Religious Sentiment and Conflict Mitigation in Indonesia: A Qualitative Urban-Rural Case Study

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Abstract

Religious sentiment-based conflicts pose a serious challenge to maintaining social cohesion in Indonesia, a country historically known for its religious and cultural diversity. Religious sentiments emerging in public spaces—whether through direct interactions or digital media—often trigger horizontal tensions, particularly in socially vulnerable areas. This study aims to examine conflict mitigation strategies based on religious sentiment in selected strategic urban and rural regions prone to latent conflict. Employing a qualitative approach with a multi-site case study design, the research was conducted in five areas: Jakarta, Surakarta, Ambon, Poso, and Tasikmalaya. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with religious and community leaders, participatory observation, and analysis of local policy documents. The findings indicate that effective mitigation is strongly influenced by three key factors: the strength of interfaith social networks, the mediation capacity of local actors, and the presence of adaptive policies that respond to local dynamics. In urban areas, the roles of the Interfaith Harmony Forums (FKUB) and digital religious moderation campaigns were pivotal, whereas in rural areas, local wisdom-based approaches and community reconciliation were found to be more effective. This study recommends strengthening local actor capacities and integrating both structural and cultural approaches in the formulation of religious conflict mitigation policies.

Kata kunci: religious conflict, religious sentiment, conflict mitigation, case study, Indonesia, urban-rural, qualitative approach

Introduction

Indonesia is a nation characterized by a high level of religious pluralism, where tolerance and peaceful coexistence have long served as the foundation of national life. However, in recent decades, the potential for religious sentiment-based conflicts has increased, both in tangible and symbolic forms. Social unrest triggered by divergent interpretations, the politicization of religious identities, and the spread of hate speech—especially in digital spaces—reveals the fragility of social cohesion in a multicultural society. This is particularly true in highly dynamic urban contexts and rural areas with distinct local complexities (MITIGASI, t.t.). Religious sentiment no longer merely affects interpersonal relationships but has become a socio-political determinant that impacts community stability. Numerous incidents in Indonesia demonstrate how religious issues are exploited for mass mobilization, often escalating into open and prolonged conflict. This situation demands conflict mitigation strategies that are not merely reactive but grounded in contextual understanding of the socio-cultural roots specific to each region.(Alfari & Hidayat, 2023)

Previous studies have largely focused on religious conflicts at the macro level or in post-major-conflict settings. However, few have examined mitigation approaches within the everyday context of urban and rural communities that face ongoing religiously-driven social tensions. In this context, a deep

understanding is required of how local communities construct social, institutional, and cultural mechanisms to prevent the escalation of conflict into destructive outcomes (Anggraini dkk., 2022).

This study aims to identify and analyze conflict mitigation strategies based on religious sentiment in five strategically selected Indonesian regions that reflect diverse urban and rural characteristics. Using a qualitative approach (Ahmadi & Rose, 2014) and a multi-site case study design, the research explores the roles of local actors, community wisdom, and policy support in fostering resilient social ecosystems capable of withstanding divisive religious sentiments. The study aspires to contribute both theoretically and practically to the development of contextually adaptive religious conflict mitigation policies in Indonesia.

Method

This study employed data triangulation strategies to ensure the validity and depth of understanding regarding the dynamics of religious sentiment-based conflict mitigation in Indonesia. Triangulation was carried out through three main approaches: source triangulation, technique triangulation, and perspective triangulation (AK & ZA, 2015). Source triangulation involved a diverse range of informants from five strategic regions—Jakarta, Surakarta, Ambon, Poso, and Tasikmalaya—representing both urban and rural contexts. Informants included religious leaders, community figures, local government officials, civil society activists, and grassroots community members.

Technically, data were gathered through in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and document analysis of local policies and socio-religious materials, including digital content from religious moderation campaigns. This approach allowed for cross-verification between narrative findings, social practices, and formal policies. Perspective triangulation was also applied to accommodate the diversity of viewpoints arising from varying social, religious, and political backgrounds among informants. Through this strategy, the study captured not only data consistency but also the complex social dynamics within contexts of potential conflict and mitigation efforts. This triangulation approach strengthened the internal

validity of the findings and enabled limited generalization to other regions with similar characteristics (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018).

In qualitative research, triangulation is not merely a technical procedure for increasing data volume; it is an epistemological approach that allows researchers to grasp the complexity of social reality more comprehensively (Asfar & Taufan, 2019). In the context of this study—investigating the mitigation of religious sentiment-based conflict in urban and rural Indonesia—triangulation serves as a key instrument to uncover not only surface-level data but also the layered meanings embedded in social interactions.

By combining source, technique, and perspective triangulation, the study went beyond verifying data across informants or events; it revealed the nuanced and multidimensional nature of conflict. Religious sentiment-based conflict is fundamentally latent and complex—it is not only driven by doctrinal differences, but also shaped by social constructions, power relations, identity perceptions, and the influence of politics and media. A single-method approach would likely yield a reductive understanding. Triangulation enabled a layered exploration of how local actors—religious leaders, youth, civil organizations, and government—perceive conflict, formulate mitigation strategies, and build inter-actor relationships within specific social settings.

Moreover, triangulation highlights how similar mitigation practices can be interpreted differently by actors with distinct backgrounds and interests. For instance, an interfaith forum in an urban city might be seen by one group as a space for democratic deliberation, while another may view it as symbolic co-optation. Such divergences are not necessarily contradictory; instead, they enrich the researcher's understanding of power relations and social dynamics within the community. This is the strength of triangulation: not to unify all voices into a single narrative, but to reveal the spectrum of meaning that shapes the totality of social reality.

By integrating information from various strategic regions, this study generates a strong contextual understanding relevant to the unique social characteristics of each area. Internal validity is strengthened through a complementary multi-faceted approach, while the findings also offer limited generalizability, particularly to regions with similar socio-

cultural and political contexts. This generalizability does not imply statistical inference but rather transferability—the extent to which the findings offer conceptual insights and adaptable strategies applicable in similar contexts.

Thus, triangulation serves not only as a tool for validation, but also as a bridge toward a deeper, more reflective, and critical understanding of the complexities of social relations in a pluralistic society—particularly in the context of sensitive religious issues that have the potential to undermine national social cohesion.

Triangulation in qualitative research goes beyond mere data validation; it functions as both a conceptual and methodological bridge that guides researchers toward a more profound, reflective, and critical comprehension of complex social realities. In the context of studying potential conflicts driven by religious sentiment within a pluralistic society, triangulation offers an analytical framework capable of bridging diverse perceptions, lived experiences, and constructed meanings generated by social actors from varied religious, cultural, and power-based backgrounds.

As emphasized by Norman K. Denzin, one of the leading figures in the qualitative research paradigm, triangulation is not merely about cross-checking data from different sources, but about constructing a "thick description"—a dense and meaningful narrative that reveals the depth of contextual and social interpretation. Denzin (1978) classifies triangulation into four types: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation. This study explicitly adopts data and methodological triangulation, in line with Denzin's principle that a diversity of sources and methods can uncover a more holistic and complex social reality, rather than one that is linear or singular.

Furthermore, Michael Patton (2002), in his seminal work Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods, underscores that validity in qualitative research does not lie in numerical repetition or statistical representation, but rather in the credibility and trustworthiness of the data exploration process—one that is honest and open to the complexities of the social context. In the context of religious sentiment-based conflict, a reflective and perspective-sensitive approach becomes crucial. Patton argues that triangulation should be seen as a strategy for "overcoming the inherent limitations of a single method, source, or perspective."

Additionally, Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba, in their landmark work Naturalistic Inquiry (1985), propose four key criteria for qualitative validity: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Triangulation inherently supports researchers in achieving these criteria. Through triangulation, researchers not only verify data but also create a space for confirming narrative truths through the lens of social pluralism. This is particularly critical in the context of sensitive religious issues, where perceptions of social truth are often subjective, emotional, and even political.

Thus, from the perspective of contemporary qualitative theory, triangulation should not be understood merely as a technical procedure but as an epistemological approach to capturing the complexity of pluralistic societies. It allows researchers to explore the meanings behind social relations, symbolic tensions, and the processes of identity negotiation within communities vulnerable to religious sentiment (Asfar & Taufan, 2019). Through this process, research yields not only valid data but also contributes to a critical understanding of social cohesion mechanisms and the ways communities build resilience amid the threat of division.

Findings

This study reveals that strategies for mitigating religious sentiment-based conflict in Indonesia are significantly shaped by the social context and local characteristics of each research site. Based on analysis across five strategic locations—Jakarta, Surakarta, Ambon, Poso, and Tasikmalaya—three primary factors consistently emerged as critical to effective mitigation: (1) the strength of interfaith social networks, (2) the mediation capacity of local actors, and (3) policy support that is responsive to local dynamics.

In urban areas such as Jakarta and Surakarta, religious sentiment often manifests through the polarization of public opinion on social media, identity-based political campaigns, and inter-organizational religious tensions.

Nevertheless, both cities benefit from relatively strong institutional structures such as the Interfaith Harmony Forum (Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama—FKUB), local mediation agencies, and regional government support through religious moderation initiatives and interfaith digital campaigns. FKUB has proven effective in facilitating dialogue among religious leaders during times of tension. Additionally, youth-led interfaith movements on digital platforms contribute to constructing peace narratives that counteract online religious provocations.

In contrast, in rural areas such as Tasikmalaya, Ambon, and Poso, the potential for conflict tends to be latent, rooted in historical memories and lingering community segregation from previous clashes. In such contexts, successful mitigation approaches rely more heavily on local wisdom, culturally embedded social relations, and participatory reconciliation facilitated by grassroots actors. For instance, in Poso and Ambon, customary rituals and local reconciliation forums have effectively diffused inter-religious tensions, especially when led by socially legitimate traditional and religious leaders. In Tasikmalaya, Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), charismatic religious figures, and community deliberation (musyawarah) serve as vital mechanisms to mediate differences.

A key finding is the central role played by local actors—both formal and informal—in preventing conflict escalation. Religious leaders, teachers, village heads, and community activists act as crucial social nodes capable of bridging tensions and fostering mediation. Across all sites, the presence of respected local figures was essential in generating public trust in peace-building efforts.

Nonetheless, several challenges remain, including weak cross-sectoral coordination and insufficient integration between structural approaches (i.e., formal institutions) and cultural approaches (i.e., local values). In some regions, top-down policy responses lack meaningful community engagement and fail to address the local complexity of religious tensions.

Overall, the findings indicate that the most effective conflict mitigation strategies are those that successfully integrate the strengths of formal institutions with local socio-cultural dynamics, while actively and sustainably engaging actors across multiple levels. This study underscores the importance of designing conflict mitigation policies that are rooted in local contexts and of strengthening social mediation capacities at the grassroots level as a first line of defense against religious sentiments that threaten national social cohesion.

In a pluralistic society like Indonesia, religious sentiment-based conflict mitigation strategies cannot be formulated in a uniform or top-down manner. The complexity of social backgrounds, cultural contexts, and religious dynamics across different regions demands more contextual, participatory, and multilayered approaches. Based on the findings of this study, the most effective mitigation efforts are those that combine the institutional power of formal mechanisms with the adaptive strength of local social and cultural dynamics, involving cross-level actors in an active and continuous process.

Formal institutions such as FKUB, local governments, police, and religious educational institutions play important roles in providing policy frameworks, resources, and structural support. However, these institutions are unlikely to be effective without synergy with informal community forces. Hence, recognizing the importance of charismatic religious leaders, traditional elders, teachers, community organizers, and interfaith youth groups is crucial, as these actors often possess deeper legitimacy at the grassroots level.

Local socio-cultural dynamics are key determinants of mitigation success. In rural areas like Poso and Ambon, reconciliation practices are sustained not only through formal policy but also through local values—such as traditional deliberation, peace-promoting symbols, and inclusive religious practices. These approaches effectively tap into emotional and collective identity aspects that are often overlooked by formal administrative frameworks.

Moreover, successful conflict mitigation depends on multilevel actor involvement—from national, regional, to local community levels. Such collaboration ensures the continuity of mitigation strategies, avoids overlapping policies, and enables timely responses when tensions arise. For example, digital religious moderation campaigns led by ministries or national NGOs must be localized to match

community realities and cultural language to be genuinely accepted and impactful.

Therefore, this study underscores the urgency of designing locally grounded conflict mitigation policies. Generic, centralized policies are unlikely to be effective if they do not engage communities in the formulation process. Bottom-up approaches based on active citizen participation are essential to ensure that mitigation strategies extend beyond policy documents and are embedded in everyday community practices.

In this framework, strengthening social mediation capacity at the grassroots level becomes a priority. Local communities must be positioned as frontline actors in detecting early signs of conflict, mediating tensions, and creating spaces for interfaith dialogue. By empowering communities as the first line of defense, the state can reinforce bottom-up social resilience and engage the public as active partners in safeguarding national unity from divisive religious sentiments.

Diskusi

The findings of this study confirm that religious sentiment-based conflict mitigation in Indonesia cannot be implemented uniformly or through centralized approaches (MITIGASI, t.t.). Instead, the effectiveness of mitigation strategies is largely determined by the ability to integrate formal institutional frameworks with local socio-cultural dynamics, manifested in interfaith networks, peace-oriented community narratives, and inclusive religious practices. These findings align with Lincoln and Guba's (1985) argument on the importance of transferability in qualitative research—that solutions must be tailored to each social context rather than applied universally.

At the level of formal institutions, the presence of Interfaith Harmony Forums (FKUB), local regulations on interreligious harmony, and programs promoting religious moderation offer a structural foundation for conflict prevention. However, in many cases, these structural approaches fail to engage with the cultural dimensions of society unless they are combined with local actors. This reveals a gap between policy frameworks and lived social practices which, if left unaddressed, could weaken mitigation efforts. In this regard, successful strategies are those that bridge formal systems with informal social practices through cross-sectoral collaboration and a shared commitment to peacebuilding (Bakri & Ariadin, 2024).

As Patton (2002) asserts, the strength of qualitative approaches lies in their capacity to capture local nuances. In rural regions like Poso and Ambon, reconciliation is more effectively achieved through local wisdom, such as customary rituals, community-based forums, and historical intergroup relations—rather than through top-down interventions. These findings highlight the importance of socially embedded mediation mechanisms as the foundation for long-term social resilience (Anandari & Afriyanto, 2022).

The discussion also emphasizes the need for multi-level actor engagement, ranging from national institutions to grassroots communities. Local figures such as religious leaders, youth, and community organizers serve as crucial facilitators of dialogue and meaning-making. They not only mediate conflict but also act as cultural translators between government policy and everyday social realities. This reinforces the relevance of symbolic interactionism in understanding how meanings of peace and conflict are socially constructed through interaction among actors (Anandari & Afriyanto, 2022).

Furthermore, collaborative and participatory mitigation strategies significantly contribute to the development of sustainable social cohesion (Abidin, 2021). These approaches empower communities to become active agents in creating safe spaces, rather than merely passive recipients of state-driven policy. Therefore, this study recommends that conflict mitigation policies be designed to not only adapt to local dynamics but also respond to global challenges such as digital polarization, the spread of misinformation, and increasing intolerance across media platforms (Abbad, 2021).

Overall, the discussion makes it clear that administrative or legalistic approaches alone are insufficient. Effective conflict mitigation must also involve socially, culturally, and symbolically (Basri, 2023) sensitive methods that position communities not as vulnerable points of conflict, but as essential agents of peacebuilding.

Religious conflict in Indonesia has long been addressed through formal and administrative strategies. These typically take the form of legislation, institutions like FKUB, and national programs promoting tolerance and harmony. However, field realities demonstrate that such approaches often fall short in addressing the complex dynamics of social conflict. This is because religious conflict is not merely driven by violations of formal norms, but also by symbolic tensions, collective trauma, exclusive narratives, and identity-laden symbols attached to certain groups (Fatah, 2018).

Thus, symbolic approaches are crucial, as they focus on how identity, belief systems, and perceptions of "the other" are socially constructed. For instance, the discourse surrounding "majority" and "minority" groups or the public display of religious symbols in certain community events can trigger conflict if there is no equitable and open space for dialogue. Mitigation efforts, therefore, must include strategies such as interfaith education, the use of art and culture as mediums of dialogue, and reconciliation practices rooted in local values and lived experience (Aditi, 2025).

Social and cultural sensitivity is also key. Each community has its own unique social configuration, including customary norms, local authorities, understandings of conflict, and histories of trauma. Approaches that fail to account for these often lack trust and acceptance at the grassroots level. For example, national programs on religious moderation may be poorly received in certain areas if they do not involve traditional leaders, local religious figures, or use culturally relevant language and symbols. As such, bottom-up approaches that center on community participation are vital to ensuring that conflict mitigation is not merely imposed from above but is embedded in the daily life of society (Akbar dkk., 2024).

By positioning communities as part of the solution—rather than merely as sites of vulnerability or objects of intervention—mitigation efforts become more grounded and sustainable. Such approaches allow communities to identify sources of tension themselves, build local mechanisms for dispute resolution, and develop peace narratives that are meaningful to their own experiences. In practice, this can be manifested through citizen forums, interfaith dialogues, cross-community cultural collaborations, and the revitalization of local

values such as deliberation (*musyawarah*), mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), and religious customs rooted in indigenous traditions.

These approaches demonstrate that solutions to social conflict are not solely technocratic or legal. They require humanistic engagement, deep empathy, and a willingness to learn from local experiences. Therefore, the success of conflict mitigation depends on how well it bridges the gap between state systems and the lived meanings embedded in community life (Ardhy, 2024).

Simpulan

This study concludes that conflict mitigation approaches in Indonesia, particularly those addressing religious sentiment-based tensions, can no longer rely solely on formal and administrative mechanisms. While structural policy instruments—such as regulations, interfaith institutions, and national programs—provide an important legal framework for conflict prevention, their effectiveness on the ground is ultimately determined by their ability to interact actively and adaptively with local social, cultural, and symbolic realities. This reveals a critical limitation of overly centralized, top-down approaches: they often fail to build trust, proximity, and meaningful engagement with the communities they intend to serve.

Religious conflict does not arise from a lack of regulation but from tensions over meaning, identity gaps, and the failure to foster dialogical spaces between groups. Hence, symbolic approaches become crucial to understanding how communities interpret religious symbols, historical traumas, and power relations underlying conflict. This means that mitigation strategies must take into account how concepts such as "peace," "conflict," and even "religious identity" are socially constructed, often diverging from formal definitions held by state institutions or official religious bodies.

Equally important is the role of social and cultural sensitivity as a foundation for building sustainable conflict mitigation models. Each community holds unique values, norms, and social systems that cannot be addressed through a one-size-fits-all formula. Context-responsive approaches demand the full participation of community actors, including local religious leaders, youth, women, cultural practitioners, and even conflict survivors. Through their

involvement, mitigation strategies become more than external interventions—they are embedded in the internal dynamics of the community and gain social legitimacy.

Therefore, communities must no longer be viewed merely as objects of intervention or "conflict-prone zones." Instead, they must be recognized as active subjects capable of fostering peace, maintaining harmony, and creating shared spaces for coexistence. This requires a paradigm shift in conflict mitigation—toward an approach that is transformative, participatory, and grounded in social empathy.

This conclusion affirms that the future of conflict mitigation in Indonesia depends on the ability to build bridges between formal systems and the lived local meanings embedded in everyday life. Such efforts must integrate structural approaches with symbolic and cultural practices while opening authentic, equitable dialogue among diverse actors. Only through such a framework can social cohesion be sustained—not just in policy documents, but within the lived experiences of Indonesia's pluralistic society.

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