

Executive Summary

TOLERANT CITY INDEX (TCI) 2024

MAY 27, 2025

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Indeks Kota Toleran* (hereinafter referred to as “IKT” or “Index”) is a survey and a measurement conducted by SETARA Institute for Democracy and Peace in order to promote best practices of tolerance, particularly religious tolerance, in cities across Indonesia. The 2024 edition of this Index is the 8th publication of the series, which has been released annually since 2015.

IKT’s research is based on scoring of each city and its efforts, both by the municipal government and the civil society, to manage diversity, as well as to promote tolerance and social inclusion. This Index combines the paradigms of constitutional rights as guaranteed in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, internationally recognised standards of law on human rights, and principles of inclusive governance.

Through this research, SETARA Institute believes that it can encourage every city to develop inclusive plannings, formulate promotive policies, allocate adequate budgets for the enhancement of tolerance and inclusion, prevent any intolerant and discriminative actions, as well as to strengthen collaboration in governing diversities, tolerance, national insights, and social inclusion.

2. METHODOLOGY

SETARA Institute has set an operational definition for this Index. A ‘tolerant city’ is a city with inclusive visions, missions, and plannings, added with conducive or promotive regulations for religious tolerance, progressive leaderships, with low intolerant actions and violations against freedom of religions/beliefs, and sustainable efforts in managing diversity and social inclusion.

This Index also uses the concept of tolerance in some systemic variables of cities that can affect social behaviour between identities and entities, such as municipal government’s policies, actions conducted by the government, behaviours of various entities in the city including between residents and government with the residents, and social relations in a heterogenous demographic setting.

This concept also adopts what Brian J. Grim and Roger Finke (2006) had constructed on the measurement of freedom of religion or the degree of religious tolerance of a state. In this construction, Grim and Finke proposed 3 main indicators, which are: (1) favouritism of a certain religious groups

by the government; (2) regulations and (3) social regulations that, limit the freedom of religion.

Despite adopting such concept by Grim and Finke, SETARA Institute acknowledged the complexities and uniqueness of Indonesia, and therefore has adopted an additional variable, which is the 'socio-religious demography'. Population composition is perceived to be one of the parameters in measuring the governance of tolerance and harmony at the city level. This is to measure the how heterogenous or homogenous the city is to study the effect of the government's actions to manage tolerance.

IKT's study objects are all 98 cities across Indonesia. To study those cities, IKT utilises 4 variables with 8 indicators as tools for indexing, which includes:

a. Municipal Government's Regulations

- Indicator 1: Development planning documents and other supporting regulations on development (10%)
- Indicator 2: Promotive and discriminative policies on tolerance promulgated by the municipality (20%)

b. Social Regulations

- Indicator 3: Cases of intolerance (20%)
- Indicator 4: Social dynamics on the issues of tolerance (10%)

c. Government Actions

- Indicator 5: Key governmental figures' expressions on the issues of tolerance (10%)
- Indicator 6: Real actions taken on the issues of

tolerance (15%)

d. Socio-Religious Demography

- Indicator 7: Religious heterogeneity (5%)
- Indicator 8: Social-religious inclusion (10%)

On the 2nd Indicator for this edition of IKT, which initially only took consideration of the existence of discriminative policies, is now developed by acknowledging promotive policies towards religious tolerance. This development is to further promote the enhancement of the ecosystem of tolerance in the region, as well as a sign of political and bureaucratic leadership's commitment to develop an inclusive city.

Data sources gathered and utilised for this Index are from official documents of the respective city governments, the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), SETARA Institute's own findings, and selected media references. Data collection was also conducted by self-assessment questionnaires filled by each city.

After the data collection, indexing was done through calculating the average scores of each indicator of each city. The scoring model used for this Index is the Likert scale from the lowest (1) to the highest (7) degree of tolerance. On the other hand, to guarantee the validity of the results, SETARA Institute implemented three validity tests through triangulations of sources, self-assessment questionnaires, and expert meeting series.

3. FINDINGS

a. Top 10 Cities with Advanced Religious Tolerance

The top 10 cities with advanced religious tolerance scores in IKT 2024 are generally still occupied by cities that were previously ranked in similar spots in IKT 2023. This ranking proves how solid the cities are in keeping the trend of tolerance and synergy of every element of promotive leaderships in the city, which are the political, bureaucratic, and societal leaderships.

Table 1
Top 10 Cities of IKT 2024

Ranking	City	Ind 1	Ind 2	Ind 3	Ind 4	Ind 5	Ind 6	Ind 7	Ind 8	Final Score
1	Salatiga	6,50	6,22	7,00	6,00	7,00	7,00	6,00	6,00	6,544
2	Singkawang	6,50	6,10	7,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	7,00	7,00	6,420
3	Semarang	6,00	6,03	7,00	6,00	6,00	7,00	6,00	6,00	6,356
4	Magelang	6,00	5,74	7,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	7,00	6,248
5	Pematang Siantar	5,17	5,74	7,00	4,00	7,00	7,00	6,00	6,00	6,115
6	Sukabumi	5,50	5,59	7,00	5,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	5,968
7	Bekasi	6,17	6,11	4,00	6,00	7,00	7,00	7,00	6,00	5,939
8	Kediri	5,83	5,71	7,00	5,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	5,00	5,925
9	Manado	6,00	5,56	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	5,912
10	Kupang	5,33	5,35	7,00	5,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	6,00	5,853

The dynamics between the cities in this rank showcase the many innovations that they have initiated to strengthen the ecosystem of tolerance in their respective cities. This is also apparent by looking at the new number 1 with the best overall score in this Index. While in 2023 the city of Singkawang ranked first overall, now it is Salatiga city which occupies that spot with 6.544, advancing from third overall last year.

In 2024, Salatiga innovated progressively in the development of tolerance, through the Regional

Regulation (Perda) No. 10/2024 on the Implementation of Social Tolerance and Handling of Social Conflicts. Through such innovation, Salatiga has become one of the three cities alongside Banjarmasin and Mojokerto that have promulgated a particular promotive regulation on tolerance in the form of Regional Regulation, as the highest level of regional law.

Besides the regulation to promote tolerance, the Salatiga City is also committed to the widespread national insights through the promulgation of Regional Regulation No. 9/2024 on the Education of Pancasila and National Insights. Those two regulations doubled the enhancement and articulated narrations of tolerance in a formal, legal way.

Another interesting dynamic occurs within Pematang Siantar City, as the only differentiator in the Top 10 ranking. Pematang Siantar has advanced from 11th to 5th in the ranking, with the score of 6.115. This progression is thanks to the very promotive political leadership in the development of a tolerance ecosystem. Due to this,

the bureaucratic and the societal leaderships of the city have also contributed to the agenda of the promotion of tolerance.

Similar to what Salatiga has done, Pematang Siantar has also passed a regional legislation on religious tolerance development, specifically on combatting violence-based extremism leading to terrorism. The municipal government has implemented regulations both to enhance social harmony, to form a task force, and to develop a Regional Action Plan (RAD) to prevent acts of extremism and terrorism.

b. Homework for the Bottom 10 Cities

Despite the consistency in the dynamics of the Top 10 cities with advanced tolerance level, there are also cities that are currently facing challenges to improve religious tolerance and social inclusion based on the findings of IKT 2024. Although some cities remain in the bottom 10, but some others have plunged into this territory.

Table 2
Bottom 10 Cities of IKT 2024

Ranking	City	Ind 1	Ind 2	Ind 3	Ind 4	Ind 5	Ind 6	Ind 7	Ind 8	Final Score
85	Pagar Alam	3,33	4,99	7,00	3,00	3,00	3,00	4,00	4,00	4,381
86	Sabang	3,67	4,30	7,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	3,00	4,377
87	Ternate	5,00	4,85	5,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	4,370
88	Makassar	5,17	5,48	3,00	4,00	4,00	5,00	4,00	4,00	4,363
89	Bandar Lampung	3,17	5,45	6,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	4,00	4,357
90	Pekanbaru	3,50	4,85	6,00	3,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	4,320
91	Banda Aceh	3,50	3,76	5,00	4,00	5,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,202
92	Lhokseumawe	3,50	3,70	6,00	3,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	4,140
93	Cilegon	3,50	3,97	5,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	3,00	3,994
94	Pare Pare	4,33	5,06	3,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	3,945

It is important to note that not only due to acts of intolerance that caused the cities to be in the bottom 10 of the ranking, but also due to the fact that these cities have not yet initiated any innovation to develop an ecosystem of tolerance and enhance social inclusion in their respective regions. Meanwhile, other cities have started to catch up with the advanced ones in promoting harmony.

This can be seen within the condition of Pagar Alam and Sabang. In the previous editions of IKT, both cities achieved the 81st and 85th position respectively. The current ranking for the two cities is not due to cases of intolerance, but rather due to the facts that there were no policy innovations to promote tolerance and no social force to develop social harmony. All leadership components have not shown any significant and collaborative efforts to enhance tolerance.

Meanwhile, cities like Cilegon, Banda Aceh, Pekanbaru, and Lhokseumawe, have stayed in the same spots the past couple of years. Constantly being in the spotlight for their stagnation to promote religious tolerance has not brought any progressive changes in those cities, whether

from the aspects of regional policies, programmes, or any interfaith encounter spaces. Although some efforts were made through dialogues between religious and ethnic groups, none of those efforts ever materialise due to the municipal policies getting in the way.

Continuing regression of tolerance in those cities will potentially give some rooms for intolerance in the future, whether they may come from state or non-state actors. However, this is not to brush off the fact that those cities can change at any point, but it will be possible with the support of the bravery from political leaders, assistance from bureaucratic leaders, and participation from societal leaders, to develop tolerance as an integral part to the development of the region.

c. Other Key Findings

Aside from indexing the overall score of tolerance, SETARA Institute also paid attention to how some cities excel in some variables. In the context of Municipal Government's Regulations variable, there are 10 cities which have made significant advancements in the current edition of IKT:

Tabel 3
10 Cities with the Highest Score in Variable 1: Municipal Government's Regulations

Rangking IKT 2024	Kota	Ind 1	Ind 2	Skor	Rangking Variabel
1	Salatiga	6,50	6,22	6,36	1
2	Singkawang	6,50	6,10	6,30	2
7	Bekasi	6,17	6,11	6,14	3
3	Semarang	6,00	6,03	6,02	4
4	Magelang	6,00	5,74	5,87	5
12	Surakarta	5,83	5,80	5,82	6
9	Manado	6,00	5,56	5,78	7
8	Kediri	5,83	5,71	5,77	8
7	Sukabumi	5,50	5,59	5,55	9
18	Mojokerto	4,67	6,32	5,50	10

This is the evidence that some cities have strongly committed to the principles of tolerance and understood that socio-religious harmony is one of the most essential foundations of regional development to promote justice and equality to the citizens. In a plural society, a development planning without visions for tolerance is a 'fast track' to social tensions, all the way to favouritism and sustaining discrimination.

Meanwhile, looking at the table, the cities with solid regulations are the same cities that occupy the Top

10 to Top 20 spots of the Index. This indicates that the cities have got solid foundations in their regional development. On the other hand, this also calls for other cities to enhance their regulation aspect to solidify tolerance and inclusion.

While on the aspects of Social Regulations as measured in the second variable, there are also some cities that have made some significant strides:

Table 4
10 Cities with the Highest Score in Variable 2: Social Regulations

IKT 2024 Ranking	City	Ind 3	Ind 4	Score	Variable Ranking
1	Salatiga	7,00	6,00	6,50	1
2	Singkawang	7,00	6,00	6,50	2
3	Semarang	7,00	6,00	6,50	3
4	Magelang	7,00	6,00	6,50	4
14	Bandung	5,50	7,00	6,20	5
7	Sukabumi	7,00	5,00	6,00	6
8	Kediri	7,00	5,00	6,00	7
10	Kupang	7,00	5,00	6,00	8
11	Ambon	7,00	5,00	6,00	9
13	Denpasar	7,00	5,00	6,00	10

The impact of the establishment of the tolerance ecosystem is seen in cities that recorded achievements with a score of 7 on indicator 3, meaning that during the research period no intolerant events were found in these cities. This is a portrait of real achievement, intolerant events that occur in a city are not just violations of individual rights, but more than that, they are cracks that threaten the foundations of equality and life together. On the contrary, these cities not only reject intolerance, but have succeeded in building various components that form an ecosystem of tolerance.

In the variable of Government Actions, there are also 10 cities that have some advancements in that aspect, which are indicated as follows:

Table 5
10 Cities with the Highest Score in Variable 3: Government Actions

IKT 2024 Ranking	City	Ind 5	Ind 6	Score	Variable Ranking
1	Salatiga	7,00	7,00	7,00	1
5	Pematangsiantar	7,00	7,00	7,00	3
7	Bekasi	7,00	7,00	7,00	2
3	Semarang	6,00	7,00	6,50	5
15	Banjarmasin	6,00	7,00	6,50	9
2	Singkawang	6,00	6,00	6,00	4
4	Magelang	6,00	6,00	6,00	6
7	Sukabumi	6,00	6,00	6,00	7
9	Manado	6,00	6,00	6,00	8
20	Surabaya	6,00	6,00	6,00	10

In general, cities in this category are filled by cities that are in the top 10 cities with the highest tolerance scores. This condition confirms and validates the performance of the city government in advancing tolerance, and shows the performance of tolerant leadership that is synergistic and strong between political leadership and bureaucratic leadership in encouraging the advancement of tolerance through structural channels. Commitment to tolerance cannot just stop as rhetoric in ceremonial speeches. But it must be present in a systemic and structural manner, starting from development planning, regulations, programs, to actions in the field.

SETARA Institute also took notes of some cities that have made exponential progress through the ranks. In this edition of the Index, some 10 cities have made noticeable advancements:

Table 6
10 Cities with Highest Ranking Progressions

No	City	IKT 2023 Ranking	IKT 2024 Ranking	Ranking Progression
1	Tidore Kepulauan	77	25	52
2	Palembang	87	53	34
3	DKI Jakarta	68	41	27
4	Medan	73	47	26
5	Jambi	60	36	24
6	Mojokerto	39	18	21
7	Padang	91	72	19
8	Mataram	89	70	19
9	Depok	94	78	16
10	Denpasar	26	13	13

The performance of these cities is a breath of fresh air in advancing tolerance in Indonesia. Not only are the cities in the top 10 highest scores, but the phenomenon of various cities rushing towards the formation of a tolerance ecosystem has occurred. One of them is the City of Tidore Kepulauan (Tidore Islands) which is ranked 25th in the 2024 IKT. The absence of intolerant events and discriminatory legal products has become the initial capital in advancing tolerance in this city. Political leadership is the pillar of tolerance in this city, through various statements and attitudes of the mayor who are promotive of tolerance, even among them with statements providing guarantees of freedom to the community in their area to carry out activities, both religious and others, regardless of their primordial identity.

SETARA Institute also acknowledges the complexity in the demography of various cities across Indonesia. In this category, SETARA has ranked 10 cities with populations more than 1 million people which achieved the highest positions:

Tabel 7
10 Highest Ranking Cities with Large Populations

No	City	Population	IKT 2024 Ranking
1	Semarang	1.708.830 jiwa	3
2	Bekasi	2.627.210 jiwa	7
3	Bandung	2.579.837 jiwa	14
4	Bogor	1.137.018 jiwa	19
5	Surabaya	3.009.286 jiwa	20
6	DKI Jakarta	11.135.191 jiwa	41
7	Tangerang	1.965.000 jiwa	45
8	Medan	2.524.341 jiwa	47
9	Palembang	1.801.367 jiwa	53
10	Batam	1.294.548 jiwa	66

The existence of cities as in the table above, especially cities in the top 20, namely Semarang, Bekasi, Bandung, Bogor, and Surabaya, shows that large population demographics are not a barrier to building a strong tolerance ecosystem. The public needs to realise that maintaining tolerance in a small city is a challenge, but maintaining tolerance in a big city—with millions of residents, a dense flow of people coming and going to work, and a complex layered identity—is an achievement.

4. TRENDS AND DYNAMICS OF TOLERANCE IN 2024

Overall, the national average of tolerance index in the last 8 studies, including this 2024 edition, are shown below:

Graph 1 above illustrates the condition of tolerance, since the first IKT publication in 2015 at 4.75 and the highest figure in 2021 with a score of 5.24. Meanwhile, the national average in 2024 is 4.92. This average has decreased by 0.14 from the national average score in 2023 which has a score of 5.06. The score of 4.92 for the national average on a scale of 1-7 shows that tolerance

in Indonesia is quite good and shows a sustainable improving status.

This decrease in score is generally due to methodological factors, considering that IKT 2024 is developing indicators as an effort to strengthen the tolerance ecosystem, in general in Indonesia and specifically in cities, which has been developed as the Indicator 2. If previously the Indicator 2 only measured the presence or absence of discriminatory legal products, in IKT 2024 there is an integration of the existence of legal products

that promote tolerance as part of the assessment of this study. Thus, cities that have legal products that promote tolerance will receive higher scores, and vice versa.

The development of this indicator is part of a positive trend captured through the findings of IKT 2023, namely the growth of tolerance-promoting legal products in cities. 61 regional legal products were found that promote tolerance with details of 11 Regional

Regulations, 16 Mayoral Regulations, and 34 other forms that can include Circular Letters, Decrees, and so on. In 2024, this trend will continue with the detection of 11 tolerance-promoting legal products. This condition shows established political and bureaucratic leaderships in maintaining and developing the ecosystem of tolerance.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The President needs to take a role in ensuring the universality and linearity of efforts to advance tolerance, from the central to regional levels, considering that the *Visi Indonesia* 2045 also places tolerance as a prerequisite towards an *Indonesia Emas* 2025 through 1st Pillar of Human Development and Mastery of Science and Technology.
2. The central government, especially the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Law, Ministry of Human Rights, and the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) need to conduct a review of the existence of discriminatory regional legal products, both previous regional legal products and regional legal products issued in the last few years. These various legal products have clearly become the runway for the growth of intolerant practices, both by state and non-state actors.
3. The Central Government, especially the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), encourage and facilitate collaboration between cities/regencies in advancing tolerance through tolerant-inclusive development planning. This need is in line with the Vision of Indonesia 2045 which pays attention to aspects of tolerance, social cohesion, inclusiveness, and diversity.
4. Within the framework of the *Visi Indonesia* 2045, it is necessary to translate plans, policies, and intervention programs in maintaining harmony from the national level to the regional level. To ensure this, the Provincial Government, in this case the Governor as the representative of the Central Government in the regions within the framework of de-concentration, needs to be encouraged to take a role and participate in the orchestration of the development of the tolerance ecosystem.
5. The central, provincial and city/district governments provide adequate budget support for FKUB and for initiatives to advance tolerance-inclusion in cities/districts.
6. Encourage cities (and districts), both between city governments and civil society elements, to build collaboration and mutual cooperation in order to advance tolerance. This condition has proven successful in spreading the promotion of tolerance between cities.[]