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SUSTAINING INTER-TARIQA HARMONY; Social Sufism in Grobogan Indonesia

Nailul Mustaqfiroh[1], Mas'udi[2]
[1,2] Islamic Studies Program, Postgraduate of UIN Sunan Kudus, Indonesia
email: [1]nailulmustaqfiroh@gmail.com, [2]masudijufri@iainkudus.ac.id

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ABSTRACT
This study examines the forms of social harmony and the factors sustaining relations between followers of the Naqsabandiyah Khalidiyah and Akmaliyah Sufi orders in Banjarejo Village, Grobogan, Central Java, Indonesia. Using a qualitative case study approach, the research explores socio-religious interactions, attitudes toward differences in spiritual practices, and economic interdependence between the two communities. Data were collected through purposive interviews with spiritual guides (*mursyids*) and followers of both Sufi orders and analyzed thematically. The findings indicate that harmonious relations are maintained despite differences in religious leadership, spiritual lineages, devotional practices, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Such harmony is sustained through shared religious and community activities, spiritual guidance emphasizing a common commitment to drawing closer to God, and economic cooperation between farmers and traders in the supply of agricultural inputs and the marketing of agricultural produce. These findings demonstrate that differences in Sufi affiliations do not necessarily create barriers to social interaction. Rather, shared activities, mutual respect, and economic interdependence provide important foundations for maintaining relationships across Sufi communities. This study contributes to the understanding of social Sufism by highlighting how everyday religious, social, and economic practices can sustain harmony without requiring uniformity in spiritual traditions.
Keywords: Social Sufism; Sufi Orders; Inter-Tariqa Relations; Social Harmony; Economic Interdependence.

ABSTRAK
Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis bentuk keharmonisan sosial dan faktor-faktor yang mendukung keberlangsungan hubungan antara pengikut Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah dan Tarekat Akmaliyah di Desa Banjarejo, Kecamatan Gabus, Kabupaten Grobogan, Jawa Tengah. Fokus penelitian meliputi interaksi sosial-keagamaan, penyikapan terhadap perbedaan praktik spiritual, serta keterkaitan kepentingan ekonomi antarkelompok. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara dengan mursyid dan jamaah dari kedua tarekat yang dipilih secara purposif, kemudian dianalisis secara tematik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keharmonisan sosial berlangsung di tengah perbedaan kepemimpinan, silsilah, pola amalan, dan latar belakang sosial ekonomi jamaah. Keharmonisan tersebut didukung oleh kegiatan keagamaan dan kemasyarakatan bersama, arahan mursyid yang menekankan kesamaan tujuan spiritual, serta hubungan ekonomi antara petani dan pedagang dalam penyediaan sarana pertanian dan pemasaran hasil panen. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa perbedaan afiliasi tarekat tidak serta-merta menjadi penghalang bagi interaksi sosial. Dalam kehidupan masyarakat Desa Banjarejo, kegiatan bersama, penghargaan terhadap perbedaan, dan keterkaitan kepentingan ekonomi menjadi ruang penting bagi terpeliharanya hubungan antarkelompok. Penelitian ini menegaskan relevansi perspektif tasawuf sosial dalam memahami keharmonisan masyarakat melalui praktik keseharian tanpa menuntut keseragaman spiritual.
Keywords: *Tasawuf social; Tarekat sufi; Relasi antartarekat; Harmoni social; kesalingtergantungan ekonomi.*

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Introduction

Sufism forms part of the Islamic intellectual tradition, emphasizing purification of the soul, moral formation, and the pursuit of closeness to Allah. Over time, Sufi devotion has developed beyond individual spiritual practice and become institutionalized in Sufi orders (tariqas), each with its own teachings, spiritual lineage, devotional practices, and guidance under a mursyid. Tariqas thus serve not only as settings for spiritual formation but also as religious communities engaged in social life. Rohmawati and Zulkifli show that Sufi orders in Indonesia have contributed to education, socio-political life, philanthropy, the economy,and individual spirituality.[1] Their presence must therefore be understood in relation both to religious practice and to the social relationships formed within communities.

These spiritual foundations can be traced to Imam al-Ghazali's thought in *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm*al-Dīn. Al-Ghazali treats purification of the soul, restraint of blameworthy traits, moral cultivation, and themaintenance of interpersonal relations as interconnected aspects of religious life. His *discussions*ofspiritual discipline (riyāḍat al-nafs), the restraint of arrogance, brotherhood, and compassion suggest that piety extends beyond ritual worship to conduct toward others.[2] This understanding resonates with Astuti and colleagues' research on the Sufi ethics of Shaykh Yusufal-Makassari, which identifies values oftolerance and moderation relevant to plural societies.[3] Sufism thus has an important social dimension, particularly where spiritual commitments are lived out in communities with diverse religious identities and practices.

Several Indonesian studies have examined connections between tariqa practice and the social lives of followers. Munandar, Susanto, and Nugroho, intheirstudy ofthe Qadiriyahwa Naqsyabandiyah order in Gemutri Hamlet, Sleman, investigated the[4]contribution of tariqa practice to social piety. They found that spiritual formation can be associated with followers'

[1] Hanung Sito Rohmawati, "Social Change and the Role of Sufi Orders in Indonesia : A Systematic Literature Review In Indonesian society , Sufism plays a significant role that extends beyond religious," *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 13, no. 2 (2024): 187–212, https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v13i2.22567.
[2] Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad Al-Ghazali, *Kitāb Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, First prin (Cairo: s.n., 1853). jil. III.

[3] Widia Astuti et al., "Interpretation Of Tasawwuf In Islamic Education To Improve Religious Tolerance," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 10, no. 1 (2023): 35–58, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v7i1.2762.
[4] dan Wahyu Nugroho Siswoyo Aris Munandar, Sigit Susanto, "Tarekat qadiriyah wa naqsabandiyah terhadap kesalehan sosial masyarakat dusun gemutri sukoharjo sleman," *Jurnal Studi Agama dan Masyarakat* 16, no. 01 (2020): 35–51, https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v16i1.1833.

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moral development, care for others, and social conduct. Similarly, *Azis*and colleagues, studyingsocio-Sufism amongpractitioners of the Khalwatiyah order of Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari, showed how dhikr and the internalization of Sufi teachings may shape social dispositions expressed in everyday life.[5] Both studies connect spiritual practice with social behavior, but focus primarily on relations within the communities examined rather than on interactions between followers of two different orders living in the same social setting.

Other studies likewise demonstrate the broader social roles of Sufi orders. Munandar's research on the social and philanthropic movement of the Qadiriyah waNaqsyabandiyahorder in Indonesia documents followers' participation in social activities and community welfare.[6] Prayogo's study of theKampoeng Percik community also suggests that inclusive religious values, justice, and respect for difference can help sustain harmonious social life .[7] However, Prayogo examines a community characterized by diverse religious identities, whereas the research on tariqa philanthropy emphasizes the social contributions of a particular order. Neither directly explains how everyday relationships are sustained among followers of two orders with different teachings, leadership structures, and devotional practices.

Research on Sufi orders has also been undertaken in Grobogan Regency. Anas and Adinugraha studied the da'wah movement of theQadiriyahwaNaqsyabandiyah orderin Ngroto Village, Gubug District, focusing on its organizational strategies, pesantren, social programs, and economic activities..[8] That study is relevant because it shows how a Sufi order participates in social life in Grobogan; however, it concerns the activities of one order rather than relations between two orders with distinct devotional practices and leadership. Zamzami, Mahzumi, and A'la,meanwhile,examined contested authority among mursyids oftheQadiriyah

[5] Aminah Azis et al., "Socio-Sufism Practices within the Indonesia ' s Tariqah Practitioners," *International Journal of Religion* 3538, no. 1 (2024): 170–78, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.61707/nv82ma30.
[6] Siswoyo Aris Munandar, "Gerakan Sosial dan Filantropi Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia," *Nuansa: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial dan Kegamaan Islam* 17, no. 2 (2020): 149–166, https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v16i1.1833.
[7] Tonny Ilham Prayogo, "Religious Moderation In Kampoeng Percik Community," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 12, no. 2 (2025): 1–18, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v12i2.11392.
[8] Ahmad Anas dan Hendri Hermawan Adinugraha, "Gerakan Dakwah Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Grobogan," *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 8, no. 1 (2018): 179–211, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15642/jki.2018.1.1.179-211.

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waNaqsyabandiyah order in East Java, particularly in relation to leadership and politics.[9] Their findings indicate that differences in leadership interests and positions can shape internal tariqa dynamics, but political contestation among religious authorities cannot simply be extrapolated to everydayrelations among followers of different orders.

Taken together, the literature addresses social piety, socio-Sufism, social movements and philanthropy, religious moderation, da'wah, and contestedmursyid authority. These studies provide an important basis for understanding the relationship between Sufism and social life. Nevertheless, further investigation is needed into how social relations develop among followers of two orders distinguished by leadership, devotional practices, and social background within a shared community. This study contributes an empirical examination of interactions and cooperation between followers of the NaqsabandiyahKholidiyah andAkmaliyah orders in BanjarejoVillage, Gabus District, Grobogan Regency. Rather than assuming that differences between orders necessarily generate conflict, it investigates how social relations persist despite differences in spiritual affiliation.

Banjarejo Village provides a relevant setting because the two orders differ in several respects. Preliminary field data indicate distinctions in leadership and chains of religious transmission, devotional routines, religious discipline, and the occupational backgrounds of followers. Among thoseinterviewed,followers of the Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah order were more commonly farmers, while Akmaliyah followers were more commonly traders. Yet social and economic relationships also connect residents, including the supply of seeds and fertilizer and the purchase of agricultural produce. Informants reported continued participation in religious and community activities despite tariqa differences. This raises an important question: how do differences in spiritual identity coexist with social relations and interconnected economic interests? These circumstances suggest thatintercommunity relationships are shaped not only by shared beliefs and rituals but also by everyday experiences and mutually related needs.

Robert D. Putnam's concept of social capital provides asupplementary analytical perspective. Social capital concerns trust, norms of reciprocity, and networks of civic engagement that

[9] Abd A'la Mukhammad Zamzami, Fikri Mahzumi, "Tarekat and Politics in Indonesia: Contested Authority between Murshids in the Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah in East Java," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 2 (2022): 187–208, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2022.12.2.187-208.

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facilitate cooperation among individuals and groups.[10] Here, the concept helps examine how neighborly relations, shared religious and community activities, and economic ties create opportunities for contact between followers of the twoorders. Nevertheless, participation in joint activities and economic transactions does not automatically establish bridging social capital. The analysis therefore attends to actual patterns of participation, the relationships formed, and the cooperation taking place across tariqa affiliations. This perspective is combined with social Sufism to explore connections among spiritual values, moral formation, and social conduct.

Against this background, the study analyzes forms of social interaction between followers of the NaqsabandiyahKholidiyah andAkmaliyah orders and the factors sustaining their relationships in Banjarejo Village, GabusDistrict, Grobogan Regency. Specifically, it examines shared socio-religious activities, mursyids' attitudes toward differences, and the interconnection of economic interests in community life.

The study adopts a qualitative case study design. Primary data were collected over a three-month period through interviews with mursyids and followersselected purposively for their knowledge of, and involvement in, relationsbetween the two orders. Data were analyzed thematically by grouping informants' accounts under social interaction, the negotiation of differences, and economic cooperation. Social Sufism and social capital were used together to interpret the relationships among spiritual orientation, social practices, and community networks. The study seeks to contribute to Islamic Studies and the sociology of religion by showing empirically how relationships between Sufi communitiesoperate through everyday practices, without assuming either that harmony eliminates difference or that all social relations are free from tension.

Results

1. Profile of Sufi Order Communities in Grobogan

Religious life in Banjarejo Village,Gabus District, Grobogan Regency, Central Java, includes the Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah(NK) andAkmaliyah (A) Sufi orders. Observations and interviews indicate differences in leadership, devotional patterns, religious discipline, and followers' social

[10] Shan Xu, "The Dynamics of Social Capital: Examining the Reciprocity between Network Features and Social Support," *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 26, no. September (2021): 362–83, https://doi.org/10.1093/jcmc/zmab014.

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backgrounds. These distinctions, however, do not necessarily prevent interaction between the two groups.

The NaqsabandiyahKholidiyahorder engages in daily dhikr, weekly tawajjuhan, *pilgrimage*visits, and khataman *arwah. Its*devotional practices are relatively flexible and adapted to followers' capacities. The Akmaliyah order, by contrast, performs dhikr at specified times and *observes*ten-day residential sulukan retreats. The followers encountered in the field came from varied occupational backgrounds, with farming more common among the NK participants and trading more common among Akmaliyah participants.

These differences reflect distinct characteristics of the communities' spiritual lives. Nevertheless, residents' lives are shaped not only by tariqa affiliation but also by participation in religious events, community activities, and economic exchanges. Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of the two communities identified through fieldwork.

Table 1. Characteristics of the Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah and Akmaliyah Sufi Communities

Aspect	**Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah (NK)**	**Tarekat Akmaliyah (A)**
Mursyid	K.H. Rohmat, K.H. Kholil Karim, and K.H. Baha'udin Luthfiyah	K.H. Nur Alim
Recorded scholarly lineage	K.H. Kholil Bangkalan, K.H. Siroj Jombang, K.H. Zahuri Jombang, K.H. Ya'kub Malang, K.H. Dullah, and K.H. Joyo	K.H. Manshur Popongan → K.H. Salman → Gus Multazam Al-Makky
Geographical distribution	Banjarejo Village, Gabus District, Grobogan Regency	Banjarejo Village, Gabus District, Grobogan Regency
Followers' occupational background	Predominantly farmers	Predominantly traders

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Devotional practices	Daily dhikr, weekly *tawajjuhan*, grave visits, and *khataman arwah*	Dhikr at specified times and ten-day *sulukan* retreats
Religious discipline	Relatively flexible and voluntary	More structured and rigorous
Spiritual symbols	Not prominent in field observations	Use of burial shrouds during *sulukan*

Source: Compiled from primary field observation and interview data.

2. Forms of Social Harmony between Sufi Orders

Observations and interviews suggest that harmony between followers of the Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah and Akmaliyah orders is expressed through shared socio-religious activities, everyday community interactions, respect for ritual differences, and economic relationships. This harmony does not imply that the orders follow identical devotional practices; rather, differences in practice do not necessarily restrict residents' social ties.

Regarding socio-religious participation, Ms. Srini, a follower of the Akmaliyah order, explained that belonging to different tariqas does not prevent residents from attending shared activities. She stated:

"Although we belong to different tariqas, we still take part in religious activities together, including *Muludan*, *Baritan*, *dibaan*, visits to graves, and other occasions."

Her account indicates that shared religious activities provide opportunities for encounters among people with different tariqa affiliations. Celebrations of the Prophet's birthday, *Baritan*, *dibaan*, and grave visits allow residents to maintain a sense of community without having to make their respective spiritual practices identical. Joint activities therefore provide one means of sustaining social relationships amid religious differences.

A shared spiritual orientation also emerged in accounts of relations between the two orders.K.H. Rohmat, a mursyid of the Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyahorder, stated:

"Yes, although our tariqas differ, our purpose is the same. When we recite *wirid*, our hearts are directed toward remembering Allah."

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This statement indicates that K.H. Rohmat understands differences between orders in light of their shared spiritual purpose: remembrance of Allah. Such a view allows differing devotional practices to be respected without erasing the identity of either order. Nonetheless, one mursyid's position cannot automatically be taken as representative of all followers. The observation is therefore treated as one leadership perspective relevant to harmonious relations.

Beyond religious gatherings, interaction betweenthe orders also takes place in everyday life. As summarized in Table 2, residents interact through neighborhood meetings, ordinary conversations, community activities, and intergenerational encounters. These patterns show that social relationships extend beyond activities internal to either order. Tariqa affiliation is not the sole basis on which residents relate to one another.

Respect for each community's spiritual practices is another field finding. Differences in dhikr, religious discipline, and spiritual symbols do not necessarily preclude interaction. In this context, harmony is better understood as the ability to maintain social relationships amid difference rather than as uniformity in religious practice.

Table 2. Forms of Social Harmony between Followers of the Two Orders

Domain of interaction	Observed practices
Religious	Congregational prayer, Islamic celebrations, and grave visits
Community and social life	Mawlid celebrations, *halal bihalal*, public religious gatherings, and communal mosque maintenance
Informal interactions	Everyday conversations, neighborhood meetings, and village activities
Respect for differences	Respect for each order's rituals and spiritual symbols
Across generations	Interactions among youth, adults, and older residents
Leadership	Mursyids' rejection of claims of tariqa superiority

Source: Compiled from primary field observation and interview data.

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3. Factors Sustaining Social Harmony and Economic Cooperation

Field evidence suggests that inter-tariqa harmony issustained by mursyids' tolerant views, respect for ritual differences, inclusive community activities, spiritual leadership, followers' social awareness, and interconnected economic interests. Together, these factors indicate that harmonious relations involve both religious understandings and everyday social practices.

The role of the mursyid is evident in the view that a tariqa is a path toward closeness to Allah rather than a means of asserting one group's superiority over another. This perspective may encourage followers to accept differences in spiritual practice. Shared religious and community activities likewise enable people with different affiliations to interact and sustain neighborly relations.

Economic relations between followers with different occupations constitute another relevant factor. Ms. Sundari, a follower of theNaqsabandiyahKholidiyah order, explained that Akmaliyah members, many of whom are traders, supply agricultural necessities to farmers. She said:

"Even though we are different, we still help one another, including in our work. People from the Akmaliyah order, many of whom are traders, supply seeds and fertilizer to farmers. At harvest time, they then buy the crops."

This account describes relationships connecting agricultural production with the marketing of produce. Farmers need seeds and fertilizer, while traders supply agricultural inputs and purchase harvests. These exchanges reveal interconnected economic interests among residents affiliated with different orders.

In this context, economic interdependence refers to a situation in which one party's economic activities are connected to the needs and activities of another. Such connections create opportunities for cooperation across religious affiliations. Nevertheless, the available evidence establishes the presence of economic ties but does not justify concluding that every relationship is free of disagreement or that economic interdependence is the sole cause of harmony.

The factors that support social harmony based on field findings are summarized in Table 3.

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Table 3. Factors Supporting Inter-Tariqa Social Harmony

Factor	Description of field findings
Mursyid's teachings	Tolerance: Emphasis on drawing closer to Allah rather than competing between orders
Respect for rituals	Acceptance of differences in devotional practice and religious discipline
Social interaction	Religious and community activities involving followers of different orders
Role of the mursyid	Spiritual leadership that encourages intergroup social relations
Followers' social awareness	Social Recognition that social relations are not determined solely by shared rituals
Economic solidarity	Supply of seeds and fertilizers, crop purchases, and economic cooperation among residents

Source: Compiled from primary field observation and interview data.

Overall, the findings show that social harmony between followers of the Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyahand Akmaliyah orders is expressed through shared activities, acceptance of differences in spiritual practice, and interconnected economic interests. The mursyid's role, community interaction, and relationships between farmers and traders are important for understanding these patterns. Diversity among Sufi orders does not necessarily produce antagonism but may coexist with cooperative social relations.

These findings nevertheless reflect informants' experiences and observations within this particular research setting. Harmony is therefore understood as a pattern of everyday social relations, not as proof that every difference or potential source of conflict has disappeared.

Discussion

A. Social Harmony among Multiple Sufi Orders from the Perspective of Social Sufism

The coexistence of theNaqsabandiyahKholidiyah (NK) and Akmaliyah (A) ordersin Banjarejo Village, Gabus District, Grobogan Regency, reflects diversity in the community's

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spiritual affiliations. As Table 1 indicates, the orders differ in leadership, lineages, practices, and religious discipline. Yet informants described continued participation in shared religious and community activities. These circumstances suggest that relationships between followers depend notonly on identical devotional practices but also on values and habits cultivated in everyday community life.

Social Sufism helps explain connections between spiritual experience and social conduct. Sufism concerns not only inner cultivation through dhikr and worship but may also be expressed through humility, compassion, and respect for others. Azis and colleagues' study of socio-Sufism *among Indonesian*tariqa practitioners illustrates the relevance of spiritual life to practitioners' social behavior.[11] Astuti and colleagues likewise examine the Sufi thought of Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari in relation to Islamic education and religious tolerance.[12] These studies offer a basis for interpreting Sufism as spiritual experience with ethical implications for communal life.

In Banjarejo, connections between spiritual and social life can be seen in residents' participation in public religious gatherings, Islamic festivals, grave visits, and communal mosque maintenance, as described by informants (Table 2). These events create spaces for meeting without requiring shared tariqa affiliation. Rohmawati and Zulkifli's study of Sufi orders and social change in Indonesia identifies connections between tariqa life and education, philanthropy, economic activity and social transformation.[13] Hakim and Amaniah similarly examine the development of Sufi da'wah from ritual practice toward social engagement, including community services and economic empowerment [14] Nevertheless, participation in shared activities in Banjarejo cannot be attributed entirely to tariqa teachings: kinship, residential proximity, and established community habits may also shape social interactions.

Mursyids also influence these relationships. According to informants, spiritual guides encourage followers not to regard their own tariqa as superior to others. Such guidance suggests that tariqa leadership may convey moral messages about communal relations as well as

[11] Azis et al., "Socio-Sufism Practices within the Indonesia ' s Tariqah Practitioners."
[12] astuti Et Al., "Interpretation Of Tasawwuf In Islamic Education To Improve Religious Tolerance."
[13] Rohmawati, "Social Change and the Role of Sufi Orders in Indonesia : A Systematic Literature Review In Indonesian society , Sufism plays a significant role that extends beyond religious."
[14] Budi Rahman Hakim, "Sufism in Indonesia and Its Impact On the Revival of the Islamic Social Da ' wah Sufisme di Indonesia dan Dampaknya Terhadap Kebangkitan Dakwah Sosial Islam," *Jurnal Kajian Dakwah dan Kemasyarakatan* 29, no. 1 (2025): 1–23, https://doi.org/http://doi.org/10.15408/dakwah.v29i1.153113.

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instruction in devotional practice. Abitolkha, Muvid, and Lubis highlight the socio-political roles of Sufi orders in the Indonesian archipelago.[15] Although the study focuses on the socio-political dimension, the discussion reminds that the life of the tariqat is not limited to the development of internal rituals.

Social Sufism therefore provides a lens for understanding how spiritual commitment may be connected with social conduct. In Banjarejo, this connection is apparent in shared activities and the moral messages expressed by mursyids. Yet the relationship between spiritual values and harmony must be considered alongside other factors found in the field. The next section examines Sufi ethics and responses to difference to explain how followers maintain commitment to their own devotional practices while respecting other groups.

B. Sufi Ethics and Responses to Differences between Orders

The difference between the Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah Tarekat and the Akmaliyah Tarekat can be seen in the aspects of genealogy, practice, leadership, and worship discipline (Table 1). These differences are part of the identity of each tarekat and do not in themselves become a social problem. Problems can arise when the identity of a group is used to demean or consider other groups inferior. Based on the informant's statement, there are no reports of open conflicts that are directly caused by the differences between the two institutes. Therefore, attention in this discussion is directed to the way in which the congregation maintains their beliefs in their own practices without using differences as an excuse to limit social relationships.

Imam al-Ghazali's thoughts on the purification of the soul (*tazkiyat al-nafs*) can be used as a framework to read the moral dimension of the matter. Purification of the soul is concerned with efforts to improve the mind and control the despicable qualities that can affect one's behavior. In intergroup relationships, arrogance, condescending to others, and feeling right have the potential to inhibit the growth of respect for others. [16] This framework is used as an analytical tool to understand the importance of self-control when one is faced with differences, not to state that the congregation of the two institutes directly applied the theory of al-Ghazali in their interactions.

[15] Amir Maliki Abitolkha dan Muhamad Basyrul Muvid, "REVITALIZING NATIONAL POLITICAL VALUES THROUGH THE SOCIO-POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE TAREKAT," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 20, no. 02 (2020): 373–98, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21154/altahrir.v20i2.2140.
[16] Al-Ghazali, *Kitāb Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.

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The ethical importance of responding to difference is also discussed by Siswanto, Fawaid, and Hadi inresearch on religious moderation in pesantren. They show how exemplary conduct by kiai and the study of religious texts can promote tolerance *and openness*toward *ikhtilaf*.[17] Hasan and Qomariyah, *meanwhile, examine* the Madurese concept of *taretan dhibi'* as a framework for maintaining fraternal relations amid diversity.[18] Neither study directly investigates relations between tariqa followersin Banjarejo,but both provide comparisons for understanding how moral values and community practices may support respect for difference.

In the present study, an ethic of difference emerges in accounts of mursyids' guidance against self-righteousness and disparagement of other groups. Such guidance suggests that confidence in one's own devotional practices may coexist with respect for other people's spiritual choices. Followers need not adopt another order's rituals to maintain good relationships, attend communal events, or cooperate in community affairs. Tariqa identity is preserved but does not necessarily define the boundaries of everyday social interaction.

Differences in practice should also be understood within the traditions of the respective orders. Rosidi's study of *suluk* in the Naqsyabandiyah Al-Kholidiyah Jalaliyyah order shows that retreats have not only spiritual significance but also implications for social ties and solidarity among members.[19] Sahri likewise examines the role of Sufi orders in strengthening nationalism in Indonesia, showing that tariqa life has dimensions beyond ritual observance [20] These studies do not directly establish tolerance between NK and Akmaliyah followers but help situate tariqa practices within broader social contexts.

Harmony in the midst of differences can also be understood as the result of social habits built through daily interactions. Muhsin, Maimun, and Ma'mun show that social, cultural, and religious relationships maintained through the practice of living together can form a habitus of harmony in village communities. This perspective helps to explain the life of the tarekat

[17] The Students Behavior, Ahmad Fawaid, dan Saiful Hadi, "LEARNING THE ISLAMIC MODERATION IN PESANTREN : The Construction of Kiai ' s Thought about Islamic Moderation and Its Implication on," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 11, no. 1 (2024): 121–38, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v7i1.2762.
[18] Nor Hasan dan Nurul Qomariyah, "The Concept of Taretan Dhibi' in the Frame of Madurese Religious Moderation," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 10, no. 2 (2023): 120–38, https://doi.org/10.24252/.v6i2.1402.4.
[19] Imron Rosidi, "The Suluk Ritual in the Tradition of the Tariqa (Sufi Order) Naqsyabandiyyah Al-Kholidiyyah Jalaliyyah in Indonesia," *An-Najah University Journal for Research–B (Humanities)* 38, no. 4 (2024): 819–836, https://doi.org/10.35552/0247.38.4.2186.
[20] Cogent Social Sciences, "The role of Tharîqat in strengthening nationalism in Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2024), https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2347010.

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congregation in Banjarejo. Differences in practice and leadership do not necessarily give birth to social distance because daily interactions, mutual respect, and involvement in community life become a space to maintain intergroup relationships.[21]

Sufi ethics thus illuminate the moral dimension of negotiating differences between orders. The central issue is not uniformity of practice but the capacity for self-restraint, avoidance of disparaging other groups, and respect for distinct spiritual commitments. Whereas social Sufism connects spiritual values with social behavior, an ethic of difference more specifically explains how moral values can inform encounters between followers with different devotional practices.

C. Sufi Orders as Social Capital in Sustaining Cross-Community Interaction

Social relations amongfollowers require more than moral values: they also depend on meeting places and networks that enable repeated interaction. Relations between Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah and Akmaliyah followers can therefore be examined through the lens of social capital. This section focuses on networks, trust, and cooperation that allow residents to remain connected across tariqa affiliations.

Tungkagi and Sila's research on managing ethnoreligious diversity in the Dumoga transmigration area shows how mutual assistance and a shared sense of belonging can provide social capital for intergroup relations.[22] Meanwhile, Mahmudin and his colleagues examined social cohesion in the midst of religious diversity through a comparison of the Sunda Wiwitan communities in Kuningan and Cimahi.[23] The two studies provide a comparison to understand that good relationships do not only depend on common identity, but also on the beliefs and habits of cooperation that grow in people's lives.

In Banjarejo, the meeting room is seen through public recitation, celebration of Islamic holidays, grave pilgrimage, and mosque service work (Table 2). These activities allow residents to interact outside the internal environment of their respective institutes. If they take place

[21] Ilyya Muhsin dan Achmad Maimun, "Habitus of Interreligious Harmony in a Central Java Village," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 2 (2024): 579–610, https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol23.iss2.art3.
[22] Prodi Sosiologi Agama et al., "Baku Tolong, Torang Samua Basudara: Modal Sosial dan Titik Temu dalam Mengelola Keragaman Etnoreligius di Wilayah Transmigrasi Dumoga, Sulawesi Utara," *Harmoni* 21, no. 1 (2022): 1–24, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v21i1.608.
[23] Dedi Slamet Riyadi, "KOHESI SOSIAL DAN KEBERAGAMAN AGAMA : STUDI PERBANDINGAN MODAL SOSIAL SUNDA WIWITAN KUNINGAN DAN CIMAHI , JAWA BARAT SOCIAL COHESION AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY : COMPARISON STUDY OF SOCIAL CAPITAL SUNDA WIWITAN KUNINGAN AND CIMAHI , WEST JAVA," *Penamas* 34, no. 2 (2021): 181–202, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31330/penamas.v34i2.518.

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repeatedly, these interactions can expand social networks and facilitate coordination in joint activities. Rois and his colleagues' research on youth-based peacebuilding in Central Java shows that intergroup contact and social capital can support conflict prevention efforts and strengthen cross-group relationships.[24] Meanwhile, Abubakar, Ikhwan, and Sugiarso show that the implementation of joint traditions can strengthen kinship relationships, increase social interaction, and strengthen cooperation in the community.[25]

Pertiwi and Faturochman's research on the integration of social identity in inter-religious relations in rural Central Java also shows that the identities of different groups can be maintained within the framework of a broader common identity.[26] These findings are relevant to read the relationship between pilgrims in Banjarejo: identity as a member of a particular order does not have to erase identity as a villager who has common interests. However, the existence of an internal network of the tarekat does not automatically indicate the establishment of cross-community relationships. It still needs to be seen from the real involvement of the congregation in activities that go beyond their group.

Economic activity provides another important dimension. Informants described relationships involving assistance during harvests, business capital, and profit-sharing, as referred to in Table 3. Such practices suggest that social relations also develop through the fulfillment of everyday needs. Munandar's study of social movements and philanthropy in the Qadiriyahwa Naqsyabandiyah order shows how tariqa life can include social participation and charitable support.[27] Munandar, Susanto, and Nugroho likewise examine connections between tariqa practice and social piety in Gemutri Hamlet, Sleman, offering a comparison for understanding spiritualpractice and social behavior.[28]

[24] Nur Rois dan Lila Rahmawati, "Youth as Frontline Peacebuilders : Integrating Intergroup Contact and Social Capital to Prevent Religious Conflict in Central Java," *Harmoni* 24, no. 2 (2025): 215–31, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v24i2.887.
[25] Bustami Abubakar, Ikhwan Ikhwan, dan Sugiarso Sugiarso, "Strengthening of Social Cohesion in the Practice of Liké Geleng among the Aneuk Jamè Ethnic Group in Aceh," *JSW: Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo* 5, no. 1 (2021): 15–30, https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2021.5.1.5479.
[26] Ika Hana Pertiwi, "Integration of Social Identities in Interreligious-Group Relations," *Jurnal Psikologi* 50, no. 3 (2023): 219–44, https://doi.org/10.22146/jpsi.86182.
[27] Munandar, "Gerakan Sosial dan Filantropi Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia."
[28] Siswoyo Aris Munandar, Sigit Susanto, "Tarekat qadiriyah wa naqsabandiyah terhadap kesalehan sosial masyarakat dusun gemutri sukoharjo sleman."

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Baried also examines the economic dimension of Sufi orders through research on the social and business activities of the Al-Idrisiyyah order in Indonesia.[29] This study shows that religious affiliation may intersect with economic life. Anas and Adinugraha's research on the Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah da'wah movementin NgrotoVillage, Grobogan, likewise considers a tariqa's involvement in local society.[30] In addition, Hakim and Beck's study of the value of Sufism in contemporary Indonesian social welfare policy provides additional perspective on the relevance of spiritual values in welfare issues.[31] These studies should, however, be used as comparisons rather than direct evidence that identical economic patterns exist in Banjarejo.

Economic relations in Banjarejomust be distinguished according to whether they reinforce solidarity within a tariqa or solidarity across tariqas. Assistance with harvests or business capital can be interpreted as bridging social capital only when there is evidence that providers and recipients belong to different orders. If assistance occurs only among members of the same order, it is more appropriately understood as strengthening internal community bonds. The affiliations of both providers and recipients should therefore be established before extending the analysis beyond what the field evidence supports.

Findings concerning economic relations among tariqa followers also indicate that religious networks can provide opportunities for social and economic support. Hakim, Ropi, and Makalalag show that Sufi orders may contribute to welfare not only through spiritual formation but also through social concern, economic support, and community resilience. In Banjarejo, trade and mutualassistance between Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah and Akmaliyah followers suggest that religiously affiliated relationships can develop into forms of cooperation across group boundaries.[32]

The role of mursyids can likewise be understood in relation to community social networks. Their encouragement to maintain good relations may provide followers with moral guidance for

[29] Ariani Barroroh Baried, "SUFISME AND BUSINESS : STUDY OF SOCIAL AND BUSINESS ACTIVITIES OF THE TAREKAT AL-IDRISIYYAH IN INDONESIA," *Jurnal Studi Agama dan Masyarakat* 18, no. 2 (2022): 116–29, https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v16i1.1833.
[30] Anas dan Adinugraha, "Gerakan Dakwah Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Grobogan."
[31] Budi Rahman Hakim dan Herman L. Beck, "Sufistication of Social Welfare Policies in Contemporary Indonesia : Recalibrating Policy Ethics through Tasawuf-based Values," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Indonesia (JISI)* 6, no. 2 (2025): 16–27, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15408/jisi.v6i2.50028.
[32] Budi Rahman Hakim, Ismatu Ropi, dan Panji Putrawan Makalalag, "Social Welfare and the Role of Sufi Orders in Indonesia : A Systematic Literature Review," *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 14, no. 2 (2025): 353–78, https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v14i2.29071.

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social interaction. Yet the sustainability of these relationships does not depend on religious leaders alone. Residential proximity, kinship, shared activities, and ordinary economic interests may also contribute to maintaining ties among residents.

Social capital thus helps explain how relations among followers are maintained through networks, trust, and cooperation. It complements social Sufism, which focuses on the orientation of spiritual values, and Sufi ethics, which addresses responses to difference. Together, these perspectives suggest that harmony among multiple Sufi orders does not require uniform devotional practices; it can be sustained through shared values, mutual respect, and opportunities for continued cooperation.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that social harmony between followers of the Naqsabandiyah Kholidiyah (NK) and Akmaliyah (A) orders in Banjarejo Village, Gabus District, Grobogan Regency, persists despite differences in leadership, spiritual lineages, devotional practices, religious discipline, and followers' social backgrounds. These differences do not necessarily obstruct social interaction because community relations are shaped not only by tariqa affiliation but also by participation in religious events, community life, and economic activities. Three principal factors support these relationships.

First, shared religious and community activities—including Mawlid celebrations,Baritan, dibaan, visits to graves, public religious gatherings, and communal mosque maintenance—offer opportunities for people with different tariqa affiliations to meet. Second, mursyids' understanding of the tariqa as a path toward closeness to Allah, rather than an assertion of group superiority, provides a moral basis for respecting differences in spiritual practice. Third, socioeconomic ties between farmers and traders reflect interconnected interests in the supply of seeds and fertilizers and the purchase of harvested crops. These economic relations demonstrate that everyday activities can create opportunities for cooperation across tariqa identities, although the scope and durability of such cooperation require further investigation.

Theoretically, the study contributes to the sociology of religion and Islamic Studies by combining social Sufism, Sufi ethics, and social capital to examine harmony between religious communities. Social Sufism helps interpret the relationship between spiritual orientations and social participation; Sufi ethics highlights self-restraint and avoidance of claims to superiority in

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responding to differences; and social capital draws attention to networks, meeting spaces, and cooperation in sustaining community relations. The study's principal contribution is to show that inter-tariqa harmony does not require uniform religious practice, but may be maintained through social encounters, respect for differences, and interconnected everyday interests. It thereby extends research on Sufi orders beyond doctrines and rituals toward relations among their practitioners. Nevertheless, these findings must be understood within the study's specific setting and the testimony collected over three months, given that the research did not involve intensive direct observation or a systematic assessment of conflict dynamics. Further research could involve more informants from both orders, examine networks of inter-tariqa assistance in greater detail, and investigate tensions not captured in existing accounts, thereby providing a fuller understanding of how harmony emerges and endures in communities comprising multiple Sufiorders.

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