood there and heard Christians sing songs. The church bells sounded three times, and I got up to join in. (Informant 04, Personal Communication, November 26, 2023).
>
> The church bells rang three times, and I felt something strange, upset because I needed to stand up to sing a hymn, followed by one of the four adventus candles burn (Informant 13, Personal Communication, November 26, 2023).

Emotional resistance and rational belief are the terms used to describe inner conflict experienced by the Muslim community. However, it leads to intrapersonal concerns and negative emotions due to self-confrontation after involvement. Emotional resistance exceeds rational beliefs by triggering disobedience that partly leads to denial and regret. Muslim communities also feel spiritual restlessness (Syam, 2011) arising from concerns about embracing Islam after involvement. The Muslim community's intrapersonal experience is self-introspection with backstage impression management through self-mirror, looking at oneself in the mirror from the perspective of Islamic teachings.

The self-management of Muslim community identity can be understood as self-identity, as it influences self-management or self-appearance, where intrapersonal plays a role outside of its actual self. Creating a misleading sense of cross-religious ritual involvement in families and communities that are not active in rituals might undermine the order of *pela gandong* principles.

Repent

Repentance, including patterns of spiritual action (Guo-Ming et al., 2011; Hochheimer et al., 2016), occurs through intrapersonal interactions within the Muslim community. After the involvement, the Muslim community performs repentance with backstage management. The Muslim community's repentance displays symbols of admission of guilt, creating feelings of fear of punishment and loss of self-esteem. The Muslim community's self-repentance is inextricably linked to the use of specific symbols (such as istighfar and remorse). The management of the impression displayed can be more easily studied from a dramaturgical perspective Goffman (1971) studied self-presentation with attention to front and backstage.

> Isteghfar, remembering Allah SWT. Not repeating the ritual. There is no place to ask for help and forgiveness except through Allah SWT (Informant 07, Personal Communication, October 18, 2023).
>
> Regret, and repent to Allah, I can't do it anymore (Informant 14, Personal Communication, Oktober 18, 2023).

The Muslim community's backstage management displays a feeling of desire to be forgiven by Allah Almighty, determined that there is an intrapersonal awareness that Allah SWT forgives sins after involvement. Even self-confidence will help you gain intrapersonal strength and better self-esteem.

Backstage display by performing repentance through spiritual interaction as a pattern of intrapersonal actions of the Muslim community with Allah SWT carried out after contemplating, confessing, and regretting the involvement of cross-religious rituals. With the backstage self-confession of involvement, feelings of guilt are reduced. Repentance is expressed spiritually via confession and vowing never to repeat the engagement.

Pray

Prayer is a spiritual interaction between the Muslim community and Allah Almighty. Prayer is used as backstage management by the Muslim community after the involvement of cross-religious rituals. Prayer is a spiritual symbol that becomes a force to strengthen a weak soul, comfort a restless

heart, and calm anxious feelings. The Muslim community experienced psychological disturbance and felt restless after the involvement.

> I felt ignorance, entrapment, accusations, and mockery with the label "*Amahusu*, dirty *gandong*" (Informant 10, Personal Communication, December 17, 2023).
> Feeling restless, confused and indecisive, why did I do this? Since then, I kept praying, asking Allah SWT for forgiveness (Informant 05, Personal Communication, September 16, 2023).

Muslim communities use the concept of civic pluralism (Eck, 2007) to involved performing cross-religious rituals. The mixing of two religious and intrapersonal beliefs of the Muslim community has an impact. For this reason, backstage spiritual interaction is displayed through symbols of interaction through asking for help from Allah SWT to be strengthened, comforted and calmed by backstage management with "*berdo'a*". Its application is through prayer, said while interacting spiritually and hoping to obtain world and intrapersonal safety under the guidance of Allah SWT and gain strength and patience to face the trials and tribulations of daily life. The Muslim community prays as backstage management, aiming to obtain His guidance. For this reason, after every prayer, we should remain guided and not return to the path of embracing the true teachings of Islam. Praying for protection and gaining strength to face trials.

4. Muslim Community Impression Management

Goffman (1971)explains that if intrapersonal people interact with others, they want to present an image that others will accept. It is impression management, or the method used by the Muslim community of cross-religious ritual participation to cultivate a particular impression to achieve a specific purpose by using symbols on the front stage. This impression management is put forward (Goffman, 1971) as "*the benefit of other people*". The Muslim community interacts using symbols from the surrounding environment and presents itself according to the perceptions of its environment and/or the concept of other people Goffman (1971)mentioned expression and impression.

The Muslim community presents itself inspired by the perspective of dramaturgy Goffman (1971), which is used as a reference to present impression management displayed through verbal and nonverbal interactions. When interacting with the surrounding environment, the Muslim community displays impression management through regret, pleading, and side-by-side.

Regret

The Qur'an explains the concept of regret, such as Q.S. al-Qiyamah: 2, "I swear by a regretful soul". Q.S. al-A'raf: 23, "The expression of Adam and Eve's regret". Q.S. al-Maidah: 31, "Qabil's expression of regret", and Q.S. al-Furqon: 27, "the expression of regret of the oppressive person". According to Najati (2008), remorse is an emotional situational sadness arising from feelings of sin and regret for his actions and not repeating his actions. Regret is an emotion, synonymous with sadness (Huhmann, 2008; Landman, 1987; Najati, 2008). The Muslim community's experience is based on intellectual aspects. They feel that their belief as adherents of Islamic teachings is a form of regret. Muslim communities displaying backstage impression management think that they do not have enough Islam when engaging in cross-religious rituals, so their religious knowledge is confined.

For the Muslim community, the interaction took place outside the Immanuel Church building, such as the frontstage reception of the Muslim community, who we*ar Dandong* cloth (white cloth - the identity of togetherness) and *lesso* dance (red handkerchief - the identity of friendship) into the church from the cross-religious ritual committee. "*I read that the theme of the event was 'joint worship', then I sensed other signs. Then we were all led by the gandong cloth and the lesso dance into the church building*" (Informant 08, Personal Communication, November 19, 2023). *The* Muslim community feelings of anxiety and anger when they saw the "*basudara* worship" banner in front of the church building. Due to the Muslim community's propensity for ritual involvement, people assumed that the Muslim-Christian *pela gandong* community was performing the "*panas pela*" ritual outside the church building. Not long after, the Muslim community became increasingly anxious and wanted to get angry when they were led by

the *gandong* cloth and picked up by the *lesso* dance to enter the church building. The two events experienced by the Muslim community began with receiving information from the heads of Tial Village and Laha Village about going to *Amahusu*. However, the information did not include details about visiting the Immanuel Church of the GPM Amahusu Klasis to participate in the "worship of the *basudara* people" ritual, as invited by the committee.

Even the Muslim community did not receive an invitation to the "worship of *basudara* people" ritual. The Muslim community, when they entered the church building, felt shock, doubt and concern about what they would do inside the church building.

To build harmonious peace, gandong cloth and *lesso* dance are local traditions regardless of civic pluralism (Eck, 2007). The Muslim community also accepts the treatment of the collaboration of hymns, chanting the call to prayer, and *lafaz Barzani* performed at the church altar. The Muslim community displays backstage management of the storage of *pela gandong* values. The interaction action of the Muslim community's frontstage acceptance treatment with the management of the impression of "regret" through "ignorance, entrapment, mass media coverage relations, and interaction relations".

... did not know that the meeting occurred inside the church. I just followed the neighbours… (Informant 06, Personal Communication, December 12, 2023).

I originally went to *Amahusu*, ... a *meeting*, not to sing the call to prayer at the church altar, ... trapped by the committee (Informant 01, Personal Communication, December 12, 2023).

... for several days I never left the house, I just stayed inside the house, ... I was embarrassed by the people in the village. I once went out, met my friends, and shouted "*Guru Gandong* eeeeee, ... I do not want to return anymore " (Informant 11, Personal Communication, September 25, 2023).

The Muslim community displays the management of the impression of regret towards the treatment of frontstage acceptance of being led into the church building, the collaboration of hymns, the chanting of the call to prayer, and the *lafaz barzanji* performed at the church altar. The management of the impression of regret occurs due to ignorance, entrapment, and interaction relations. Ignorance (Prothero, 2007) is one of the reasons for ritual involvement. The Muslim community is a "receiver of information" that facilitates the development of close identity. (Toth, 2016)t cross-religious. In addition, entrapment (Irta et al., 2022) is also a reason for the drive for involvement. One could interpret the want to become involved as an invitation to engage in interfaith rites. Finally, the interaction relation that addresses acceptance treatment builds kinship relations (Bardhan, 2014; Starkman, 2013) with coexistence. All of these reasons for involvement include the management of the impression displayed, which is "regret" felt to be related to beliefs, focused on personal social feelings internally, such as a lack of understanding of Islamic knowledge.

Request

After the Muslim community's involvement, frontstage management was performed by feeling the "*guilt*" of cross-religious ritual involvement, "*after the involvement, the guilt of joining the basudara worship at the church in Amahusu*" (Informant 03, Personal Communication, September 15, 2023). *This* form of guilt is experienced as having deviated from the values of *pela gandong*. The process of creating interreligious "disharmony" is frontstage management.

Mistakes experienced by the Muslim community involve backstage management with the display of "intrapersonal soiling" as adherents of Islamic teachings. One individual described their feelings, stating, "*After the involvement, on the journey back to the village, my heart was not calm. I constantly performed istigfar, asking for Allah's forgiveness... I have soiled myself again*" (Informant 02, Personal Communication, October 27, 2023). The interaction involves frontstage acceptance of "mistakes" and backstage feelings of "soiling oneself," with the management of the impression through "spiritual pleading" by carrying out commands, avoiding prohibitions, repenting, and increasing acts of worship.

The Muslim community displays the management of the impression of "spiritual pleading" with the act of spiritual interaction of forgiveness to Allah SWT by carrying out His commands and avoiding His prohibitions, repentance, and multiplying worship, such as praying in mosques and or *mashallah*,

participating in the construction of mosques, and caring for each other and helping the *pela gandong* community through mutual understanding, respect, love and pride in each other to realise the harmonisation of peaceful life between religions.

Side by side

For the involvement of the Muslim community, it is the frontstage acceptance treatment that triggers cross-religious disharmony. In the transaction action of the acceptance treatment, the Muslim community displays the management of the impression of "side by side" with a perspective through social aspects where it feels social harmonisation. A side-by-side social context with mutual care and helping each other in a social context, not a religious context, constructs the relationship of acceptance and treatment of religious differences.

The management of the impression of cross-religious "coexistence" displayed by the Muslim community initially involved receiving the frontstage "nickname" from the community of ritual non-involvement. The nickname led to the appearance of the backstage "embarrassed and inferior" to social interaction in the surrounding environment. However, the appearance of the management of the impression of "side by side" the Muslim-Christian community relationship performs social interaction by providing acceptance of different religions that understand each other, but there are differences in theological contexts.

The Muslim-Christian community can already interact to build relationships with anyone. They can come and help and strengthen a harmonious life. Harmonisation of life occurred because of accepting treatment with openness. Impression management is displayed by humanising humans (contemporary humanity) by living together and opening up and establishing brotherly relations between Muslim-Christian communities.

5. Dramaturgical Perspective in the Muslim-Christian Cross-Religious Rituals

Following ritual involvement, the dramaturgy of the Muslim front stage can be understood as a process of self-identification shaped by social interaction with other Muslim communities of involvement, negation families, non-involvement communities, religious organisations, and governmental institutions. The Muslim community plays a character other than his authentic self (Ingenhoff & Richner, 2018), so the interaction process of the Muslim community is an experienced - performance.

The interaction process between the Muslim community and other people's involvement displays the front stage by always motivating each other with a conducive interaction and acceptance treatment. Acceptance treatment utilises the values of local traditions as an idea, which the Muslim-Christian community believes is civil pluralism (Eck, 2007) as a social contract, enabling the Muslim-Christian community to live together peacefully and cooperate in a societal context. Civil pluralism (Eck, 2007) is a necessary prerequisite for efforts to build theological pluralism. Moreover, indirectly, the Muslim-Christian community will find the meaning of theological pluralism (Coward, 1985) with the belief in mutual acceptance of differences having values of different religious identities based on beliefs (Bamat et al., 2017; Mensah, 2020), a symbol of recognition of theological differences (Ridwan et al., 2023).

The Muslim community's discomfort is self-displayed in social interaction acceptance as "disgusting", with stigmatising treatment as an act of discrimination from the negation family. The discriminatory act of acceptance of the Muslim community's ritual involvement is an exclusive act disguised through psychological persecution that can cause harm (Marchiondo et al., 2018). The treatment of Muslim community acceptance is in line with the expression of Goffman (1971), who states that stigma occurs when social interaction is involved. One such ritual that requires attention is discrimination. Acceptance of discrimination by the Muslim community creates social anxiety in interacting with others (Beard & Amir, 2009; Junwen et al., 2020). The Muslim community has psychological fears and avoids interacting with the negation family, such as withdrawing from the

environment, feeling depressed, being silent, and generating negative attitudes towards the negation family.

The Muslim community's participation in ritual performance sets off the act of social discrimination demonstrated by the non-involvement community. However, the Muslim community displays frontstage self-management of self-acceptance by nonverbal interaction through "distancing themselves", as described by Goffman (1971) that the nature of the interaction relies on the "discrediting stigma" of the Muslim community who perceive differences to be known or apparent to them. To neutralise this treatment, the Muslim community presents a front stage of "tolerance" with nonverbal interactions in the form of "silence."

Frontstage self-management is displayed by the Muslim community, clarifying its involvement with receiving uncomfortable treatment from religious organisations and Muslims, such as anger, emotion, and irritation. The Muslim community expressed intrapersonal involvement due to the nature of the *Pela Gandong* Muslim-Christian community. For the Muslim community, blame is considered an intrapersonal issue. In this issue, there is wisdom behind the act of interacting; it iwas not an exclusive relationship that should damage the order of life of the Muslim-Christian community to strengthen harmonious social-community relations based on human values.

The backstage refers to the actual events that allow preparing oneself for one's role (Goffman, 1971). Backstage, all the preparations of the participants are being done by adjusting what will be encountered and organised. To hide the front stage identity, the Muslim community, after the involvement, will present their "real" identity.

Emotional resistance and rational belief are the terms used to describe inner conflict experienced by the Muslim community. However, it leads to intrapersonal concerns and negative emotions due to self-confrontation after involvement. Emotional resistance exceeds rational beliefs by triggering disobedience that partly leads to denial and regret. Muslim communities also feel spiritual restlessness (Syam, 2011) arising from concerns about embracing Islam after involvement. The Muslim community's intrapersonal experience is self-introspection with backstage impression management through self-mirror, looking at oneself in the mirror from the perspective of Islamic teachings.

Goffman (1971) explains that if intrapersonal people interact with others, they want to present an image that others will accept. It is impression management, or the method used by the Muslim community of cross-religious ritual involvement to cultivate a particular impression to achieve a specific purpose by using symbols on the front stage. This impression of management is put forward (Goffman, 1971) as "the benefit of other people". The Muslim community interacts using symbols from the surrounding environment and presents itself according to the perceptions of its environment and other people's concepts. Goffman (1971) mentioned expression and impression.

5. Conclusion

After the involvement, the Muslim community performs frontstage actions when socially interacting with fellow participants, their families, non-involved community members, religious organisations, and government institutions. These actions create awareness of regret, a commitment not to repeat the involvement, and address humiliation, harassment, ostracisation, and stigmatisation due to the deviation from the order of pela gandong values. It triggers polemics among Muslims, causing discomfort in the disharmonised relationship between the Muslim and Christian communities.

The involvement of the Muslim community, analysed through a dramaturgical perspective, has been helpful in exploring interactions in the surrounding environment. This approach helps manage verbal and nonverbal impressions of frontstage acceptance by neutralising through awareness of regret, pleading, and side-by-side efforts to transform self-identity better, overcoming cross-religious disharmony as a backstage process.

The researcher suggests that religious organisations and government agencies play a role in fostering, safeguarding and protecting the Muslim-Christian community of *pela gandong*, so that rituals like this do not recur in the future. There are no differences in social context as a social contract, enabling the Muslim-Christian community to live together peacefully and cooperate in a societal context.

Moreover, many other aspects can continue this research, such as using Machiavellian perspectives. For example, "What is the role of the local government in implementing Muslim-Christian community rituals at Immanuel Church of GPM Amahusu Klasis"? This research question will show political symbolism for the government that has successfully used local wisdom as a medium for peace. The government believes involving Muslim-Christian community rituals (voluntary or not) will be effective in peacebuilding or conflict resolution.

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