



Vidyottama Sanatana  
International Journal of Hindu Science and Religious Studies

Vol. 10 No. 1 May 2026

## HISTORICAL DYNAMICS OF HINDU–MUSLIM RELATIONS IN PRE-COLONIAL BALI : A SOCIO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

By:

Erry Hendriawan<sup>1</sup>, Anak Agung Ngurah Budiadnyana<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Sekolah Tinggi Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Pasundan

<sup>2</sup>UHN I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa Denpasar

[erryhendriawan@gmail.com](mailto:erryhendriawan@gmail.com), [budiadnyanaagung@uhnsugriwa.ac.id](mailto:budiadnyanaagung@uhnsugriwa.ac.id)

Received: January 5, 2025	Accepted: May 31, 2025	Published: May 31, 2026
---------------------------	------------------------	-------------------------

### Abstract

*This study examines the historical dynamics of Hindu–Muslim relations in pre-colonial Bali, with particular attention to the late medieval and early modern period before sustained Dutch colonial intervention. Moving beyond conversion-centered and conflict-oriented narratives, the article asks how religious coexistence was practiced, regulated, and sustained within everyday social, economic, and political contexts. Employing a qualitative historical approach, the study analyzes indigenous narratives, travel accounts, early external records, and recent scholarly literature through source criticism and contextual interpretation. The findings show that Muslim communities were incorporated into Balinese society through maritime trade, service to local courts, diplomatic mediation, and localized cultural adaptation. Hindu political structures provided institutional space for religious diversity, while customary norms helped regulate interaction across religious boundaries. The phrase pragmatic accommodation is used here not to idealize pre-modern tolerance, but to describe historically situated arrangements in which communities preserved distinct religious identities while sharing markets, political obligations, and social spaces. Economic interdependence, royal pragmatism, and adat-based regulation emerged as the principal mechanisms shaping Hindu–Muslim relations. By foregrounding Bali as an active arena of interreligious engagement, this study contributes to broader historiographical debates on religious pluralism in Southeast Asia and offers historically grounded insights for contemporary discussions of social harmony in Indonesia.*

**Keywords:** Hindu–Muslim Relations, Pre-Colonial Bali, Religious Coexistence, Socio-Cultural History, Southeast Asia

## I. INTRODUCTION

Religion has historically functioned not only as a system of belief but also as a fundamental framework through which societies organize social relations, cultural practices, and political authority. In Southeast Asia, religious traditions were deeply connected with trade, state formation, migration, and cultural transformation. Within the Indonesian archipelago, Hinduism and Islam represent two influential traditions whose encounters shaped regional history in complex ways. Understanding these encounters requires attention to local contexts rather than reliance on broad narratives of religious replacement or communal conflict.

Bali occupies a distinctive position in Indonesian history because Hindu traditions retained strong institutional and ritual continuity on the island. Yet historical evidence also indicates that Muslim communities were present in Bali long before the full establishment of European colonial power. Muslim traders, court functionaries, artisans, and settlements appeared in coastal and inland areas connected to ports, markets, and royal centers. These patterns suggest that pre-colonial Bali was not an isolated Hindu enclave, but a socially dynamic arena in which Hindu and Muslim actors interacted through economic, political, and cultural networks.

The significance of this topic lies in the need to reconsider how religious difference was managed in pre-modern societies. Studies in the sociology and history of religion emphasize that interreligious relations should be understood as historically situated processes rather than as static conditions of harmony or conflict. Religion, from this perspective, operates within broader social structures and is continually negotiated through power relations, institutional arrangements, and cultural practices (Fox, 2015; Gorski & Türkmen-Derivoğlu, 2013). Such an approach challenges earlier narratives that framed religious encounters primarily in terms of domination or replacement, instead highlighting coexistence as an evolving and context-dependent phenomenon (Haynes, 2017). This perspective challenges explanations that reduce religious encounters to domination, conversion, or conflict. It also encourages historians to

examine the social mechanisms through which coexistence was made possible.

Recent scholarship on Indonesian and Southeast Asian history has highlighted the importance of local agency, maritime mobility, political alliances, and customary institutions in shaping religious interaction (Andaya, 2017; Reid, 2015; Wisarja & Sudarsana, 2023). In many cases, economic interdependence encouraged cooperation across religious lines, while shared cultural frameworks enabled accommodation without necessitating doctrinal convergence. This insight is particularly relevant for Bali, where Muslim presence did not displace Hindu institutions but became embedded within existing social and political arrangements.

At the same time, Bali has often been studied primarily as a site of Hindu cultural continuity. Cultural historians and anthropologists have documented how Balinese Hinduism adapted to external influences while maintaining a distinctive religious identity (Vickers, 2013). Meanwhile, studies of Islamization in Indonesia have tended to focus on Java and other regions where conversion and political transformation were central to historical change (Azra, 2017; Ricklefs, 2006). These two bodies of literature are valuable, but they often treat Hindu and Muslim histories as parallel trajectories rather than as intersecting social realities within Bali itself.

This article responds to that gap by examining Hindu-Muslim relations in pre-colonial Bali through a socio-cultural historical lens. It does not approach coexistence as a modern doctrine of tolerance or multiculturalism, since applying such concepts anachronistically risks distorting the historical setting (Menchik, 2016; Robita & Anwar, 2025; Scott, 2017). Instead, historians are encouraged to examine how coexistence was practically enacted through everyday interactions, customary law, and informal social arrangements. This perspective invites closer attention to micro-historical contexts and localized forms of negotiation, particularly in regions like Bali where religious and cultural identities were deeply embedded in social life.

In light of these considerations, a focused historical analysis of Hindu-Muslim relations in

pre-colonial Bali offers significant potential to enrich existing historiography. By examining how religious communities interacted within shared socio-cultural frameworks, such an analysis can illuminate patterns of accommodation, boundary maintenance, and mutual influence that are often overlooked in broader regional studies. This approach aligns with recent interdisciplinary trends that combine historical methods with insights from cultural history and religious studies to produce more context-sensitive interpretations (Juergensmeyer et al., 2013; Naz et al., 2018).

By situating Hindu-Muslim relations within the specific historical conditions of Bali, this study aims to contribute to broader historiographical debates on religious pluralism in Southeast Asia. It argues that Bali should be understood not only as a repository of Hindu tradition, but also as an active site of interreligious contact, adaptation, and social regulation. Such a perspective offers a more nuanced understanding of Indonesia's plural religious past and provides historical depth for contemporary discussions of interreligious harmony.

## **II. METHOD**

### **Research Design and Sources**

This study employs a qualitative historical design with a socio-cultural orientation. The research focuses on patterns of lived interaction rather than theological comparison or conversion narratives. Its main concern is how Hindu and Muslim communities encountered one another through trade, political service, settlement patterns, customary arrangements, and everyday social relations. The data corpus consists of primary and secondary materials. Primary materials include traditional manuscripts, indigenous historical narratives, travel accounts, court-related records, and early external or colonial-era reports that preserve references to Muslim presence, trade relations, political affiliation, and social organization in Bali. Secondary materials include scholarly monographs, edited volumes, and journal articles on Indonesian history, Balinese cultural history, Islamization, and Southeast Asian religious interaction. Recent studies are prioritized to engage current historiographical debates, while seminal works are used selectively to provide

historical depth.

### **Source Criticism and Analytical Techniques**

The analysis follows the main stages of historical inquiry: heuristic collection of relevant sources, source criticism, contextual interpretation, and thematic synthesis. External criticism is used to assess the origin, authorship, chronology, and authenticity of sources, while internal criticism evaluates credibility, perspective, bias, and representational limits. This is especially important because many sources concerning religious communities were produced within political, courtly, colonial, or religious contexts. To reduce single-source bias, the study compares evidence across different genres and situates each source within its social and historical setting. The data are then organized around recurring themes: settlement and mobility, economic exchange, political accommodation, cultural adaptation, and boundary maintenance. Through this procedure, interreligious interaction is interpreted as a historically situated social process rather than as a purely theological or normative phenomenon.

## **III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **A. Empirical Findings**

#### **1. Muslim Presence, Mobility, and Settlement**

Historical sources indicate that Muslim communities were present in several parts of Bali before sustained colonial intervention. Their settlements were commonly associated with coastal zones, ports, markets, and strategic inland areas connected to royal authority. Such locations suggest that Muslim presence was closely linked to mobility, maritime exchange, and political service rather than to large-scale territorial expansion. Muslim groups entered Balinese society through multiple pathways, including trade, diplomacy, craftsmanship, military service, and court affiliation.

These communities should not be interpreted as isolated enclaves detached from Balinese society. The evidence points instead to a pattern of selective integration. Muslim residents maintained religious identities and communal practices, yet they participated in the broader social order by accepting local political authority and engaging in shared economic life. Their presence was therefore neither marginal

nor dominant; it was functionally embedded in particular social and institutional spaces.

## **2. Economic Exchange and Shared Social Spaces**

Economic activity emerged as a central domain of Hindu–Muslim interaction. Bali's connections with wider archipelagic trade networks brought Muslim merchants into regular contact with Hindu rulers, market communities, and producers. Markets functioned as shared social spaces in which economic roles often mattered more than religious affiliation. Transactions were regulated by trust, customary expectations, and mutual benefit, allowing routine interaction across religious boundaries.

This commercial interdependence created incentives for cooperation. Muslim traders benefited from access to Balinese commodities and political protection, while Hindu rulers and local elites benefited from external trade links, diplomatic access, and the circulation of goods. Economic exchange therefore helped normalize religious difference within everyday social life. Coexistence did not depend on doctrinal agreement; it was sustained through repeated practical cooperation.

## **3. Political Recognition and Customary Accommodation**

Pre-colonial Balinese political structures also contributed to the management of religious diversity. Hindu rulers appear to have incorporated Muslims into administrative, diplomatic, and commercial roles when such incorporation served political or economic interests. Appointments and alliances were shaped by loyalty, competence, and usefulness to the court rather than by religious identity alone. This pattern reveals a flexible political culture in which religious difference could be accommodated without undermining royal authority.

Customary arrangements further enabled Muslim communities to maintain religious practices while participating in the wider social order. These arrangements were not equivalent to modern liberal equality, since they operated within hierarchical political structures. Nevertheless, they provided institutional room for difference by allowing communities to

observe distinct religious norms as long as they did not disrupt local order, economic activity, or allegiance to ruling authorities.

## **4. Cultural Proximity and Boundary Maintenance**

At the level of everyday social life, Hindu–Muslim relations were marked by both proximity and distinction. Social interaction occurred through markets, service relationships, neighborhood contact, and participation in local customs. In some contexts, Muslim communities adopted elements of Balinese language, dress, etiquette, and spatial organization, which facilitated social integration. These adaptations did not necessarily imply religious assimilation; rather, they reflected the practical requirements of living within Balinese cultural environments.

Religious boundaries, however, remained meaningful. Ritual systems, dietary practices, marriage patterns, and communal identities were not dissolved into a single cultural form. Interreligious marriage appears to have been limited, and religious observance remained differentiated. The Balinese case therefore shows that boundary maintenance and social cooperation were not mutually exclusive. Communities could preserve religious distinction while sharing social and economic spaces.

## **5. The Limited Evidence of Systematic Religious Conflict**

One notable finding is the lack of evidence for sustained or systematic religious conflict between Hindu and Muslim communities in pre-colonial Bali. This does not mean that tensions were absent. Historical silence should not be equated with perfect harmony, especially because surviving sources often reflect elite perspectives and may underrepresent everyday frictions. Nevertheless, available evidence does not indicate large-scale religious violence or institutionalized persecution as a dominant pattern of Hindu-Muslim relations.

The more plausible interpretation is that potential tensions were regulated through social norms, political authority, economic interests, and customary mechanisms. Coexistence was therefore a managed condition rather than an idealized state. It was produced through

recurring arrangements that allowed difference to remain visible while preventing it from becoming the primary basis of social conflict.

## **B. Analytical Discussion**

### **1. Everyday Pluralism and Social Negotiation**

The findings can be interpreted through the concept of everyday pluralism, which emphasizes practical coexistence in routine social life rather than formal doctrines of tolerance (Pedersen, 2016; Wohlrab-Sahr & Burchardt, 2012). In pre-colonial Bali, Hindu-Muslim relations were not principally organized through articulated ideological commitments to pluralism. They were sustained through repeated interactions in markets, courts, neighborhoods, and customary settings. This makes the phrase pragmatic accommodation analytically useful, provided it is understood carefully.

The historical evidence from Bali suggests that coexistence was enacted through ordinary social practices trade, administrative cooperation, and shared cultural norms rather than through explicit ideological commitments to pluralism. This aligns with recent scholarship arguing that interreligious relations are often sustained not by shared beliefs but by shared interests and habitual interaction (Hermann, 2018). In this sense, religious coexistence in Bali functioned as a lived social reality rather than an articulated principle.

### **2. Trade Networks and Economic Interdependence**

The central role of economic exchange in facilitating Hindu-Muslim interaction further supports theories that foreground material interdependence as a stabilizing force in plural societies. Maritime trade connected Bali with broader Southeast Asian and Indian Ocean networks, where Muslim merchants had long played significant roles (Amrith, 2013; Andaya, 2017; Reid, 2015). Other studies in historical political economy have demonstrated that trade networks frequently produce incentives for cooperation across religious and ethnic boundaries (Chaudhuri, 2016; Hoesterey, 2022). The Balinese case corroborates this argument, as Muslim traders were integrated into Hindu political systems not despite their religious identity, but because of their economic utility.

The finding challenges narratives that interpret religious encounters mainly through conversion or confrontation. In Bali, Muslim presence did not automatically produce large-scale Islamization, nor did Hindu continuity require complete isolation from Islam. Instead, interaction unfolded within a commercial ecology that made cooperation advantageous. Religious identity remained important, but it was mediated by economic function and local norms.

### **3. Pragmatic Governance and Political Accommodation**

Political accommodation observed in pre-colonial Bali can be further interpreted through the concept of pragmatic governance, a model increasingly discussed in recent historiography of Southeast Asia. Rather than enforcing religious homogeneity, rulers often prioritized stability, loyalty, and administrative efficiency (Aljunied, 2019; Errington, 2012). The inclusion of Muslims in courtly, diplomatic, or commercial roles suggests that Balinese rulers could recognize the utility of religious minorities without requiring full cultural assimilation.

This accommodation was conditional and hierarchical. Muslim communities were permitted to maintain religious practices insofar as they accepted the authority of local rulers and did not disrupt customary order. Such arrangements should not be confused with modern citizenship-based equality. Rather, they reflect a political logic in which diversity was tolerated because it could be made compatible with royal power, economic interest, and social cohesion.

The Balinese case therefore complicates assumptions about pre-modern states as rigidly confessional. It also shows that political authority could function as a regulator of interreligious relations, not merely as a source of domination. By incorporating Muslim actors into useful roles, Hindu courts transformed religious difference into a manageable element of governance.

### **4. Boundary Maintenance without Social Segregation**

At the cultural level, the findings resonate with recent theoretical discussions on boundary

maintenance without exclusion. Scholars have argued that religious communities can maintain distinct identities while engaging in sustained interaction, producing what has been termed “porous boundaries” (Brubaker, 2015; Wimmer, 2023). In Bali, Hindu and Muslim communities preserved religious distinctions while participating in shared social spaces. This pattern suggests that boundary maintenance did not necessitate social segregation, a point that challenges binary models of assimilation versus separation often found in earlier historiography. Importantly, the absence of evidence for systematic religious conflict in pre-colonial Bali should be interpreted cautiously. Recent conflict studies warn against equating the lack of recorded violence with complete harmony (Barnes, 2023). Instead, conflict avoidance may result from effective social regulation and power asymmetries that discourage overt confrontation. In Bali, customary norms and political authority appear to have functioned as regulatory mechanisms that managed potential tensions. In this sense, the management of religious difference was part of a broader social order, consistent with theories that emphasize the institutional regulation of conflict and cooperation (North et al., 2009).

### **5. Historiographical Implications**

The findings contribute to Indonesian historiography by shifting attention from Islamization as a linear process to coexistence as a historically significant outcome. Much scholarship on Islam in Indonesia has focused on regions where political conversion, court Islamization, or Islamic institutional formation transformed social order (Azra, 2017; Ricklefs, 2006). The Balinese case demonstrates that sustained Muslim presence did not necessarily lead to large-scale conversion, underscoring the need to decouple religious interaction from assumptions of inevitable transformation. Recent studies in religious change argue that coexistence and continuity are as historically significant as conversion and rupture (Radford, 2015).

From a historiographical perspective, this study contributes to emerging critiques of anachronistic applications of modern pluralism to pre-modern contexts. Scholars have

increasingly cautioned against retroactively imposing contemporary values such as tolerance, equality, or multiculturalism onto historical societies (Greider, 2014; Scott, 2017). The evidence from Bali suggests that coexistence was neither egalitarian nor ideologically framed, but rather structured by hierarchy, custom, and pragmatism. Recognizing this distinction allows for a more historically faithful interpretation of interreligious relations.

Furthermore, the findings challenge the tendency to treat Bali as culturally exceptional or insulated from broader regional dynamics. Recent regional histories emphasize connectivity and circulation across the Indonesian archipelago (Metcalf, 2015; Tagliacozzo, 2017). The presence of Muslim communities in Bali should therefore be understood as part of wider patterns of mobility, trade, and cultural exchange. This perspective situates Balinese history within interconnected Southeast Asian networks rather than as an isolated cultural phenomenon.

This does not make Bali exceptional in the sense of being outside regional history. On the contrary, Bali's Hindu-Muslim relations were shaped by the same archipelagic mobility, trade, and political negotiation that characterized much of Southeast Asia. What distinguishes the Balinese case is the particular balance between Hindu institutional continuity and Muslim social incorporation. Studying that balance helps refine broader theories of religious interaction in the Indonesian archipelago.

The article therefore argues for a contextual approach to pluralism. Rather than asking whether pre-colonial Bali fulfilled modern ideals of tolerance, the more historically appropriate question is how religious diversity was organized in practice. The answer lies in the interaction of economic interdependence, political calculation, customary regulation, and cultural adaptation. This approach neither idealizes the past nor reduces it to conflict, but treats coexistence as a historically contingent social achievement.

### **IV. CONCLUSION**

This study has examined the historical dynamics of Hindu–Muslim relations in pre-colonial Bali

through a socio-cultural historical perspective. The analysis shows that Muslim communities were integrated into Balinese society through trade, court service, diplomacy, and localized cultural adaptation, while Hindu political structures and customary norms provided space for regulated religious diversity. Coexistence was not based on a modern ideology of tolerance, nor was it a simple absence of conflict. It was a practical arrangement shaped by shared interests, social hierarchy, economic exchange, and political authority.

The main contribution of this study is its effort to move beyond conversion-centered and conflict-centered narratives. Bali should not be understood solely as a homogeneous Hindu stronghold or as a passive recipient of external influences. It was also an active arena in which religious difference was negotiated, bounded, and incorporated into local systems of order. Hindu and Muslim communities maintained distinct identities, yet they participated in overlapping social and economic worlds.

More broadly, the Balinese case enriches discussions of pluralism in Southeast Asian history. It demonstrates that pre-modern religious coexistence was often sustained through customary norms, political pragmatism, and material interdependence rather than through abstract doctrines of equality. This historical insight remains relevant for contemporary Indonesia, where interreligious harmony requires not only normative commitments but also social practices, institutions, and shared interests capable of sustaining cooperation across difference.

Future research may strengthen this analysis by incorporating a wider corpus of manuscripts, local oral histories, archaeological evidence, and comparative regional studies. Such work would further clarify how Hindu-Muslim relations varied across Balinese localities and across different phases of pre-colonial history. Nevertheless, the evidence examined here supports a central conclusion: Bali's plural past was not accidental. It was produced through historically specific mechanisms that enabled difference to be lived, regulated, and socially negotiated.

## REFERENCE

Aljunied, K. (2019). *Islam in Southeast Asia*. Oxford University Press.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.658>

- Amrith, S. S. (2013). *Crossing the Bay of Bengal: The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants*. Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt6wpmb1>
- Andaya, L. Y. (2017). *Leaves of the same tree: Trade and ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Azra, A. (2017). *Islam in the Indonesian world: An account of institutional formation*. Mizan Pustaka.
- Barnes, N. (2023). The Enduring Influence of The Logic of Violence in Civil War. *Civil Wars*, 25(2–3), 569–576. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2023.2253044>
- Brubaker, Rogers. (2015). Religious Dimensions of Political Conflict and Violence. *Sociological Theory*, 33(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275115572153>
- Chaudhuri, K. (2016). *Trade and civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An economic history from the rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge University Press.
- Errington, S. (2012). The subject of power in Southeast Asia. In *Southeast Asian perspectives on power* (pp. 16–36). Routledge.
- Fox, J. (2015). *Political secularism, religion, and the state*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gorski, P. S., & Türkmen-Derivoğlu, G. (2013). Religion, nationalism, and violence: An integrated approach. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39(1), 193–210. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071312-145641>
- Greider, K. J. (2014). Religious pluralism and Christian-centrism. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Practical Theology*, 452–461. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444345742>
- Haynes, J. (2017). *Religion and development: Conflict or cooperation?* Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230589568>
- Hermann, A. (2018). Distinguishing “Religion”. Variants of Differentiation and the Emergence of “Religion” as a Global

- Category in Modern Asia. *Soziale Systeme*, 23(1–2), 215–234. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/sosys-2018-0012>
- Hoesterey, J. (2022). Globalization and Islamic Indigenization in Southeast Asian Muslim Communities. *Islam Nusantara: Journal for the Study of Islamic History and Culture*, 3(2 SE-Articles), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.47776/islamnusantara.v3i2.370>
- Juergensmeyer, M., Kitts, M., & Jerryson, M. (2013). *The Oxford handbook of religion and violence*. Oxford University Press.
- Menchik, J. (2016). *Islam and democracy in Indonesia: Tolerance without liberalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Metcalf, T. R. (2015). Crossing the Bay of Bengal: the Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants by Sunil Amrith. *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 48(96), 305–307. <https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/his.2015.0008>
- Naz, M. Z., Qadri, A. R., & Ali, F. (2018). The Role of Religion in Establishing Peaceful Coexistence in Society. *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, 8(2). <https://journals.umt.edu.pk/index.php/JITC/article/view/111>
- North, D. C., Wallis, J. J., & Weingast, B. R. (2009). *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511575839>
- Pedersen, L. (2016). Religious Pluralism in Indonesia. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 17(5), 387–398. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2016.1218534>
- Radford, D. (2015). *Religious identity and social change: Explaining Christian conversion in a Muslim world* (1st Editio). Routledge. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315776859>
- Reid, A. (2015). *A history of Southeast Asia: Critical crossroads*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Ricklefs, M. C. (2006). *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth*. EastBridge.
- Robita, A., & Anwar, K. (2025). Understanding Religious Pluralism in Indonesia: Social and Religious Perspectives in the Modern Era. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, 2(2), 60–69. <https://doi.org/10.62951/ijss.v2i2.338>
- Scott, J. C. (2017). *Against the grain: A deep history of the earliest states*. Yale University Press.
- Tagliacozzo, E. (2017). *Secret trades, porous borders: smuggling and states along a Southeast Asian frontier, 1865-1915*. NUS Press.
- Vickers, A. (2013). *Bali: A paradise created*. Tuttle Publishing.
- Wimmer, A. (2023). Nation building: Why some countries come together while others fall apart. In *Survival 60.4* (pp. 151–164). Routledge.
- Wisarja, I. K., & Sudarsana, I. K. (2023). Tracking the factors causing harmonious Hindu-Islamic relations in Bali. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(2), 2259470. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2259470>
- Wohlrab-Sahr, M., & Burchardt, M. (2012). Multiple Secularities: Toward a Cultural Sociology of Secular Modernities. *Comparative Sociology*, 11(6), 875–909. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/15691330-12341249>