



W R I T E R S

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L E A R N I N G D O C U M E N T

Enhancing
Resilience
Promoting
Tolerance

LESSONS FROM FIVE CITIES



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FOREWORD

Esteemed readers,

SETARA Institute is an organisation founded with a goal to realise an equal, plural, and dignified society. In manifesting such vision, the organisation conducts promotions, studies, and educations to the public on pluralism, humanity, democracy, human rights, and peace. Since the founding in 2005 and the beginning of operation in 2007, SETARA Institute has positioned the issue on the elimination of discrimination towards equality in all aspects as the condition that becomes the *raison d'être* of this organisation's existence. While a democratic, social-political affairs is the political infrastructure and condition to make it possible to exercise the eradication of discrimination in a state. Therefore, the enhancement of the democratic social-political affair is the area that demands intervention.

As part of the mandate of the organisation, SETARA routinely conducts monitoring on the condition of Freedom of Religions/Beliefs (FoRB) in Indonesia. In SETARA's findings, one of the factors that contribute to various violations against FoRB is that there has not yet been a mainstreaming of ecosystem of tolerance and inclusion. To develop the ecosystem of tolerance and inclusion, SETARA is certain that three components of leadership is needed to synergise, which are the political leadership, bureaucratic leadership, and societal leadership, operating within an inclusive governance. For that, SETARA Institute with the support of the INKLUSI Consortium which consists of INFID, Fatayat NU West

Java, Fatayat NU East Java, Media Link, Unika Soegijapranata, and Yayasan Inklusif, has done several advocacy activities in promoting tolerance and inclusion, both for the government and the civil society elements in 5 (five) regions, which are Semarang, Bogor, Bandung, Makassar, and Medan.

This book is written to document the stories of transformation from the results of both SETARA Institute's advocacies and INKLUSI Consortium's programmes altogether. The documenting of success stories in this book is hoped to become a reference for policymaking, developing advocacy strategies, as well as designing new programmes in the future. By collecting achievements and notes from various regions, the narrations presented are hoped to give more comprehensive understandings on diverse challenges and opportunities in pushing for tolerance and social inclusion in all geographic and social contexts.

Lastly, SETARA Institute expresses its gratitude to all the parties that have enriched the perspectives of this research. SETARA Institute realises that there are some shortcomings in the drafting of this book. Thus, SETARA Institute is wishing for more suggestions from all parties, especially academics, activists, and the public, to improve the writings in the coming future.

Jakarta, 6 February 2025

Halili Hasan

Executive Director, SETARA Institute

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

In the last three years (2021-2023), SETARA Institute has become a member of the INKLUSI Consortium, a coalition of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) which consists of INFID, Yayasan Inklusif, Maarif Institute, Fatayat NU West Java, Fatayat NU East Java, UNIKA Soegijapranata Semarang and MediaLink. This Consortium was formed to strengthen regional leaderships in promoting right to Freedom of Religions/Beliefs (FoRB). The strategies pursued include increasing the capacity of governments, society groups, media, women, campaigns, and education to the public, research and publications, as well as documentation of good practices of tolerance.

It has been a common knowledge in the last few years, that the efforts to improve tolerance and promoting rights on FoRB in Indonesia have become important agendas for a variety of stakeholders, which include regional governments, CSOs, academics, as well as religious groups. However, the implementation of programmes that were meant to advance tolerance in various regions is often facing challenges, either in the forms of social resistance, regulation issues, or limited resources.

In this context, the Consortium's programme exercised by SETARA Institute in five cities—Bogor, Makassar, Bandung, Semarang, and Medan—has become a strategic effort to respond to those challenges. In the last three years, this programme has resulted in plenty of precious lessons, both from the effectivity of the approach, the local dynamics that affected the success of the programme, to the

challenges that are needed to be addressed in the policy implementation at the regional level. Therefore, a systematic documentation is needed to compile, analyse, and summarise the lessons gained from it.

This documentation is important not only as a tool for internal evaluation for the members of the Consortium, but also as a reference for developing policies, advocacy strategy, and designing new programmes in the future. By documenting reports from various regions, this analysis will give a more comprehensive understanding about the various obstacles and chances in promoting

tolerance in many geographical and social contexts.

Further, the results from this process are hoped to inspire other regions in formulating and implementing similar initiatives. By identifying the best practices, evidence-based strategies, as well as proven effective innovations, this documentation can be a learning tool to amplify synergy between the civil society and the government in realising a more inclusive society and highly regard the values of FoRB.

B. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this book are to compile, analyse, and summarise important lessons gained in the last three years during the Consortium's structure of programmes in SETARA Institute's five target cities, which are Bogor, Makassar, Bandung, Semarang, and Medan. These processes had the objectives to ensure various experiences, challenges, and strategies that had been applied can be documented well and become the references in improving and developing programmes in the future.

This documentation will include the notes from other members of the Consortium spread across 5 region coverages, so that they can give more comprehensive descriptions about the local dynamics, the effectivity of the interventions, as well as challenges faced in various geographical and social contexts. With these in mind, the documentation will not only be as an internal evaluation, but also as the basis for policy recommendations, advocacy strategy, and the enhancement of evidence-based tolerance.

This document is hoped to not only capture the experiences and lessons from the programme, but also to uncover and highlight numerous innovative initiatives that have been done in efforts to amplify tolerance and the development of rights on FoRB. By documenting the strategic measures, best practices, and the local-based approach that is proven effective, this book can become a reference and an inspiration for other regions that are facing similar obstacles.



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C. METHODOLOGY

This 'lessons learned' document adopts the desk review approach, which means the process of analysis is done through examining various documents and reports resulted from the implementation of the programmes. A descriptive elaborative method is utilised within this book, which opens the possibility to present detailed and systematic information, not only in the form of describing facts, but also to give in-depth analysis on the dynamics.

The sources of the data used in this study include the main documents, especially the SETARA Institute's programme reports, that describes the strategies, achievements, and challenges of the implementation in five target cities. Besides that, observation reports on the situation of FoRB, which recorded the development and the dynamics of FoRB at the local level. The Tolerant City Index (*Indeks Kota Toleran*) Report is also used as an essential report to give an understanding of to what extent do the target cities have shown progress on tolerance.

To deepen the analysis, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) are conducted in many shapes and forms, such as the FGD on the mapping of cases to identify the patterns of discrimination and violations of FoRB, and FGD with the five cities to delve deep into the perspectives of the local actors that are involved in advocacy and the strengthening of tolerance. Alongside those, this book also references from secondary sources, like research reports, media news reports, and relevant laws and regulations, in order to give vast legal and policy contexts in the analysis.

By combining those sources, the writing of the lessons is not only to document experiences and best practices, but also to give evidence-based analysis as a reference to formulate future strategies in enhancing tolerance and promoting FoRB.

D. SYSTEMATICS

The systematic for this document is using the city-based approach, in which each city will be analysed respectively so that it can give a more in-depth analysis on the local dynamics happening in the region. Each part will elaborate about the condition of FoRB and tolerance in the last three years, by highlighting on various developments, in the aspects of policies, social, as well as interactions between societal groups.

The primary obstacles to advancing the right to freedom of religion or belief and fostering tolerance will also be discussed in this analysis, along with how these obstacles impact the Tolerant City Index (IKT) rating. Understanding the elements that encourage and impede the development of tolerance in each city will be made easier with the aid of this presentation.

Next, the role of local government will be examined, including its policies, programmes, and concrete measures that have been done either to strengthen, or otherwise, have the potential to hinder tolerance and the protection of FoRB. This part will also identify

how the government shall respond to those issues and conflicts arising in the context of FoRB.

This document's next section will provide a map of the actors—including CSOs, religious leaders, faith communities, academics, women's organizations, and youth groups—that actively participate in advocacy and education initiatives in each city and contribute to fostering tolerance. Apart from charting the presence of these actors, the analysis will also encompass their primary agenda, tactics, and engagement with local governments to promote more inclusive policies.

In the final section of this learning document, the analysis in each city will be synthesised in order to draw the main thread, which is the main lessons gained from the last three years. This part is to identify the main patterns, factors for success, and remaining challenges in efforts to enhance tolerance and foster FoRB in five target cities of the programme.

CHAPTER II

SITUATIONS OF TOLERANCE AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN FIVE REGIONS

Across 2023, SETARA Institute reported 217 cases with 329 acts of violations against FoRB in Indonesia. The number of cases is increasing significantly compared to the findings in 2022, which saw 175 cases with 333 actions. From 329 acts of violations, 114 of them were done by state actors, and the other 215 were done by non-state actors. These findings show relatively constant numbers and are leaning towards an increase in the number of cases similar to 2019, when President Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo ascended to his second tenure, in which the year booked 200 cases with 327 acts of violations against FoRB. The high number of non-state actors in the cases of violations against FoRB indicates a thesis of an increase in the people's coerciveness among the society. This condition also describes the social nodes as the support for societal leadership, as one of the components of leadership for ecosystem of tolerance, have not adequately supported the respect towards FoRB yet.

The cases of disturbance to houses of worship became the trend of violation that are still proliferating significantly in these last seven years. Across 2023, there had been 65 houses of worship that succumbed to disturbances, which had been the result of a steady increase, such as in 50 houses in 2022, 44 in 2021, 24 in 2020, 31 in 2019, 20 in 2018, and 16 in 2017. Majority of them are rejections to houses of worship, based on the fact that they have not fulfilled, or based on a deviated interpretation, of the requirements promulgated by the Collective Regulation of Minister of Religious Affairs and Minister of Internal Affairs No. 9 and No. 8 of 2006, which required the support of 90 house of worship users and 60 local residents. While in some other cases, despite the prerequisites have been fulfilled, rejections from the locals are still occurring, thus the places of worship are not permitted to be built or utilised. In the context of spread of region, in 2023 West Java once has again reported the highest number of

disturbances, with 47 cases. Followed by East Java with 29 cases, Jakarta with 19 cases, North Sumatra with 17 cases, Central Java with 14 cases, and South Sulawesi with 11 cases.

From those issues, SETARA along with the INKLUSI Consortium which consists of INFID, Fatayat NU Jawa Barat, Fatayat NU Jawa Timur, Media Link, Unika Soegijapranata, and Yayasan Inklusif, conducted programmes which have the objective to enhance the climate of inclusion through several activities, in order to contribute to the efforts of resolving cases of violations against FoRB that are occurring in several regions like Central Java (Semarang), West Java (Bogor, Bandung), North Sumatra (Medan), and South Sulawesi (Makassar).

Before beginning the advocacy programmes, SETARA analysed the situation and dynamics of tolerance in 5 (five) cities as the areas of intervention. The result of the mappings and analyses are as follows:

A. Bogor City

Bogor City, located in South West of West Java, is known for being one of the cities that has a highly heterogenous community. This is due to plenty of factors, such as a strategic location, a long history as the centre for administration of the colonial government, and its existence as a supporting area for the Capital, Jakarta. Ethno-demographically speaking, this City is inhabited with people from various ethnic background, from Sundanese, Javanese, Betawi, Chinese-Indonesians, and many more. The majority of its residents are Sundanese, which are the aboriginal settlers of West Java, but due to migrations from Sumatra, Sulawesi, Central and East Java, as well as Jakarta, had enriched the diversity of this City.

Additionally, the city's cultural and economic sectors are significantly influenced by the Chinese population and citizens of Arab heritage. In fact, Bogor is renowned

for hosting one of Indonesia's most famous Cap Go Meh festivals, with the Street Festival often taking place along Surya Kencana Street and Siliwangi Street. Locals and visitors from other areas always pack the event.¹ In order to monitor and regulate all ethnic Chinese activities and developments, the Dutch Colonial administration established Chinese communities in Suryakencana and Pulo Geulis between 1835 and 1915. This marked the beginning of the ethnic Chinese community's development.²

Religio-demographically, residents of Bogor City are from a variety of religious backgrounds. There are adherents of Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism in Bogor City, despite the fact that Muslims make up the bulk of the population. The existence of numerous houses of worship dispersed around the city region is evidence of this. According to 2024 BPS statistics, Bogor City's population by religion is as follows: The following religions are practiced by 1,053,292 Muslims, 42,832 Protestants, 21,940 Catholics, 1,236 Hindus, 7,690 Buddhists, and 418 others.³

With such diversity, Bogor has a big potential to become a model of religious tolerance, although with the caveats of managing the diversity itself, mainly in the context of violations against FoRB. Despite often taking pride as an example of a life of tolerance, Bogor is also facing with the fact that the City is usually prone to religion-based conflicts such as violations against the right to

1 Lihat <https://www.idntimes.com/travel/destination/fasrinisyah-suryaningtyas-1/kota-perayaan-cap-go-meh-paling-meriah-di-indonesia?page=all>.

2 Akmal Nur Hidayah, dkk. "Keberagaman Etnis pada ruang Kota di Kota Bogor, Indonesia", Jurnal Buwana, Vol. 4 No. 1, Tahun 2024, h. 15.

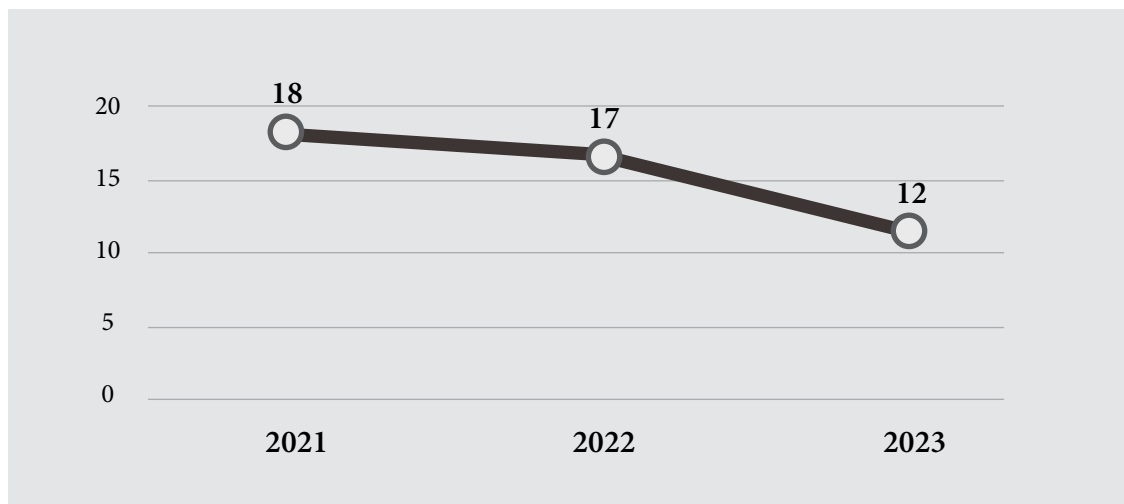
3 Kota Bogor Dalam Angka 2024, (Bogor: Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bogor, 2024), h 138.

build places of worship, prohibition of Shia practices, conflicts between Sunnis and Salafis, and plenty more. One of the most serious issues in the City was the case of GKI Yasmin, which was the banning for Bakal Pos GKI Taman Yasmin Church to build their own place, that caught the attention of the nation and the world.

The case of GKI Yasmin has finally been resolved after 15 years, by relocating the church which were agreed by all parties in Bogor. This process involved intensive dialogues between the Church, the regional government, and the

community, and was facilitated by numerous parties, including CSOs and the central government. The construction of GKI Yasmin was formalised by the Coordinating Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (*Menko Polhukam*) Mahfud MD and the Minister of Internal Affairs (*Mendagri*) Tito Karnavian, on 9 September 2023. According to the Mayor of Bogor at the time, Bima Arya, GKI Yasmin is not only a place of worship, but also as a monument of remembrance for the long journey to preserve religious harmony in Bogor City.⁴

Graphic 1: Bogor City's Rank in IKT, 2021 - 2023



The resolution to the GKI Yasmin dispute was fostering the City's position in the Tolerant City Index (IKT), from 18 in 2021, 17 in 2022, and finally 12 in 2023. Alas, Bogor is still facing challenges in putting an end to the dispute on the Imam Ahmad bin Hambal Mosque (MIAH), which has been occurring since 2016. This case is the next test on how

do both the government and the people collaborate to settle the issue of intolerance without sacrificing any parties.

Bogor's religious tolerance policy situation is a complex one, with both positive and negative aspects coexisting. The Bogor City Government has been in the news for a

⁴ Lihat <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2023/04/10/16052661/penyelesaian-konflik-gki-yasmin-dorong-peningkatan-indeks-kota-toleran-di>.

while due to the lengthy process of resolving the GKI Yasmin issue, but it has also been in the news for a number of local policies that are thought to fall short of fully supporting the principles of justice and equality in religion, which has led to a disparity in how minority groups are treated.

On 3 March 2011, the Bogor City Government has officially banned any forms of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) activities in the municipal area. This prohibition is promulgated within the Bogor Mayoral Decree No. 300.45-122 of 2011, signed by the Mayor of Bogor Diani Budianto. This policy is following the West Java Gubernatorial Regulation No. 12 of 2011 on the Banning of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Activities in West Java. The Decree is one of the few policies at the level of Regency/City in West Java that is deemed as violating the right to FoRB of the Ahmadiyah adherents, according to many human rights activists.

Not long after that, the municipal government sealed the Mubarak Mosque owned by Jemaat Ahmadiyah, which was located in Kampung Sindangbarang, Bogor Barat, Bogor City, on 4 April 2011. The sealing was done due to the protest from the residents demanding for that action.⁵

In 2015, the City Government passed another controversial policy. This time, with Bima Arya at the helm, released a Circular Letter on the Banning of Ashura (Shia's religious day) in Bogor. According to the Head of Public Relations of the City Government, Encep Moh. Ali Alhamidi, the Letter was made on the basis of three considerations. Firstly, the position of the Indonesian Ulama Assembly (MUI) of Bogor City on Shia. Secondly, the statement letter written by Islamic organisations in Bogor that reject any

forms of Shia activities in Bogor City. And thirdly, to follow up on the outcome of the regional leaders' deliberation.⁶

The birth of the Circular Letter sparked reactions from a variety of parties, from those in favour and against the mayor's action to violate the rights of Shias. The National Commission of Human Rights (Komnas HAM) even condemned the mayor for violating his residents' right to FoRB.

In 2021, the City received another negative scrutiny by many due to the promulgation of the Regional Regulation No. 10 of 2021 on the Prevention and Mitigation of Sexual Deviation Activities (hereinafter the P4S Regulation). Civil Society Coalition on the Rights of Gender and Sexual Diversity (Kami Berani), which consists of Arus Pelangi, ASEAN SOGIE Caucus, YLBHI, LBH Masyarakat, PKBI, SGRC Indonesia, SEJUK, Sanggar SWARA, and Human Rights Working Group (HRWG) alongside other 140 CSOs, viewed the Regulation violates basic human rights which perpetrates further violence and discrimination against the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT/LGBTQ+) community. This is due to the Chapter 3 Article 6 of the Regulation that stipulated the groups and activities referred in the Regulation are homosexuals, lesbians, and transgenders. The provision is in contrary with the Guidelines of Classification and Diagnosis of Mental Disorders (PPDGJ) III by the Ministry of Health, which classified that sexual orientation is not a mental disorder.⁷

Although this issue is not directly related

5 Lihat <https://www.viva.co.id/berita/nasional/212975-masjid-ahmadiyah-disegel-di-bogor>.

6 Lihat https://kotabogor.go.id/index.php/show_post/detail/2346/pemkot-keluarkan-edaran-larangan-perayaan-asyura-di-kota-bogor.

7 Lihat <https://lbhmasyarakat.org/peraturan-daerah-kota-bogor-no-10-tahun-2021-tentang-pencegahan-dan-penanggulangan-perilaku-penyimpangan-seksual-pelanggaran-hak-asasi-manusia/>.

to religion, this Regulation includes religious principles as one of the considerations. The P4S Regulation also mentions that among the forms of deviant behaviour is any behaviour or activity that is religiously declared as sexually deviating behaviour.

Answering to those critics, the Mayor of Bogor, Bima Arya Sugiarto, explained that the P4S Regulation is based on the initiatives by the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), which accommodated the community's aspirations on the proliferation of HIV/AIDS cases and other cases of weakening family resilience. He guaranteed that the Regulation was never meant to control people's privacy. He also expressed that none of the articles are leading towards discrimination.⁸

Despite the municipal government justified that the Regulation will not be applied discriminatively, concerns have been raised that the government's duty to defend the rights of all citizens, regardless of their identity, may serve as justification for acts of violence and persecution against LGBT individuals from some segments of society under the guise of morality and religion. This is the reason why Bogor City's 2021 tolerance index is declining in the discriminatory policies indication. The reputation of Bogor City, which had started to recover, appears to have been damaged by the existence of this local law.

B. MAKASSAR CITY

Makassar City, as one of the metropolitan cities in Eastern Indonesia, has a very plural society, both in terms of ethnicity and religion. This diversity reflects the complex and rich social dynamics that are both a wealth and a challenge for the community. Founded in the 16th century as a transit port city to the spice islands of Maluku, it is now one of the most developed cities in Indonesia with 1,5 million residents. Various ethnic groups live and settle in Makassar such as the Makassarese, Bugis, Toraja, Minahasa, Kajang, Chinese and Arabs.⁹

The majority of the population's religion is Islam, but there are Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian communities. For example, the majority of Toraja are Christians. The existence of those religious groups adds to the diversity of culture and tradition in Makassar. Data from BPS in 2024 suggested that the number of inhabitants in Makassar City based on their religions are: 1.310.005 Muslims, 103.436 Christians, 42.548 Catholics, 1.554 Hindus, 16.649 Buddhists, and 201 others.¹⁰ Overall, the heterogenous society in Makassar City reflects a very rich diversity, but it demands efforts to develop a harmonious interaction amidst differences.

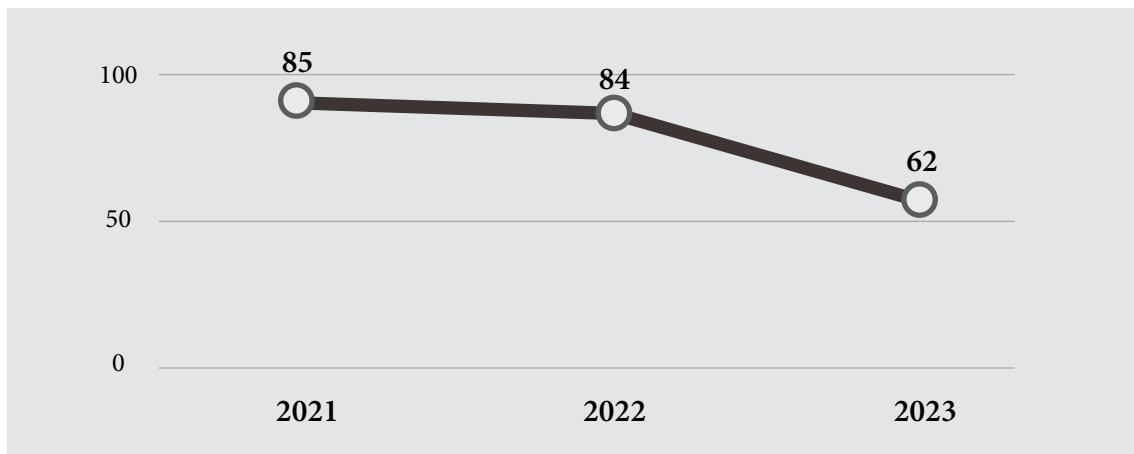
8 Lihat <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5990477/perda-soal-penyimpangan-seksual-dikritik-bima-arya-klaim-tak-ada-diskriminasi>.

9 Muh Wahyu Hasbullah, "Kekerasan, Stigma dan Bangkitnya Kolektivisme Identitas (Studi atas Laskar Pemuda Pattingaloang Makassar)", *Jaspol*, Volume 1, No.2, Oktober 2022, h. 110.

10 *Kota Makassar Dalam Angka 2024*, Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Makassar 2024, h. 161

The situation of tolerance in Makassar City shows a worrying development. This can be seen, among others, from Makassar's IKT ranking for the last three years. In 2021, Makassar City was in the 85th position or the bottom 9 cities. The following year, this position rose one rank to 84th position or still the bottom 10 cities in the tolerance level.

Graphic 2
Makassar City's Rank in IKT 2021 - 2023



The circumstances that existed in Makassar City in 2021, where multiple acts of intolerance took place, are inextricably linked to this assessment. A suicide bombing event in front of the Makassar Cathedral Church on March 28, 2021, was one of the most devastating. It killed the attacker, a church security guard, and the congregation, while injuring several Christians who were praying. Numerous parties denounced this act of terror as an example of intolerance for religious pluralism.¹¹ The subsequent instance of intolerance took place on September 25, 2021,

when a pulpit at the Makassar Grand Mosque was set on fire. Additionally, this behavior is viewed as radicalism and intolerance that jeopardizes the city's religious unity.¹²

Such cases, besides affecting the decline in the tolerance index, it also shows the Makassar's City Government is not responsive enough to handle the issues of intolerance. Despite efforts from various parties, including CSOs and religious figures to strengthen dialogues between religious groups, these incidents showed that there are still immense challenges in building collective awareness

11 Lihat https://www.antaranews.com/berita/2067838/gerindra-aksi-bom-bunuh-diri-di-makassar-bentuk-sikap-intoleran?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

12 Lihat https://pontas.id/2021/09/26/mpr-kecam-pembakaran-mimbar-masjid-di-makassar/?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

and keeping security amidst diversity.

The situation of tolerance in 2022 and 2023 in Makassar according to some parties showed a better development, where religious life was more conducive and there were no prominent events. However, some micro cases still appear, such as the appearance of banners against Ahmadiyah in 2023. In addition, inclusion of religious minority groups, especially Shia, is still not fully optimal. The Shia community in Makassar tends to choose a more confined approach in carrying out their religious activities, as an effort to avoid potential threats or pressure from intolerant groups. In an effort to protect themselves, they now more often organise activities in a hidden manner, such as in a campus environment, which is considered safer. This attitude reflects the situation of vulnerability they face, as well as showing that the space for worship and expression for minority groups still needs stronger protection from the government and the wider community.

Makassar occasionally entered the 10 cities with the lowest level of tolerance in SETARA Institute's IKT in 2021 and ranked 85th out of 94 cities assessed. Moreover, in 2020, the City's rank was much worse since it was down in 91st (or the fourth lowest). Based on SETARA's analysis, the increase in the rank indicates that Makassar is improving in managing harmony amidst challenges of becoming a metropolitan city. However, those efforts are not yet optimal since Makassar is still facing several serious predicaments.

In terms of policies, for instance, Makassar still have several discriminative policies in the forms of favouritism towards majority religion, which are (i) Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2021 on Education for Reading and Writing Qur'an; (ii) Circular Letter of the Education

Agency of Makassar City 5 February 2016 to schools at the levels of Elementary, Junior High, Senior High, Vocational School, and State Islamic Junior High Schools or equal to forbid the Valentine's Day celebration on 14 February 2016; (iii) Circular Letter of the Education Agency of Makassar City in 2017 to forbid the same; (iv) Circular Letter of the anticipation to the spread of Shia teachings No. 400/402/Kesra/IX/2019 signed by the Interim Mayor of Makassar Iqbal Suhaeb; (v) Circular Letter on 10 February 2020 released by the Interim Mayor to prohibit Valentine's Day celebration.

In SETARA's view, the approach implemented by the mayoral government in managing diversity tends to utilise negative stimulation over prioritising diversity and harmony. On the other hand, the 2021-2026 vision that was promulgated by the Mayor, the agenda on harmony and tolerance still has not possessed any clear structure of working priorities. Makassar City, as a growing city to become a metropolitan is oriented to the acceleration of economic development. The Makassar bombings are essential lessons on how growing a city must be accompanied by enhancing the community's capacity, because dissatisfaction or shock from transformation can be the trigger on radical thinking in the society.¹³

However, in 2023, Makassar City showed its commitment in building tolerance ecosystem through various strategic initiatives. The City Government allocated a budget of Rp1,07 billion per year in 2023 to support FKUB and the National Diversity Dialogue. FKUB Makassar City also published a Pocket Guide on Fostering Religious Harmony as a practical guideline. In addition, the government established agents

13 Iif Fikhriyati Ihsani & Ismail Hasani, Indeks Kota Toleran (IKT) tahun 2021, (Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2022), h. 36.

for ‘Strengthening the Faith of the People’ in 1,095 tourist alleys spread across 15 sub-districts to become social sensors in society, strengthening harmony and harmony between residents.

In the context of policy, institutionalising tolerance is manifested through the formation of several special teams, such as the National Assimilation Forum (FPK), FKUB, and Central for National Insights Education Task Force (PPWK). These decisions in supporting several regulations, including improvements for the prosperity of Sunday School teachers for Christians, Hindus, and Buddhists. Various measures have reflected a systematic approach in enhancing tolerance through education, civil participation, and inclusive policies.¹⁴

These positive developments indicate that the Makassar City Government is starting to adopt a more strategic and inclusive approach in managing tolerance. Those steps to allocate adequate budget, publishing of practical guide like Pocket Books on Fostering Religious Harmony, forming social agents in the community, and institutionalising tolerance by founding special teams, reflect the awareness to improve relations between religious groups.

Furthermore, this strategy demonstrates a change from policies that were more reactive and sanction-based in the past to ones that are more proactive, education-based, and involve the community. As a result, this development shows that the administration is working to address issues while simultaneously strengthening the basis for social peace, variety, and harmony as the city grows as a metropolis.

Acunk, one of the Makassar City-based SETARA Institute networks, also acknowledged this development, saying that the city’s current state of religious and belief freedom is comparatively stable and favorable. This is demonstrated by the low frequency of significant events in the area that result in conflicts based on beliefs or breaches of religious freedom. This state denotes improved attempts to preserve social peace in the face of societal variety. Outside of Makassar City, intolerance incidents are currently happening.

One of the most significant developments in Makassar is the initiatives started to promote policies that support diversity and harmony in the community. These initiatives began thanks to Women and Children Advocacy Agency (LAPAR), which facilitates the drafting of policies by involving a variety of stakeholders, including the FKUB, and numerous mass organisations. These measures showed that there are some collaborative efforts in creating more inclusive and responsive policies to navigate the challenges of diversity.

Despite that, up until now, the policy initiatives have not yet gotten any concrete follow ups from the local government. The draft policies that should have become the basis for enhancing harmony are still stagnating since 2021. This stagnation shows the need for a stronger commitment from the regional government to realise the initiatives that have the potential to sustainably support the management of diversity. This situation is also becoming a challenge for parties involved to constantly push the government to pay more attention to the importance of inclusive policies in strengthening social harmony in Makassar City.

14 Ikhsan Yosarie, dkk., Indeks Kota Toleran tahun 2023, (Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2024), h. 20.



Social heterogeneity in Bandung has the potential to spark conflicts from differences in identity.

C. BANDUNG CITY

The city of Bandung's population is naturally heterogeneous due to its extremely diversified society, which includes people from many tribes, ethnic groups, and religious traditions. The Sundanese tribe has historically made up the majority of Bandung's population. However, a number of other ethnic groups, including Javanese, Minangkabau, Batak, Chinese, Arab, and Indian, also call the city home. This diversity is a reflection of Bandung's status as an educational and urbanizing hub that draws residents from all around Indonesia. Bandung, also known as the '*Kota Priangan*', is a popular destination for immigrants from a wide range of ethnic, tribal, and religious origins due to its status as the capital of West Java, a tourist destination, and a city of education. A significant number of these immigrants go on to live in Bandung, boosting the city's population's diversity.

According to religio-demographics, Muslims make up the majority of Bandung's population. But there are also communities of Christians, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, and adherents of other religions that coexist peacefully. This city's high level of religious tolerance is demonstrated by the abundance of places of worship. According to BPS data for 2024, Bandung had 2,506,203 residents in 2023. There are 2,371,057 Muslims, 130,928 Protestant Christians, 54,229 Catholic

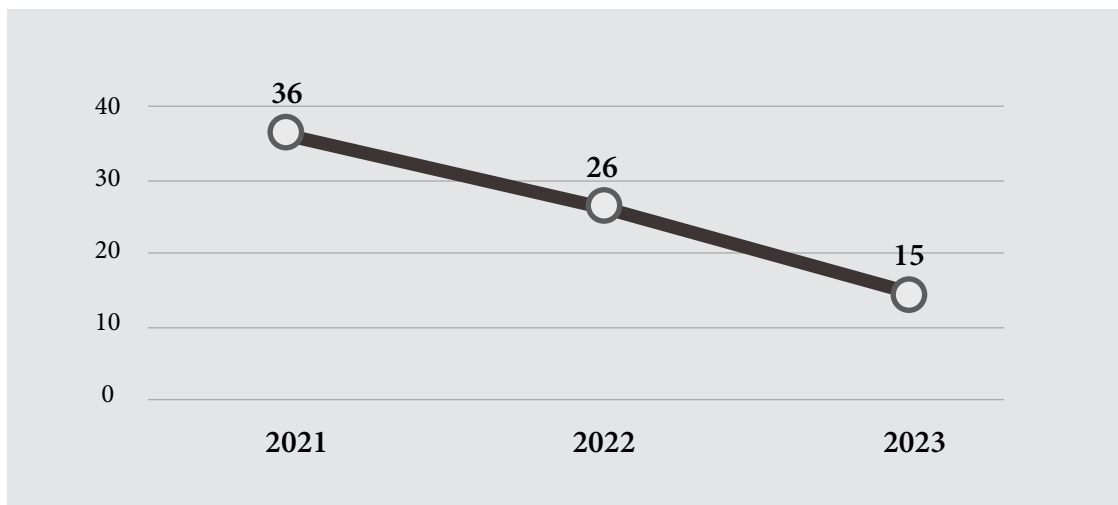
Christians, 1,621 Hindus, 10,940 Buddhists, and 332 others who identify as religious adherents.¹⁵ Residents of local religions and beliefs who are gathered in various faith groups can also be found in Bandung, even though they are not included in BPS data.

Bandung's diversity on one hand has the potential to add to the attractiveness of the city, but on the other it serves for a potential conflict that can be sourced from the diverse identities. The diversity in Bandung has motivated some communities to collectively celebrate it through various festival activities, including those conducted by Inter-Religion Communication Network (JAKATARUB) along with various religious and belief communities, organised the 'Bandung Lautan Damai' (BALAD)—an annual event that is filled with social activities, campaigns, and public education.

Social heterogeneity in Bandung has the potential to spark conflicts from differences in identity. However, the tolerance index released by SETARA Institute indicated that the social interaction between religious groups in the city belongs to the good interaction. But, there are still some challenges, with the city's position in the index is constantly elevating as shown in the graphic below:

15 Kota Bandung Dalam Angka 2024, Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandung, 2024, h. 202

Graphic 3.
Bandung City's IKT Ranking 2021 - 2023



In 2021, Bandung's Tolerance Index can be categorised as intermediate, ranked at 36 from 94 cities in Indonesia. However, in 2022, its position was steadily increasing to 26, and has continued to improve in 2023 by coming in 15th place. This shows that the community and the Bandung City Government have shown progress in the development of tolerance, but are still facing several challenges that needed to be addressed.

The opposition to the construction of houses of worship, particularly churches, and the tense relations between Sunni and Shia communities are two of Bandung's persistent problems. The Saint Antonius Catholic Church's building on Jalan Soekarno Hatta in Cipamokolan Village, Rancasari District, was rejected. This is one such example. In addition to raising concerns about the number of Christians in the neighborhood, locals voiced their opposition on the grounds of purported poor management and satisfaction with the licensing procedure.¹⁶ Furthermore,

the congregations of HKI South Bandung in Baleendah and HKBP Betania Church in Rancaekek were turned away as they attempted to worship in March 2022. The reason given was that the administrative requirements for establishing a house of worship had not been met.¹⁷

Tension between Sunni and Shia in Bandung also catches attention. On the Ashura Day in 2023 held by the Shia community in Bandung City, the event received rejections from the local community, although in the end it still went on thanks to security by the police.¹⁸ In addition, in 2014, the anti-Shia declaration was held in Bandung sparked worries about the increase on negative

¹⁶ Lihat <https://indoartnews.com/regional/10588/>

penolakan-pembangunan-gereja-santo-antonius-di-cipamokolan-warga-tuntut-transparansi.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

¹⁷ Lihat https://bandungbergerak.id/article/detail/158766/jalan-buntu-mendirikan-gereja-di-kabupaten-bandung?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

¹⁸ Lihat https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cq5yd74908yo?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

sentiments towards the Shia community.¹⁹ The Mayor of Bandung's presence, which was Yana Mulyana, to formalised the Da'wah Building of Anti-Shia National Alliance (ANNAS) on the Jl. R.A.A. Martanegara No. 30, Turangga, Bandung, on 28 August 2022, made the wave of discrimination against the Shia community in Bandung even worse. The action of the Mayor Yana reflected a true partisanship and actively facilitated actors of violations against FoRB.²⁰ In SETARA's view, the tolerance ecosystem in Bandung that was developed by the active civil society, was harmed by its political leadership that condones discriminatory actions against the Shia as the minority in the city.

D. SEMARANG CITY

The capital and largest city of Central Java Province is Semarang. Situated on Java Island's main coast, the city boasts a highly diverse population in terms of ethnicity, religion, and culture. Javanese people make up the bulk of Semarang's population in terms of ethnicity. Chinese, Arabs, Indians, and people from other parts of Indonesia, who come to work, study, or settle down, are among the other ethnic groups who call the city home. Since the colonial era, Semarang has been known for its diversity, particularly because of its importance as a port city.

Religio-demographically, Semarang is also a home to various religions. BPS data in 2024 stated that Semarang's inhabitants are around 1,694,740. With that population, the majority of them are Muslims with 87.55% of the residents, 6.82% are Christians, 4.95 are Catholics, 0.07 are Hindus, 0.59 are Buddhists,

and 0.03 are other religions/beliefs. While the places of worship provided to respective religions in Semarang are 1,541 mosques, 1,412 musholla, 333 Christian churches, 35 Catholic churches, 5 temples, and 37 viharas.²¹

Interactions between ethnics and religions in Semarang, especially the Muslim communities and the Chinese ethnics, are harmonious. One of its instances is the existence of Tay Kak Sie Shrine, which is the biggest as well as the icon of Semarang City. Constructed in 1746, the shrine is located on the Gang Lombok Street and it was dedicated to worship the Goddess Kwan Im Po Sat.²²

Besides that, this harmony does not only occur between the Muslims and the Taos/Confucians, but also with other religious groups. The research conducted by SETARA Institute in the last three years showed a very good trend of tolerance in Semarang.

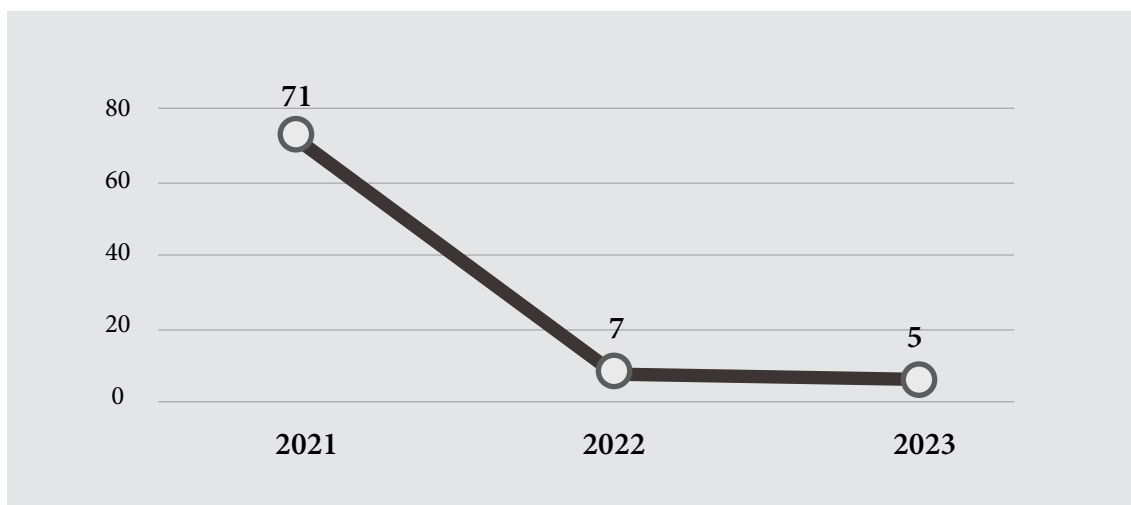
19 Lihat https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/polisi-diminta-tindak-penyebar-kebencian-terhadap-kelompok-syiah/1899101.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

20 Lihat https://www.detik.com/jabar/berita/d-6265482/wali-kota-bandung-dikecam-usai-resmikan-gedung-dakwah-annas?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

21 *Kota Semarang dalam angka 2024*, Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Semarang, 2024, h. 71

22 Lihat https://indonesiakaya.com/pustaka-indonesia/mengunjungi-tay-kak-sie-klenteng-terbesar-di-semarang/?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

Graphic 4.
Semarang City's IKT Ranking 2021 - 2023



In 2021, Semarang had a very low index according to the IKT, only placed at 71 out of 94 cities in Indonesia. However, two years after that, in 2022 and 2023, its position has leaped to 7 and 5 consecutively. This shows that there have been significant progresses in the efforts to develop tolerance and harmonious relations in Semarang, interfaith and between communities.

In 2 FGD held by SETARA Institute, there were some perspectives from various civil society elements that advocated the issue of tolerance in Semarang. In their points of view, generally in the last three years, the development of tolerance in Semarang has been well and conducive. This confirms the IKT assessments conducted by SETARA in the last three years.

For them, this harmony and tolerance in Semarang can be described as a relatively peaceful condition, with a high degree of respect between religious groups. In this context, there had been no significant reports on discrimination or bullying against certain religious groups, that reflected a consensus between the people to live together in

harmony. Diversity of religions in Semarang is accepted partly to the cultural richness that refine the social lives of the city.

Furthermore, a number of government and societal initiatives, both interfaith and within the purview of individual religious groups, support initiatives to foster amicable relationships. These projects, which emphasize mutual understanding across religious groups to prevent possible violence, interfaith conversation, and collaboration in social activities are examples of these programs.

At the same time, interfaith groups cooperating in social activities that involve a variety of communities, such as humanitarian aid, education on tolerance, as well as the celebration of religious holidays that invites all levels of society. In the meantime, every religious institution has a responsibility to teach its followers the value of fostering harmony and respecting differences in the home, community, and national and state spheres. All of this demonstrates that initiatives to foster tolerance in Semarang go beyond governmental regulations and also entail community participation to establish

long-lasting social harmony.

Despite the good condition, the City Government's role in the development of tolerance in the last three years have not been apparent. The role of enhancing tolerance were mostly initiated by civil society members such as CSOs, religious organisations, and the FKUB.

The most distinctive role the government played was in the promulgation of the Mayoral Regulation No. 46 of 2021 on the Guidelines on Granting Construction of Places of Worship Permit in Semarang City. However, substantially speaking, this Regulation only elaborates further the provisions on the Collective Minister Regulation No. 9 and No. 8 of 2006, which shows no fundamental innovation regarding the protection and the fulfilment of rights of the minorities. This Mayoral Regulation tends to lengthen the permitting process, due to additional authority given to the research team that is tasked to conduct research and assess the properness of the application to build the place. This Mayoral

Regulation receives critics from numerous CSOs, that more parties are involved in the process of places of worship permit, such as the local associations (RT and RW). This motivated the tolerance activists in Semarang to push for revision to the Regulation.

Alongside that, the plurality of the community does not always result in something positive. In Semarang City, there had been some cases of intolerance and tensions between religious groups. One of the most recent cases is the protest against the foundation of *Gereja Baptis Indonesia* (GBI) on Malangsari Road, Tlogosari Kulon, Pedurungan, East Semarang, in 2019. Moreover, based on the data by Social and Religious Studies Agency (eLSA) Semarang, it is shown that across 2023, around 6 to 7 cases of intolerance occurred, mainly involving the construction of places of worship.²³ Even though the number of cases is not exponential, but that shows the issue of intolerance is an urgency in Semarang.

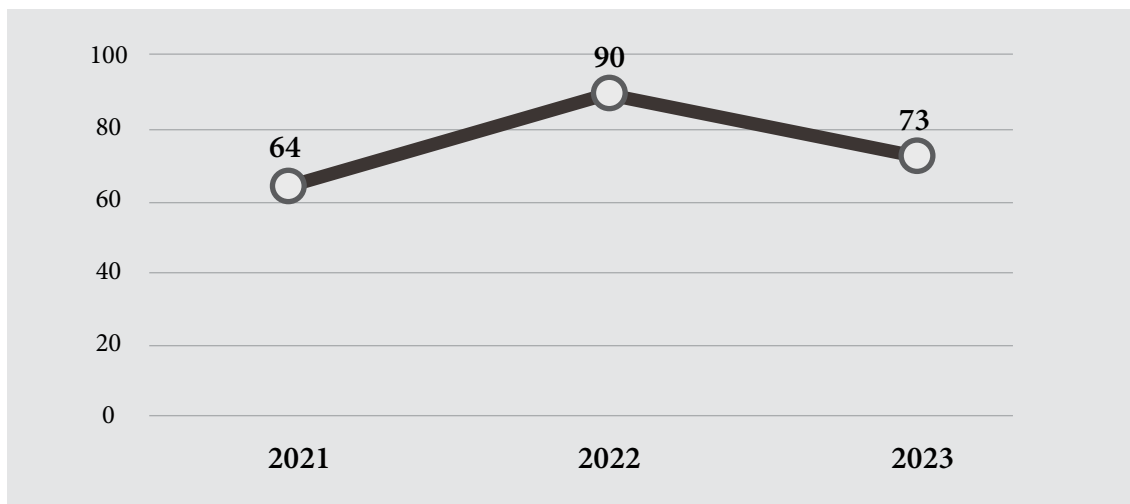
E. MEDAN CITY

After Jakarta and Surabaya, Medan is frequently ranked as Indonesia's third-largest city. This demonstrates Medan's strategic importance as the island of Sumatra's commercial, trade, and economic hub. Its prominence as a major metropolis is reinforced by its advantageous location as a gateway to global trade via Belawan Port and Kualanamu Airport. The capital of North Sumatra Province, which is renowned for its incredibly diverse society, is Medan. The social dynamics of this city are influenced by a variety of factors, including race, religion, culture, and language.

Many different ethnic groups call Medan home. The Batak, Javanese, Malay, Chinese, Minangkabau, Acehnese, and Tamil Indians are among the most prevalent ethnic groups. The city is a rich cultural mosaic, with each of these ethnic groups contributing their own language and culture. The Batak community, for instance, is made up of sub-ethnic groups like the Karo, Toba, and Mandailing, each of which has its own distinctive dialect and customs. While the Tamil Indian community is concentrated in places like Kampung Madras, the majority of the Chinese community in

23 Lihat https://independen.id/melawan-intoleransi-inspirasi-dari-warga-tionghoa-semarang?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

Graphic 5.
Medan City's IKT Ranking 2021 -2023



Medan speaks the Medan Hokkien dialect.²⁴

In terms of religion, Medan is also a very diverse city. BPS 2024 data states that the population of Medan in 2023 is 2,474,166 people. From that number, the majority of people are Muslims with 1,764,738 people, followed by 475,357 Christians, 221,421 Buddhists, 63,276 Catholics, 10,826 Hindus, 382 Taoists/Confucians, and 271 belonging to Faith Groups.²⁵ This diversity is reflected with the existence of various houses of worship across the city, such as the Al-Mashun Grand Mosque, Medan Cathedral, Gunung Timur Vihara, and Sri Mariamman Shrine.

Development of tolerance in Medan belongs to the intermediate and leaning towards the bad category. In 2019, a case of intolerance took place in Martubung. A group of people forced the dismissal of *Gereja Bethel*

Indonesia (GBI) Filadelfia Griya Martubung's worship activities on 13 January 2019.

According to the SETARA IKT study, Medan City was ranked 64th in 2021, but things became worse the next year, falling to 90th, and then only marginally improving to 73rd in 2023. This demonstrates that the Regional Government still has issues with and has not made fostering tolerance in Medan City a top priority. This illustrates how social peace in Medan City is influenced by a number of factors that call for more focused, cooperative, and long-term measures to reverse this trend.

The SETARA Institute analysis claims that Medan City saw a number of discriminatory occurrences in 2022, which were not adequately addressed by local government representatives and law enforcement. Even according to research data from the SETARA Institute,

24 Lihat https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medan?utm_source=chatgpt.com.

25 *Kota Medan dalam Angka 2024*, Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Medan, 2024, h. 69-70.

intolerant situations that happened in Medan City prior to 2022 were not appropriately handled and resolved. A Mayoral Regulation pertaining to Guidelines for the Arrangement of Religious Life and the Interfaith Harmony Forum has been issued by Medan City at the regulatory level. The implementation of these restrictions is still a long way off, though. In 2022, Medan saw an increase in intolerance, particularly when a section of people rejected the construction of places of worship and worship activities.²⁶

The Medan City Government's efforts to improve religious tolerance were discovered in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) held by SETARA Institute. In the said forum, various lessons from already implemented programmes in the last three years were presented, in order to enhance the social harmony in Medan and four other cities.

Ira, from the United North Sumatra Alliance (ASB), in the span of 2021-2022 period, ASB along with CSOs worked together with the FKUB and National and Political Unity Agency (Kesbangpol) of the City Government. This partnership had the objective to promote interfaith dialogues and to develop stronger mechanism in safeguarding tolerance and settle religious-based conflicts. This effort is in line with the visions of Bobby Nasution, which in his first year as the Mayor of Medan, was successful to bring the city to win the Harmoni Award from the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

One of the most prominent initiatives during this period was the interfaith program, which not only involved religious leaders from the six official religions in Indonesia but also included faith communities such as Parmalim, Baha'i, and other Faith Groups. This program was a step forward in recognising and accommodating the wider diversity in the city

of Medan, creating an inclusive dialogue space for groups that have previously received little attention in religious policy.

However, following a change in leadership at FKUB, this encouraging accomplishment suffered a setback. The course of FKUB policy was affected by this shift, as previously inclusive programs were once more restricted to the six state-recognised official religions. Consequently, faith groups that did not fit into these categories were once more excluded from Medan's religious deliberation and legislation. This circumstance demonstrates how leaders' and institutions' dedication to preserving and enhancing social harmony is crucial to the long-term viability of tolerance initiatives.

In 2021, Mayor Bobby Nasution passed a Mayoral Regulation No. 28 of 2021 on the Guidelines on Religious Lives Arrangement and Religious Harmony Forum in the City of Medan. ASB views this policy as something not completely inclusive, due to none of the provisions mentions about Faith Groups or other minorities. By supporting a more inclusive idea, ASB also promotes the idea of harmony, which is intended to be more expansive. Furthermore, the licensing process for houses of worship in Medan City will be made more difficult and drawn out by regulations requiring recommendations from the village and sub-district heads when building houses of worship.

Medan made significant strides in enhancing tolerance conditions in 2023 and was able to exit the red zone, which previously indicated a poor degree of interfaith peace. Increased collaboration and communication between the government, religious leaders, and religious communities in preserving and fostering tolerance was one

26 *Indeks Kota Toleran tahun 2022*, (Jakarta: Setara Institute, 2023), h. 16.

of the key initiatives that led to this progress. This strategy involves fostering interfaith discourse, facilitating platforms for interfaith discussion, and actively involving community organizations in fostering social harmony. More open communication allows different religious communities to recognize their problems and collaborate to find inclusive and equitable solutions.

Through a budget policy that allots funds proportionately to different religious groups, the Medan City administration not only fosters collaboration and communication but also guarantees tangible support. Equal access to resources that can support each community's religious activities is the goal of this policy. This help may take the shape of funding for religious event planning, house of worship repairs, or educational initiatives that promote tolerance and respect for diversity.

Efforts to institutionalise tolerance in the city is further enhanced by a more systematic regulation, one of them is releasing the Mayoral Regulation No. 28 of 2021 on the Religious Lives Arrangement and Religious Harmony Forum in the City of Medan. This regulation provides clearer guidance on the governance of religious life in the city, including mechanisms for resolving religious-based conflicts and the role of FKUB in mediating differences that arise in society. With this regulation, the government hopes to create a more harmonious social environment and ensure that the right to religious freedom for all Medan City residents can be respected and protected.

Ira also explained that in the interactions between SETARA Institute and the FKUB for six months, it was found that the quality of the human resources inside the FKUB still have some limitations in deeply understanding the issues of harmony. One of the main challenges identified was the tendency for the FKUB members to perceive issues of tolerance

religious-based conflicts in Medan have been resolved. In reality, there are variety of cases that have not been fairly and totally resolved yet.

This lack of understanding has implications for how FKUB handles religious issues in the community. Instead of delving into the root of the problem and seeking more inclusive solutions based on social justice, FKUB tends to assume stability that appears on the surface reflects true harmony. As a result, many cases of discrimination, rejection of places of worship, or unequal treatment of minority groups are not handled seriously or even ignored.

Furthermore, the efficacy of FKUB programs is also impacted by a lack of thorough comprehension of tolerance-related difficulties. In certain situations, the method is still normative and ignores the important facets of fostering tolerance that lasts. In actuality, FKUB must strengthen its members' capacity by expanding their knowledge of the social, political, and legal factors influencing interfaith relations if it is to achieve true unity.

Moreover, Ira elaborated that in the last few months, some discussions held between Kesbangpol and various minority groups in Medan, which were meant to discuss issues regarding interfaith harmony and diversity. However, there were a number of challenges in putting this approach into practice, particularly in relation to opposition that surfaced when civil society brought up issues or grievances with Kesbangpol. In general, Kesbangpol did not respond positively to criticisms or suggestions from civil society. Kesbangpol essentially "shifted" or diverted responsibility to civil society by requesting them to create official reports or documentation about the issues encountered, rather than attempting to address issues or offer tangible remedies.

This diversion of responsibility indicates a gap between the knowledge and the involvements between the government and civil society in solving diversity problems. This also reflects that government, which in this context is the Kesbangpol, lacks the understanding of the urgency or the complexity of the issues faced by minorities. Instead of opening up the space to discuss and take more inclusive actions, the approach taken worsened the trust between the society and the government, which in turn could hinder the measures to realise a more harmonious and tolerant neighbourhood.

Another issue that has not received serious attention is the lack of adequate recognition of minority groups, especially in terms of religions and beliefs that are not officially recognised by the state. One clear example is the general public's lack of understanding of the Parmalim religion, which is one of the religions followed by some people in North Sumatra. Although this religion has deep historical and cultural roots, its existence is often considered foreign and unknown to many people.

Many people consider Parmalim as a deviant group. This view often appears from the lack of deep understanding of the teachings and religious practices of the said group, as well as stereotypes developing among the society. Consequently, the adherents of Parmalim usually face social discrimination, from marginalisations, prejudices, to verbal and physical violences.

At the same time, the Regional Government also does not understand the transformation that have occurred in the direction of state policy regarding local religious and belief adherents. This is evident from the City's Population and Civil Registry Office's minimal understanding of the Constitutional Court's decision that has legitimised the existence of Faith Groups. As a result, there are still obstacles in accessing public services and administrative matters in Medan. A number of Parmalim members were even refused to be taken care of their marriage documents, so they held their weddings outside Medan.

Regarding the governance on the construction of places of worship, Medan City Government cannot be assumed to have been successful in addressing the problems, since they have not yet solved the one that is faced by *Gereja Elim Kristen Indonesia* (GEKI). It is known that, due to not having the freedom to worship and even prohibited to do so at Suzuya Marelan Plaza, GEKI members routinely held their prayers in front of the City Hall every Sunday. This attitude is to show that the members have not yet received any responses or clear position from the government. 17 praying activities have been held in front of the City Hall since May 2022.²⁷ Even on 8 January 2023, tension grew between the GEKI members holding their prayer and the Chief of Satpol PP Medan, Rakhmat Harahap, due to the latter strongly assumes that the members of GEKI are against the law.²⁸

27 Lihat <https://opsi.id/read/pelarangan-ibadah-jemaat-geki-di-medan-gmki-desak-bobby-nasution-turun>.

28 Lihat <https://medan.tribunnews.com/2023/01/14/jemaat-gereja-bersitegang-dengan-kasatpol-pp-medan-dugaan-larang-beribadah-ini-kata-rakhmat-harahap>.

CHAPTER III

ADVOCACY STRATEGY IN ENHANCING TOLERANCE ECOSYSTEM AND INCLUSION

Departing from the dynamics of tolerance and inclusion in the 5 regions, SETARA Institute exercised several activities to improve the climate of tolerance and inclusion in Medan, Bogor, Semarang, Makassar, and Bandung. Some of those activities include:

1. *Focus Group Discussion (FGD) on Mapping Out Cases of Intolerance in 5 Regions*

Even though SETARA has conducted a desk review to discover the situation and condition in 5 regions, direct primary data collection in the 5 areas of intervention is also important to enhance the information and to delve deeper as well as to verify the preliminary findings from the review. To do this, SETARA held series of FGDs in the five regions by gathering local government officials, CSOs, and minority religious/belief groups. As a result, the map of the cases of violations against FoRB, actor mappings, and advocacy measures that are needed to be exercised in addressing the cases of violations would be the output of the FGD activities which were held in those cities.

2. *Multi-Stakeholder Dialogues*

Starting from the mapping of cases and actors resulting from the FGDs, SETARA identified and combed through the cases and measures that were important to be followed up as parts of the interventions that would be carried out by SETARA in those five regions. After producing a list of cases and an overview of the steps to be taken, SETARA held a

series of online dialogues by inviting several relevant actors and stakeholders to the cases that were going to be intervened, including local government officials, local CSOs, FKUB, and existing minority religions/beliefs in those five cities. This dialogue encouraged local government officials in the five cities to express commitment to advancement of tolerance and increasing social inclusion for religious/belief minority groups.

3. Visits to the Five Regions

Accompanied by the data collected from FGDs and multi-stakeholder dialogues, SETARA visited the five regions to follow up on things that needed to be done in order to improve tolerance and inclusion in the five regions. Meetings with local government officials, local CSOs, and religious/belief minorities were conducted to discuss the resolution of cases to be carried out as well as engagement with the municipal government in encouraging them to take promotional measures to advance tolerance.

Outside of those specialised activities exercised for the advancement of tolerance and social inclusion, SETARA previously had also conducted a variety of activities which were also impacting the enhancement of the climate of tolerance and social inclusion regionally. Trainings were held in Bandung and Bogor with participants coming from CSOs working on various issues of marginalised groups including religious/belief minorities, people with disabilities, women, and gender/sexual diversity. SETARA views the importance of consolidating networks between issues to further amplify the aspirations of marginalised groups. To guarantee continuity, the participants came from five intervention areas, namely CSOs and/or minority groups working in Bogor, Bandung, Medan, Makassar, and Semarang. Thus, the alumni of the training can become key actors who are actively involved in strengthening tolerance and inclusion in those regions.[]

CHAPTER IV

STORIES ON THE ENHANCEMENT OF TOLERANCE AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN FIVE CITIES

A. Defending Resiliency of Tolerance in Bogor

Advancing tolerance in Bogor City in the last three years has shown interesting dynamics since there have been a number of positive developments both at the structural and cultural levels. The most apparent structural development is the ratification of the Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2023 on Bogor as a Human Rights Friendly City. While at the cultural level, it also shows developments where synergy and collaboration have begun to build between Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the Bogor City Government, especially in encouraging more human rights responsive policies at the top level. In this case, SETARA has contributed to the progressiveness of Bogor, both at the structural and cultural levels.

SETARA was quite active and intensive in conducting critical engagement at the structural level with the city government officials, especially the Bogor City Legal Department. Several capacity building in the forms of training, policy dialogues, and audiences with the Bogor City Legal Department is an agenda that was often carried out by SETARA in encouraging the city to take initiatives in maintaining the DNA of tolerance that has truly taken root in Bogor. For example, via an intensive approach, SETARA contributed to encouraging Bogor to formulate a policy on the Regional Action Plan on the Prevention and Mitigation of Violent Extremism Leading to Terrorism (RAD PE). In the context of inclusion, SETARA also succeeded in encouraging the local government to review one of the discriminatory policies, namely the P4S Regulation which discriminates against gender/sexual diversity groups.

Progressions made by the Bogor administration have continuously been shown, where in 12 May 2023 the government along with the regional legislative council adopted the Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2023 on Bogor as a Human Rights Friendly City. This Regional Regulation explicitly stated to respect social and cultural inclusivity which consist of races, religions, ethnicities, languages, customs, and diversity of norms and cultures. Substantially, the Regulation also emphasizes several clauses, including increasing religious tolerance, affirming the guarantee of freedom to embrace religions and beliefs for everyone, freedom to practice religious teachings and beliefs and freedom to establish houses of worship based on various religious teachings and beliefs. Other policies that also contribute to the improvement of tolerance in the city is the Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2023 on the Education of Pancasila and National Insights.

The development of capacity of the Bogor City Government officials as a result of the intervention carried out by SETARA also contributed to the openness of the Bogor city government's attitude in involving groups in the community, especially in formulating other policies including the Draft Mayoral Regulation on Places of Worship, the Draft Mayoral Regulation on Interfaith Harmony, and the Regional Action Plan for Combating Violent Extremism.

At the cultural level, several advocacy strategies have been conducted, with SETARA contributed in the advancement of spaces for interfaith interactions and intersecting issues. Discussions on intersectionality have become amplified among local CSOs in Bogor City. At the same time, several interfaith forums have also been formed, such as Basolia (Interfaith Social Agency), Forbodas (Bogor Peace and Prosperity Forum), and Bobad (Bogor Sharing Peace), the Interfaith Youth Forum (FORMULA) with the support of CSOs and

the government as facilitators. These fora actively facilitate dialogues on addressing interfaith conflicts and creating spaces for interfaith interaction and collaboration. The increasing role of these forums has also had an impact on increasing trust and strengthening relations between religious groups through inclusive and respectful dialogues. Likewise, by facilitating dialogues to resolve religious-based conflicts, these fora are able to prevent the escalation of tensions and create solutions that are acceptable to all parties.

These forums also expand the number of interfaith gathering places in Bogor, which is anticipated to foster interfaith cooperation and a greater understanding of diversity. Early conflict prevention is made possible by more thorough and transparent exchanges across religious communities, which also serve to lower tension and prejudice. Additionally, FORMULA gives young people a place to connect in order to foster more interfaith relationships and help them comprehend the value of diversity and the significance of coexisting peacefully with differences. Young people can also learn how to have productive conversations and settle disputes amicably through FORMULA.

Festivals involving diversity are another way that Bogor City celebrates efforts to foster tolerance. Among these is the Red and White Festival (*Festival Merah Putih*), a strategic initiative event that represents cooperation between the Bogor City Government and the CSOs in advancing the ideals of plurality and diversity. This annual festival serves as a forum to promote social harmony within Bogor's multicultural community in addition to being a ceremonial occasion. August 17 is the apex of this month-long celebration. Festivals are usually filled with cultural, sports, and social-themed activities. In 2023, for example, the Red and White Festival will be filled with various activities, including a fashion show



Other policies that also contribute to the improvement of tolerance in the city is the Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2023 on the Education of Pancasila and National Insights.

competition, the Red and White Fair (*Festival Merah Putih*), photo competition, interfaith joint prayers, and the *Kirab Merah Putih*.²⁹

Despite several progresses have been achieved, in fact there are still some challenges that are needed to be addressed by the Bogor administration in the context of tolerance. One of the issues is the Imam Ahmad Ibnu Hambal Mosque (MIAH), which until now has not been able to continue its construction because some people reject it on the grounds that their religious beliefs are different, as well as on the accusations of the way they preach offends the traditional sect mainstream in Bogor. This is becoming more complicated due to the government seems to be in a dilemma, with one hand wanting to provide a guarantee of religious freedom for MIAH members, while on the other wanting to ensure and maintain that the conduciveness and order in Bogor. Currently, the Bogor City Government tends to use a law-and-order approach by revoking the MIAH's building permit and freezing its construction process.

From various advocacy strategies that had been exercised, both at the governmental and societal levels, some considerations are needed to be taken in conducting the next advocacy agenda, which are: *Firstly*, the path of policy pertaining to tolerance is significantly influenced by leadership. Policies under more conservative leadership are typically exclusive and less inclusive. Initiatives to enhance and fortify peace through more inclusive policies,

as the establishment of the Human Rights Regulation in Bogor City, do, however, arise when there is a shift in leadership with a more progressive stance.

Secondly, discriminatory policies, such as the ban on Ahmadiyah and Shia communities' activities, as well as the P4S Regulation, have reduced the city's reputation as a harmonious region. This shows that unjust policies can damage public trust and trigger social conflicts. *Thirdly*, one of the key elements in promoting policy changes is pressure from civil society. The proposal to develop a policy on the construction of places of worship and tolerance for religious communities, which ultimately resulted in the Regional Regulation on Human Rights, demonstrates the important role that civil society organizations play in fostering tolerance and inclusivity.

Fourthly, the involvement of civil society, academics, religious figures, and the City Government in the intersectoral dialogue is proven to be effective in toning down conflicts and finding collectively agreed solutions. This matter can be viewed from the adoption of more inclusive policies after critics and suggestions came from various parties. *Fifthly*, policies that emphasise on social, cultural, and religious inclusivity, are the keys to establish more robust tolerance. The Regional Regulation on Human Rights is not only giving legal protection, but also to enhance values of diversity as Bogor's social assets.

29 Lihat <https://travel.kompas.com/read/2024/07/05/191908427/mengenal-festival-merah-putih-perayaan-kemerdekaan-ri-di-kota-bogor>.

B. ADVANCING TOLERANCE TOWARDS RELIGIOUS/BELIEF MINORITIES IN MAKASSAR

In the past year, SETARA has encouraged civil society in Makassar City to consolidate across issues to form a new initiative called the South Sulawesi Community Alliance Coalition (Koalisi ASPIRASI Sulsel), an alliance consisting of marginalised groups and CSOs across issues in Makassar City, namely disabilities, religious/belief minorities, gender and sexual diversity groups, to activists and CSOs working on women's issues. This coalition eliminates the boundaries that have so far hindered social inclusion even in the societal movement environment. For instance, the Shia community, which has often experienced exclusion, is present amidst the plurality of marginalised groups in the ASPIRASI Coalition.

Not only that, the presence of ASPIRASI in South Sulawesi has become a new spirit to advocacy movement to synergise in the promotion of the rights of marginalised groups. For instance, a group of people with disabilities in Makassar who had previously only collaborated with other organizations working on disability issues, finally realized that it was not only their group that had experienced discrimination, but also minority groups of religion/belief and even gender and sexual diversity. This shared experience then fostered the spirit to further enhance collaborative work across issues to further amplify the movement.

As the name suggests, the South Sulawesi ASPIRASI Coalition functions as a liaison between the community and the government, with the main objective of collecting aspirations from various levels of society and conveying them directly to the regional executive. In addition, this coalition also acts as a consolidation forum for various advocacy efforts carried out by CSOs in Makassar.

Through this collective approach, the ASPIRASI Coalition not only strengthens the voice of the community, but also encourages synergy between various groups to fight for cross-sector issues, such as diversity, human rights, education, environment, and social welfare. The existence of this coalition is an indication of the importance of civil society collaboration in building more inclusive and responsive governance at the local level.

By understanding these dynamics, strengthening inclusion and tolerance in Makassar has a strong foundation thanks to the active role of local CSOs that have long advocated for issues of diversity, tolerance, and freedom of religion or belief. In recent years, the advocacy approach has evolved from being sectoral to collaborative and cross-issue, as reflected in the formation of Jalin Harmoni and the ASPIRASI Coalition.

These initiatives not only to facilitate dialogue spaces and cooperations between religious communities, but also to bridge the aspirations of the community to the government, creating opportunities for more inclusive policies. Activities such as the Interfaith Camp and interfaith discussions demonstrate the success of participatory approaches in responding to social challenges. Although progress has been made, it is important for the government to strengthen its commitment and cooperation with CSOs in addressing discrimination, intolerance, and extremism, thus the governance that is responsive to diversity and social harmony can be created.

From the advocacy dynamics carried out in Makassar, several lessons that can be learned include: *Firstly*, despite showing progress in the management of tolerance and inclusion,

challenges such as existing discriminatory policies and slow responses to the new policy initiatives indicate that the government's commitment must be stronger and more consistent. To achieve social harmony, there needs to be better collaboration between the government and civil society.

Secondly, significant changes in the advocacy approach by the CSOs in the city from a sectoral to the more collaborative and intersectional show that efforts to build social inclusion are more effective when they involve various parties. Coalitions such as Jalin Harmoni and the ASPIRASI South Sulawesi Coalition are examples of how to integrate various perspectives and sectors to respond to important issues in diversity. *Thirdly*, success in creating inclusive spaces and policies that are more responsive to diversity relies on close partnerships between the government and CSOs. Such synergy allows the community to

be more involved in formulating policies that are fairer and more equitable for all groups, including minorities.

Fourthly, despite progresses in creating tolerance and diversity policies, the main challenge is maintaining the sustainability and implementation of these policies. The City Government must be more proactive in involving the community in policy planning and monitoring so that sustainable results can be achieved and the benefits can be felt by all groups. *Fifthly*, the experience of government elements who tend to be cautious in responding to issues related to minority groups such as Ahmadiyah and Shia shows that more inclusive and safe policies and approaches need to be developed. Safe spaces are needed for minority groups to be able to worship and express their beliefs without fear of threats or discrimination.

C. SAFEGUARDING PROGRESSION OF TOLERANCE IN BANDUNG

SETARA took action in Bandung at the level of civil society as well as the City Government. Action was taken by enhancing the capabilities of the local government officials and members of the society. Members of Kesbangpol in Bandung were previously unaware that there were other religions except the six (Islam, Christianity, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhism, Confucianism) that the government recognised. Kesbangpol members started taking initiatives to identify belief followers in Bandung City after SETARA implemented a number of advocacy methods through various programs that united Kesbangpol with different belief groups. Departing from an understanding of Human Rights and inclusive governance provided by SETARA and local CSOs in Bandung, Kesbangpol Bandung City took the initiative to visit the office of the Indonesian Supreme Council of Beliefs (MLKI) and identify

constitutional rights issues that are still faced by the Faith Groups.

As a result, not only recognition that was done, Kesbangpol also facilitated the fulfilment of rights to several Faith Groups that still suffer from discrimination. For example, Kesbangpol facilitated a meeting between the Bandung Civil Registration Office (Disdukcapil) and the Faith Groups to obtain an ID card. The capacity of Kesbangpol is heading towards progression, like the way they facilitated the right to jobs, Kesbangpol supported the meeting between Faith Groups and the Region-Owned Enterprises (BUMD) to ensure that there are some companies willing to work with the groups.

Not only that, Kesbangpol also facilitated the oath of office for faith adherents who work in the formal sector or government institutions. In fact, Kesbangpol's progress

is also manifested formally in the form of regulations, namely the birth of Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2023 on Public Funeral Services that are inclusive for adherents of beliefs who have often experienced difficulties in obtaining funeral services.

This regulation is a step forward in providing inclusive services for Faith Groups. This regulation stipulates Special Burial Places (TPK) which accommodate cemeteries that have historical or cultural value. This will certainly provide recognition for the cemeteries owned by adherent groups of beliefs because of the consideration of having cultural value.

In the same year, the Bandung City Government also adopted two important policies, which are the Mayoral Regulation No. 4 of 2023 on the Regional Action Plan on the Prevention and Mitigation of Violent Extremism Leaning Towards Terrorism (RAD PE) and the Mayoral Decree No. 300/Kep. 336-Bakesbangpol/2023 on RAD PE Working Group. These two policies are important steps made by the City Government. The drafting process of RAD PE had involved a variety of civil society elements including CSOs, religious organisations, indigenous communities, youths, academics, women, and many more.

The existence of these two policies shows a more concrete commitment from the Bandung City Government in building a more inclusive and safer city for all its citizens. The process of formulating the RAD PE also reflects a more participatory approach, where various elements of society are involved in the discussion and preparation. The presence of CSOs, religious and indigenous community organisations, youths, academics, and women's groups in the drafting process is expected to ensure that the resulting policies are not only top-down, but also rooted in the needs and social realities that exist in society.

Effective implementation of these two policies is also expected to strengthen the synergy between the government, civil society, and various stakeholders in an effort to maintain stability and harmony in the city of Bandung.

At the community level, based on information from Wawan Gunawan, one of the SETARA networks in Bandung City, one of the important developments in the local government's efforts to strengthen tolerance is the increasing communication between CSOs and the Bandung City National and Political Unity Agency (Bakesbangpol). Under a more open leadership, Bakesbangpol has demonstrated the commitment to building collaboration with various parties, including through a personal-based approach.

Despite those measures are signalling positivity, expectation on a significant transformation is still needed to be realistically managed. Several initiatives that have been conducted, such as the presence of the Head of Bakesbangpol in the *Saling Mendengar* activity, might have shown openness in considering the community's aspiration. Alongside that, recognition of the Faith Groups has begun to receive more attention, which is marked by the facilitation of audiences and registration of the identity of believers in the KTP through cooperation with the Disdukcapil. The local government also provides symbolic support by holding a joint meal activity as a form of inclusivity for the community of believers.

Those actions may reflect the preliminary important efforts in developing inclusive spaces for minorities. However, in order to achieve more systematic and sustainable transformations, there shall be more concrete policies and a long-term commitment in promoting tolerance and diversity in Bandung.

In addition, the relationship between the local government and the FKUB is increasingly improved. City Government shows a greater support for FKUB, both in

terms of coordination and in implementing programs aimed at strengthening social harmony. Strengthening this relationship is a strategic step in building synergy between the government, religious communities, and civil society groups in maintaining tolerance and responding to potential challenges of diversity at the local level.

In the eyes of civil society groups in the city of Bandung, there are two models of the government's approach to building tolerance so far. Before 2020, the government's approach tended to be elitist and formality-based. Although there is some progress, the impact was not significant yet. This is different from the approach adopted in the last five years, where the government has tried to expand cross-stakeholder collaboration, which is very important for the inclusion to be felt at the grassroots level. This change has begun to be felt by both CSOs and groups that have been affected by intolerant actions.

Another significant progress at the community level is the strengthening of cross-issue CSO consolidation in advocacy work in the city of Bandung. Similar to Makassar, SETARA also encouraged the birth of the ASPIRASI West Java Coalition, a forum for marginalised groups and CSOs working on issues of disability, religious/belief minorities, women, and even gender/sexual diversity groups. The existence of the West Java ASPIRASI Coalition is recognised by Coalition members as a new spirit, especially for marginalised groups. The shared fighting spirit from various marginalised groups that are consolidated into one increases the sense of safety and comfort of minority groups to make them feel that they are not fighting alone. Experience of discrimination faced by various marginalised groups is consolidated into one spirit, and is a new step that will strengthen the advocacy for the rights of the marginalised in the city of Bandung.

Several observations that have turned into lessons came from multiple accounts of change brought about by a number of advocacy tactics used in the city of Bandung. These include: *Firstly*, the participation of numerous stakeholders, including as academics, religious organizations, and civil society (CSOs), is actually essential to the success of Bandung's tolerance campaign. This partnership demonstrates that fostering tolerance calls for a collaborative and inclusive strategy rather than only government-imposed top-down measures. *Secondly*, despite advancements in tolerance, there are still inconsistencies in government policies and actions, such as Mayor Yana Mulyana's ANNAS office inauguration. This demonstrates how crucial it is to uphold inclusive principles and maintain policy consistency in order to foster public trust.

Thirdly, the suicide bombing incident at the Astanaanyar Police Station is a reminder that radicalisation is still a real threat. Policies such as the RAD PE (Regional Action Plan for the Prevention and Countermeasures of Extremism) are strategic measures, but implementation and coordination with various parties must continue to be strengthened. *Fourthly*, the continued existence of "conditional tolerance," such as acceptance of religious minority groups with certain limitations, shows that inclusion has not yet fully realized. A truly inclusive policy must guarantee the rights of all groups without discrimination. *Fifthly*, the success in promoting tolerant policies in Bandung was greatly influenced by pressures and advocacies from the civil society. This shows that change does not only depend on the government, but also on the active participation of the community in demanding justice and inclusivity.

D. FORMULATING ADVOCACY STRATEGIES IN RESOLVING VIOLATIONS AGAINST FORB IN SEMARANG

From the few measures of the Semarang City Government in advancing tolerance, the development of a new form of tolerance ecosystem is through the foundation of the *Kampung Moderasi Beragama* (Religious Moderation Village) in 2 *kelurahan* (wards) and the development of *Kampung Pancasila* (Pancasila Village) collaboratively with the civil society elements.³⁰ In the past two years, a number of CSOs in Semarang City have expressed the view that the development of tolerance in the city seems stagnant and has not made significant progress. This is clearly seen in one important indicator, namely the hampered discussion and implementation of the Semarang City Regional Action Plan for the Prevention of Violent Extremism (RAD PE). The process that should have strengthened efforts to prevent radicalisation and extremism has instead reached a dead end and has not shown any progressions from the local government.

Even though the RAD PE has been promulgated through the Mayoral Regulation No. 40 of 2024, the drafting and the deliberation processes took a very long time, which describes how the local government viewed the urgency of such policy. The hampering of the deliberation of RAD PE for almost a year reflects that Semarang has not fully realise how essential it is to respond to the threat of violent extremism that can destroy social harmony.

In the FGD, it was discovered by several tolerance activists who highlighted numerous issues that have not yet been handled by the Semarang City Government. For instance, the impacts of the Mayoral Regulation No. 46 of 2021, some Heads of Wards declined to give an approval to the construction of places of

worship if the RT and/or RW have not yet given any consent. This, in their opinion, is limiting the fulfilment of FoRB. With the said Regulation, the permitting process has become more difficult due to the variety of interpretations from the local government officials.

Another issue that has been discovered is the problem that the Confucian and Faith Groups members are facing, which reflects the unjust and difficulties that they are suffering in conducting their freedom to believe and free from discrimination in Indonesia. Regarding the request of the Confucian community to have a place of worship that is free from the addition of the TITD (Tri Dharma Place of Worship) label, this is more than just an administrative or name issue. It is a matter of recognition, comfort, and religious identity. The addition of the TITD label to each shrine is often considered to reduce the authenticity and speciality of their place of worship as a pure place for Confucian worship. In their view, a place of worship that is not labelled as the TITD will give them a greater sense of appreciation for their religion and show full recognition of the existence of the Confucian religion as an independent entity. With the absence of the TITD label, they feel more appreciated and recognised as part of the community that has the right to worship without any restrictions or discrimination. This is not only a matter of physical comfort in the place of worship, but also includes recognition of their religion in the public sphere, as part of a respected diversity.

Meanwhile, regarding the request of religious adherents for a solution to the problem of marriage, namely the need for a

30 Ikhsan Yosarie, *Indeks Kota Toleran tahun 2023*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2023), h. 15.

guidebook for marriage procedures that are in accordance with their beliefs, this touches on a more fundamental aspect of personal life—namely the right to conduct marriage according to the teachings of their religion and beliefs. According to MLKI, currently, Faith Groups in Semarang face difficulties in carrying out legal marriages without having to follow procedures or methods that conflict with the teachings of their beliefs.

The absence of a guidebook or unclear procedures on marriage for Faith Groups members that are in accordance with their beliefs causes legal and social uncertainty for them. In addition, the inability to carry out marriages according to their beliefs can increase feelings of marginalisation and alienation. Solutions to these problems are essential to ensure that their rights as citizens with freedom of beliefs are protected, and that they can enjoy civil rights on an equal basis with adherents of other religions.

Semarang's track record in enhancing tolerance highlights more of the roles of civil society rather than structural efforts made by the city government. This is also reinforced by the 2022 IKT conducted by SETARA Institute, which found that the factor that boosted the position of the IKT of Semarang City that year was the strengthening of social regulations that support a climate of tolerance. Semarang civil society's track record in developing and strengthening tolerance has been going on for quite a long time and over time the actors involved have increased with a broader focus of attention. Initially, civil society groups that focused on the issue of tolerance were pioneered by eLSA, a civil society organization founded by activists from IAIN Semarang. This institution conducts studies and monitoring, public education and advocacy on cases of intolerance in Semarang and its surroundings. The attention of this institution is not only focused on the city of Semarang but also Central Java in general.

In the last five years, CSOs that are advocating on the issues of tolerance in Semarang, are continuing to expand. This is triggered by several cases of intolerance, such as the case of a student from a Faith Group, as well as Ahmadiyah members and the case of Tlogosari Church. Recently, the new actors consist of LBH Semarang, Jaringan Gusdurian, IPNU, GP Ansor, and Pelita have involved in advocacy and enhancement of tolerance. Even religious organisations such as MLKI, PGKS, BAMAG, PMII, KOPRI, HAAK, and Ahmadiyah are also participating in the interfaith dialogues.

Participation of those communities strengthens the role of civil society in campaigning for tolerance in Semarang. With the presence of those new actors, advocacies on tolerance in will be more structured and will have a much wider scope. They do not only have a role in handling cases of intolerance, but also in developing awareness and educating the community on the importance of diversity and respect towards the right to religions and beliefs.

GP Ansor, for instance, is trusted and often involved in the drafting of government policies on diversity and tolerance. Moreover, they are also actively safeguarding the celebration of various religious days, which is showing their commitment in developing interfaith harmony.

However, although this role has a positive impact in maintaining social stability, there are still challenges in the form of negative perceptions from some people. Some parties view GP Ansor's involvement in maintaining other religious celebrations as something that is not in line with their Islamic identity. This stigma often appears in the form of cynical comments that question why Islamic organizations play a role in securing non-Muslim religious activities.

Similar challenges are also faced by eLSA, which is active in advocating for the rights of religious minority groups. As an organisation that focuses on protecting freedom of religion and belief, eLSA often provides legal assistance and advocacy to communities experiencing discrimination, including the Ahmadiyah Congregation and Faith adherents. However, the society's perception towards the role of eLSA is often being confused. Many of them assumed ELSA to not only advocate for those minorities, but a part of group. This view is often creating negative stigmas, which makes ELSA facing resistance from certain groups that perceive them as exclusively siding with certain minority groups, not on the wider issues of FoRB.

While Pelita is youth community that is also actively promoting tolerance and diversity in Semarang. As a liaison for interfaith groups, they are not only constructing dialogues, but also concretely assist in the settlement of religious-based conflicts. One of their main focuses is the advancement of human rights norms, especially the right to FoRB.

With its mediation role, Pelita has demonstrated its role by bridging communication between the Shia Islam community and the FKUB about the security of the Ashura celebration. This measure was important to ensure that the celebration can take place without interference from groups that reject Shia's existence. In addition, Pelita also collaborates with LBH and eLSA in assisting in resolving conflicts over places of worship, such as the case of the Tlogosari Church and the Pancasila Church in Sendangmulyo.

Beyond conflict resolution efforts, Pelita is also active in building a culture of peace through various programs involving communities across religions. To improve understanding between religious communities, events including interfaith parades, the Anak

Semarang Damai program, which involves school and university students, and visits to sites of worship are organized. Additionally, they educate the community about various religions and beliefs and participate in radio broadcasts of interfaith forums organized in collaboration with FKUB.

In conducting these various initiatives, Pelita seeks to collaborate with the government so that the resulting policies are more inclusive and support efforts to build tolerance. Collaboration with the government is a strategic step to ensure that tolerance-strengthening work is not only sporadic and community-based, but also receives stronger institutional support. With civil society groups becoming more active in advocating for tolerance, religious organizations and communities are becoming more courageous in voicing the various problems they face. This courage reflects the positive impact of advocacy work in Semarang. Religious groups now feel they have more space to articulate their interests in the context of FoRB.

To give an example, the MLKI has openly voiced out the importance of Marriage Guidelines for Faith Groups. Clarity in the guidelines is crucial for the traditional faith communities to have clear legal basis in exercising their marriage, so that their rights as citizens will be more recognisable and protected.

Meanwhile, the Interfaith Relations (HAAK) which represented the Catholics, highlighted the issue on burial for Catholics, which in some cases are still hampered mainly by not being able to obtain any specialised cemetery. Furthermore, they also highlighted the difficulty in holding choirs, which in some places required permissions from the local association (RT).

The Inter-Church Consultative Body (BAMAG), as a representative of Christians, has also begun to be more vocal in conveying

the obstacles they face. One of them is the difficulty of holding religious practices which are often considered disturbing to local residents, even though these activities are part of legitimate religious practices. In addition, BAMAG also highlights the problem of church construction which is often questioned by local residents, both due to administrative factors and objections from certain groups.

The overall issues voiced by various religious communities show that although advocacies for tolerance are growing, there are still structural and social challenges that need to be addressed. With more communities are encouraged to speak up, it is hoped that the government and the wider community can better understand and provide fair solutions to the various problems of diversity in the city of Semarang.

From the various dynamics of the tolerance situation in Semarang City, several notes that can be learned are: *Firstly*, despite the Semarang City Government having several policies related to tolerance, the main role in building and maintaining a climate of tolerance is actually played by CSOs and religious communities. Groups such as eLSA, LBH Semarang, the Gusdurian Network, and GP Ansor have played an active role in advocacy, education, and assistance in cases of intolerance. Strengthening tolerance cannot

only rely on government policies, but requires active community involvement.

Secondly, the Mayoral Regulation No. 46 of 2021 on the Establishment of Places of Worship indicates that a not inclusive policy can complicate the permit and potentially hindering the fulfilment of FoRB. Policies that are not formulated by considering various perspectives of the community can create new hindrances rather than solutions. There shall be a more participative policy approach, in which minority groups and civil society are involved in the formulation of regulations. *Thirdly*, the hampered discussion and implementation of the Regional Action Plan for the Prevention of Violent Extremism (RAD PE) shows that the government has not fully considered the urgency of this issue as a priority. Delays in responding to the challenges of diversity can exacerbate potential conflicts and prolong the injustice experienced by minority groups.

Fourthly, initiatives such as the Religious Moderation Village and the Pancasila Village show that when the government works together with civil society, efforts to build tolerance become more effective. The involvement of religious communities in interfaith dialogue and cooperation in social activities also contribute greatly to creating social harmony.

E. ENCOURAGING THE ACCELERATION OF RESOLUTIONS ON VIOLATIONS AGAINST FORB IN MEDAN CITY

History of the enhancement of tolerance in Medan indicated two different directions and approaches between the City Government and the civil society. This is caused by the strengthening of tolerance that involves the Medan City Government and the society is still hampered by contrasting approaches taken by the two sides. The government tends to focus on creating conduciveness, emphasising on

the importance of order between groups and to ensure there is not a single open conflict that occurs in the community. In other words, the main objective of the government is to create social stability, which is usually measured through minimalised tensions or disputes that involve religious and belief differences. This approach, although it is important to keeping the harmony, does not fully reflect a deeper

understanding on diversity and the rights of minorities, including religious and belief minorities that are not officially recognised, must be protected.

Meanwhile, the civil society has a broader and deeper perspective on the importance of ensuring that the rights of minority groups, especially the right to FoRB, are properly guaranteed by the state. Civil society groups emphasize that tolerance is not only about avoiding conflict, but also in providing equal space and protection for all groups, including those who may not have official recognition or are still marginalised in the society. This includes, for example, issues related to the establishment of houses of worship for minority religious groups or issues of services for Faith Groups who do not receive fair treatment in state administration, such as in matters of marriage or religious education.

Incompatibilities between the government's and civil society's views on strengthening tolerance creates contradictory dynamics in the policy-making process. The local government, in its efforts to create social stability, tends to focus on maintaining harmony between groups, without deeply exploring the issues of rights that are still neglected, especially those related to minority groups and religious believers. The government often views harmony in a simpler framework, namely the lack of open conflict, without realising that diversity in society requires broader and deeper protection of individual rights. This leads to the neglecting of structural problems, such as discrimination or restrictions on religious freedom for groups that are not officially recognised by the state.

On the other hand, tolerance-strengthening actors in the civil society, such as the ASB, BAKUMSU, LBH Medan, KontraS, and HAPSARI, are working hard to fight for the rights of minority groups and increase inclusivity in government policies.

These groups are often at the forefront of advocating for the rights to freedom of religion and belief, and demanding deeper policy changes. However, despite good intentions to collaborate and synergize with the government, there are still significant obstacles in its implementation. One of them is a deep difference in perspective on how tolerance should be implemented. The government and civil society have different perspectives on what should be the priority in advancing tolerance. For the government, the focus is more on creating visible harmony, while civil society places more emphasis on recognizing and fulfilling the basic rights of every individual, especially from marginalised groups.

Furthermore, other obstacles in the civil society cooperation with the government is the uncertainty or differences in communication and coordination between both parties. Even though the society is feeling like they have explained the issues and proposed concrete solutions, but the government has not adequately and significantly responded or involved them in the decision-making process. In some cases, there are some initiatives such as the one that was done by ASB to build collaboration, but the incompatibility in the approach and perspective becomes a big challenge in creating an effective collaboration.

To achieve a real enhancement of tolerance, it is essential for governments and civil society to develop more open communications and mutual understandings. Closer cooperation between the two parties, taking into account different perspectives but focusing on common goals, can lead to more inclusive policies and more equitable protection of the rights of minority groups.

Based on the dynamics of tolerance in Medan, some lessons can be considered which include: *Firstly*, success in strengthening tolerance is highly dependent on the

consistency and commitment of the existing leadership. In the case of Medan, although initially there were good and inclusive efforts in encouraging interfaith dialogue, changes in leadership in FKUB showed this commitment could be hampered. Changes in policy and programme directions, especially those related to the recognition of minority groups, could damage existing achievements. Therefore, it is important to ensure that tolerance policies do not depend on individuals or changes in leadership alone, but rather become part of a larger and more sustainable system.

Secondly, one of the main lessons is the need for more inclusive policies, which accommodate various religious and belief groups, including adherents of faiths that are not recognised by the state. Policies that do not include the rights of minority groups or do not provide space for them in the policy structure risk creating discrimination or injustice. This shows that the policies that are formed need to consider and accommodate the diversity that exists in society, not only talking about harmony between religions, but also about equal rights in practicing respective beliefs.

Thirdly, discrimination against minority groups, whether in the form of social exclusion or rejection to places of worship, shows that existing policies are not yet effective enough in addressing the problem. This provides a

lesson that government efforts to address the problem of discrimination must involve a more systematic and in-depth approach, including stricter law enforcements and more open dialogue with affected groups.

Fourthly, tolerance is not only limited to avoiding conflict, but must also include fair protection of rights of minorities. The government often focuses on superficial social stability, but this is not adequate to guarantee diversity is respected comprehensively. To achieve true tolerance, it is essential to understand that diversity requires deeper protection of individual rights, including recognition of religious groups or beliefs that are not officially recognised by the state.

Fifth, the importance of building an effective collaboration between government and civil society. Although there are good intentions from both parties to work together, differences in perspective often become a major obstacle in achieving common goals. The government often focuses more on superficial harmony, while civil society places more emphasis on fulfilling the basic rights of individuals, especially marginalised groups. More open collaboration, with mutual understanding of different perspectives, can create more inclusive and equitable policies.[]

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Based on the advocacy experience that had been conducted by SETARA in those five cities, some concluding remarks can be made from each city as follows:

1. The dynamics tolerant policies in Bogor showed the importance of the role of a progressive leadership in advancing inclusive policies and fostering diversity. Discriminatory policies, such as the prohibitions of Ahmadiyah and Shia, have become challenges in realising social inclusion, mainly towards the religious/belief minorities. Despite this, the pressure from the civil society and involvements of various parties, including academics, religious figures, and government officials, have encouraged a more inclusive transformation, like the promulgation of the Mayoral Regulation of Human Rights City. Policies that emphasise on social, cultural, and religious inclusion become the key to enhance tolerance and diversity in Bogor.
2. Despite Makassar have shown progress in managing tolerance and inclusion, obstacles such as discriminatory policies that still exist and the slow follow-up to the newly proposed policies showed that a stronger and more consistent commitment from the local government is required. Better collaboration between the government and the civil society is the key to success in creating inclusive and responsive policies towards diversity, which is reflected in a tight partnership between the government and the CSOs. While there are some progresses, it is crucial to safeguard the sustainability and the implementation of the policies in order for the benefits to be shared by all groups, including the minorities, by opening up safe spaces for them to express their beliefs without discrimination.
3. Several successful initiatives for tolerance in Bandung are relying on the element of collaboration, including the civil society, academics, and religious communities, to reflect on the urgency of

inclusive and participatory approaches. However, some contradicting policies from the government are still hindering the consistency in the application of inclusive values, as well as the obstacle of radicalisation indicated by the need to enhance the implementation of prevention of extremism policy. Even though there are some progressions, tolerance in Bandung is still ‘conditional’ and not fully inclusive yet, which is indicating the need for more just and non-discriminatory policies, that is also affected by active advocacies by the civil society in promoting changes.

4. Semarang has promulgated a policy on tolerance, but the main role in initiating and defending climate of tolerance is played by the CSOs and religious organisations. Organisations such as ELSA, LBH Semarang, and Jaringan Gusdurian are active in advocating and educating the masses, which shows that the enhancement of tolerance needs an active participation from the public. Policies such as the Mayoral Regulation No. 46 of 2021—which is not yet inclusive—as well as the delayed implementation of the RAD PE, indicated that the importance of more participative and responsive policies towards diversity. Numerous initiatives

such as the Religious Moderation Villages and Pancasila Village show that collaborations between government and the society can effectively realise tolerance and a more resilient social harmony.

5. Enhancement of tolerance in Medan is dependent on the consistency and the commitment of a continual leadership, as well as inclusive policies that accommodate the rights of minorities, including Faith Groups that are not recognised by the state. Discriminations against minorities points out that the current policies have not yet been effective, and the efforts of the government need to involve a more systematic approach, with a strict law enforcement and an open dialogue. Tolerance shall be beyond avoiding conflicts and must consist of a just protection to individual rights. Alongside that, an open and understanding collaboration between the government and the civil society is essential in achieving more just and inclusive policies.[]

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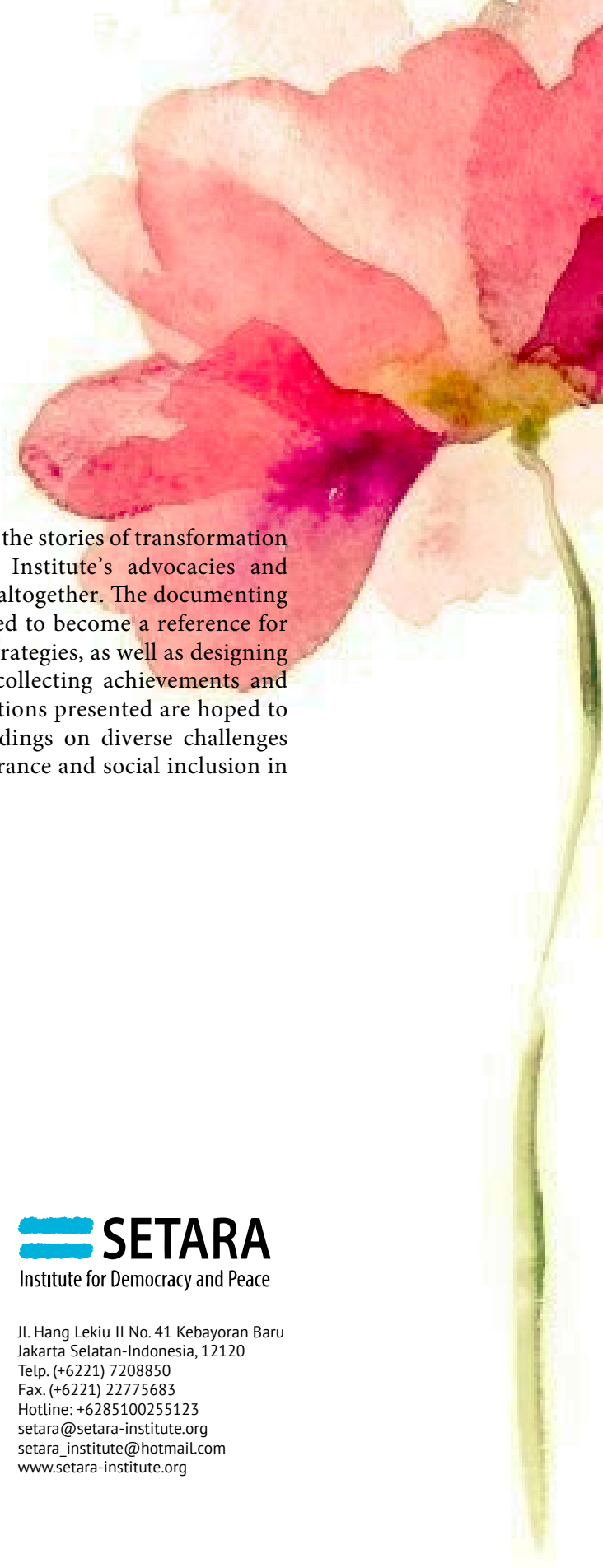
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This book is written to document the stories of transformation from the results of both SETARA Institute's advocacies and INKLUSI Consortium's programmes altogether. The documenting of success stories in this book is hoped to become a reference for policymaking, developing advocacy strategies, as well as designing new programmes in the future. By collecting achievements and notes from various regions, the narrations presented are hoped to give more comprehensive understandings on diverse challenges and opportunities in pushing for tolerance and social inclusion in all geographic and social contexts.

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