

Conflict Resolution Strategies in Establishing Minority Religious Places of Worship in Semarang, Indonesia

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Abstract. The urgency of this research arises from persistent legal, social, and political resistance to the establishment of minority religious places of worship in Indonesia, which threatens constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and local social cohesion. This study aims to identify and critically analyse conflict resolution strategies employed in the process of establishing minority houses of worship in Semarang City. Adopting a qualitative, descriptive–analytical design, the research uses semi-structured interviews with minority religious leaders, community representatives, and government officials, complemented by direct observation at contentious sites and systematic document analysis of regulations, policy documents, and media reports. Data were examined using thematic analysis, and validity was enhanced through source and method triangulation. The findings reveal a set of interrelated strategies centred on sustained dialogue forums, multi-stakeholder mediation led by municipal agencies, informal negotiation at the neighbourhood level, and incremental regulatory accommodation, which together reduce escalation and create space for mutually acceptable agreements. Nonetheless, unresolved issues persist, including asymmetric power relations, ambiguous procedural standards, and the vulnerability of local agreements to broader political dynamics. The study concludes that durable conflict resolution requires institutionalised and transparent mechanisms that integrate dialogue, mediation, citizenship education, and predictable, fair licensing procedures. The novelty of this research lies in its fine-grained, context-specific mapping of how these strategies are operationalised locally within Indonesia’s regulatory regime on houses of worship. The article contributes conceptually to scholarship on the governance of religious diversity and offers concrete policy guidance for local governments and civil society actors seeking to manage conflicts around minority places of worship.

Keywords: *Conflict Resolution Strategy; House of worship; Social conflict; Minority Religions; Semarang City Indonesia*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has long been portrayed as a paradigmatic example of religious tolerance, rooted in its ideological commitment to unity in diversity and its rich mosaic of cultures and beliefs (Utomo & Wasino, 2020). Yet, beneath this normative ideal, the establishment of minority religious places of worship frequently becomes a trigger for social tension and contestation (Suneki & Yunus, 2023). Disputes over permits for churches, monasteries, and other minority houses of worship reveal persistent frictions between constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and local socio-political realities (Rachmadhani et al., 2023; Suneki et al., 2024). Comparative research shows that public resistance to new houses of worship, particularly when

associated with religious minorities or migrants, is a recurrent phenomenon in diverse democracies (Schnabel, 2024; Tamimi Arab, 2013; Widana & Wirata, 2023). Places of worship function not only as ritual sites but also as social hubs, shelters, and symbolic homes, which makes their spatial presence politically salient and sometimes contested (Al-Kohlani & Campbell, 2022; Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Bonfanti & Bertolani, 2023; Bertolani et al., 2021).

A growing body of literature underscores that minority religious communities often face structural and cultural barriers, including restrictive regulations, discriminatory planning decisions, and majoritarian anxieties over demographic and cultural change (Andersen, 2019; Burhanuddin & Pasilaputra, 2020; Kurtarir & Ökten, 2018; Miswari, 2018; Mantu, 2021; Tampubolon, 2021). Similar dynamics are visible in Europe, North America, and Asia, where concerns about security, social cohesion, or national identity are mobilised to oppose or delay the construction of mosques, temples, churches, or other minority prayer spaces (Allen, 2010; Kuah-Pearce, 1998; Laukaitytė, 2013; Scholz, 2019; Seo, 2012; Tamimi Arab, 2013; Travis, 2017). In Indonesia, legal and institutional guarantees of religious freedom coexist with regulatory frameworks and local practices that may, in effect, constrain minority communities' ability to build and maintain places of worship (Mantu, 2021; Rokhmad, 2016; Suneki et al., 2022). These tensions underscore the urgency of understanding how conflicts around the establishment of houses of worship are managed and resolved in practice.

Despite Indonesia's normative commitment to pluralism, conflict between majority and minority religious groups remains a recurrent challenge, often rooted in fear, prejudice, and historical patterns of marginalisation (Tang, 2009; Iwasaki et al., 2005). Disputes emerge not only from overt intolerance but also from ambiguous regulatory procedures, competing interpretations of local consent, and perceptions that new houses of worship may disturb the "balance" of religious presence in a neighbourhood (Haryono et al., 2023; Suneki et al., 2024). In some cases, places of worship are established without clear compliance with existing regulations, which can exacerbate tensions and provide justification for resistance or closure (Haryono et al., 2023). These dynamics resonate with broader debates on the governance of religious diversity and the uneven implementation of rights in multi-religious societies (Al-Kohlani & Campbell, 2022; Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021).

Various general approaches have been proposed to address such conflicts, ranging from strict legal enforcement to participatory dialogue and mediation (Avruch, 2003; Ritchie, 2004). Legalistic strategies emphasise regulatory clarity, judicial review, and administrative remedies, but they often struggle to transform underlying intergroup mistrust or local power asymmetries (Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Hartati et al., 2025; Rodionova, 2024; Siregar et al., 2024).

Conversely, dialogical and community-based approaches aim to build mutual understanding and trust, drawing on theories of multicultural citizenship, deliberative democracy, and everyday peacebuilding (Hayes, 2020; Kymlicka, 2007; Wheatley, 2003). Contemporary conflict resolution scholarship highlights the need to combine formal legal mechanisms with informal, relationship-centred processes that can generate durable agreements and social reconciliation (Coleman et al., 2024; Ebner, 2025; Peterson et al., 2026; Saleh et al., 2025; Zainal et al., 2024). However, empirical evidence on how such hybrid strategies work in the specific context of conflicts around minority houses of worship remains limited, particularly in Southeast Asia.

Recent studies have examined more specific, context-sensitive solutions for resolving social and religious conflicts by drawing on local wisdom, customary institutions, and religious leadership. Localised models of conflict resolution based on indigenous values and norms—such as Kalosara among Tolaki communities, Suluh in Aceh, or Namummaa in Oromo philosophy—demonstrate the potential of culturally embedded practices for restoring social relations and legitimacy (Gichamo, 2026; Ikhsan et al., 2025; Matsyah et al., 2025). Religious institutions themselves can play significant roles as mediators and moral authorities, as shown by research on the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, local peace committees, and traditional rulership institutions in Africa (Asmare Aragaw, 2024; Ezeani et al., 2024; Mekuriaw, 2025). In the Indonesian context, inter-religious harmony forums and religious councils have been documented as key actors in preventing escalation and fostering negotiated solutions to intergroup disputes (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Rokhmad, 2016).

Yet these specific solutions also exhibit important limitations. Many models are tailored to rural or ethnically homogeneous settings and do not fully address the complexities of urban, multi-religious environments where state regulation, electoral politics, and media dynamics strongly shape conflict trajectories (Debsu, 2024; Pienaaah, 2025; Zainal et al., 2024). Studies in Indonesia and other plural societies show that harmony-oriented discourse and rituals—such as Nyepi celebrations in Bali, kinship-based politeness strategies, or religiously informed everyday practices—contribute to social cohesion but may also mask unresolved structural inequalities and the vulnerability of minorities (Arsawati et al., 2018; Gusnawaty et al., 2022; Permana et al., 2019; Permana et al., 2025; Tan, 2008). Furthermore, institutional forums for interfaith dialogue may be constrained by limited authority, lack of resources, and dependence on local political elites (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Rokhmad, 2016). These gaps suggest the need for more fine-grained empirical analyses of how conflict resolution strategies are actually designed, negotiated, and implemented in specific urban contexts.

Semarang, the capital of Central Java Province, offers a critical site for examining these dynamics. The city is characterised by a long history of cultural and religious diversity and is often described as relatively harmonious (Albrecht, 2010; Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009). At the same time, as in other major Indonesian cities, the establishment of minority religious places of worship—such as churches, monasteries, or prayer halls—has periodically generated local resistance, protests, or prolonged licensing disputes (Arif et al., 2023; Setiawan et al., 2010; Vertovec & Cohen, 2000). Religious tensions may emerge from misperceptions, fears of social change, or concerns about the symbolic “over-concentration” of particular religious groups in certain neighbourhoods (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006; Suneki & Yunus, 2023; Vertovec & Cohen, 2000). Existing studies on religious harmony in Indonesia emphasise the importance of institutional forums, community leaders, and shared civic norms, but they rarely provide detailed accounts of the concrete sequences of negotiation, mediation, and decision-making in specific disputes over houses of worship (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Widana & Wirata, 2023).

This study differs from much of the previous literature by focusing explicitly on the micro-politics of conflict resolution surrounding the establishment of minority houses of worship in an urban Indonesian setting, rather than on general interfaith harmony or national-level legal frameworks. Building on theories of multicultural citizenship, people-centred justice, and hybrid conflict resolution, it conceptualises conflict resolution as a multi-layered process that involves formal regulation, informal negotiation, and symbolic recognition (Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Coleman et al., 2024; Costantini et al., 2026; Kymlicka, 2007; Peterson et al., 2026). The research hypothesis is that sustainable conflict resolution in such cases requires an integrated strategy that combines clear and fair regulatory procedures, inclusive multi-stakeholder dialogue, and ongoing civic education emphasising tolerance and equal citizenship (Arsal et al., 2020; Hayes, 2020; Saleh et al., 2025; Vinokur et al., 2024). The scope of the study is limited to Semarang City and focuses on conflicts and negotiation processes related to the establishment or licensing of minority religious places of worship in the post-reformasi period.

Accordingly, this article has two main objectives. First, it seeks to map and analyse the concrete conflict resolution strategies employed by local government agencies, religious leaders, and community actors in disputes over the establishment of minority houses of worship in Semarang. Second, it aims to assess the extent to which these strategies contribute to building durable social harmony and protecting the rights of religious minorities, while also identifying their limitations and vulnerabilities (Ahmed et al., 2024; Arif et al., 2023; Ebner, 2025; Jamo et al., 2024; Yolanda et al., 2025). These objectives are operationalised through the following

research questions: (1) What types of conflicts arise around the establishment of minority religious places of worship in Semarang City, and how are they framed by different stakeholders? (2) What formal and informal strategies are used by local government, religious institutions, and community actors to manage and resolve these conflicts? (3) How effective are these strategies in balancing the protection of minority rights with the pursuit of social cohesion and public order? By addressing these questions, the study aims to contribute empirically to scholarship on the governance of religious diversity and conceptually to broader debates on context-sensitive conflict resolution in multi-religious societies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The establishment, regulation, and contestation of minority religious places of worship have been widely discussed in the global literature on religious freedom, governance of diversity, and minority rights. Studies show that houses of worship are not merely ritual sites but also function as social hubs, symbolic homes, and spaces of identity consolidation for minority communities (Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Bertolani et al., 2021; Bonfanti & Bertolani, 2023). In many democratic and plural societies, including Indonesia, the legal recognition of religious freedom coexists with administrative practices and social norms that constrain minorities' ability to build or maintain houses of worship (Andersen, 2019; Kurtarir & Ökten, 2018; Mantu, 2021; Seo, 2012; Tampubolon, 2021). Research in Europe and North America documents how public resistance to mosques, temples, churches, or other minority prayer spaces is often justified through discourses of security, social cohesion, or heritage preservation, while effectively reproducing religious and ethnic hierarchies (Allen, 2010; Laukaitytė, 2013; Patterson, 2024; Scholz, 2019; Schnabel, 2024; Tamimi Arab, 2013). Similar patterns are found in Asian and Middle Eastern contexts, where minority faiths confront restrictive planning regimes, informal vetoes by majority communities, and politicisation of religious symbols in electoral competition (Al-Kohlani & Campbell, 2022; Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Burhanuddin & Pasilaputra, 2020; Efe, 2012; Miswari, 2018).

Within Indonesia, the literature highlights a structural tension between constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and regulatory frameworks—such as ministerial decrees on houses of worship—that effectively condition the establishment of worship spaces on local consent and majoritarian approval (Mantu, 2021; Seo, 2012; Utomo & Wasino, 2020). Empirical studies show that minority religious communities frequently encounter legal ambiguity, bureaucratic delays, and social stigmatisation when attempting to obtain permits for new houses of worship (Ahmed et al., 2024; Rachmadhani et al., 2023; Suneki et al., 2024; Tampubolon, 2021). These obstacles are often intertwined with fears of demographic change, narratives of

“religious invasion,” and historical patterns of exclusion (Haryono et al., 2023; Iwasaki et al., 2005; Tang, 2009). At the same time, research on inter-religious relations in Indonesia demonstrates the importance of institutional and cultural mechanisms that foster coexistence, such as interfaith forums, shared civic rituals, and local arrangements for managing religious diversity (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Kuah-Pearce, 1998; Nurdin et al., 2021; Rokhmad, 2016; Tan, 2008; Widana & Wirata, 2023).

The specific issue of establishing houses of worship has also been analysed from spatial, architectural, and heritage perspectives. Work on religious buildings in Europe and Asia shows how architecture and spatial regulation are used to symbolically negotiate the visibility and legitimacy of minority religions (Andersen, 2019; Buntman & Buntman, 2010; Kurtarir & Ökten, 2018; Li, 2016; Tamimi Arab, 2013). In the Indonesian context, studies of Catholic churches, temples, and other worship spaces reveal how local histories, colonial legacies, and contemporary urban development intersect in the material expression of religious diversity (Arif et al., 2023; Setiawan et al., 2010; Sulistyono et al., 2022). Scholars have also shown how diaspora and migrant communities adapt existing buildings or peripheral spaces into “homes out of home,” thus negotiating belonging in often restrictive environments (Bonfanti & Bertolani, 2023; Halevi, 2021; Ridinger, 2020; Scholz, 2019; Vertovec & Cohen, 2000). These studies help situate Indonesian cases within broader debates on how built religious landscapes are shaped by power relations, planning regimes, and everyday practices.

Parallel to the literature on religious diversity is a vast body of scholarship on conflict resolution that provides conceptual tools for analysing disputes around houses of worship. Classical and contemporary works emphasise the need to move beyond purely legalistic approaches toward people-centred and context-sensitive strategies that integrate formal and informal mechanisms (Avruch, 2003; Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Coleman et al., 2024; Costantini et al., 2026; Peterson et al., 2026; Ritchie, 2004). Studies on negotiation, mediation, and peacebuilding explore how conflicts can be transformed through dialogue, trust-building, and the creation of inclusive decision-making spaces (Ebner, 2025; Federer et al., 2025; Garcia, 2025; Kalashlinska, 2024; Otrakji et al., 2025). Comparative work on international and domestic conflicts underscores that durable solutions typically combine institutional reform, power-sharing, and recognition of group identities (Bhatnagar & Kazi, 2025; Costantini et al., 2026; Khan, 2026; Köse & Kalkan, 2024; Pressello, 2024; Zhang & Zhang, 2025). These insights are relevant for understanding local disputes over religious infrastructure, where legal frameworks, identity politics, and everyday social relations intersect.

An important stream of research examines how conflict resolution draws on local wisdom, religious teachings, and community-based institutions. Studies on indigenous and customary systems—such as Kalosara in Tolaki communities, Suluh in Aceh, Namummaa in Oromo philosophy, and traditional rulership institutions in Nigeria—show that locally grounded practices can provide legitimate and effective mechanisms for restoring relationships and maintaining social order (Côté, 2006; Debsu, 2024; Ezeani et al., 2024; Gichamo, 2026; Ikhsan et al., 2025; Matsyah et al., 2025; Mekuriaw, 2025; Pienaah, 2025; Wartoyo & Triwijanarko, 2025). In Indonesia, inter-religious harmony forums, local ulama councils, and community leaders have been identified as key actors in mediating religious disputes and preventing escalation (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Rokhmad, 2016; Suneki & Yunus, 2023). Research on harmony-maintenance practices—such as kinship-based politeness strategies, religiously framed everyday interactions, and culturally specific rituals—further illustrates how social cohesion is cultivated in plural societies (Arsawati et al., 2018; Gusnawaty et al., 2022; Kuah-Pearce, 1998; Permana et al., 2019; Permana et al., 2025; Widana & Wirata, 2023).

More recent studies have begun to focus explicitly on religious conflict and its resolution in Indonesia, including disputes related to houses of worship and interfaith relations. Research highlights how local governments, religious organizations, and civil society actors negotiate between formal regulations and informal practices to manage tensions, often relying on ad hoc arrangements and moral exhortations rather than clearly institutionalised procedures (Ahmed et al., 2024; Arif et al., 2023; Hartati et al., 2025; Jamo et al., 2024; Siregar et al., 2024; Suneki et al., 2022; Suneki et al., 2024). Studies on peace education and conflict resolution training also stress the importance of integrating non-violent communication, tolerance, and citizenship values into school curricula and community programmes (Faidi et al., 2021; Saleh et al., 2025; Vinokur et al., 2024; Yablon et al., 2024). At the interpersonal level, research on family, workplace, and community conflicts illustrates how communication styles, leadership, and emotional competencies shape preferences for particular conflict resolution strategies (Dissanayake et al., 2024; Heidarisoodjani et al., 2025; McCarthy & Pearce, 2025; Rahman & Norhayati Rafida, 2025; Sajuyigbe et al., 2024; You et al., 2024).

Despite this rich literature, several gaps remain. First, many Indonesian studies on religious harmony and interfaith relations focus on normative discourses, broad institutional arrangements, or single high-profile cases, rather than systematically mapping the micro-level processes through which conflicts over the establishment of minority houses of worship are negotiated and resolved in specific urban contexts (Ahmed et al., 2024; Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Rokhmad, 2016; Suneki & Yunus, 2023). Second, comparative research tends to treat houses of

worship as generic religious infrastructures, without sufficiently examining how local political dynamics, bureaucratic practices, and neighbourhood-level interactions shape conflict trajectories (Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Andersen, 2019; Kurtarir & Ökten, 2018; Schnabel, 2024; Tamimi Arab, 2013). Third, there is limited empirical work that connects theories of people-centred justice and hybrid conflict resolution with concrete practices used by local governments and communities to address disputes around religious licensing (Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Coleman et al., 2024; Peterson et al., 2026; Zainal et al., 2024). Against this backdrop, the present study contributes by offering an in-depth, context-specific analysis of conflict resolution strategies in the establishment of minority religious houses of worship in Semarang City, thereby linking global debates on religious freedom and conflict resolution with grounded evidence from an Indonesian urban setting.

RESEARCH METHODS

Research Design and Approach

This study employed a qualitative, descriptive–analytical design to obtain an in-depth understanding of conflict resolution strategies in the establishment of minority religious places of worship in Semarang City. A qualitative approach is appropriate for exploring meanings, perceptions, and lived experiences of actors involved in complex socio-religious conflicts, where processes and interpretations are more salient than numerical regularities (Ahmed et al., 2024; Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Debsu, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021). Descriptive–analytical research enables the systematic portrayal of conflict dynamics while simultaneously interpreting how legal, social, and political factors shape the practices of conflict resolution (Hartati et al., 2025; Mantu, 2021; Tampubolon, 2021). This approach is consistent with previous studies that analyse local governance of religious diversity and conflict management through intensive fieldwork and contextual interpretation (Al-Kohlani & Campbell, 2022; Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Zainal et al., 2024).

Research Site and Context

The research was conducted in Semarang City, the capital of Central Java Province, which is characterised by long-standing cultural and religious diversity but has experienced episodic tensions around the establishment of minority houses of worship (Arif et al., 2023; Setiawan et al., 2010; Utomo & Wasino, 2020). The city constitutes a relevant case for examining how local authorities and communities operationalise national regulations on houses of worship and negotiate competing claims to space, visibility, and recognition (Mantu, 2021; Seo, 2012; Vertovec & Cohen, 2000). Specific locations within Semarang were selected based on prior or

ongoing disputes related to licensing, construction, or operation of minority religious places of worship, as identified through media reports, official documents, and preliminary consultations with local stakeholders (Haryono et al., 2023; Rachmadhani et al., 2023; Suneki & Yunus, 2023).

Participants and Sampling

The research subjects comprised actors directly or indirectly involved in conflicts surrounding the establishment of minority houses of worship. These included members and leaders of minority religious communities, leaders of majority religious organisations, officials from relevant municipal agencies, and residents living in neighbourhoods affected by disputes. Participants were recruited using purposive sampling to ensure the inclusion of individuals with substantive knowledge or experience of the issues under study, followed by snowball sampling to access further relevant informants within overlapping social networks (Ahmed et al., 2024; Jamo et al., 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021). This strategy reflects common practices in qualitative research on sensitive social and religious conflicts, where access, trust, and positionality are crucial for data richness and ethical engagement (Asmare Aragaw, 2024; Debsu, 2024; Ezeani et al., 2024; Mekuriaw, 2025; Pienaaah, 2025). Basic socio-demographic information (such as religious affiliation, role, and length of residence or service) was collected to contextualise participants' perspectives without compromising confidentiality.

Data Collection Procedures

Data were generated through three primary techniques: semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and document analysis. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of each stakeholder category to elicit their narratives regarding the emergence of conflicts, perceived causes and triggers, negotiation processes, and assessments of various conflict resolution efforts. Semi-structured formats allowed the researcher to probe key themes while permitting participants to articulate their own framings and priorities (Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Coleman et al., 2024; Garcia, 2025; Korens et al., 2026). Interviews were conducted in locations chosen by participants to ensure comfort and privacy and were audio-recorded with consent.

Non-participant observations were carried out at selected sites, including neighbourhoods surrounding contested or recently established houses of worship, public hearings, community meetings, and interfaith forums when accessible. These observations aimed to capture interaction patterns, spatial arrangements, and informal practices related to conflict management, complementing the narrative data from interviews (Andersen, 2019; Bonfanti & Bertolani, 2023;

Rokhmad, 2016; Widana & Wirata, 2023). Field notes were systematically written after each visit, documenting observed events, contextual information, and preliminary analytic reflections.

Document analysis focused on regulations governing houses of worship, municipal policies, minutes of meetings (when available), public statements by religious organisations, local media coverage, and relevant case reports or secondary literature. Regulatory and policy documents were examined to clarify formal procedures and institutional responsibilities, while media and organisational documents provided insight into public discourses and framing strategies (Mantu, 2021; Patterson, 2024; Rachmadhani et al., 2023; Schnabel, 2024; Seo, 2012; Tampubolon, 2021). Triangulating these diverse sources enabled a more comprehensive reconstruction of conflict trajectories and resolution processes (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Zainal et al., 2024).

Materials and Instruments

The main research instruments consisted of an interview guide, an observation protocol, and a document review matrix. The semi-structured interview guide was developed based on the literature on religious freedom, minority rights, and conflict resolution, and it included open-ended questions grouped into thematic clusters (for example, conflict history, actors and interests, negotiation arenas, and perceived outcomes) (Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Bonfanti & Bertolani, 2023; Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Costantini et al., 2026). The guide was piloted with a small number of informants and refined to enhance clarity and cultural appropriateness.

The observation protocol outlined focal points for site visits, such as the spatial positioning of houses of worship, signage, security arrangements, patterns of everyday interaction around the site, and any visible markers of tension or cooperation (Andersen, 2019; Buntman & Buntman, 2010; Sulistyono et al., 2022). The document review matrix specified categories for extracting information from regulations and media items, including legal bases, procedural requirements, references to local consent, and normative justifications invoked by different actors (Mantu, 2021; Seo, 2012; Tamimi Arab, 2013). These instruments were designed to promote systematic and comparable data collection across cases while remaining flexible enough to capture emergent themes.

Data Analysis Techniques

All interview recordings were transcribed verbatim and, together with observation notes and documentary materials, constituted the corpus for analysis. The study employed thematic analysis to identify salient patterns, meanings, and relationships across the data, following iterative cycles of coding, categorisation, and theme development (Capp & Dandurand, 2024;

Coleman et al., 2024; Peterson et al., 2026). Initial open coding was conducted to capture a wide range of concepts related to conflict emergence, actors' strategies, and perceived outcomes. These codes were then grouped into higher-order categories such as "regulatory ambiguity," "local consent and resistance," "dialogue and mediation forums," and "perceived fairness of outcomes."

Axial and selective coding stages were used to refine relationships between categories and to develop overarching themes that directly addressed the research questions, such as "hybrid governance of religious space," "negotiated legality," and "contingent social harmony" (Ahmed et al., 2024; Debsu, 2024; Jamo et al., 2024; Zainal et al., 2024). Cross-case comparison was undertaken to examine similarities and differences across different conflicts and to explore how contextual factors—such as neighbourhood composition, organisational leadership, or political timing—affected the choice and effectiveness of conflict resolution strategies (Costantini et al., 2026; Hartati et al., 2025; Petha & Ndlovu, 2026; Wartoyo & Triwijanarko, 2025). Throughout the analytic process, memo writing was used to record emerging interpretations, methodological decisions, and reflexive considerations.

Trustworthiness and Data Validity

Several strategies were implemented to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings. First, data triangulation was applied by comparing information from interviews, observations, and documents, as well as by incorporating perspectives from different categories of actors (minority communities, majority organisations, government officials, and local residents). Triangulation is widely recommended in qualitative research on conflict and governance to reduce single-source bias and strengthen the credibility of interpretations (Asmare Aragaw, 2024; Debsu, 2024; Ezeani et al., 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Pienaaah, 2025; Zainal et al., 2024).

Second, member checking was conducted on a selective basis by sharing preliminary interpretations with a small number of key informants to verify factual accuracy and to obtain feedback on the plausibility of emerging themes (Coleman et al., 2024; Garcia, 2025; Nicolaidou & Kampf, 2025). Third, peer debriefing with academic colleagues familiar with Indonesian religious politics and qualitative methods was used to interrogate analytic decisions and alternative explanations (Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Ebner, 2025; Phan & Coleman, 2025). Fourth, an audit trail was maintained, documenting decisions on sampling, data collection, coding, and theme development, thus enabling external scrutiny of the research process (Korens et al., 2026; Peterson et al., 2026; Rodionova, 2024). Together, these strategies contributed to the credibility, dependability, and confirmability of the study.

Ethical Considerations

Given the sensitivity of religious identity and conflict, particular attention was paid to ethical safeguards. Informed consent was obtained from all participants after they were briefed about the purpose of the study, the voluntary nature of participation, and their right to withdraw at any time without consequence. Pseudonyms and the removal of identifying details were used in transcripts and reporting to protect confidentiality, especially where participants described contentious events or expressed critical views of authorities or community leaders (Anderson et al., 2024; Burgos-Calvillo et al., 2024; Dissanayake et al., 2024). Data were stored securely, and access was restricted to the research team. The study followed ethical principles commonly adopted in social research on conflict and religion, including respect for persons, beneficence, and non-maleficence (Côté, 2006; Kuah-Pearce, 1998; Tan, 2008). Care was taken to avoid exacerbating existing tensions, for example by not disclosing information shared by one party to another and by avoiding direct involvement in ongoing negotiations.

Through this qualitative, descriptive–analytical design and the combination of multiple data sources, instruments, and validation strategies, the research method is expected to yield a robust and nuanced account of how conflicts surrounding the establishment of minority religious places of worship in Semarang City are managed and resolved in practice.

RESULT

This study identified a set of interrelated factors that drive conflict over the establishment of minority religious places of worship in Semarang City, alongside a repertoire of conflict resolution strategies and their perceived strengths and limitations. The main themes are summarised in Table 1.

Factors Driving Conflict over the Establishment of Minority Houses of Worship

Public incomprehension and fear

A dominant theme across interviews and observations was the persistence of fear and misunderstanding among segments of the majority community regarding the presence of minority houses of worship in their neighbourhoods. Many residents expressed concerns that new churches, monasteries, or prayer halls would disturb the “social balance,” increase religious competition, or accelerate demographic change. These anxieties were often fuelled by rumours and negative narratives circulating through social media and informal networks, which portrayed minority houses of worship as precursors to proselytisation or social disorder, rather than as legitimate expressions of religious freedom (Schnabel, 2024; Tamimi Arab, 2013). Such perceptions mirror wider patterns of public resistance to new houses of worship in other plural

societies, where security, cohesion, or heritage discourses are mobilised to justify opposition (Allen, 2010; Laukaitytė, 2013; Widana & Wirata, 2023).

Complicated and non-transparent licensing procedures

The second major factor relates to experiences of a complicated, slow, and non-transparent licensing process. Administrators of minority houses of worship reported difficulties in obtaining clear information about procedural requirements, frequent changes in documentation demands, and protracted waiting times without formal decisions. Several informants indicated that the requirement to gather support or “no objection” letters from local residents effectively gave veto power to groups opposed to the presence of minority worship spaces. This situation created a sense of legal uncertainty and vulnerability, as projects could be stalled indefinitely despite formal compliance with regulations (Mantu, 2021; Seo, 2012; Tampubolon, 2021). These findings resonate with broader research on regulatory and administrative barriers faced by religious minorities attempting to secure places of worship in Indonesia and elsewhere (Al-Kohlani & Campbell, 2022; Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Burhanuddin & Pasilaputra, 2020; Kurtarir & Ökten, 2018).

Differences in religious and social views

A third factor concerns deeper differences in religious interpretations and social norms between majority and minority groups. Some majority actors framed minority houses of worship as incompatible with local religious identity or as potential sources of moral and social disruption. Others emphasised a desire to maintain what they described as “religious homogeneity” in specific areas. Minority respondents, by contrast, highlighted experiences of stigma, stereotyping, and exclusion, particularly when their worship practices were highly visible or acoustically salient. These divergent perspectives frequently hardened into positional conflicts when not channelled through constructive dialogue, reinforcing intergroup distance and mistrust (Iwasaki et al., 2005; Tang, 2009).

Table 1. Summary of main factors driving conflict over minority houses of worship in Semarang

Category	Sub-theme	Illustrative description from field data
Public incomprehension and fear	Perceived demographic/religious threat	Fears of proselytisation, “over-concentration,” or loss of social balance
Licensing procedures	Bureaucratic opacity and delay	Unclear requirements, shifting documentation, prolonged processing with no outcome

Local consent mechanisms	Informal veto by opponents	Difficulty obtaining signatures; small groups blocking permits
Religious and social norms	Norms of homogeneity and conformity	Preference for “single-religion” neighbourhoods; resistance to visible difference
Information ecosystem	Rumours and social media narratives	Circulation of negative stories framing minority houses of worship as problematic

Source: Field interviews, observations, and document analysis.

Conflict Resolution Strategies Observed in Semarang

Inter-religious dialogue forums

One of the most frequently mentioned strategies involved structured and semi-structured inter-religious dialogues convened at neighbourhood, sub-district, and city levels. These forums were initiated by the municipal government, interfaith councils, or religious organisations and typically brought together representatives of minority communities, majority organisations, community leaders, and local officials. According to participants, these dialogues created a space to clarify misunderstandings, present factual information about regulations and intentions, and explore compromise solutions, such as adjusting building design, scheduling activities, or providing assurances regarding noise and parking. In several cases, dialogue processes culminated in written or informal agreements that allowed construction or use of a worship space to proceed under agreed conditions (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Rokhmad, 2016; Widana & Wirata, 2023).

Mediation by local government agencies

The Semarang City Government, particularly through agencies such as the National Unity and Politics Agency (Bakesbangpol), played a visible mediating role in conflicts that had escalated into petitions, demonstrations, or formal complaints. Government mediators organised joint meetings, explained the legal framework on religious freedom and houses of worship, and sought to de-escalate tensions by emphasising constitutional rights alongside the importance of local harmony. In some instances, they also coordinated with police and other security actors to ensure that protests remained peaceful and that negotiated outcomes were respected. Informants generally viewed government mediation as a necessary, though not always sufficient, condition for reaching settlements, noting that the perceived neutrality and consistency of state representatives significantly influenced the legitimacy of agreements (Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Hartati et al., 2025; Rodionova, 2024; Wartoyo & Triwijanarko, 2025).

Tolerance education and socialisation programmes

Another strategy identified in the data consisted of education and socialisation efforts on inter-religious tolerance, pluralism, and citizenship. These programmes were implemented in schools, religious institutions (mosques, churches, monasteries), and community forums, often in collaboration with civil society organisations and universities. Activities included seminars, joint celebrations, youth exchanges, and curricula that highlighted legal and ethical foundations of religious freedom. Participants reported that such programmes, particularly when sustained over time, contributed to gradual shifts in attitudes, especially among younger generations, and provided a vocabulary for defending the rights of minorities within an overarching discourse of harmony (Faidi et al., 2021; Saleh et al., 2025; Vinokur et al., 2024; Yablon et al., 2024).

Legal and regulatory clarification and reform initiatives

Fieldwork also documented efforts to clarify and, where possible, improve the legal and regulatory environment governing houses of worship. These included municipal guidelines that interpreted national regulations in more transparent terms, internal standardisation of procedures across different offices, and advocacy by religious and civil society actors for broader regulatory reforms at provincial or national level. Although many respondents perceived existing regulations as still ambiguous and potentially discriminatory, they acknowledged that clearer local standard operating procedures, publicly accessible checklists, and more consistent decision-making practices could reduce uncertainty and perceived arbitrariness (Mantu, 2021; Seo, 2012; Suneki et al., 2022; Tampubolon, 2021).

Role of Government and Community Actors

Across cases, the role of local government and community actors emerged as central to whether conflicts escalated or moved toward resolution. Government actors acted as conveners, mediators, and interpreters of regulations, but their effectiveness depended on their perceived impartiality, responsiveness, and willingness to engage with both majority and minority stakeholders. In situations where local officials took a proactive stance—initiating early dialogue, monitoring emerging tensions, and providing clear information—conflicts tended to be contained and channelled into negotiation arenas. Conversely, delays, non-responsiveness, or perceived alignment with one side contributed to polarisation and mistrust.

Community leaders, including religious figures, neighbourhood heads, and respected elders, also played pivotal roles. In several instances, religious leaders from the majority community publicly encouraged acceptance of minority houses of worship as part of national commitments to pluralism, thereby reducing opposition. In other cases, however, influential

figures framed minority worship spaces as threats, amplifying resistance. These findings are consistent with research emphasising the ambivalent role of local leadership and traditional institutions in either exacerbating or mitigating conflicts (Côté, 2006; Ezeani et al., 2024; Mekuriaw, 2025; Nurdin et al., 2021).

Remaining Challenges in Implementing Conflict Resolution

Despite the range of strategies described above, the study identified several persistent challenges. First, limited institutional and material resources constrained the scale and continuity of dialogue, mediation, and education programmes. Officials and facilitators reported high workloads, limited budgets, and dependence on ad hoc project funding, which made it difficult to institutionalise successful practices or extend them to all areas of the city (Daris et al., 2024; Modise et al., 2024).

Second, deeply rooted social resistance remains in some groups, particularly those holding exclusivist theological views or strong preferences for religious homogeneity. For these actors, minority houses of worship are framed not merely as regulatory issues but as existential challenges to local identity, making compromise harder to achieve. Such attitudes echo broader findings that exposure to perceived threats or prior conflicts can entrench preferences for more confrontational or exclusionary “resolution” strategies (Schulte & Karakuş, 2025; You et al., 2024).

Third, the reliance on informal agreements and discretionary decisions leaves some settlements fragile. While negotiated solutions often enable pragmatic coexistence, they may lack formal legal guarantees and thus remain vulnerable to future political shifts, leadership changes, or renewed mobilisation by opponents. This aligns with wider critiques of hybrid conflict resolution arrangements that are effective in the short term but under-institutionalised in the long term (Costantini et al., 2026; Peterson et al., 2026; Zainal et al., 2024).

Field-Derived Recommendations for Strengthening Conflict Resolution

Finally, participants across different categories articulated a set of recommendations for improving conflict resolution related to minority houses of worship. These recommendations, can be grouped into three broad clusters.

1. Strengthening regulations and licensing processes

Stakeholders called for more transparent, standardised, and accessible licensing procedures, including clear timelines, published criteria, and mechanisms for appealing decisions. Some suggested revising national and local regulations to reduce opportunities for arbitrary

obstruction while still allowing for meaningful community input (Mantu, 2021; Seo, 2012; Tampubolon, 2021).

2. Deepening and institutionalising inter-religious dialogue

Many informants recommended that dialogue forums be institutionalised at various administrative levels, with trained facilitators, regular meeting schedules, and structured follow-up mechanisms. Institutionalisation was seen as crucial to prevent dialogues from being one-off reactions to crises and to embed them as routine instruments of local governance (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Rokhmad, 2016).

3. Expanding education and socialisation on tolerance and citizenship

Participants emphasised the need to broaden peace and tolerance education in schools, universities, and religious institutions, focusing on nonviolent conflict resolution, empathy, and rights-based citizenship (Faidi et al., 2021; Saleh et al., 2025; Vinokur et al., 2024; Yablun et al., 2024). Particular importance was placed on youth programmes and media literacy initiatives to counteract misinformation and polarising narratives in digital spaces (Burgos-Calvillo et al., 2024; Dissanayake et al., 2024).

Collectively, these results show that conflict over minority houses of worship in Semarang is shaped by an interplay of public perceptions, regulatory frameworks, and leadership practices, and that locally developed hybrid strategies—combining dialogue, mediation, education, and regulatory clarification—have created important, albeit partial and fragile, pathways toward peaceful accommodation.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study confirm that conflicts over the establishment of minority religious places of worship in Semarang are rooted in an interplay of structural, cultural, and relational factors, rather than being reducible to administrative technicalities. The prominence of public fear and misunderstanding toward minority worship spaces is consistent with theories that conceptualise houses of worship as both symbolic and material markers of group presence, status, and claims to space (Al-Kohlani et al., 2023; Bertolani et al., 2021; Bonfanti & Bertolani, 2023). Public resistance framed in terms of threats to social balance, security, or demographic stability echoes broader patterns documented in other plural societies, where new mosques, temples, or churches become focal points for contestations over identity and belonging (Allen, 2010; Laukaitytė, 2013; Schnabel, 2024; Tamimi Arab, 2013; Travis, 2017). In the Indonesian context, these findings corroborate earlier work showing that majority–minority tensions are often fuelled by prejudice, misperceptions, and historicised narratives of threat (Iwasaki et al., 2005; Tang, 2009; Utomo & Wasino, 2020; Suneki & Yunus, 2023).

The empirical evidence on bureaucratic opacity, non-transparent licensing, and the de facto veto power of local consent mechanisms reinforces critiques of Indonesia's regulatory framework on houses of worship, which has been characterised as generating “unfulfilled guarantees” of religious freedom (Mantu, 2021; Tampubolon, 2021). Experiences of protracted delays, shifting requirements, and discretionary decision-making in Semarang mirror patterns documented in other Indonesian cities and in comparative cases where planning processes become instruments of exclusion (Burhanuddin & Pasilaputra, 2020; Kurtarir & Ökten, 2018; Miswari, 2018; Seo, 2012). At the same time, the data show that local regulatory interpretation and administrative practice matter: clearer municipal guidelines and standard operating procedures can partially mitigate uncertainty, even within a structurally ambivalent national framework (Rachmadhani et al., 2023; Suneki et al., 2022, 2024). This supports people-centred justice perspectives, which argue that the routes people take to resolve legal problems—and the perceived fairness of these routes—are as important as formal rights on paper (Capp & Dandurand, 2024; Rodionova, 2024).

The conflict resolution strategies identified in this study—dialogue forums, government mediation, tolerance education, and regulatory clarification—resonate with contemporary theories of hybrid and multi-layered conflict resolution. Inter-religious dialogue initiatives in Semarang reflect long-standing insights from peace and reconciliation studies that emphasise the importance of contact, communication, and mutual recognition for transforming intergroup relations (Avruch, 2003; Coleman et al., 2024; Nicolaidou & Kampf, 2025; Yablon et al., 2024). The finding that dialogue is most effective when embedded in ongoing relationships and supported by respected religious and community leaders aligns with research on local peace committees and faith-based mediation in other contexts (Asmare Aragaw, 2024; Ezeani et al., 2024; Mekuriaw, 2025; Nurdin et al., 2021). From the perspective of multicultural citizenship and pluralist democracy, these practices can be read as attempts to negotiate the terms of recognition and coexistence in situ, rather than simply applying abstract legal norms (Kymlicka, 2007; Tan, 2008; Kuah-Pearce, 1998).

Government-led mediation in Semarang further illustrates the ambivalent yet pivotal role of the state in religious conflict resolution. On the one hand, the municipality functions as regulator, guarantor of constitutional rights, and arbiter of public order; on the other, it is embedded in local political configurations and may be perceived as partial or constrained. The study's finding that mediation is effective when officials are seen as impartial, accessible, and consistent echoes broader evidence that state-sponsored conflict resolution succeeds when it combines formal authority with relational trust and procedural transparency (Costantini et al., 2026; Hartati et al., 2025; Peterson et al., 2026; Wartoyo & Triwijanarko, 2025; Zainal et al.,

2024). This hybrid role is comparable to forms of “network diplomacy” and collaborative governance observed in other domains, where state and non-state actors jointly broker agreements (Bhatnagar & Kazi, 2025; Pressello, 2024).

Tolerance education and socialisation programmes identified in the fieldwork also fit within an expanding literature that links peace education, civic education, and everyday conflict management. Research on inclusive curricula, non-violent conflict resolution training, and leadership-oriented programmes shows that such interventions can strengthen empathetic understanding, reduce hostile attributions, and equip youth and adults with constructive strategies for handling disputes (Faidi et al., 2021; Saleh et al., 2025; Vinokur et al., 2024; Yablon et al., 2024). In the Indonesian context, efforts to embed values of pluralism and legal culture in educational institutions have been shown to enhance tolerance and reduce susceptibility to exclusivist narratives (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Faidi et al., 2021; Nurdin et al., 2021). The Semarang evidence suggests that, when connected to concrete local issues such as houses of worship, these programmes help reframe conflicts from zero-sum contests into shared civic challenges.

However, this study also underscores the limitations of prevailing strategies. First, the persistence of deep-seated social resistance and exclusivist theological positions indicates that dialogue and education, while necessary, are insufficient to transform all actors’ preferences. Similar patterns are noted in studies of farmer–pastoralist conflicts, interethnic tensions, and organisational disputes, where exposure to prior conflict and entrenched identities shape preferences for confrontational rather than cooperative strategies (Debsu, 2024; Pienaaah, 2025; Schulte & Karakuş, 2025; Sajuyigbe et al., 2024). Second, resource constraints and project-based funding models hinder the institutionalisation and scaling-up of successful initiatives, a challenge widely observed in community policing, women-led conflict management, and local peacebuilding programmes (Daris et al., 2024; Modise et al., 2024; Zainal et al., 2024). Third, the reliance on informal agreements and discretionary accommodations, while pragmatically useful, leaves many settlements fragile and vulnerable to political shifts, echoing critiques of under-institutionalised “hybrid” peace arrangements in other settings (Costantini et al., 2026; Peterson et al., 2026; Ebner, 2025).

In light of these convergences and tensions, this article argues that conflict resolution around minority houses of worship in Semarang—and in similar multi-religious urban settings—must be conceived as an integrated, long-term governance project rather than a series of ad hoc interventions. The study adopts the position that sustainable resolution requires: (1) regulatory frameworks that are substantively fair and procedurally predictable; (2) institutionalised and

resourced dialogue and mediation mechanisms that operate across administrative levels; and (3) continuous civic and peace education that normalises pluralism as a shared societal value. This position is informed by people-centred justice approaches, which emphasise how ordinary people navigate legal problems (Capp & Dandurand, 2024), as well as by research on local wisdom-based conflict resolution models that integrate normative, relational, and institutional dimensions (Côté, 2006; Gichamo, 2026; Ikhsan et al., 2025; Matsyah et al., 2025).

Building on the results, several concrete recommendations can be proposed. First, regulatory and administrative reforms are needed to reduce ambiguity and discretionary vetoes in the licensing of houses of worship. These reforms might include publishing clear timelines and criteria, creating independent review mechanisms, and redefining community consultation procedures to prevent dominance by small, vocal groups (Mantu, 2021; Seo, 2012; Tampubolon, 2021). Second, inter-religious dialogue forums should be institutionalised through local regulations, equipped with trained mediators, and integrated into routine governance processes so that they function not only in times of crisis but also as spaces for proactive relationship-building (Daulay & Khuluq, 2024; Nurdin et al., 2021; Rokhmad, 2016; Widana & Wirata, 2023). Third, tolerance and peace education must be expanded and linked to media literacy and digital citizenship initiatives, given the centrality of social media in diffusing fear and misinformation (Burgos-Calvillo et al., 2024; Dissanayake et al., 2024; Vinokur et al., 2024). Finally, partnerships among government, religious institutions, and civil society should be strengthened to share knowledge, coordinate responses, and ensure that minority perspectives are consistently included in decision-making (Ahmed et al., 2024; Arif et al., 2023; Jamo et al., 2024; Yolanda et al., 2025).

By situating the Semarang case within broader debates on religious freedom, governance of diversity, and conflict resolution, this study contributes empirical depth to international discussions on how cities can manage contentious religious pluralism. The findings support the view that minority religious places of worship can become laboratories for innovative, context-sensitive arrangements that reconcile rights protection with social cohesion—provided that local actors are equipped, mandated, and willing to engage in sustained, reflexive, and inclusive forms of conflict resolution.

CONCLUSION

This study has examined conflicts surrounding the establishment of minority religious places of worship in Semarang City and analysed the strategies employed to manage and resolve them. The findings show that public fear and misunderstanding, opaque licensing procedures, and divergent religious and social norms interact to produce recurrent tensions, while hybrid strategies—combining inter-religious dialogue, government-led mediation, tolerance education,

and regulatory clarification—have enabled important, though partial, accommodations. These strategies contribute to de-escalation, foster negotiated agreements, and enhance recognition of minority rights, yet they remain constrained by limited resources, persistent exclusivist attitudes, and the fragility of informal settlements.

The study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by providing a context-specific, process-oriented account of how conflicts over minority houses of worship are governed in an Indonesian urban setting, thereby linking global debates on religious freedom and conflict resolution with grounded empirical evidence. It underscores that sustainable solutions require fair and predictable regulatory frameworks, institutionalised multi-stakeholder dialogue, and continuous civic education that normalises pluralism as a shared civic value. Future research could undertake comparative case studies across different cities or regions, explore the long-term durability of local agreements, and examine the role of digital media, youth initiatives, and transnational religious networks in shaping both conflict dynamics and innovative practices of resolution.

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