



SOUND HOREG AND RITUAL SUMMONS: A PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF TOLERANCE IN INDONESIA THROUGH THE ABU DHABI DOCUMENT

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Abstract

The public debate over the fatwa declaring Sound Horeg haram has sparked new reflections on shared spaces in Indonesia's diverse society. Sujiwo Tejo refers to this phenomenon as audio pollution, comparable to the ritual religious calls that often ring out at certain times of day, highlighting the need for careful discussion in reconsidering the use of loudspeakers in public spaces for the sake of communal harmony and justice. This phenomenon shows that religious practices can cause social friction when public spaces are not managed fairly for all citizens. This paper analyzes the dynamics of religious tolerance in Indonesia through a literature review and analysis of relevant literature, using the 2019 Abu Dhabi Document as an ethical foundation that emphasizes human brotherhood and rejects the manipulation of religion. The findings show that the roots of intolerance often stem from a narrow understanding of faith and the interests of religious elites that have the potential to divide unity. Nevertheless, sincere and constructive dialogue is the way to foster mutual respect and strengthen peaceful coexistence amid diversity.

Keywords: *Interreligious Dialogue, Pluralism, Local Wisdom, Faith, Society*

Abstrak

Perdebatan publik mengenai fatwa haram terhadap *Sound Horeg* menghadirkan refleksi baru tentang ruang kebersamaan dalam masyarakat majemuk Indonesia. Sujiwo Tejo menyebut fenomena tersebut sebagai polusi audio yang sejajar dengan panggilan ritual keagamaan yang kerap berkumandang pada jam tertentu, sehingga perlu diskusi yang matang dalam mempertimbangkan kembali perijinan penggunaan alat pengeras suara yang diperuntukkan bagi panggilan ritual tersebut demi kebaikan hidup bersama dan demi keadilan. Fenomena ini memperlihatkan bahwa hidup keagamaan memiliki potensi menimbulkan gesekan sosial di Indonesia yang dikenal sebagai negara kesatuan bersemboyan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Tulisan ini bertujuan menganalisis praktik toleransi beragama di Indonesia dalam lima tahun terakhir dengan metode studi pustaka dan analisis literatur yang relevan, termasuk dokumen Abu Dhabi 2019 yang menekankan persaudaraan manusia dan penolakan manipulasi agama. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa akar intoleransi sering bersumber dari pemahaman dangkal terhadap iman yang dianut serta kepentingan elit keagamaan yang berpotensi memecah persatuan dan keguyuban hidup antaragama di bumi Indonesia. Kendati demikian dialog penuh kasih dan konstruktif mampu menjadi jawaban yang dapat mereduksi sikap intoleran.

Kata Kunci: *Dialog Interreligijs, Pluralisme, Kearifan Lokal, Iman, Societas*



A. Introduction

Indonesia is a multicultural, multireligious, multilingual country, and there are many more “multi” attributes that can be attached to it. Arum mentioned that the main consequences that always attach to multidimensional communities are ethnocentrism, primordialism, national disintegration, conflicts between the majority and minority, and primordialism (Arum, 2020). Pancasila, as the state ideology, provides an ideal way of life for all citizens so that they can live in harmony and unity, respecting and complementing one another. However, this idealism appears to be too lofty to implement, even though the country has been independent for 80 years. When the majority group criticizes the policies of the minority, it is referred to as an effort to seek justice, but when the opposite occurs, it is referred to as blasphemy against the beliefs of the majority group.

Building on the challenges of intolerance in diverse communities, one prominent issue that has sparked public debate is the Sound Horeg phenomenon and its impact on the surrounding community. *Sound Horeg* is the name given to mass parades that use high-powered audio systems. *Sound Horeg* is often used to enliven various events such as weddings and carnivals in Indonesia. *Horeg*, in Javanese, means “to vibrate.” The vibrations produced by the bass audio waves in the songs that are commonly performed or played in *Sound Horeg* activities can shake and even damage parts of the structure of simple village houses, such as windows, roofs, and even walls, which are often the location of *Sound Horeg* events (Ekatari, 2025). Fikri, Didik, dan Hasan argue that this activity is an expression of identity and a form of community solidarity, a place for the younger generation to be creative, not just a competition of technology and sound aesthetics (Fikri et al., 2025).

Nevertheless, this cultural performance has drawn harsh criticism regarding the audio pollution it causes. As reported by Pradipta Mustika that the noise pollution generated by the giant audio system parade, which reached 130 dB, twice as dangerous as the maximum audio wave that humans can tolerate, has caused various public losses such as property damage and even threatened and claimed the life of a young mother in Lumajang Regency due to a heart attack (Mustika, 2025). Responding to these cases, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) of East Java on Sunday, July 1st 2025, issued a *fatwa* declaring the use of *Sound Horeg* as an expression of community identity in competitions or public events to be *haram*, on the grounds that such activities cause social harm, disrupt moral order, and are considered a form of sin.

This fatwa announcement subsequently ignited discussions extending beyond *Sound Horeg*, particularly about the use of loudspeakers in Islamic places of worship such as mosques and prayer rooms. A discussion held by tvOne on July 22, 2025, in the *Catatan Demokrasi* program ignited Sujiwo Tejo, an Indonesian cultural observer, who commented that it is not only *Sound Horeg* that causes unrest among residents as a source of audio pollution, but also loudspeakers in places of worship that are used for ritual calls. He noted that this phenomenon also needs to be addressed as a shared concern, not merely as a minor issue that can be easily overlooked.



This discussion then raises the question of whether the practice of using loudspeakers triggers intolerance towards non-Muslim communities. During his visit to Abu Dhabi in 2019, Pope Francis produced a document of peace for the world, emphasizing the role of religion as an instrument that brings people to true peace in their lives together. Pope Francis said that freedom is everyone's right, therefore forcing others to follow a particular religion or culture must be rejected, the same applies to forcing a way of life (Fransiskus, 2019). The fact on the ground is that minority voices are often ignored and dismissed. When minorities criticize the majority, they call it blasphemy, but when the opposite happens, they call it “Syiar” (preaching).

In response to the increasing issues of intolerance in Indonesia, especially concerning public noise from Sound Horeg and mosque loudspeakers, this article presents a philosophical study grounded in the framework of the Abu Dhabi Document on Human Fraternity. This document, a landmark interfaith agreement between Pope Francis and Grand Imam Ahmed Al-Tayyeb, emphasizes conscience, mutual respect, and active brotherhood as foundational to peaceful coexistence.

Tolerance is conceptualized here not as a passive acceptance, but as an active ethical commitment grounded in moral philosophy and social ethics, demanding respect for religious diversity while balancing social harmony. Indonesia's pluralistic society requires such a normative foundation to sustain peace and religious moderation (Abdullah & Irhamna, 2023; Situmorang & Dewantara, 2020).

Dialogue emerges as an essential philosophical tool, characterized by courageous intellectual engagement and open communication that dismantles prejudices and fosters mutual understanding (A. Riyanto, 2018b). This approach resonates with the Abu Dhabi Document's call for cooperation among faiths to build brotherhood and social justice, principles deeply rooted in the ethics of human fraternity (Mujianto & Saputro, 2021; Ndururu & Siboro, 2023).

The philosophical framework here thus intervenes into current social phenomena by advocating a balanced ethical approach to the right of religious expression and the right to communal peace in Indonesia's diverse religious landscape. This article will discuss the polemic of intolerance in Indonesia that affects the harmony of coexistence in society. Focusing on the debate between the noise created by the *Sound Horeg* phenomenon and that created by loudspeakers used in certain houses of worship for ritual summons, the author will seek efforts to restore tolerance in Indonesian society in light of Pope Francis' peace document during his visit to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in 2019.

B. Method

The research will be conducted using a literature review method, text comparison literature related to history, regulations, testimonies, and criticism of the use of loudspeakers outdoors. This study adopts a qualitative philosophical research methodology with a systematic literature review as its primary method. The literature



includes peer-reviewed academic journals, foundational philosophical texts on ethics and religious tolerance, and official documents including the Abu Dhabi Document. Analysis is conducted through philosophical hermeneutics aimed at interpreting the normative and ethical implications of the phenomena of Sound Horeg and ritual calls, situating them within the broader discourse of religious tolerance and social coexistence. This method ensures that findings are grounded in rigorous theoretical inquiry rather than mere descriptive accounts or journalistic reports.

In addition to these methods, the study incorporates the *Straussian method* as an analytical and writing style framework. Grounded theory, as developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998), is a qualitative research methodology that involves the systematic generation of theory from data through iterative processes of coding, constant comparison, and theoretical sampling. Strauss and Corbin emphasize that grounded theory “denotes theoretical constructs derived from qualitative analysis” and is guided by the core methodological principles of coding, concept development, and integration of categories to form a coherent theory (Kholifatun & Rahman, 2023; Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 51).

This Straussian approach allows for a non-linear, at times seemingly fragmented narrative style, which nonetheless converges on a focused theoretical insight. In this article, it is reflected in the interpretative style that embraces complexity and multidimensionality, focusing on dialogue as a practical philosophical solution to promote tolerance in Indonesia. The approach integrates diverse sources and perspectives while maintaining a cohesive focus on the ethical imperative of dialogue within religious plurality. Thus, the methodological framework combines systematic literature review, comparative textual analysis, and Straussian hermeneutic strategies to provide a nuanced and robust philosophical critique aligned with the article’s thematic objectives.

C. Results and Discussion

Religion is believed to be a source of guidance for individuals and groups, serving to regulate relationships between humans (horizontal) and with God (vertical) (Tampubolon, 2023). Building on this foundational role of religion, the state guarantees its citizens the right to embrace and practice their respective religions. The state guarantees its citizens the right to embrace and practice their respective religions. The state's guarantee of citizens' right to embrace and worship is regulated in Article 29, second paragraph, of the 1945 Constitution (read: *Undang-Undang Dasar*), which reads, “The state guarantees the freedom of each citizen to embrace his or her respective religion and to worship according to that religion and belief” (*Negara menjamin kemerdekaan tiap-tiap penduduk untuk memeluk agamanya masing-masing dan untuk beribadat menurut agama dan kepercayaannya itu*).

However, the implementation of these regulations remains far from ideal, as observed in field data. The facts found in the field conclude that the regulations proposed in the law are still far from being “realized.” The data provided in the introduction shows



that the level of tolerance among Indonesians in terms of coexisting with those of different beliefs is still relatively low (Aranditio, 2023; Setiawan et al., 2023). In this context of persisting intolerance, the Sound Horeg phenomenon has sparked heated debate

Recently, there has been heated discussion about the *Sound Horeg* phenomenon that went viral in East Java, along with all the controversy it created. This cultural expression among youth has attracted both admiration and criticism. This phenomenon raises questions about why it has attracted so much attention, especially from relevant experts, who link it to the culture of tolerance in Indonesia and the contribution of spiritual institutions in responding to this phenomenon. Therefore, the author will address the reasons behind this discussion by comprehensively examining the polemic created by the *Sound Horeg* phenomenon and comparing it with the polemic created by one of the contributors to noise pollution that is often in the spotlight but rarely discussed, namely mosque loudspeakers.

The *Sound Horeg* phenomenon emerged in East Java as a form of popular cultural expression among the younger generation, who creatively utilize high-powered audio technology to gather and connect with others as a community. The roots of this phenomenon can be traced to several key factors. These activities generally take the form of convoys, festivals, competitions between sound systems, or simply collective entertainment in villages or rural areas.

The roots of this phenomenon stem from three main factors. First, young people's creativity in expressing themselves through technology, particularly their interest in electronic music and modern audio devices. Nevertheless, the expressions of this new culture have raised concerns. Second, community solidarity, as this phenomenon has become a platform for fostering togetherness, especially among rural and suburban youth. Third, young people need a space to express their social freedom beyond conventional moral boundaries and religious authority.

Young people are seen as the main promoters of this phenomenon because this opportunity allows them to express their identity and creativity together, rather than simply creating noise (Werdiono, 2025). In addition, this phenomenon also serves as a means of communication and entertainment for local communities with lifestyles influenced by digital culture, as well as a symbolic arena for the younger generation to negotiate the meaning of freedom of expression in the use of technology. This is a new culture for them.

Unfortunately, their expressions are considered to be inappropriate for the place or venue, resulting in a variety of problems arising from their actions. One of the debates arising from this phenomenon is in the social and religious fields. This has led to moral condemnation and formal responses such as fatwas. This phenomenon creates public disorder and environmental noise due to the use of extreme bass at night and damage to both public facilities and private property, especially in villages or rural areas (Pradana, 2025). Moreover, moral criticism from religious institutions, especially in areas with many Islamic boarding schools such as Pasuruan and Probolinggo, has condemned this



phenomenon as a sin. In turn, a fatwa declaring it haram was issued by several Islamic boarding schools with the support of the East Java Indonesian Ulema Council in 2024, on the grounds that this phenomenon causes moral decay (Fikri et al., 2025).

It seems unfair to immediately claim that *Sound Horeg* should be categorized as a contributor to audio pollution that requires follow-up action from the community. Outdoor loudspeakers used in Muslim places of worship also need to be taken into consideration, without intending to disrespect or offend these customs. Outdoor loudspeakers in mosque, first used since 1930s, have become symbols of religious identity but also sources of noise complaints in multicultural areas (Muzaky & Muslim, 2023).

It is good to integrate technology into everyday life, but it cannot be denied that there will always be shortcomings in every integration. In this case, the use of outdoor loudspeakers in mosques has also attracted criticism and public problems, especially in urban areas with multicultural communities living in them. The disturbances caused are related to noise and irregular use. The volume is considered too high, and its use outside the context of worship is seen as intolerant towards neighbors. Noise complaints from mosque loudspeakers have led to social tensions in multicultural urban areas, prompting government regulations (Khoeroen, 2022; W. F. Riyanto, 2024).

In response to this polemic, the government, through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, issued a regulation governing the procedures and volume of loudspeaker use in mosques and similar places of worship, as well as the hours of use (Winanda & Alam, 2025). In addition to formal policies, the government also conducted social dialogues, such as those held in Gorontalo, in an effort to respect non-local residents. Consultations were also held in order to preserve religious traditions and local wisdom without disturbing the comfort of local residents (Gandhawangi, 2025; Manumoyoso, 2025; Ramadhan, 2022)

A culturalist, artist, writer, painter, musician, and puppeteer, Sujiwo Tejo speaks out for the aspirations of minority groups who are victims of the audio pollution described above. He believes that it is not only *Sound Horeg* that causes noise pollution, but also ritual summons from places of worship. He made this statement during a talkshow called *Catatan Demokrasi* on Tuesday, July 22, 2025. The episode was titled “*Dikecam, Sound Horeg difatwa Haram* (Condemned, *Sound Horeg* Declared Haram.” The event was also attended by the Head of the East Java Indonesian Ulema Council Fatwa, the Deputy Governor of East Java, *Sound Horeg* entrepreneurs, and an otolaryngologist. According to Sujiwo, noise pollution is not just a matter of *Sound Horeg*. Ritual summons at places of worship can also be disruptive. This certainly deprives citizens of different beliefs of their sonic rights. Sonic rights are the rights of every person to live without noise from loudspeakers (Mediastika, 2022).

One of the participants in the discussion asked for confirmation that what Sujiwo meant was the call to prayer (Adzan). Sujiwo confirmed this by adding that some Muslim leaders did indeed consider the ritual summons in places of worship to be acceptable, but



that once the event had begun, it would be better to use a loudspeaker inside the building, as there would certainly be people outside the place of worship who did not want to hear the sound. Sujiwo reiterated his question: if both the ritual call and the sound of the horeg are equally disruptive, why are there two different policies regarding these two things? Sujiwo questioned the fairness of these two things.

Sujiwo emphasized that he is not against the ritual summons or the Adzan, but that its use must be considered and attention must be paid to those who may be disturbed by the noise generated by this activity, such as people who want to study, rest, read, or do other activities without being disturbed. Sujiwo added that noise pollution must be assessed based on its impact on the public, not on the sacred or profane status of the source of the noise. This statement touches on a sensitive issue that many parties often avoid, namely the double standard in assessing noise pollution. If the Indonesian Ulema Council dares to label *Sound Horeg* as haram and classify it as a contributor to audio pollution, the same logical measure must also apply to other sources of noise, including loudspeakers installed in places of worship, especially when the volume exceeds the public's comfort level.

The World Health Organization (WHO) recommends noise exposure of no more than 55 dB during the day and no more than 40 dB at night. These limits are considered to prevent stress, sleep disturbance, and decreased concentration (NN, 2025). Exposure to noise levels exceeding 70 dB for long periods of time can potentially damage hearing, and noise levels exceeding 55 dB at night can disturb sleep.

Adzan using outdoor loudspeakers can reach 70 to 90 dB at a distance of 50 meters, while *Sound Horeg* near residential areas can reach more than 100 dB, but usually only during events. The Ministry of Religious Affairs has issued Circular Letter No. 05 of 2022 regarding the provisions for the use of outdoor loudspeakers in mosques and prayer rooms, namely a maximum of 100 dB with the condition that they must be adjusted as needed, be of good quality, not be discordant, and the sound produced must be pronounced properly and correctly (Khoeroen, 2022). The function of this letter is not as a prohibition, but as an appeal to interested parties to regulate properly in order to improve peace in the community.

The reality on the ground shows that some regions with Muslim-majority populations consider criticism of mosque loudspeakers to be anti-Islamic (Ramadhan, 2022). In fact, the criticism is aimed at the technical aspects, not the substance of worship. This issue is still prone to being politicized into a dualism of defending Islam and attacking Islam. Sujiwo continued that regulating mosque loudspeakers does not mean reducing the value of worship, but rather adjusting its implementation in public spaces so that all citizens feel comfortable. Without the courage to regulate this, sound regulations will be imbalanced. People will be harsh on profane music, but lenient on mosque loudspeakers.

A solutive response that can be taken is to agree on standardized rules regarding the volume and timing of loudspeaker use in public spaces in an equitable and consistent



manner. Sujiwo concluded his argument by stating that noise pollution knows no religion or entertainment. If we want to be fair, all sources of noise that disturb the public must be regulated in the same way. It is true that Adzan is a noble thing, but its delivery in public spaces must still maintain the comfort of everyone.

Philosophically, tolerance is more than mere passive acceptance; it represents an active ethical stance that balances the freedom of religious expression with the need for social order and communal well-being. The principles enshrined in the *Document on Human Fraternity* (commonly known as the Abu Dhabi Document), co-signed by Pope Francis and Grand Imam Ahmed Al-Tayyeb, emphasize human fraternity, mutual respect, and cooperation as fundamental to peaceful coexistence (Fransiskus, 2019). This normative foundation situates tolerance as an ethical balancing act that honors individual rights to worship while maintaining societal harmony.

The Sound Horeg phenomenon and the use of mosque loudspeakers represent competing expressions of cultural and religious identity and require reconciliation that respects both rights and communal comfort. This nuanced understanding calls for a contextually grounded ethical appraisal that recognizes historical, technological, and social factors, moving beyond simplistic dichotomies.

Moreover, effective governance and legal measures concerning these issues must be framed within ethical jurisprudence consistent with pluralism and justice. Generalizations based solely on particular cases risk undermining objective and fair resolutions (Daffa, 2023; Situmorang & Dewantara, 2020).

The 2021 religious moderation index study by Alvara shows that religious tolerance scored the lowest (60.6%) compared to the other four indicators, namely national commitment, anti-violence, and concern for local culture. Although, based on the same study, people in rural areas are far more tolerant (67.03%) than those in urban areas, campaigns for religious moderation that emphasize the value of tolerance need to continue to be echoed (Anna Maria Rosita KW & Yosep Belen Keban, 2023). Religious tolerance in Indonesia faces serious challenges from identity politics and narrow religious understanding. Strengthening multicultural education and managing differences wisely so that national life remains harmonious is one of the efforts that can be implemented structurally and periodically (Hilmy, 2022).

In practical philosophy, tolerance can be understood as the principle of freedom of thought and, in turn, as the principle of freedom of belief or religion without coercion. John Locke viewed it as a natural human right to seek salvation without interference from institutions (church and/or state). Voltaire argued that tolerance is a rational virtue that opposes fanaticism and violence in the name of absolute truth. Herbert Marcuse believed that true tolerance only has meaning if it sides with freedom and rejects the oppression hidden within social systems. Henry Kamen, reflecting on the long history of the European Reformation, saw tolerance as the result of a political compromise to end religious wars, rather than something born of love or universal ethical morals. These philosophical reflections align with viewing tolerance as a natural human right (Locke),



a rational virtue opposing fanaticism (Voltaire), and a critical social emancipation from oppression (Marcuse). Such perspectives enrich this study's thematic core, framing tolerance as a commitment to liberty, justice, and shared humanity, rather than mere coexistence (Kamen, 2025; Voltaire, 2020; Voltaire & Locke, 2021; Voltaire & Marcuse, 2023).

During his visit to Abu Dhabi, Pope Francis left an important message for the world about the importance of tolerance in coexistence. In a dialogue between Pope Francis and Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Ahmed Al-Tayyed, it was mentioned that the most fundamental thing in coexistence is conscience (Fransiskus, 2019). A call to live together as brothers and sisters who believe in God, promoting cooperation in spreading a culture of tolerance and peace (Art. 15).

Tolerance is an attitude of mutual respect and appreciation between religions or different religions in order to foster a sense of peace so that there are no more disputes. Instilling an attitude of tolerance, such as respecting and loving fellow believers of other religions, is an important part of applying the values of religious moderation in Indonesia. The goal of developing tolerance among religious communities amid diversity is to enable everyone to strengthen brotherhood, create peace, respect each other's differences, and foster harmony (Abdullah & Irhamna, 2023).

One solution that the author proposes to build tolerance is dialogue. Dialogue primarily means having the courage to challenge or criticize something that is intellectually unacceptable. The dimension of dialogue lies in the effort to free the subject from the shackles of fear of expressing aspirations. Dialogue also aims to free others from rigid mindsets and cultural legacies that are closed to the novelty of the age (Agu, 2024; A. Riyanto, 2018a; F. Riyanto, 2025). Dialogue is a means of providing understanding and insight into values, teachings, and life for the common good. Interfaith dialogue needs to be practiced in everyday life because it can create a broad space for tolerance in a diverse society. Interfaith dialogue does not aim to weaken or hide each other's beliefs, but rather it is a meeting in a very broad area concerning shared values in the spiritual, humanitarian, and social fields that can be used to spread the values of goodness taught by religions. Only through sincere and genuine dialogue can every believer build human civilization, with an attitude of mutual trust, respect, and understanding despite differences in identity (Ndururu & Siboro, 2023).

The Abu Dhabi Document underlines that brotherhood and cooperation among religious communities are the path to world peace. Thus, the sacred duty of believers in dialogue with those of other faiths in Indonesia is to foster mutual respect, develop a spirit of tolerance, and work together to build a fruitful life. The Abu Dhabi Document's advocacy for brotherhood and cooperation among religious communities presents dialogue not only as an ideal moral principle but as a practical means of managing diversity and fostering productive coexistence in Indonesia (Fari, 2025; Mujianto & Saputro, 2021; Tinambunan et al., 2025). Thus, this article champions dialogical



engagement as essential for cultivating respect, tolerance, and social harmony in a pluralist society.

The concept of tolerance is not exclusively championed by Christians; Muslims also champion it. The concept of tolerance is reflected in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, which emphasizes compassion, the prohibition of injustice, and respect for non-Muslims. The Abu Dhabi Document affirms the value of tolerance as the foundation for building a peaceful coexistence. The principle of tolerance in Islam does not mean erasing religious identity, but rather placing differences within the framework of human brotherhood (Daffa, 2023).

D. Conclusion

Living in a multidimensional community never promises a comfortable space to live in. Debates or conflicts will always exist as long as people choose to live side by side with others. *Sound Horeg* and mosque loudspeakers are both rooted in Indonesia's public sound culture, but they originate from two different poles: one from the secular creativity of the younger generation, the other from a cultural religious tradition. Both raise similar issues: noise, public space, and moral boundaries. In the context of Indonesia's multicultural society, both require dialogue-based regulation and local wisdom, not outright prohibition, but rather negotiation between cultural freedom and social harmony.

Engaging in dialogue while maintaining a wide separation or distance between communities is a flawed philosophy. Recognizing ourselves as creations of Absolute Love, Goodness itself, is one way to create a dialogue that strives for the common good, respect for local wisdom values, and a genuine multicultural lifestyle. Recognizing “the other” as ‘me’ who also desires a comfortable space in communal living without erasing local values and religious heritage is an important task in fostering a tolerant community. Conversely, eliminating “the other” as a minority and revoking their right to vote in the context of communal living is a highly intolerant and criminal act. There needs to be a real effort to free people from the shackles of this kind of thinking.

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